

# **Indo - Afghan Relations since 9/11**

## **Dissertation**

**Submitted to the University of Kashmir in Partial Fulfillment of  
the Requirements for the Award of Degree of**

**Master of Philosophy (M. Phil)**

**In**

**Political Science**

**By**

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**Centre of Central Asian Studies**

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**Srinagar J&K- 190006**

**2013**

# **CENTRE OF CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES**

**UNIVERSITY OF KASHMIR, SRINAGAR**



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Certified that the dissertation entitled “**Indo - Afghan Relations since 9/11**” submitted by **Ashfaq Maqsood Ali**, in partial fulfillment of M. Phil Degree in the Discipline of **Political Science** is an original piece of research work. This work has not been submitted fully or partially so far anywhere for the award of any degree. The scholar worked under my supervision on whole-time basis for the period required under statutes and has put in the required attendance in the Centre.

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## ***Declaration***

I solemnly declare that the dissertation entitled “**Indo-Afghan Relations since 9/11**” submitted by me in the discipline of Political Science under the supervision of **Dr. Tabasum Firdous** embodies my own contribution. This work which does not contain any piracy has not been submitted, so far anywhere for the award of any degree.

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## **Acronyms**

Af-Pak	Afghanistan-Pakistan
AIIMS	All India Institute of Medical Sciences
ANSF	Afghanistan National Security Forces
BRO	Border Roads Organization
CAP	Capacity for Afghanistan Public Administration
CARs	Central Asian Republics
CCAP	Connect Central Asia Policy
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CII	Confederation of Indian Industries
CNPC	China National Petroleum Corporation
CSIS	Centre for Strategic and International Studies
ETIM	East Turkestan Islamic Movement
HLS	Hard Line Strategy
HM	Hizbul Mujahideen/Harkatul Mujahideen
HT	Hizb ut-Tahrir
HUJI	Harkat-ul-Jihad-al-Islami
IAF	Indian Air Force
ICCR	Indian Council for Cultural Relations
IGICH	Indira Gandhi Institute for Child Health
IMMs	Indian Medical Missions
IMU	Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan

INC	Indian National Congress
INSAT	Indian Satellite
ISAF	International Security Assistance Forces
ISI	Inter-Services Intelligence
JeM	Jaish-e-Mohammad
LeT	Lashker-e-Taiba
LoC	Line of Control
LPG	Liberalization Privatization Globalization
MFN	Most Favoured Nation
MoU	Memorandums of Understanding
NA	Northern Alliance
NAM	Non-alignment Movement
NATO	Northern Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
OEF	Operation Enduring Freedom
RAW	Research & Analysis Wing
RTA	Radio & Television Afghanistan
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
SDPs	Small Development Projects
SEWA	Self-Employed Women's Association

SLS	Soft Line Strategy
SPA	Strategic Partnership Agreement
TAPI	Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India
TTP	Tehrek-e-Taliban Pakistan
UN/UNO	United Nations/United Nations Organization
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
US/USA	United States/United States of America
USPMA	UN-SAARC Peacekeeping Mission in Afghanistan
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WFP	World Food Programme

## Preface

Since 9/11, India has played significant role in the process of reconstructing Afghanistan. The projects and assistance of India covers all the important sectors in this war torn nation ranging from basic amenities to the construction of power transmission lines. With the perception to stabilize Afghanistan and bring peace, India's focus is to establish democratic tradition, enhance economic development, build Afghan capacity and raise the living standard of Afghan people. India also wants to re-build that country as a transit route for trade and energy supplies between the regions adjacent. The country is also significant for India's 'Connect Central Asia Policy' to meet her energy requirements. However, there are some challenges for India in pursuing her Afghan policy. For instance, lack of direct transit, Indo-Pak rivalry & Pakistan factor in Indo-Afghan relations, US-Iran rift & its effect on India's Afghan policy etc. The challenges have become more complex with the re-emergence of Taliban, Pakistan's comeback in Afghan affairs, the United States decision of troop's drawdown by 2014 and the process of Taliban reconciliation.

The analysts of India's Afghan Policy have raised various queries vis-à-vis the changing power equations and circumstances in the region. Since the United States announcement of troop's drawdown from Afghanistan under the circumstances when Taliban resurgence is at peaks, the queries regarding India's Afghan strategy include - Is Afghanistan again out of the reach of India? Are the objectives of India's Afghan Policy achievable? What measures are suitable for India's Foreign Policy in general and Afghan Policy in particular to deal with the re-emergence of Taliban and growing influence of Pakistan in Afghan politics? What should be the approach, response and strategy of India to deal post-2014 Afghanistan? At what costs could India afford to maintain her presence in Afghanistan? In this regard, the study attempts to meet all such queries while focusing various dimensions of India's engagements with Afghanistan since 9/11. Apart from this, the study also provides comprehensive suggestions to guide India's Afghan policy in post-2014 Afghanistan.

I am highly thankful to my worthy supervisor Dr. Tabasum Firdous for her prominent guidance. Her inspiration and support make me able to complete this research proposal with high comfort. During the process, I met some health ailments that

sometimes make me feel impossible to complete the task. However, the moral support and motherly treatment of my supervisor always encouraged me, and only then, I have completed the assigned research proposal. I also wish to thank Prof. Ajaz A. Bandey, Director of Centre of Central Asian Studies, University of Kashmir, for his valuable assistance, suggestions and problem-solving attitude while formulating and compiling this dissertation. I am also thankful to Prof. G. M. Mir, Director of Area Studies, CCAS, Prof. Mustaq A. Kaw and Prof. G. N. Khaki for the guidance, suggestions and friendly attitude towards me during the process. I am thankful to the teaching faculty and non-teaching members of the Centre for their considerable help in my favour. My sincere thanks also goes to the librarians and other official workers of University of Kashmir, CCAS, IDSA, Teen Murti Bawan, India International Centre, Afghan Embassy, American Library, Delhi University, Jamia Millia Islamia and Jawaharlal Nehru University for their assistance in locating relevant research material. I am sincerely thankful to the Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, for providing the official documents, other required material and up-to-date information regarding India's engagements with Afghanistan. I also owe boundless gratitude to my family and friends for providing the valuable support.

University of Kashmir, Srinagar

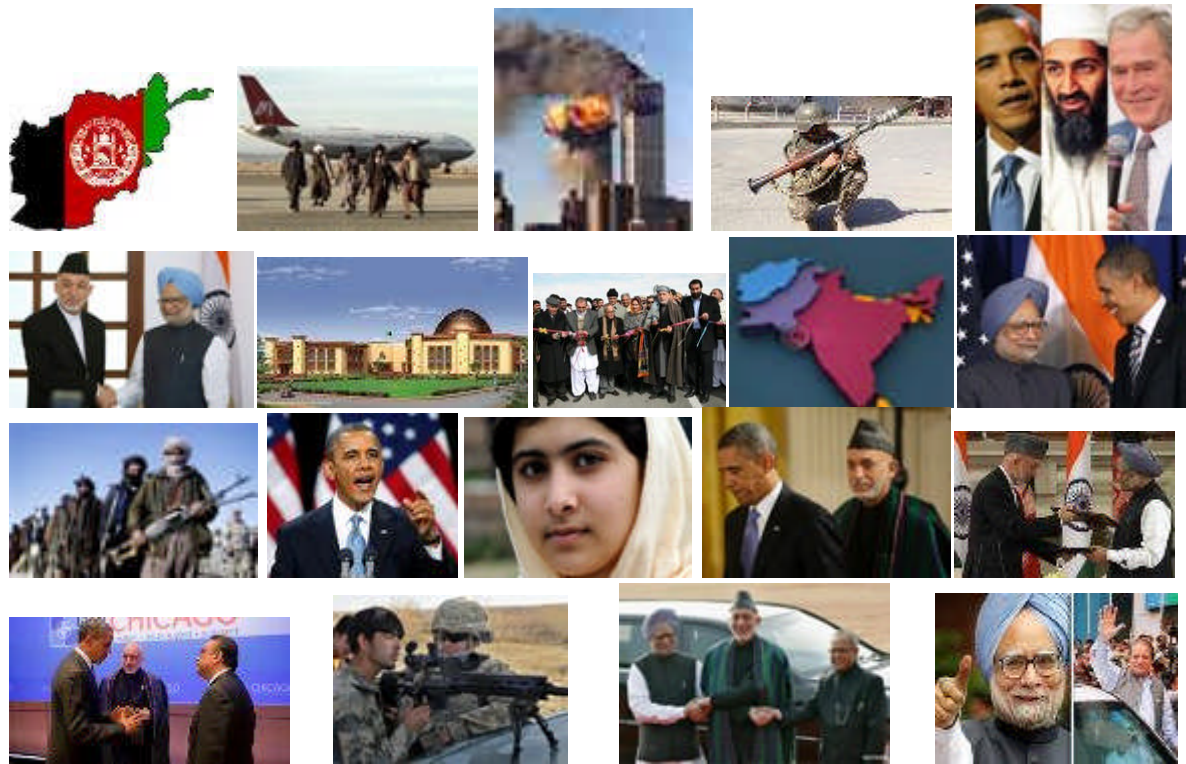
Ashfaq Maqsood Ali

March 2013



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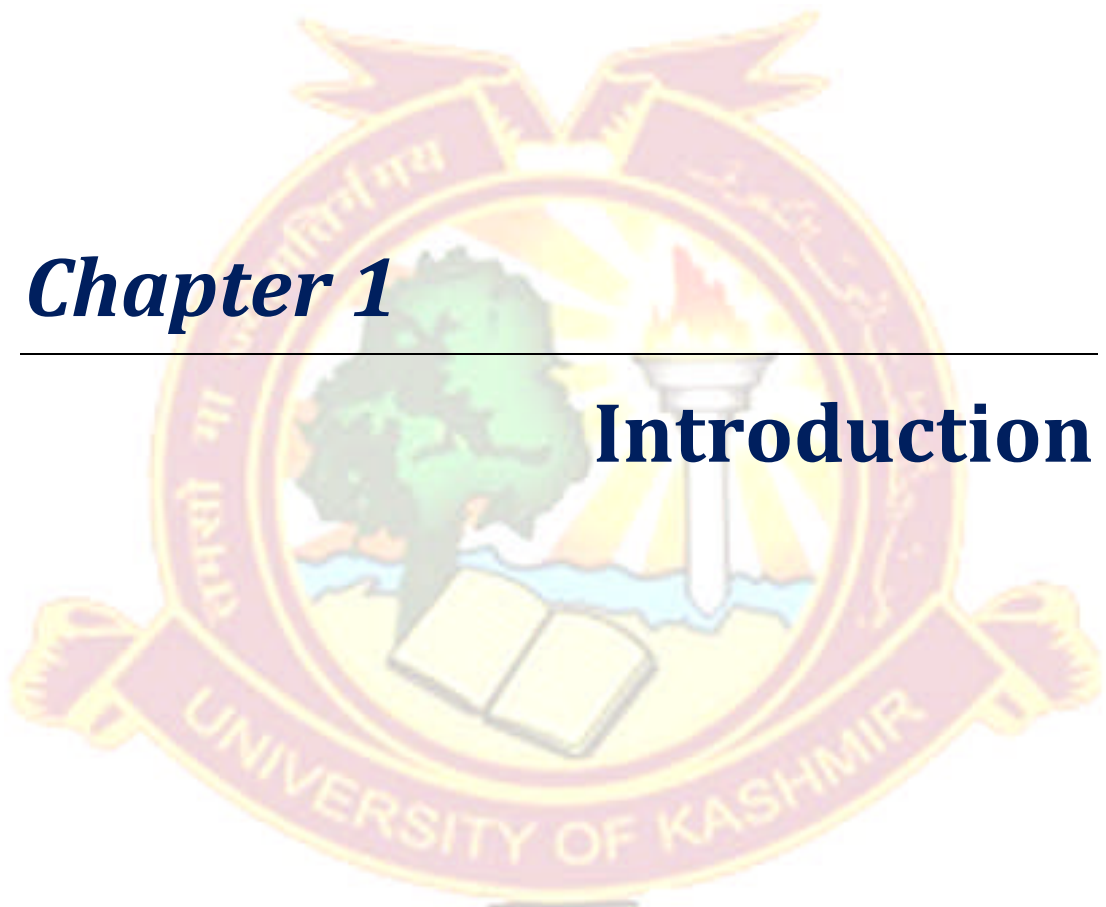
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# *Chapter 1*

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# **Introduction**



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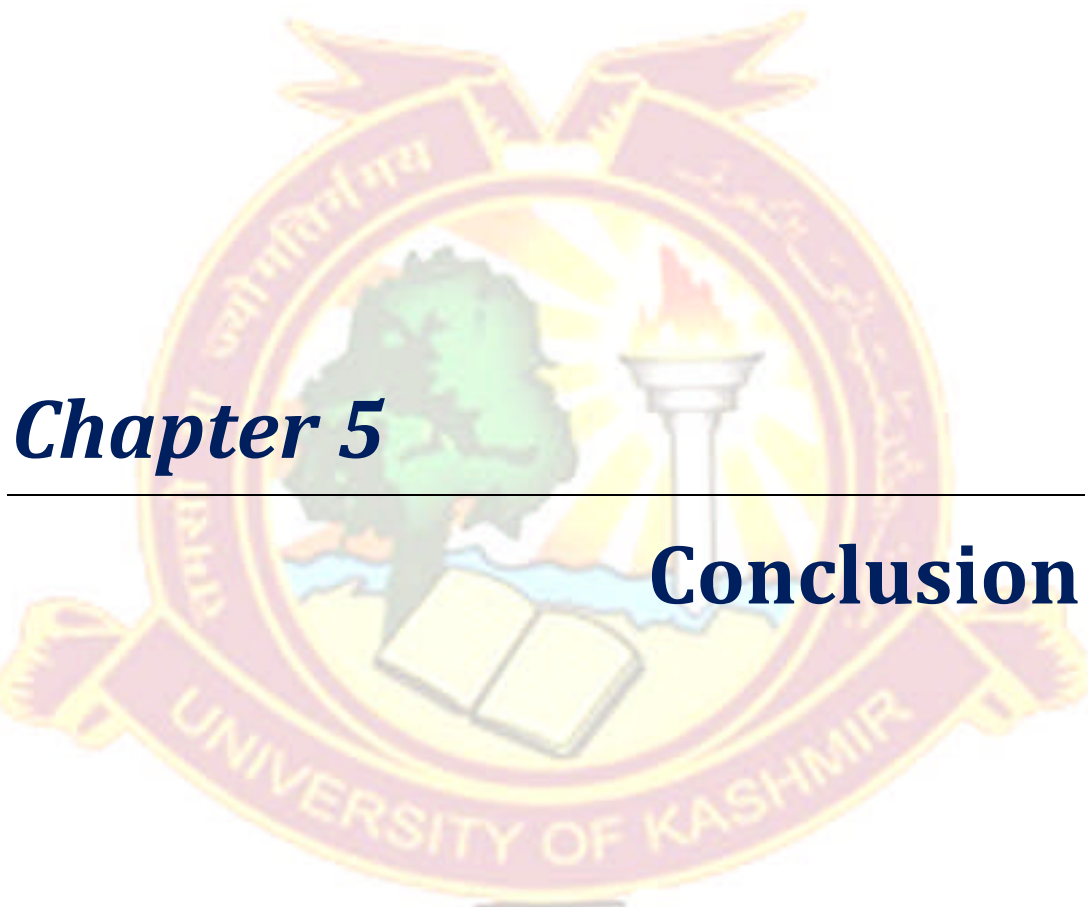
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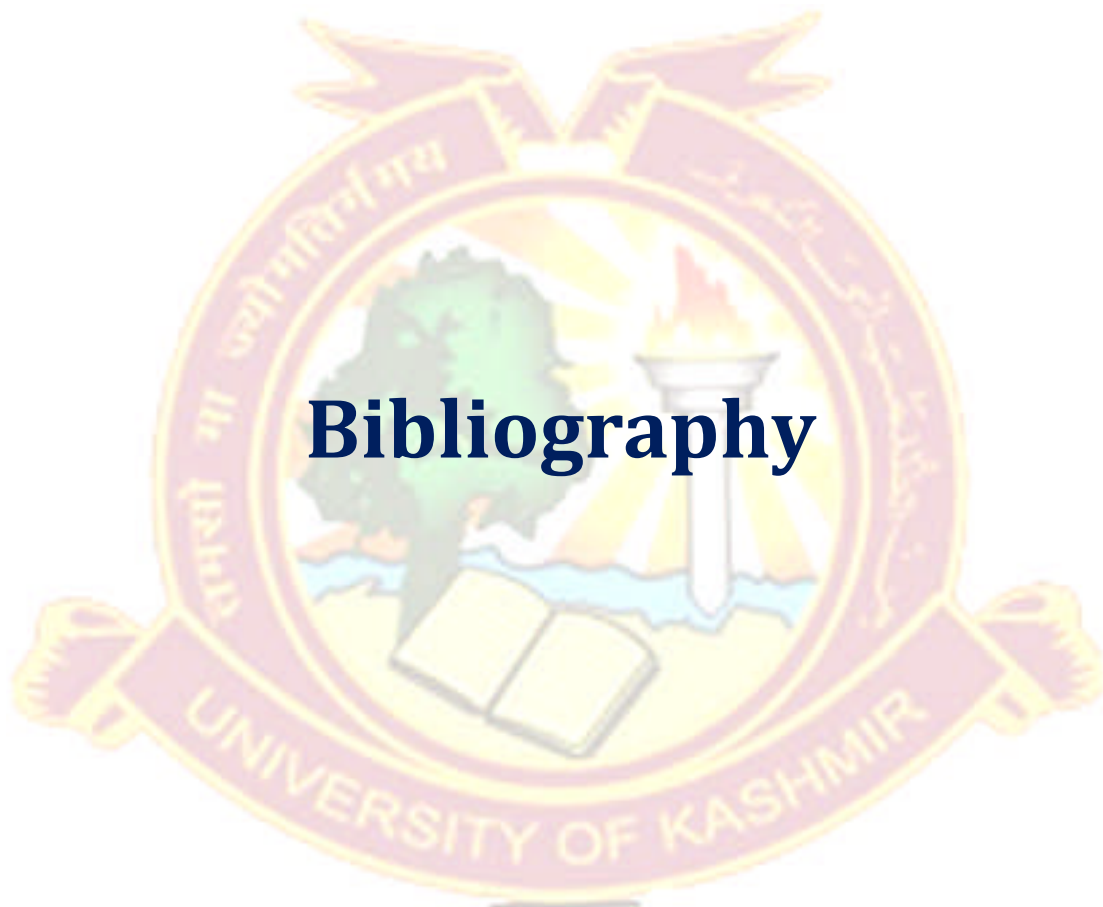
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with Afghanistan**



## *Chapter 5*

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## **Conclusion**



# **Bibliography**





# **Annexures**

## 1.1 India's Geo-Strategic Profile and Changing Foreign Policy

India is the seventh largest country in geographical terms, second populous and largest democracy in the world.<sup>1</sup> India shares her border with Pakistan to the west, Bhutan, China & Nepal to the northeast and Bangladesh & Myanmar to the east. Besides it, the Indian Ocean on the south, the Arabian Sea on the southwest and the Bay of Bengal on the southeast also covers her. The country is also in vicinity of Sri Lanka and Maldives in the Indian Ocean. The Andaman & Nicobar islands of India share a maritime border with Thailand and Indonesia.<sup>2</sup> In terms of her population, size, economic development, technological advancement and military capabilities, India has a predominant position in South Asia,<sup>3</sup> and accounts for 76% of the population of South Asia living in 73.25% of the total land area of the region.<sup>4</sup>

Since the last decade of the twentieth century, the broadening concept of security from traditional to non-traditional threats including religious extremism, international terrorism, drug trafficking, arms smuggling and aggressive nationalism has led the nation-states to alter their foreign policies. India also reoriented her foreign policy for the non-traditional security threats are present in her immediate and extended neighbourhood.<sup>5</sup> The country is eagerly cooperating with the regional and global initiatives to face these non-conventional threats,<sup>6</sup> and is now poised to emerge as one of the world's largest economies. Since last two decades, India has attempted new endeavours in her foreign policy in the quest for attaining the status of a global power.<sup>7</sup> The transition within the internal and external determinants of her Foreign Policy has changed her vision of the world. Post-Cold war era witnessed India reformulating her foreign policy while following the major determinants as economic

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<sup>1</sup> Anjan Roy, Amit Kumar, "India Takes Lead to Cope with Challenges in Neighbourhood", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.749

<sup>2</sup> Anjan Roy, Amit Kumar, "India Takes Lead to Cope with Challenges in Neighbourhood", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.749

<sup>3</sup> Arunoday Bajpai, "India's Economic Diplomacy in South Asia", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11- 12, November-December 2011, p.742

<sup>4</sup> Latha A. Pandit, "India and Her Neighbours: Changing Perceptions", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 06, June 2011, p.339

<sup>5</sup> Nirmala Joshi, "India, Central Asia and Afghanistan: Security and Economic Dimensions", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXI, No. 11-12, November-December 2010, p.551

<sup>6</sup> R.S. Yadav, "India's Foreign Policy: Paradigm Shift in the Post-Cold War Era", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.732

<sup>7</sup> Dipanjan Roy Chaudhury, "India's Foreign Policy Priorities: Economy Emerges as the Driving Force", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXI, No. 11-12, November-December 2010, p.503

growth, energy security, nuclear capability, democratic tradition and soft-power capability.<sup>8</sup> Today, the driving forces of her foreign policy are the need for sustained economic growth, energy & maritime security, access to technology & innovation, internal & external security.<sup>9</sup> Thus, the prominence of geo-economic factors led to fundamental reorientation of her world vision. The country adopted new outlooks and orientations in her economic dealings with the rest of the world. Besides this new outlook, some compulsions encouraged her to relook the basic postulates of foreign policy. These include the financial crises of early 1990s followed by the adoption of the LPG-model of economic growth, the disintegration of the second world and the shock therapy applied to the newly independent republics of the erstwhile USSR, initiation of the process of globalization and adoption of the Capitalist model of development in most parts of the world. Thus, the end of Cold War, transnational terrorism, globalization of various economies and revolution in information technology changed the global order and necessitated paradigmatic shift in India's Foreign Policy.<sup>10</sup> Besides it, the predominance of geo-economics over geo-politics, non-conventional threats over the conventional threats, comprehensive security over the traditional notion of security and the acquisition of nuclear status by India also led to fundamental reorientation in her foreign policy.<sup>11</sup>

India is facing both the conventional and new challenges in South Asia. The conventional challenges are active in the form of 'Big Brother' syndrome, Indo-Pak rivalry, lack of regional economic integration, persistent instability and conflicts among the regional countries etc. The new challenges are securing grounds in the form of China's involvement in the region, widening developmental gap between India and other South Asia nations, and lack of effective integration of South Asian countries with the global economy.<sup>12</sup> The current developments and shifts at global

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<sup>8</sup> Mohammed Badrul Alam, "Basic Parameters of India's Foreign Policy and its Resilience", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.739

<sup>9</sup> Dipanjan Roy Chaudhury, "India's Foreign Policy Priorities: Economy Emerges as the Driving Force", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXI, No. 11-12, November-December 2010, p.503

<sup>10</sup> Mohammed Badrul Alam, "Basic Parameters of India's Foreign Policy and its Resilience", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.739

<sup>11</sup> R.S. Yadav, "India's Foreign Policy: Paradigm Shift in the Post-Cold War Era", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.731

<sup>12</sup> Arunoday Bajpai, "India's Economic Diplomacy in South Asia", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11- 12, November-December 2011, p.747

order suggest that the country has to work for creating the external environment conducive to her transformation and development. For this, India has to care and address the three sets of challenges i.e. ensuring a peaceful neighbourhood, establishing and balancing the relations with the major powers, and addressing the issues of food security, water, energy and environment.<sup>13</sup> It is in this context that India's foreign policy since early 21<sup>st</sup> century added an intermediating level between the regions and global outlook. The country is pursuing policies to restore her ties and reintegrate with adjacent regions.<sup>14</sup> Acknowledging the significance of the regional economic cooperation, the country has engaged the regional countries in the framework of 'neighbourhood' and 'extended neighbourhood' policy. India sought the cooperation of her immediate neighbours while supporting the cause of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) that includes, besides India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan, Maldives and Afghanistan. Her framework of extended neighbourhood stretches from the Suez Canal to the South China Sea including West Asia, Central Asia Republics, Southeast Asia, East Asia, Asia-Pacific and Indian Ocean Rim.<sup>15</sup> This 'extended neighbourhood' policy first engaged the Southeast Asian nations under the "Look-East Policy" framework and now the Central Asian Republics under the policy framework of "Connect Central Asia Policy" (CCAP). Thus, the 'Look East Policy' since 1990s and now the 'Connect Central Asia Policy' since the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century reflects India's 'Extended Neighbourhood' orientations.

With the involvement of world powers in South Asia, particularly the US and China, the strategic interests of India has increased manifold. Her major foreign policy objectives in South Asia are to ensure peace, stability and development in the region, promote regional economic integration and secure her strategic & economic interests.<sup>16</sup> In order to sustain her economic growth the country has to ensure adequate supplies of energy resources and raw materials. For this, the country has

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<sup>13</sup> Mohammed Badrul Alam, "Basic Parameters of India's Foreign Policy and its Resilience", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.740

<sup>14</sup> Vinod Anand, "Multi-Directional Policies of Central Asian Nations and India", *World Focus*, Vol. XXIX, No. 11-12, November-December 2008, p.450

<sup>15</sup> R.S. Yadav, "Changing Contours of India's Neighbourhood Policy", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 06, June 2011, p.338

<sup>16</sup> Arunoday Bajpai, "India's Economic Diplomacy in South Asia", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11- 12, November-December 2011, p.742

acknowledged the need to promote regional economic integration. However, her primary aspiration of socio-economic development, security and peace is dependent on a peaceful and prosperous neighbourhood. All this necessitates the policy designs to provide a space for the political, economic and cultural links with all her neighbours.<sup>17</sup> Besides it, the country has to deal both her core and peripheral neighbourhood in different manner while taking into account the regional diversities due to geo-strategic and geo-political nature.<sup>18</sup> Taking into consideration these necessities and requirements for regional integration, Afghanistan provides a suitable route for India to achieve her objectives. Besides the geo-strategic significance, Afghanistan is also essential to contain the non-traditional security threats within the region. Thus, India's 'Afghan Policy' since 9/11 forms an essential part of her neighbourhood and extended neighbourhood orientations.

## 1.2 Afghanistan's Geo-Strategic Profile in a Historical Context

Afghanistan is a landlocked country that covers an area of 647,497 sq km, stretches 1300 km from the southwest to northeast with a width of about 600 km.<sup>19</sup> Her significance lies with the location as a crossway between the Indian subcontinent to the southeast, Central Asian Steppes to the north and the Iranian Plateau in the west.<sup>20</sup> The adjacent countries having direct boundary linkage with her include Pakistan (2,430 km), Iran (936 km), Turkmenistan (744 km), Uzbekistan (137 km), Tajikistan (1,206 km), and China (76 km).<sup>21</sup> The proximity to Iran on the west, Pakistan on the south & east, and Central Asian Republics of Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan on the north and China in the northeast justifies her strategic location.<sup>22</sup> The geo-strategic position of the country between the three regions led the scholars to call

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<sup>17</sup> Mohammed Badrul Alam, "Basic Parameters of India's Foreign Policy and its Resilience", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.740

<sup>18</sup> R.S. Yadav, "Changing Contours of India's Neighbourhood Policy", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 06, June 2011, p.338

<sup>19</sup> Musa Khan Jalalzai, *Taliban and the Great Game in Afghanistan*, Vanguard Books Ltd, 1999, p.16

<sup>20</sup> Obaid Younossi, Khalid Nadiri, "Afghanistan at the Crossroads", cited in *Afghanistan: State and Society, Great Power Politics and the Way Ahead*, findings from an International Conference, Copenhagen Denmark, 2007, accessible at: <http://www.rand.org/pubs/confproceeding/2008/rand-CF238.pdf>, (accessed on November 04, 2010, at 22:27)

<sup>21</sup> *The World Fact Book – Afghanistan*, accessible at: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/af.html>, (accessed on November 24, 2010, at 21:47)

<sup>22</sup> Mondira Dutta, "India-Afghanistan Relations: Opportunities and Challenges", *World Focus*, Vol. XXIX, No. 11-12, November-December 2008, p.412

her ‘a region at the cross roads of history’.<sup>23</sup> Afghanistan, as positioned between South, Central and West Asia has always been a cause of interest for big powers.<sup>24</sup> As Dr. Mondira Dutta put it, the geo-centric position of Afghanistan at the crossroads of Asia implies that “a measure of control over Afghanistan will automatically lead to a measure of control over South Asia, Iran and the resource rich regions of Central Asia”.<sup>25</sup> Historically, the country has witnessed foreign interventions and perpetual instability. Since her inception in 1747, the country has remained the subject of direct influence of both inter-regional and extra-regional powers.<sup>26</sup> Foreign interference has remained a constant feature in the form of ‘The Great Game’, the Soviet invasion and the US-led Operation Enduring Freedom. First, during the period of British imperialism, the country witnessed many wars including three Anglo-Afghan wars. The political and economic compulsions of the imperialist British and Czarist Russia led them to create Afghanistan as a buffer state between the territories under their rule. After a relatively peaceful period from 1919 to 1978, the country witnessed civil wars and foreign interventions since late 1970s. In December 1979, large number of Soviet troops landed in Kabul and seized all-important installations. However, the regimes installed by the Soviets were not in a capacity to rule outside the Kabul because of the resistance of Afghan Mujahideen against the Soviet occupation. Since 1984, the Mujahideen of Afghanistan received financial assistance and other support particularly from the United States and Pakistan.<sup>27</sup> Pakistan, under the influence of the USA, played vital role while encouraging the Afghan resistance and subsequent war against the Soviets. The Soviet occupation resulted in the emergence of Warlords and religious fundamentalism in Afghanistan.<sup>28</sup> However, the USSR under the leadership of Mikhail Gorbachev while realizing the complex nature of war and Afghan, agreed

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<sup>23</sup> Barnett R. Rubin, *The Search for Peace on Afghanistan: From Buffer State to a Failed State*, Yale University Press, 1995, pp.138-139

<sup>24</sup> Nabiha Gul, Post-9/11 Afghanistan and the Regional Security Scenario, *Pakistan Horizon*, Vol. 59, No. 1, January 2006, Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, p.57

<sup>25</sup> Mondira Dutta, “India-Afghanistan Relations: Opportunities and Challenges”, *World Focus*, Vol. XXIX, No. 11-12, November-December 2008, p.412

<sup>26</sup> Haraun Mir, “Afghanistan”, *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, Washington D. C., 2010, p.7

<sup>27</sup> Alex Alexiev, “The War in Afghanistan: Soviet Strategy and the State of Resistance”, accessible at: <http://www.rand.org/pubs/papers/2008/rand-CF7038.pdf>, (accessed on November 21, 2010, at 22:06)

<sup>28</sup> Graham E Fuller, “Islamic Fundamentalism in Afghanistan: Its Character and Prospects” accessible at: <http://www.rand.org/pubs/reports/2008/rand-CF3970.pdf>, (accessed on December 02, 2010, at 20:56)

to withdraw forces from that country.<sup>29</sup> However, the Soviet withdrawal without any proper arrangement of governance system created power vacuum in Kabul that led to the brutal civil war. During this civil war, the Pashtun Mujahideen (Taliban) educated in the Madrassas of Pakistan started a movement to resist anarchy in Afghanistan.<sup>30</sup> The Taliban emerged out of the civil war and established government at Kabul in 1996. They gradually capture 90% of the country by the end of 1998.<sup>31</sup> Afghanistan during 1992-2001 also became a ground for a proxy war between Pakistan and Saudi Arabia on one side, and Iran, India, and Russia on the other.<sup>32</sup>

In the post-Cold war era, the independence of the Central Asian Republics (CARs) and the discovery of significant mineral resources in Central Asia changed the geo-strategic equation in the region. The CARs hold the potential key to meet 21<sup>st</sup> century energy requirements of the world. Afghanistan sharing direct boundary links with the three CARs and her position at the cross roads of three strategic regions again acquired critical importance as a land bridge for oil & natural gas pipelines and trade route. However, foreign interventions and wars devastated the country and bred extremist elements. This added further insecurity to the countries and the regions adjacent to her. The strategic interests of the great powers in that country against the threat of terrorism, religious extremism and drug trafficking is enough to prove her potential to effect the countries beyond her border. Today, Afghanistan and the regions adjacent to her involve the main security threats of the world community in 21<sup>st</sup> century. The event of 9/11 provided an opportunity for the United States to intervene with a view to cope the threat of terrorism. Thus, the US led coalition forces waged a war in that country under ‘Operation Enduring Freedom’. Since 2001, the consensus of the international community to fight and defeat international terrorism renewed hope for the country.<sup>33</sup> International community mainly focused the

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<sup>29</sup> Geneva Accord accessible at:

[http://www.institute-forafghanstudies.org/Accords%20Treaties/geneva\\_accords\\_1988\\_pakistan\\_afghanistan.htm](http://www.institute-forafghanstudies.org/Accords%20Treaties/geneva_accords_1988_pakistan_afghanistan.htm), (accessed on December 02, 2010, at 20:33)

<sup>30</sup> Kamal Matinuddin, *The Taliban Phenomenon: Afghanistan 1994 – 1997*, Oxford University Press, 1999, pp.20-24

<sup>31</sup> Abdul Sattar, “Afghanistan: Past, Present and Future, From Jihad to Civil War”, The Institute of Regional Studies, Islamabad, 1997, pp.462-463

<sup>32</sup> Haraun Mir, “Afghanistan”, *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, Washington D. C., 2010, p.7

<sup>33</sup> Nabiha Gul, Post-9/11 Afghanistan and the Regional Security Scenario, *Pakistan Horizon*, Vol. 59, No. 1, January 2006, Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, p.45

stabilization of the governance system in this country.<sup>34</sup> With the overthrow of Taliban regime and the establishment of a new government under the Bonn Agreement of 05<sup>th</sup> of December 2001, the international community began a long-term commitment of rebuilding Afghanistan's infrastructure and economy.<sup>35</sup> The decision on the meeting of the *Loya Jirga* (The Grand Council) proved one of the significant moves of the Bonn Agreement as the *Loya Jirga* met after 23 years on 12<sup>th</sup> of June 2002.<sup>36</sup> After unveiling the Constitution for public comments on 04<sup>th</sup> of November 2003, the *Loya Jirga* approved the same in January 2004.<sup>37</sup> Afghanistan is now on the track of democracy. Her geo-strategic location holds significance for intra-regional, inter-regional as well as extra-regional states for trade, transit and energy supplies. The objectives of the Afghan government is to achieve internal stability, maintain cordial relations with the neighbours and other regional players, and act as a trade and transit route linking South and Central Asia as well as China with Iran and the rest of the Middle East.<sup>38</sup>

The fall of the Taliban government activated various powers to seek and promote their economic and political advantage in Afghanistan.<sup>39</sup> Geographically, the country has a strategic position to become a trade and business hub between the three strategic regions as well as China.<sup>40</sup> The concept of 'Greater Central Asia' is a vision of treating both the Central and South Asia as one integrated unit for enhancing the economic growth and prosperity.<sup>41</sup> The countries of both the regions have common concerns of exploring the sources for energy supplies, achieving peace and prosperity through economic cooperation and enhancing security & stability. Afghanistan is a land bridge connecting the Central Asian Republics with the huge markets of South

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<sup>34</sup> Jessica T. Mathews, "Through Their Eyes: Possibilities for a Regional Approach to Afghanistan", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, Washington D. C., No. 20036, 2010

<sup>35</sup> "Afghanistan's Other Neighbours: Iran, Central Asia, and China", *Istanbul Conference Report*, Turkey, February 2009, p.12

<sup>36</sup> Shameem Akhtar, "Loya Jirga Paves the Way", *The Dawn*, 20 June 2002

<sup>37</sup> Jessica T. Mathews, "Through Their Eyes: Possibilities for a Regional Approach to Afghanistan", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, Washington D. C., No. 20036, 2010

<sup>38</sup> Haraun Mir, "Afghanistan", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, Washington D. C., No.20036, 2010, p.8

<sup>39</sup> Mondira Dutta, "India-Afghanistan Relations: Opportunities and Challenges", *World Focus*, Vol. XXIX, No. 11-12, November-December 2008, p.412

<sup>40</sup> Andrew C. Kuchins, Thomas M. Sanderson, David A. Gordon, "Afghanistan: Building the Missing Link in the Modern Silk Road", *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 33, No. 2, 2010, p.34

<sup>41</sup> Vinod Anand, "Multi-Directional Policies of Central Asian Nations and India", *World Focus*, Vol. XXIX, No. 11-12, November-December, 2008, p.449



Asia. Her location is enough to say that the future prospects for increased economic cooperation are brighter. The country possesses huge mineral deposits estimated at US \$ 3 trillion.<sup>42</sup> Her mineral and hydrocarbon resources, agriculture and human resource potential, and geographical location could pave the way to move her from an aid-dependent to self-reliant economy.<sup>43</sup> However, the continuous instability in that country after a decade long presence of international forces, the resurgence of the Taliban since last few years and the US decision of troop's drawdown at this crucial stage has raised concerns about the future of the country as well as the security of the adjacent countries. The war torn nation is not in a capacity to hold full responsibility for her security, governance and development. The existing situation within the country is not favourable for regional peace and security in the near future. The country is still suffering from serious instability. Air strikes, bomb blasts, hunt for al Qaeda & Taliban elements, suicide attacks, kidnappings and killings have spoiled the developmental process.<sup>44</sup> Thus, the US decision of NATO exit has raised concerns for the international community and the regional countries.

Besides altering the state set-up in Afghanistan, the US-led war in 2001 also gave a new dimension to regional politics, peace and security. The activities of the international community in the post-9/11 phase “made Afghanistan alive in the global scenario, especially amongst Pakistan, Iran, Russia, China, United States and India as well”.<sup>45</sup> The common realization is that the country's security, stability and prosperity in military, political and economic spheres respectively depend on strengthening her ties with the neighbours. Afghanistan, perceived as gateway to the energy-rich Central Asia, holds strategic importance for India.<sup>46</sup> In the Post-9/11 era, India intensified the efforts to re-establish her influence in that country. The relations between the two nations have moved from the tradition of historical and cultural ties to the

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<sup>42</sup> Rajen Singh Laishram, “India's Afghanistan Policy: Beyond Bilateralism”, *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.774

<sup>43</sup> “Afghanistan's Other Neighbours: Iran, Central Asia, and China”, *Istanbul Conference Report*, Turkey, February 2009, p.3

<sup>44</sup> Nabih Gul, Post-9/11 Afghanistan and the Regional Security Scenario, *Pakistan Horizon*, Vol. 59, No. 1, January 2006, Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, p.46

<sup>45</sup> Mondira Dutta, “India-Afghanistan Relations: Opportunities and Challenges”, *World Focus*, Vol. XXIX, No. 11-12, November-December 2008, p.412

<sup>46</sup> Tridib Chakraborti, “India's Relations with South Asia in 2010: A Journey of Crests and Troughs”, *World Focus*, Vol. XXXI, No. 11-12, November-December 2010, p.516

development partnerships.<sup>47</sup> As expressed by India's former Foreign Secretary Nirupama Rao, "*India is engaged in developmental and humanitarian work to assist the Afghan people as they build a peaceful, stable, inclusive, democratic and pluralistic Afghanistan....*"<sup>48</sup> India has contributed to the reconstruction of this country in all sectors and has pledged the assistance worth US \$ 2 billion to rebuild the war torn nation. India's geo-strategic interests require a peaceful, stable, democratic and friendly Afghanistan. However, the challenges in this war torn country have become more complex with the re-emergence of Taliban and the return of Pakistan factor in Afghan politics. The worries have increased with the US-led NATO troops preparing to withdraw. The ongoing debate among the policy makers is that what should be and how to design 'India's Post-2014 Afghan Policy'.<sup>49</sup> In this regard, the study focuses Indo-Afghan relations in a historical context to analyse various dimensions to sort out a solution for India's future options in Afghanistan.

### 1.3 Methodology

The study refers to a number of interrelated topics and questions as its objectives involved the scrutiny of geo-strategic significance of Afghanistan, historical perspective of Indo-Afghan relations with a focus on developments since 9/11, the opportunities, interests and challenges for India with a special focus on Pakistan factor. Thus, as per the requirements of the study both qualitative and quantitative methods found a significant space. The bulk of study based on the analysis of documents, books, journals, periodicals and scholarly papers, both online and offline substantiates that secondary sources form the very base with the support of accessible primary data in the form of official documents and statements. The textual interpretation or content analysis employed as a research tool substantiates the objectivity and subjectivity of the methodology to complete the task. The study has addressed the research questions and objectives in four chapters to reach the conclusion and map out valuable suggestions.

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<sup>47</sup> Rajen Singh Laishram, "India's Afghanistan Policy: Beyond Bilateralism", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.778

<sup>48</sup> "Reaching Out to Afghanistan", Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, April 10, 2011, p.2, accessible at: [www.mea.gov.in](http://www.mea.gov.in), accessed on November 21, 2012, at 22:17

<sup>49</sup> Vishal Chandra, "Growing Afghan Uncertainty and India's Options", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 06, June 2011, p.379

### 1.4 Review of Literature

The competence of the study lies with revisiting a bulk of literature available in the form of books, articles, journals, magazines etc. A description of few books and research papers consulted is as following:

*The Anatomy of a Conflict: Afghanistan & 9/11*, (ed.), by Anand Giridharadas, Ajai Shukla, Rahimullah Yusufzai, John Jennings, Dr. Rifaat Hussain, J. N. Dixit & Julie Sirris, The Lotus Collection, New Delhi, 2002

The book covers the wide dimensions of Afghan problem and its consequences for the whole region. The authors also discuss the role of international community to address the problems in Afghanistan. It deals the civil war and Taliban rule in Afghanistan during 1990s. It also provides a significant account of the foreign policies of neighbouring countries, particularly Pakistan, towards Afghanistan. The book also highlights the obstacles on the way to address Afghan problem. J.N. Dixit's paper entitled "The Political and Economic Reconstruction of Afghanistan" in this book has explored the role of external factors, including India, in rebuilding Afghanistan. Dr. Rifaat Husain's paper under the title "Pakistan's Afghan Policy" highlights India as the main motivating force behind Pakistan's policy towards Afghanistan. The paper also points out the intention of Pakistan to engage Afghanistan against India's interests. However, the process of reconstructing Afghanistan and India's exertion in it deserves a coherent and encyclopaedic examination. There is also the requirement to explore in a systematic way the attempts of Pakistan in underestimating India's influence in Afghanistan. There is also the need to examine India's response to such activities of Pakistan that forms the crux of this study.

*The Foreign Policy of Pakistan: Kashmir, Afghanistan and Internal Security Threats (1947-2004)*, by Musa Khan Jalalzi, Ariana Publications, Lahore, 2003

Providing an overview of the foreign policy of Pakistan, the book has focused the simultaneous influence of state and religion on it. After a deep analysis of the foreign policy of Pakistan, the book specifically focuses her Afghan policy, particularly since the General Zia-ul-Haq's regime. Highlighting the role of Pakistan in Afghan affairs under the influence and guidance of the US, it deals with the negative repercussions of all this on the state of Pakistan. It also provides a significant deliberation on the

policy of Pakistan vis-à-vis India. It gives an insight to the cross-border terrorism while focusing the Kashmir issue between India and Pakistan. It also deals with the militant groups and their stand in Pakistan's foreign policy as Harkatul Mujahideen (HM) & Lashker-e-Taiba (LeT). The post-Cold war and the nuclear status of Pakistan also found an important space in this book. Touching this aspect, the book highlights the role of Pakistan towards India and Afghanistan. The book focuses the interests of Pakistan to use Afghanistan as her backyard and influence the policies of Taliban regime. However, it does not deal the nature of Pakistan's policy vis-à-vis India and her presence in Afghanistan since 9/11. Thus, it lacks the main aspect of Indo-Pak rivalry since 9/11 and Pakistan's perception and response to the involvement of India in Afghanistan.

***The Afghan War and its Geopolitical Implications for India***, (ed.), by Salman Haider, Manohar Publishers & Distributors, New Delhi, 2004

The book highlights the nature of Afghan problem and the struggle for building the nation of Afghanistan. It also focuses the policy of the United States towards Afghanistan and the response of regional countries to the US presence in Afghanistan. It analyses deeply the impact of the US involvement on the social, political and economic aspects of the region. The book highlights the common concerns of India and the US that led them to enhance their relations. It also provides a detailed description of the opportunities and role for India in the changed circumstances since the event of 9/11 and the US involvement in the region. It provides a significant account of the interests of India in Afghanistan as well as in the whole region. The book is worth of acknowledgment in putting forth the challenges for India remaining engaged with Afghanistan. However, the developments and changes since the resurgence of Taliban deserve a factual analysis to examine India's new and growing challenges.

***The New Afghanistan: Pawn of America?***, by Major General Samay Ram, Manas Publications, New Delhi, 2004

The book has focused the geo-strategic significance of Afghanistan. It also dealt the nature of Afghan conflict in its historical context. It presents the ideology and highlights the role of some important nation-states in the rise of Taliban. It touches

the various dimensions of US-led war under the ‘Operation Enduring Freedom’. It also discusses the role of International Security Assistance Forces in Afghanistan since their inception. It gives an insight of the government and administration in Afghanistan since 9/11. It also highlights the consequences of Afghan war on Pakistan. Besides it, the book provides a significant account of the involvement of India in Afghanistan as well as her response to the terrorism since 9/11. The book has also focused the potential of Taliban as well as their resurgence. However, Pakistan’s comeback in Afghan politics has again changed the circumstances and it becomes necessary to analyse the challenges for India posed by the resurgence of Taliban and Pakistan’s strategic designs as a response to it.

*Afghanistan: Dynamics of Survival*, by Jagmohan Meher, Kalpaz Publications, Delhi, 2008

The book deals with Afghanistan in a historical perspective while focusing the interests of external powers in this country since her inception. It provides an insight into the British-Russian rivalry and ‘The Great Game’. It also focuses the three Anglo-Afghan Wars and the interests behind them. It touches the modern state of nature in Afghanistan. While describing the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, it highlights the role of Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and the United States. It deals with the civil war during 1990s and the rise of Taliban as its product. The book, while analysing the post-9/11 situation in Afghanistan, highlights the consequences of the US intervention in South & Central Asia. It also provides a significant account of the stakes of India in Afghanistan and in the whole region. However, the book has not dealt the new issues and challenges in Afghanistan that has severe consequences for the whole region. It also falls short of the new undercurrents for India in her involvement in Afghanistan. It has not focused the challenges for the region in general and India in particular with the strong comeback of Taliban.

*Descent into Chaos: The U.S. and the Disaster in Pakistan, Afghanistan and Central Asia*, by Ahmed Rashid, Penguin Books, New York, 2009

The book highlights the significance of Central & South Asia and the interests of world nations in this region, particularly after the end of Cold war. It describes the region as the most volatile because of its strategic position and wealth. It also

highlights the situation of this region since last twenty years. It significantly focuses the recent state of nature in Pakistan and Afghanistan. It described Taliban as the product of direct consequence of the activities of warlords. Describing the agenda of Taliban as to restore peace, disarm the population, enforce Sharia law and defend Islam in Afghanistan, the book highlights their definition of Sharia influenced by extremism that led them to come under the jihad philosophy of al Qaeda. The book provides an insight to the nexus between Islamic extremists and Pakistan army because of the Kashmir issue. It also held the Pakistan Army responsible for encouraging the youngsters of Pakistan to fight in the insurgency movement in Kashmir. However, the book falls short in highlighting the core issue of India's involvement in Afghanistan since 9/11 and the response of Pakistan to it. The book did not provide any sign of Indo-Pak conflict now reaching Afghanistan India has faced severe and deadly attacks on her projects and personnel working in Afghanistan.

*Pakistan on the Brink: The Future of Pakistan, Afghanistan and the West*, by Ahmed Rashid, Penguin Group, New York, 2012

The book focuses the recent events in Pakistan and their connection to the rest of the world. Analysing the whole region, it presents a critical look of whatever is happening in Pakistan. It highlights the core issues surrounding Pakistan's political, military, security and international positions. The book describes Pakistan as the most fragile place in the world, most unstable country, and most vulnerable to terrorist violence sliding down to the path of becoming a failed state. It raises two core issues to address i.e. the role of the US in the region and Pakistan's lack of self-sufficiency. The book simultaneously praises and criticizes the US role in the region. It describes Pakistan insufficient to meet requirements without the aid from the west and other international institutions as World Bank and International Monetary Fund. The book describes the Government in Pakistan as weak and provides a pessimistic vision regarding the solution of the conflicts between Pakistan and her neighbours. The book while presenting the interconnectedness of Afghanistan and Pakistan pretends the future of the region moving towards greater conflicts and contradictions. However, the book has concentrated only the US role in the future of region in general and Pakistan and

Afghanistan in particular. It ignores the regional potential to meet the problems. It also ignored the consequences of NATO exit and Taliban resurgence overall the region. It also falls short to cover the strategic designs of Pakistan to map out new arrangements in Afghanistan to reconcile the terrorist groups in the mainstream politics. It also ignored the potential gains in the vision of Pakistan's policy makers while reconciling Haqqani Network and Taliban in the Afghan politics. Thus, the study attempts to fill the gap while addressing the designs of Pakistan to frame the future of Afghanistan to ensure her own secure future.

**“India-Afghanistan Relations: Opportunities and Challenges”**, by Dr. Mondira Dutta, *World Focus*, Vol. XXIX, No. 11-12, November-December 2008

The paper deals with the geo-strategic location of Afghanistan and her significance for the regions adjacent. It provides an insight how Afghanistan became live in global scenario, particularly amongst Pakistan, Iran, Russia, China, the United States and India in post-9/11 era. It highlights the role India has played in reconstructing Afghanistan since 9/11. It presents a wide description of India's interests, opportunities and challenges in Afghanistan. It deals with the socio-economic and security aspects of Indio-Afghan engagements. It provides a significant overview of the security risks for India in Afghanistan taking into consideration the attacks, kidnappings and killings of Indian workers since the resurgence of Taliban. It also deals with the implications of Indo-Afghan relations in a global context. The paper focuses India's efforts to reduce her dependence on Pakistan to reach Afghanistan and Central Asia. However, some other issues are also significant in Indo-Afghan relations that have necessitated the elaboration of the dimensions touched by this paper. These include Pakistan's comeback in Afghan affairs, the US troop's withdrawal, the Taliban reconciliation process etc. These changing circumstances have posed new challenges for India's Afghan policy and the study attempts to focus these new dimensions.

**“US Withdrawal from Afghanistan and Pakistan's Strategy”**, *Centre for Public Policy & Governance*, Forman Christian College, Lahore, Policy Brief No. 04, August 2011

The Centre for Public policy & Governance held a daylong policy dialogue on 28<sup>th</sup> of July 2011. The policy brief discussed Pakistan's Afghan policy and Counter Terrorism & Counter Extremism Strategies in the light of US withdrawal from Afghanistan. A broad consensus emerged that Pakistan's Strategic Depth strategy needs revisiting as it has resulted in militarization and radicalization of Afghan society. It also agreed that the state of Pakistan has provided institutional patronage to the militant organizations. Taking into consideration the significance of Pakistan in Afghan issue, it suggested that Pakistan should facilitate peace process rather than try to monopolize it. Acknowledging India's regional power status, better governance than Pakistan and robust economy, the policy brief held that Pakistan's policy of confrontation with India was misplaced. It suggests that Pakistan's Afghan Policy needs to be flexible and accommodative towards India's interests in Pakistan. It also presents a consensus that Pakistan needs to come out of her conspiracy theories and blaming others, and start assessing the situation according to the changing realities. It also suggests that the government of Pakistan needs to frame comprehensive policies against extremism and terrorism, and act honestly against this. However, it has not provided any space for India's role in the future of Afghanistan as well as the region. It has ignored the contribution of India to the reconstruction process in Afghanistan and the goodwill India has won in that country. It has also ignored the designs of Pakistan to involve the Haqqani Network in the Afghan national reconciliation process. Thus, the study attempts to fill this gap.

**“Prospects for Indian-Pakistani Cooperation in Afghanistan”**, A report of the CSIS Program on Crisis, Conflict and Cooperation, by Sadika Hameed, *Centre for Strategic and International Studies*, Washington DC, 2012

The report presents the views of different persons regarding the India-Pakistan-Afghanistan cooperation for their interests. It first discusses the bilateral relations between Afghanistan & Pakistan, Pakistan & India and India & Pakistan. Then it explores the mutual benefits for the three nations at trilateral forum. It scrutinizes the economic benefits for these nations while securing energy sources and gas reserves from Central Asia. Besides it, the report focuses the enhancement of trade relations that will benefit India & Pakistan to have access to cheaper goods and increase



employment. It focuses the requirement of this trilateral partnership to address security risks as illegal trade of narcotics, organized crime and terrorism. Thus, the report largely seeks to explore the areas of cooperation for India and Pakistan, particularly in Afghanistan. It goes to the extent of suggesting that security agreements between India & Pakistan is possible to address terrorism, enhance the capacity of Afghan National Security Forces and stabilize Afghanistan. However, there are some diverge interests of India and Pakistan in Afghanistan. There are also some reports suggesting the role of Pakistan's intelligence agencies against the interests of India in Afghan soil. India has also lost some significant work force in deadly attacks during the process of reconstructing Afghanistan. There is also suspicion regarding the designs of Pakistan for installing the regime in Afghanistan that will serve her strategic depth against India. Thus, besides the optimistic approach, there is requirement of being cautious regarding the activities of Pakistan in Afghanistan. The study attempts to address this aspect also.

**“India’s Afghan Journey: Where from Here?”**, By Attar Rabbani, *Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 20, Issue-1, 2013

The paper presents the changing circumstances in the South Asian region since 9/11 and India's opportunities to engage her in the US-led war in Afghanistan. It presents a detailed and comprehensive part regarding the interests of India in Afghanistan including terrorism, nexus of militant outfits and India's concerns, Afghanistan as a transit route between the regions and India's desire to access the energy resources of Central Asia etc. The paper also presents the challenges for India in the form of Taliban resurgence, Pakistan's comeback in Afghan affairs, US withdrawal and China's involvement. It then focuses the concerns of India vis-à-vis Pak designs of using Afghanistan as her Strategic depth. It also visualizes policy-deficit on the part of India to deal Pakistan and address the issue of instability in South Asia. However, India's policies since last decade are worth of appreciation. The intra-regional and inter-regional economic integration designs of India aim at the peace, prosperity, development and stability of the region. The larger part of India's Afghan policy also includes the desire to integrate South Asia with the Central and West Asia while re-

building Afghanistan as a transit route. Thus, the study attempts to deal this aspect also.

Besides it, the study involves the analysis of other significant books, research papers, reports and policy briefs of international and national nature.

## ***Chapter 2***

# **India's Engagements with Afghanistan: Brief Historical Perspective**

The geo-strategic and geo-economic significance of Afghanistan lies with her location as positioned between the three important regions of South, Central and West Asia. The significance of this country for the South Asian region in general and India in particular has increased with her addition to the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). The shift in India's Foreign Policy necessitated by the process of globalization, economic liberalization, security threats in the form of religious extremism and terrorism, energy requirements, and extended neighbourhood orientations has placed Afghanistan at the centre. India believes in a democratic, stable and peaceful Afghanistan essential not only for the regional but also for the global security, development as well as peace. For this reason, India has pledged more than US \$2 billion since the overthrow of Taliban regime in Afghanistan. However, before analysing the Indo-Afghan relations since 9/11, it is essential to have a brief description of their relations in a historical context.

### **2.1 India-Afghanistan Relations: Pre-1947 Period**

India and Afghanistan share strong historical and cultural bondages.<sup>1</sup> The socio-cultural and geographical dimensions reflect the long legacy of the close ties between the two nations. Historians, while describing the long background of their relationship to four thousand years or beyond it, are of the opinion that people of the two countries represent joint cultural relations among the world nations.<sup>2</sup> Dated back to the Ancient Hindu Kingdoms<sup>3</sup> that were existent during the conquest of Alexander the Great<sup>4</sup>, the historical and .cultural legacy of Indo-Afghan relations is evident with the fact that

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<sup>1</sup> Latha A. Pandit, "India and Her Neighbours: Changing Perceptions", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 06, June 2011, p.342

<sup>2</sup> Farida Nekzad, "Indo-Afghan Cultural, Historic Relations", *Foreign Policy Research Centre*, No. 07, p.120

<sup>3</sup> The ancient Indian literature as Vedas, Mahabharata, Ramayana and Puranas mentioned the Ancient Indian Kingdoms. All these kingdoms are located in the Indian Sub-Continent, comprising the modern- day countries of India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka. Some of the kingdoms are also partly in neighbouring countries of China, Iran and the Central Asian Republics

<sup>4</sup> Alexander III of Macedon (356-323 BC) commonly known as Alexander the Great, was a king of Macedon, a state in northern ancient Greece. He was born in 356 BC and tutored by Aristotle until the age of 16. By the age of 30, he had carried one of the largest empires of the ancient world, stretching from the Ionian Sea to the Himaliyas.

after Alexander moved back, Chandragupta Maurya<sup>5</sup> focused the north-western India (present-day Pakistan and Afghanistan) and defeated Satrapies<sup>6</sup> left in place by Alexander.<sup>7</sup> Historically, from Alexander the Great to Central Asian Turks to Mughals,<sup>8</sup> Afghanistan remained a route for almost every military journey into India. From the cultural point of view, the country also served as a gateway for the spread of Buddhism and Sufi Islam; the Arab-India exchanges of knowledge; and the arts and aesthetics of Greek and Persia.<sup>9</sup> The ruling empires of India, Iran and Central Asia always found her as a borderland region. The territory of Afghanistan as captured by Chandragupta Maurya from the Greeks in 305 BC by defeating Seleucus,<sup>10</sup> latter expanded into present-day Kabul, Kandahar and Gazni.<sup>11</sup> During the Empire of Asoka,<sup>12</sup> the country as a centre of Buddhist art and culture became a part of the Indian empire.<sup>13</sup> The Buddhist influence in the region is evident by the presence of Bamiyan Buddha monuments<sup>14</sup> in that country destroyed by the Taliban in 2001.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Chandragupta Maurya was the founder of the Mauryan Empire and the first emperor to unify India into one state. He ruled from 322 to 298 BC. He succeeded in conquering and subjugating almost the entire Indian subcontinent by the end of his reign. His empire extended from Bengal and Assam in the east, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, east and southeast Iran in the west, Kashmir in the north to the Deccan Plateau in the south

<sup>6</sup> Alexander the Great left behind the Satrapies when he returned westwards. In 305 BC, Chandragupta Maurya led a series of campaigns to retake the Satrapies. Seleucus I Nicator fought to defend these territories, but both sides made peace in 303 BC. The treaty ended the Seleucid–Mauryan war and allowed Chandragupta to control these regions

<sup>7</sup> V. Chandrasekaran, “Afghanistan: India’s Interests”, *Defence and Diplomacy*, Vol. 01, No. 01, October 2011, p.74

<sup>8</sup> The Mughal Empire was an imperial power in the Indian subcontinent from about 1526 to 1707 (though it lingered for another century). The Mughals were Muslims and at the height of their power in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. They controlled most of the subcontinent extending from Bengal in the east to Balochistan in the west, Kashmir in the north to the Kaveri basin in the south. The last emperor, Bahadur Shah II had authority over only the city of Shah Jahanabad. He supported the Indian Rebellion of 1857 and was overthrown by the British, and the last remnants of the empire were taken over by the British Raj

<sup>9</sup> Gautam Mukhopadhyaya, “India”, *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, Washington D. C., 2010, p.28

<sup>10</sup> Seleucus himself was one of the Macedonians who started his military career as a young man and became a senior officer in Alexander’s staff by 326 BC. Along with some of his fellows in the empire carved by Alexander the Great, he crossed the Hydaspes River in the Indian subcontinent. In 324 BC, Seleucus was among those Alexander required to marry Iranian princesses

<sup>11</sup> D Choudhury, “India-Afghanistan: Strategic Stakes”, *Royal College of Defence Studies*, July 2011, pp.04-05

<sup>12</sup> Ashoka Maurya (304-232 BC) commonly known as Ashoka the Great was an Indian emperor of Maurya Dynasty who ruled almost the entire Indian subcontinent from 269 to 232 BC. His empire stretched from the Hindu Kush Mountains in Afghanistan to present-day Bangladesh and the Indian state of Assam in the east, and northern Kerala and Andhra Pradesh in the south

<sup>13</sup> Stephen Tanner, *Afghanistan*, USA, 2002, pp.56-57

<sup>14</sup> The Buddhas of Bamiyan were 6th century monumental statues of standing Buddha carved into the side of a cliff in the Bamiyan valley in the Hazarajat region of central Afghanistan, 230 km

Kabul, since the first century, was the regional trade centre for the export of goods and other Indian services to east and west. With this trade, India's culture also spread to other regions through the same route.<sup>16</sup> Mahmud of Ghazni<sup>17</sup> invaded India seventeen times between 1001 and 1027 followed by Mohammed Ghori's<sup>18</sup> seven invasions.<sup>19</sup> Sultan Mahmood Ghaznavi also invaded to promote the Islamic religion. Dari language became popular in her Punjab and northern parts during the same period. The reign of Sultan Mahmood Ghaznavi also used her people as employees and deployed her troops in the Ghazni forces.<sup>20</sup>

The relations between the two countries improved further during the reign of Ghorids<sup>21</sup> who took power in India after the Ghaznavi Empire. A large number of scientific personalities left Khurasan (then name of Afghanistan) to live here. The culture of India influenced the great Afghan personalities such as Rahman Baba,<sup>22</sup>

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northwest of Kabul at an altitude of 2,500 meters. However, Taliban dynamited and destroyed these monuments in March 2001 after declaring them as idols. International opinion strongly condemned the destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas

<sup>15</sup> D Choudhury, "India-Afghanistan: Strategic Stakes", *Royal College of Defence Studies*, July 2011, p.05

<sup>16</sup> Farida Nekzad, "Indo-Afghan Cultural, Historic Relations", *Foreign Policy Research Centre*, No. 07, p.121

<sup>17</sup> Yamin ad-Dawlah Abdul-Qasim Mahmud Ibn Sebuktegin (971-1030), commonly known as Mahmud of Ghazni, was the most prominent ruler of the Ghaznavid Empire. In the name of Islam, he conquered the eastern Iranian lands and the northwestern Indian subcontinent from 997 to his death in 1030. Mahmud turned the former provincial city of Ghazna into the wealthy capital of an extensive empire that covered most of today's Afghanistan, eastern Iran, Pakistan and north-western India

<sup>18</sup> Sultan Shahab-ud-din Muhammad Ghori (1150-1206) also called as Muhammad of Ghori, was one of the rulers of the Ghurid dynasty from the famous house of Sur who were rulers of Ghor for five hundred years. He has the credit of laying the foundation of Muslim domination in India that lasted for several centuries. He reigned over a territory spanning present-day Afghanistan, Pakistan and northern India

<sup>19</sup> Robert Boggs, "India's Afghan Policy: Time for a Defensive Re-Calibration", *Foreign Policy Research Centre*, No. 07, p.29

<sup>20</sup> Farida Nekzad, "Indo-Afghan Cultural, Historic Relations", *Foreign Policy Research Centre*, No. 07, p.122

<sup>21</sup> The Ghurids or Ghorids were a Sunni Muslim dynasty, possibly Afghan or eastern Iranian Tajiks, who established rule over parts of modern day Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan, and northern India from 1148 to 1215. The dynasty succeeded the Ghaznavid Empire and expanded Muslim rule deeper into Hindustan. The Ghorid Empire centred in present-day Ghor province of Afghanistan

<sup>22</sup> Abdul Rahman, commonly known as Rahman Baba, born in the high hills of Afghanistan, was a great poet in the history of Pashto literature. He had a deep passion for God and a unique and creative way of praying to God through the gift he had i.e. poetry. Rahman Baba published two books from his collections of poetry. People admired his work, from Afghanistan to Central Asia to the Indian Subcontinent. Everyone wanted his books, be it for political, religious or other interests and desires. Due to his popularity, Afghans gave him an honourable name "Baba" (Grandfather of the nation)

Pir-e-Roshan<sup>23</sup> and Khoshhal Khan<sup>24</sup> whose works developed the Pashto literature during the tenth and eleventh century.<sup>25</sup> Northern India during the fifteenth and early part of sixteenth century witnessed the rule of Lodi dynasty<sup>26</sup> of Pashtuns from Delhi.<sup>27</sup> During the sixteenth century, the literature of Dari Farsi found its way in different parts of India. The period also witnessed the spread of Islamic religion, Islamic Sophism, Khurasani (Afghan) masonry and other cultural phenomenon. People from Afghanistan frequenting India to sell their goods and dry fruits were common to observe.<sup>28</sup> Afghanistan, besides the trade transit, also experienced the Indian culture and sciences.<sup>29</sup> The great Mughul's also descended from Kabul and Khandahar to rule from Agra and Delhi from 1526 to 1707.<sup>30</sup> The period between the sixth to eighteenth centuries witnessed the cultural merge of the two countries in different fields with intellectual and cultural exchanges. Indian empires have ruled the region over 650 years<sup>31</sup> and no other nation has been able to rule this region in the following period. During the British rule of Indian subcontinent, the region appeared

<sup>23</sup> Bayazid Khan, popularly known as Pir-e-Roshan, was a Pashtu warrior poet and intellectual of the Barak/Urmar (known in present day as Burkhi) tribe who wrote in Pashto, Persia and Arabic. He was born just outside Jullundur (Punjab) but early in his childhood, his father moved the family back to Kaniguram, the Burki heartland in today's South Waziristan. He was the first Pushtun to lead a major insurgency against the Mughal emperor Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar. He started the insurgency movement from his base in Kaniguram known as Roshaniya (enlightened) movement, carried on against the emperor's troops by his children and then grandchildren. The Roshaniya movement spanned almost a century (1560–1638)

<sup>24</sup> Khushal Khan Khattak (1613-1689), also called Khushal Baba, was a Pashtun poet, warrior and scholar, and chief of the Khattak tribe of the Pashtuns. He preached the union of all Pashtuns, and encouraged revolt against the Mughal Empire promoting Pashtun nationalism through poetry. Khushal is the first Afghan mentor who presents his theories for the unity of the Afghan tribes against foreign forces and the creation of a nation-state. He wrote many works in Pashto and Persia and became the national poet of Afghanistan

<sup>25</sup> Farida Nekzad, "Indo-Afghan Cultural, Historic Relations", *Foreign Policy Research Centre*, No. 07, p.121

<sup>26</sup> Lodi dynasty made of an Afghan tribe (Pashtun People) ruled northern India from 1451 to 1526. Bahlul Khan Lodi was the founder of Lodi dynasty when he replaced the Sayyid Dynasty. However, the dynasty ended after Babur defeated Ibrahim Lodi in the Battle of Panipat in 1526

<sup>27</sup> Robert Boggs, "India's Afghan Policy: Time for a Defensive Re-Calibration", *Foreign Policy Research Centre*, No. 07, p.29

<sup>28</sup> Mondira Dutta, "India-Afghanistan Relations: Opportunities and Challenges", *World Focus*, Vol. XXIX, No. 11-12, November-December 2008, p.412

<sup>29</sup> Farida Nekzad, "Indo-Afghan Cultural, Historic Relations", *Foreign Policy Research Centre*, No. 07, p.122

<sup>30</sup> Rort Boggs, "India's Afghan Policy: Time for a Defensive Re-Calibration", *Foreign Policy Research Centre*, No. 07, p.30

<sup>31</sup> Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans: 500 BC - 1957 AD*, London, 1958, p.450

as a playing field of the Great Game<sup>32</sup> between imperialist British and Czarist Russia.<sup>33</sup> The Anglo-Afghan wars<sup>34</sup> during the nineteenth century led a number of Afghan singers and artists to left for India. During the First World War, Amir Habibullah<sup>35</sup> of Afghanistan accepted the proposal of India to cooperate after his declaration of Jihad against Britons. Besides it, Raja Mahandara Partabh,<sup>36</sup> who was in exile, established an Indian interim administration in Kabul. In addition to this, a number of Indian teachers were engaged in the Habibia High School by the approval of the Afghan king that further encouraged the relations between the two neighbours.<sup>37</sup> The Cultural mix between their people was so intense that a good number of Indians resort to poetry in Dari language. Nevertheless, the poets of

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<sup>32</sup> The Great Game was a term for the strategic rivalry and conflict between the British Empire and the Russian Empire for supremacy in Central Asia. The classic Great Game period generally regarded as running approximately from the Russo-Persian Treaty of 1813 to the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, with a less intensive phase followed the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. Arthur Conolly, an intelligence officer of the British East India Company's (Sixth) Bengal Light Cavalry, attributes the term "The Great Game". However, it was British novelist Rudyard Kipling who in his novel *Kim* (1901) introduced this term into the mainstream consciousness

<sup>33</sup> D Choudhury, "India-Afghanistan: Strategic Stakes", *Royal College of Defence Studies*, July 2011, p.05

<sup>34</sup> The First Anglo-Afghan War took place between the British East India Company and Afghanistan from 1839 to 1842. It resulted in the deaths of 4,500 British and Indian soldiers, besides 12,000 of their camp followers by the warring Afghan tribal fighters. It was one of the first major conflicts during the Great Game. The Second Anglo-Afghan War fought 1878 to 1880. This was the second time British invaded Afghanistan. The war ended in the treaty of Gandamak after attaining all the British geopolitical objectives. Most of the British and Indian soldiers withdrew from Afghanistan. The Third Anglo-Afghan War (also referred to as the Third Afghan War) began on 06<sup>th</sup> of May 1919 and ended with an armistice on 08<sup>th</sup> of August 1919. It was a minor tactical victory for the British. This reaffirmed the Durand Line as the political boundary between the Emirate of Afghanistan and British India and the Afghans agreed not to foment trouble on the British side. In the aftermath, the Afghans were able to resume the right to conduct their own foreign affairs as a fully independent state

<sup>35</sup> Habibullah Khan (1872-1919) was the Amir of Afghanistan from 1901 to 1919. He was born in Samarkand, Uzbekistan. Habibullah was a relatively secular, reform-minded ruler who attempted to modernize his country. During his reign, he worked to bring Western medicine and other technology to Afghanistan. In 1904, Habibullah founded the Habibia School as well as a military academy. He also worked to put in place progressive reforms in his country. He instituted various legal reforms and repealed many of the harshest criminal penalties. He greatly reduced tensions with British India and signed a treaty of friendship in 1905, besides paying an official state visit in 1907

<sup>36</sup> Raja Mahendra Pratap Singh (1886-1979), popularly known as Aryan Peshwa, was a Hindu freedom fighter, journalist, writer, Marxist revolutionary and social reformist of India. On December 01, 1915 during the First World War, Pratap Singh established the first Provisional Government of India at Kabul in Afghanistan as a Muslim government-in-exile of Free Hindustan, with himself as President, Maulvi Barkatullah as Prime Minister, and Maulvi Abaidullah Sindhi as Home Minister, declaring Jihad on the British. Due to his revolutionary ideas, Pratap had a good relationship with Lenin, who invited him to Russia after her liberation and welcomed him

<sup>37</sup> Farida Nekzad, "Indo-Afghan Cultural, Historic Relations", *Foreign Policy Research Centre*, No. 07, p.122



Afghanistan had cherished the people and nature of India. For instance, Amir Khusrow<sup>38</sup> called India as his motherland and restful heaven. He believed that the songs and music of India were unique all over the world. Praising the diligence of Indian woman he sung, “*The way to love; you should learn from Hindu, Being torched alive in the fire is not easy*”.<sup>39</sup>

The modern ties between the two countries go back to the anti-colonial movements in India during the early phase of the twentieth century. During this period, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan,<sup>40</sup> a Pashtun spiritual and political leader, formed an alliance with Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian National Congress (INC). Khan (also called as ‘Frontier Gandhi’) led the movement of ‘Khudai-Khidmatgar’ against the British in India.<sup>41</sup> During the same period, the traders of Afghanistan were most popular in India and strengthened the already established cultural contacts. At the time of the Partition of India, people of the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) refused to join Pakistan because of their being predominantly Pashtuns.<sup>42</sup> The legacy of Khan Abdul Ghaffar

<sup>38</sup> Abul Hasan Yamin ud-Din Khusrow (1253-1325), commonly known as Amir Khusrow, was an Indian musician, scholar and poet. He was an iconic figure in the cultural history of the Indian subcontinent. A Sufi mystic and a spiritual disciple of Nizamuddin Auliya of Delhi, Amir Khusrow was not only a notable poet but also a prolific and seminal musician. He wrote poetry primarily in Persian. Besides the father of qawwali (the devotional music of the Sufis in the Indian subcontinent), he is also credited with enriching Hindustani classical music by introducing Persian and Arabic elements in it, and was the originator of the Khayal and Tarana styles of music

<sup>39</sup> Farida Nekzad, “Indo-Afghan Cultural, Historic Relations”, *Foreign Policy Research Centre*, No. 07, pp.122-23

<sup>40</sup> Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan (1890-1988), also known as, Fakh-e Afghan (and Frontier Gandhi by Indians) was born in Peshawar Valley of British India. He was a Pashtun political and spiritual leader, a lifelong pacifist and devout Muslim, known for his non-violent opposition to the British Raj in British India. In November 1929, Khan founded the Khudai-Khidmatgar (Servants of God) movement, whose success triggered a harsh crackdown by the British Empire against him and his supporters and they suffered some of the most severe repression of the Indian Independence Movement. He strongly opposed the All India Muslim League’s demand for the partition of India. However, after the partition, he pledged allegiance to Pakistan and demanded an autonomous ‘Pashtunistan’, an administrative unit within the country. Thus, the Pakistani government frequently arrested him between 1948 and 1954, and in 1956 for the opposition to the ‘One Unit’ scheme under which the government announced to merge the former provinces of West Punjab, Sindh, North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan into one administrative unit of West Pakistan. Khan also spent much of the 1960s and 1970s either in jail or in exile. In 1962, the Amnesty International named Khan as the ‘Prisoner of Conscience’ of the Year. In addition to the Nobel Prize for peace, he got Bharat Ratna in 1987. Khan died in 1988 in Peshawar and both the sides of the Afghan civil war declared a truce upon his death to allow his burial in Jalalabad, Afghanistan

<sup>41</sup> D Choudhury, “India-Afghanistan: Strategic Stakes”, *Royal College of Defence Studies*, July 2011, pp.05-06

<sup>42</sup> Subash Kapila, “Afghanistan: India has Legitimate Strategic Interests in its Stability”, *South Asia Analysis Group*, Paper 3149, p.44

Khan was to strengthen the relations between post-independent India and Afghanistan. The Pashtun issue between Afghanistan and Pakistan indirectly affected Indo-Afghan relations given the hostility between India and Pakistan and New Delhi's close ties with Kabul.<sup>43</sup>

## **2.2 India-Afghanistan Relations: 1947-1979**

The creation of Pakistan in 1947 separated the territory of India with that of Afghanistan. However, they maintained close relations and signed the 'Indo-Afghan Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation' in 1950.<sup>44</sup> Indian songs and films earned popularity amongst the people of Afghanistan and Indian movies became vital component of the Afghan culture. Afghan shawls and dry fruits continued to maintain their market in post-British India.<sup>45</sup> Based on Rabindranath Tagore's short story, Indian film "*Kabuliwallah*"<sup>46</sup> justifies the position of Pathan dry fruit sellers in the memories of Indian people. Another significant aspect of their relations in post-1947 period was the approach of the two towards the Cold war alliance systems. Both the superpowers (USA and USSR) invested heavily in Afghanistan during 1950s. However, Afghanistan remained a missing link to the anti-Soviet chain of the United States that ran from Europe to Pakistan via Turkey, Iraq and Iran.<sup>47</sup> The other missing link of the chain was India, which adopted the policy of Non-alignment to stay out of the Cold War rivalry.<sup>48</sup> This also brought India and Afghanistan closer to each other. However, the US arming of Pakistan and refusal to provide military assistance to Afghanistan pushed both the countries tilt towards USSR. In response to this, President Khrushchev of the Soviet Union agreed to reorganise the Afghan Army and provided economic aid over US \$ 2.25 billion up to 1979.<sup>49</sup> The increasing dependence of Afghanistan on the Soviet aid further enhanced the ties between India

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<sup>43</sup> Harsh Pant, "India's Challenge in Afghanistan: With Power Comes Responsibility", *Contemporary Readings in Law and Social Justice*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 2010, p.37

<sup>44</sup> Subash Kapila, "Afghanistan: India has Legitimate Strategic Interests in its Stability", *South Asia Analysis Group*, Paper 3149, p.44

<sup>45</sup> Ramesh Trivedi, *India's Relations with her Neighbours*, Delhi, 2008, p.78

<sup>46</sup> *Kabuliwala* is a 1961 Bollywood film based on a story '*Kabuliwala*' written by the Bengali writer Rabindrenath Tagore. Heman Gupta directed this film starring Balraj Sahni, Usha Kiran, Sajjan, Sonu and Baby Farida

<sup>47</sup> Stephen Tanner, *Afghanistan*, USA, 2002, p.226

<sup>48</sup> David M. Malone, *Does the Elephant Dance?*, New York, 2011, pp.45-46

<sup>49</sup> Stephen Tanner, *Afghanistan*, USA, 2002, p.226

and Afghanistan. During the same period, India signed various agreements with the governments in Afghanistan from Mohammad Daoud to Nur Mohamed Tarakki to enhance her influence and promote cooperation.<sup>50</sup> However, revolts broke out across the country due to the conflict between the pro-Communist and anti-Communist factions. These crises affected the relations between the two and the 'Indo-Afghan Joint Commission', signed in 1976 to facilitate economic and technical assistance programs became non-functional since 1978. These revolts also led to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979.

### **2.3 India-Afghanistan Relations: 1979-1989**

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan provided an opportunity for India to re-engage and enhance the bilateral relations.<sup>51</sup> However, at the same time, it was the first challenge to her foreign policy. The invasion put India in a difficult situation affecting her prestige and credibility at the international level, as it caught her position in between the NAM (Non-alignment Movement) of which it was a founding member and the friendship treaty signed by India with the USSR in 1971.<sup>52</sup> Despite this, the government of the time opposed the Soviet intervention and called for an immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops. The then Prime Minister, Charan Singh, expressed deep concern over the issue and summoned the Soviet Ambassador to make clear the position of country that the presence of the USSR troops in Afghanistan has adverse consequences for the entire region.<sup>53</sup> However, this stand was short lived and reversed when Indira Gandhi came back to power in 1980.<sup>54</sup> The shift is indicative with the fact that her Ambassador to the UNO, B.C. Mishra became the first non-Soviet bloc envoy to speak essentially for the Soviet position in the UN-General Assembly.<sup>55</sup> India chose to abstain on key UN resolutions calling for Soviet withdrawal from

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<sup>50</sup> Ramesh Trivedi, *India's Relations with her Neighbours*, Delhi, 2008, p.80

<sup>51</sup> Raghav Sharma, "India's Relations with Afghanistan", David Scott (Ed) *Handbook of India's International Relations*, London, 2011, p.107

<sup>52</sup> P. S. Ghosh, R. Panda, "Domestic Support for Mrs. Gandhi's Afghanistan Policy: The Soviet Factor in Indian Politics", *Asian Survey*, Vol. 23, No. 3, March 1983, p.261

<sup>53</sup> Robert C. Horn, "Afghanistan and the Soviet-Indian Influence Relationship", *Asian Survey*, Vol. 23, No. 3, March 1983, p.245

<sup>54</sup> S. Muni, "India's Afghan Policy Emerging from the Cold", K. Warikoo (Ed) *The Afghanistan Crisis: Issues and Perspectives*, New Delhi, 2002, p.335

<sup>55</sup> Robert C. Horn, "Afghanistan and the Soviet-Indian Influence Relationship", *Asian Survey*, Vol. 23, No. 3, March 1983, p.246

Afghanistan.<sup>56</sup> The country was among the first non-aligned nations to recognize the government in Afghanistan established after the Soviet invasion.<sup>57</sup> There were mainly four factors conditioning India's response to the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. First, Washington's economic aid, supply of sophisticated arms and F-16 fighter aircrafts to Pakistan; Second, Washington's rapprochement with Beijing in which Islamabad had played a key role; Third, a US naval build-up in the Indian Ocean region; Fourth, a fear of Mujahideen victory giving Pakistan clear strategic leverage in Afghanistan.<sup>58</sup>

India's concerns were borne out by the US National Security Adviser Brzezinski's proposal that "*Washington should work to reinforce the resilience against Soviet advances by providing more aid to Pakistan*" and that it should "*keep the Afghan issue alive by sustaining the resistance*".<sup>59</sup> Her concerns deepened with the US involvement in Afghan issue. As such, the CIA-ISI nexus moved Pakistan towards Islamic fundamentalism that in turn spread to Afghanistan.<sup>60</sup> The situation was more dangerous as it led to the arms race in the region. India took the move of arming Pakistan by the US as a threat.<sup>61</sup> This forced her to look the Soviet invasion in a different angle to suit her own interests. The country sought to enhance economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and for the first time secured oil from the USSR.<sup>62</sup> Soviet Union emerged as her major supplier of defence equipment and space technology.<sup>63</sup> India also increased her investments in Afghanistan for the development of industrial, irrigational and hydroelectric projects.<sup>64</sup> During the visit of Afghanistan's Foreign Minister Shah Mohammad Dost to New Delhi, Indira Gandhi expressed her willingness to reactivate the 'Indo-Afghan Joint Commission'. The first meeting of the Commission took place

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<sup>56</sup> Raghav Sharma, "India's Relations with Afghanistan", David Scott (Ed) *Handbook of India's International Relations*, London, 2011, p.108

<sup>57</sup> Dr Siegfried O. Wolf, "India-Afghanistan Relations: Towards a More Robust Engagement", *Foreign Policy Research Centre*, No. 09, 2012, p.157

<sup>58</sup> R. Horn, "Afghanistan and the Soviet-Indian Influence Relationship", *Asian Survey*, Vol. 23, No. 3, March 1983, pp.248–249

<sup>59</sup> Zbigniew Brzezinski, *The Game Plan*, New York, p.265

<sup>60</sup> Ramesh Trivedi, *India's Relations with her Neighbours*, Delhi, 2008, p.80

<sup>61</sup> Robert C. Horn, "Afghanistan and the Soviet-Indian Influence Relationship", *Asian Survey*, Vol. 23, No. 3, March 1983, p.245

<sup>62</sup> Robert W. Bradnock, "India's Foreign Policy since 1971", *Royal Institute of International Affairs*, 1990, p.105

<sup>63</sup> Raghav Sharma, "India's Relations with Afghanistan", David Scott (Ed) *Handbook of India's International Relations*, London, 2011, p.108

<sup>64</sup> Ramesh Trivedi, *India's Relations with her Neighbours*, Delhi, 2008, p.80

at Kabul in May 1982, and India agreed to increase the number of exports to Afghanistan.<sup>65</sup> Thus, New Delhi started a direct deal with Kabul and the Soviet Union praised her realistic approach towards Afghanistan.<sup>66</sup> However, India's official stand remained firm on the principal of non-intervention. Indira Gandhi, after a meeting with Britain's Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington, stated, “No country is justified in entering another country”.<sup>67</sup> She again justified her position in a by-election speech while reminding that Soviet troops were sent into Afghanistan “only after Pakistan started training the Afghan rebels and sending them in to topple the Government there....nevertheless, India was opposed to the USSR's presence and it had told that country so”.<sup>68</sup>

#### **2.4 India Afghanistan Relations: 1989-2001**

The withdrawal of Soviet Union led to the formation of Najibullah government in Kabul and India supported this regime. Within a short span of time, a coalition of Mujahideen forces headed by Burhanuddin Rabbani replaced the Najibullah government in 1992.<sup>69</sup> India remained active while providing humanitarian and technical assistance.<sup>70</sup> However, the factionalism in Rabbani government once again led to the crises and Afghanistan witnessed a barbaric civil war.<sup>71</sup> The civil war led to the rise of Taliban that replaced the Rabbani government in 1996. Relations between the two countries deteriorated after Taliban came to power in Afghanistan.<sup>72</sup> The Taliban rule was very antithetical to Indian interests<sup>73</sup> and led her to cut off all the

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<sup>65</sup> Robert C. Horn, “Afghanistan and the Soviet-Indian Influence Relationship”, *Asian Survey*, Vol. 23, No. 3, March 1983, p.257

<sup>66</sup> B. Chekhonin, “Soviet-Indian Friendship and Cooperation”, *International Affairs*, No. 5, May 1982, p.20

<sup>67</sup> Robert C. Horn, “Afghanistan and the Soviet-Indian Influence Relationship”, *Asian Survey*, Vol. 23, No. 3, March 1983, p.246

<sup>68</sup> R. Horn, “Afghanistan and the Soviet-Indian Influence Relationship”, *Asian Survey*, Vol. 23, No. 3, March 1983, pp.145–146

<sup>69</sup> Raghav Sharma, “India's Relations with Afghanistan”, David Scott (Ed) *Handbook of India's International Relations*, London, 2011, p.108

<sup>70</sup> Ramesh Trivedi, *India's Relations with her Neighbours*, Delhi, 2008, p.80

<sup>71</sup> Raghav Sharma, “India's Relations with Afghanistan”, in David Scott (Ed) *Handbook of India's International Relations*, London, 2011, p.108

<sup>72</sup> Mondira Dutta, “India-Afghanistan Relations: Opportunities and Challenges”, *World Focus*, Vol. XXIX, No. 11-12, November-December 2008, p.412

<sup>73</sup> Mahesh Ranjan Debata, “India's Policy towards Afghanistan”, *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December, 2011, p.802-803

relations with that country. India closed her Kabul Embassy in September 1996<sup>74</sup> and refused to recognize the Taliban government with the fear of Afghanistan's emergence under the extremist regime of Taliban as what Dr Najibullah said, 'a centre of world smuggling for narcotic drugs.... Afghanistan will turn into a centre for terrorism'.<sup>75</sup> Taliban's close links with Pakistan to use Afghan territory as a hub of anti-Indian militant activities further deteriorated the relations.<sup>76</sup> India believed that in cooperation with Pakistan, Taliban government allowed Kashmiri terrorists to train within the territory of Afghanistan.<sup>77</sup> Thus, the militant activities of Afghan Mujahedeen in Kashmir valley turned the Taliban as a security threat for India.<sup>78</sup> These years witnessed some 80,000 young men from the Madrassas of Pakistan who got training in Afghanistan and later participated in militant activities in the region including Afghanistan, Kashmir valley and Central Asian States.<sup>79</sup> Many militants arrested in Jammu & Kashmir either were from Afghanistan or have had training in that country.<sup>80</sup> The relations also witnessed a setback with the Kandahar Hijacking.<sup>81</sup> Five terrorists of Harkat-ul-Jihad-al-Islami (HUJI) hijacked the Indian Airlines flight IC 814 from Kathmandu and landed at Kandahar.<sup>82</sup> The Taliban regime supported the hijackers and prevented the Indian Commandos to take action against them.<sup>83</sup> This forced the Government of India to deal with the Taliban and the then External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh handed over three terrorists in exchange for 155 passengers

<sup>74</sup> Ramesh Trivedi, *India's Relations with her Neighbours*, Delhi, 2008, p.80

<sup>75</sup> V. Schofield, "Afghan Frontier: Feuding and Fighting in Central Asia", *London: Taurisparke*, 2003, p.322

<sup>76</sup> Siegfried O. Wolf, "India-Afghanistan Relations: Towards a More Robust Engagement", *Foreign Policy Research Centre*, No. 09, 2012, p.157

<sup>77</sup> John Diamond, "Taliban, al-Qaeda linked to Kashmir", *USA Today*, May 29, 2002

<sup>78</sup> Mondira Dutta, "India-Afghanistan Relations: Opportunities and Challenges", *World Focus*, Vol. XXIX, No. 11-12, November-December 2008, p.412

<sup>79</sup> Neamatollah Novjumi, *The Rise of the Taliban in Afghanistan*, New York, 2002, p.131

<sup>80</sup> Rajen Singh Laishram, "India's Afghanistan Policy: Beyond Bilateralism", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.775

<sup>81</sup> On 24<sup>th</sup> of December 1999, the terrorist group *HUJI* hijacked the Indian Airlines Flight 814 (CI 814) on a routine flight from Kathmandu to New Delhi, first to the north Indian city of Amritsar then from there to Lahore and thence to Dubai and finally landed in Kandahar. Taliban government refused to allow India to use force against the hijackers and eventually moved to protect them. After protracted negotiations with India, which led to the release of three imprisoned terrorists, (Masood Azhar, Mushtaq Ahmed Zargar and Omar Saeed Sheikh), they let the hijackers and their terrorist allies to go scot-free

<sup>82</sup> C. Christine Fair, "India in Afghanistan and Beyond: Opportunities and Constraints", *Century Foundation Report*, p.3

<sup>83</sup> Jorge Heine and Partha Ghosh, "The Elephant in the War: India and the Afghan-Pakistan Link", *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*, Vol. 17, No. 01, March 2011, p.54

and the crew.<sup>84</sup> In addition, at the behest of Pakistan's Army, many Afghan militants reportedly fought against India during the Kargil War in 1999.<sup>85</sup> Some 200 Taliban forces participated with Pakistan during this War.<sup>86</sup> Thus, the activities of Taliban closed all possibilities for India to accommodate with the extremist regime in Afghanistan.

Anti-India activities of Taliban forced India to support the anti-Taliban Northern Alliance (NA).<sup>87</sup> Thus, India supported and established links with the Northern Alliance to check the Taliban activities and maintain her influence.<sup>88</sup> Besides the technical advice by Indian defence advisors, the country provided high-altitude weapons worth US \$ 10 million to the NA,<sup>89</sup> and extended humanitarian assistance to the Afghan people in the form of medicine, vegetable oil, tea and emergency relief material.<sup>90</sup> India also established a hospital in Farkhor province of Tajikistan and provided medical assistance to the NA.<sup>91</sup> India, throughout the Taliban rule (1996-2001), aimed at marginalizing the Taliban influence that brought her close to Iran and Russia who were the other supporters of the NA.<sup>92</sup> Thus, from 1992 until the removal of Taliban in 2001, Afghanistan act as a ground for proxy war between Pakistan and Saudi Arabia on one side, and Iran, India, and Russia on the other side.<sup>93</sup> The relations during the Taliban rule is apparent in the words of Mr M. H. Ansari, India's former Ambassador to Afghanistan, as, "A relationship with the Taliban was not attempted... as a result of the treatment meted out to the Afghan Hindus and Sikhs. Much more serious in Indian eyes were the Taliban pronouncements on Kashmir, the training of Kashmiris, Pakistanis, and foreign militants in camps in Afghanistan... these touched the core of India's

<sup>84</sup> Ramesh Trivedi, *India's Relations with her Neighbours*, Delhi, 2008, p.86

<sup>85</sup> Mahesh Ranjan Debata, "India's Policy towards Afghanistan", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.803

<sup>86</sup> K. Santhanam (Ed), *Jihadis in Jammu and Kashmir: A Portrait Gallery*, New Delhi, 2003, pp.315-316

<sup>87</sup> Mondira Dutta, "India-Afghanistan Relations: Opportunities and Challenges", *World Focus*, Vol. XXIX, No. 11-12, November-December 2008, p.412

<sup>88</sup> S. Muni, "India's Afghan Policy Emerging from the Cold", K. Warikoo (Ed), *The Afghanistan Crisis: Issues and Perspectives*, New Delhi, 2002, p.341

<sup>89</sup> Ramesh Trivedi, *India's Relations with her Neighbours*, Delhi, 2008, p.81

<sup>90</sup> S. Muni, "India's Afghan Policy Emerging from the Cold", K. Warikoo (Ed), *The Afghanistan Crisis: Issues and Perspectives*, New Delhi, 2002, p.341

<sup>91</sup> Ramesh Trivedi, *India's Relations with her Neighbours*, Delhi, 2008, p.81

<sup>92</sup> Raghav Sharma, "India's Relations with Afghanistan", David Scott (Ed) *Handbook of India's International Relations*, London, 2011, p.109

<sup>93</sup> Haroun Mir, "Afghanistan", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, Washington D. C., 2010, p.07

*vital interests and compelled New Delhi to strengthen (her) support and assistance to the predominantly non-Pashtun Rabbani forces.*"<sup>94</sup> The event of 9/11 provided space for the United States to attack Afghanistan in October 2001 that resulted in the fall of Taliban government. This provided India an opportunity to move back strongly into that country and regain her position. Since then, India has made extensive efforts in the reconstruction of this war torn nation. India has become the fifth international and largest regional donor to Afghanistan in post-Taliban era.

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<sup>94</sup> Ramesh Trivedi, *India's Relations with her Neighbours*, Delhi, 2008, p.81



## ***Chapter III***

# **Indo – Afghan Relations since 9/11**

Indo-Afghan relations in the 21<sup>st</sup> century have moved from the tradition of historical and cultural ties to the development partnerships covering all the sectors.<sup>1</sup> India, since the fall of Taliban regime, is sincerely committed to the reconstruction of Afghanistan. The 9/11 episode and the resultant US campaign for ‘Global War against Terror’ at the international level and ‘Operation Enduring Freedom’ against the Taliban regime in Afghanistan provided India an opportunity to pursue her foreign policy aspirations in the changing scenario.<sup>2</sup> Thus, India got space to advance her ‘Afghan Policy’ in post-9/11 era.<sup>3</sup> Sharing the vision of a peaceful, stable and secure Afghanistan with the US,<sup>4</sup> India offered services for the US-led war against terrorism<sup>5</sup> and provided logistical support<sup>6</sup> to stabilize Afghanistan.<sup>7</sup> Since then, the country has made extensive efforts in rebuilding the war torn nation that have sustained and increased over the last twelve years. The post-9/11 era witnessed global appreciation of India’s principled stand to counter terrorism and cooperation with war on terror.<sup>8</sup> India has become one of the primary donors with her pledge to the process of Afghanistan reconstruction reaching US \$ 02 billion. Her activities of capacity building and skill development in Afghanistan range from “catering to school children to technical capacity building”.<sup>9</sup> Immediately after the fall of Taliban regime, India’s then External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh went to Kabul to attend the occasion when Prof. Burhanuddin Rabbani handed over power to the new interim administration on 22<sup>nd</sup> of December 2001.<sup>10</sup> Taking it as an opportunity to re-

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<sup>1</sup> Rajen Singh Laishram, “India’s Afghanistan Policy: Beyond Bilateralism”, *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.778

<sup>2</sup> D Choudhury, “India-Afghanistan: Strategic Stakes”, *Royal College of Defence Studies*, July 2011, p.09

<sup>3</sup> Latha A. Pandit, “India and Her Neighbours: Changing Perceptions”, *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 06, June 2011, p.342

<sup>4</sup> Sayed Saleem Shahzad, “US Orchestrates Pakistan-India Talks,” *Asia Today*, September 30, 2009

<sup>5</sup> Balraj Puri, “India and the War against Terrorism”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 36, No. 40, 06-12 October 2001, p.3805

<sup>6</sup> Madhav Nalapat, “Why the US Fumbled Afghanistan,” *The Diplomat*, October 09, 2011

<sup>7</sup> Dipanjan Roy Chaudhury, “India’s Foreign Policy Priorities: Economy Emerges as the Driving Force”, *World Focus*, Vol. XXXI, No. 11-12, November-December 2010, p.505

<sup>8</sup> Mohammed Badrul Alam, “Basic Parameters of India’s Foreign Policy and Its Resilience”, *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.735

<sup>9</sup> Mondira Dutta, “India-Afghanistan Relations: Opportunities and Challenges”, *World Focus*, Vol. XXIX, No. 11-12, November-December 2008, p.416

<sup>10</sup> Ramesh Trivedi, *India’s Relations with her Neighbours*, Delhi, 2008, p.86

engage that country,<sup>11</sup> India eagerly offered the support to the interim administration headed by Mr. Hamid Karzai. Reopening the Kabul Embassy during the same visit,<sup>12</sup> Jaswant Singh spoke of the close ties between the two nations.<sup>13</sup> The country intensified for establishing ties with the new government on the account of having good links with most of the leaders of Northern Alliance. Thus, the support to the NA during 1990s strengthened her position in Kabul after 9/11.<sup>14</sup> India started resuming her relations and since then, both the nations maintained close political consultations.<sup>15</sup> Besides the Kabul Embassy, the country reopened her consulates in Kandahar and Jalalabad and established two new consulates in Herat and Mazar-e-Sharif.<sup>16</sup> Many Afghan leaders, educated in the Indian Universities, favoured and supported the bilateral engagements.<sup>17</sup> Hamid Karzai also had obtained much of his education in India.<sup>18</sup> This created space for the two-way visits by the high dignitaries of both the nations.<sup>19</sup>

India has accomplished much in terms of assistance for the development of Afghanistan.<sup>20</sup> The country has completed various projects contributing in social & economic development, skills & capacity building, and science & technology up gradation.<sup>21</sup> The assistance also contributes in developing significant civil infrastructure and human resource.<sup>22</sup> The infrastructure development range from building structures from public sanitation units including toilets to power transmission

<sup>11</sup> Sumit Ganguly, "India's Role in Afghanistan", *CIDOB Policy Research Project*, January 2012, p.3

<sup>12</sup> Rajen Singh Laishram, "India's Afghanistan Policy: Beyond Bilateralism", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.776

<sup>13</sup> Ramesh Trivedi, *India's Relations with her Neighbours*, Delhi, 2008, p.87

<sup>14</sup> D Choudhury, "India-Afghanistan: Strategic Stakes", *Royal College of Defence Studies*, July 2011, p.09

<sup>15</sup> Tridib Chakraborti, "India's Relations with South Asia in 2010: A Journey of Crests and Troughs", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXI, No. 11-12, November-December 2010, p.516

<sup>16</sup> W. Raja, "The Complicated Tussle: Competing Interests of Regional Powers & Afghanistan's Neighbours", *Master of Defence Studies Research Project*, Canadian Forces College, No. 38, p.36

<sup>17</sup> D Choudhury, "India-Afghanistan: Strategic Stakes", *Royal College of Defence Studies*, July 2011, p.09

<sup>18</sup> Sumit Ganguly, "India's Role in Afghanistan", *CIDOB Policy Research Project*, January 2012, p.3

<sup>19</sup> Rajen Singh Laishram, "India's Afghanistan Policy: Beyond Bilateralism", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.776

<sup>20</sup> Shashank Joshi, "Let India Help Afghanistan", *The Guardian*, December 25, 2009

<sup>21</sup> Mondira Dutta, "India-Afghanistan Relations: Opportunities and Challenges", *World Focus*, Vol. XXIX, No. 11-12, November-December 2008, p.413

<sup>22</sup> Dipanjan Roy Chaudhury, "India's Foreign Policy Priorities: Economy Emerges as the Driving Force", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXI, No. 11-12, November-December 2010, p.505

lines<sup>23</sup> and India appears to be the largest regional and fifth international donor in the reconstruction process.<sup>24</sup> The unique feature of this assistance is that most aid of India is unconditional,<sup>25</sup> as it expands to multi-sector activities and gives full respect to the priorities of Afghan people.<sup>26</sup> The basic determinant of such assistance is the realization that socio-economic development is essential for the stability in Afghanistan as well as the whole region<sup>27</sup> and thus, India maintained regular high-level official contacts with that country.<sup>28</sup> The long and short-term projects cover a wide range of sectors in all parts of Afghanistan and all the projects are under way in partnership with the Government of Afghanistan and in alliance with the Afghanistan National Development Strategy.<sup>29</sup> Despite attacks on her projects and personnel in Afghanistan, India has not stopped to provide generous assistance to the war torn country.<sup>30</sup> India's assistance to Afghanistan covers the basic amenities.<sup>31</sup> India is focusing other key areas of development including civil aviation, irrigation, power generation, industry and rural development.<sup>32</sup> This will surely help in building strong economic ties between the two countries. The assistance and development partnership covers following broad areas:

### 3.1 Political Development and Political Consciousness

Both the nations share the vision of peaceful and democratic Afghanistan and agree that a stable, democratic and prosperous Afghanistan is necessary for peace, security

<sup>23</sup> Mahesh Ranjan Debata, "India's Policy Towards Afghanistan", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.804

<sup>24</sup> W. Raja, "The Complicated Tussle: Competing Interests of Regional Powers & Afghanistan's Neighbours", *Master of Defence Studies Research Project*, Canadian Forces College, No. 38, p.36

<sup>25</sup> Mondira Dutta, "India-Afghanistan Relations: Opportunities and Challenges", *World Focus*, Vol. XXIX, No. 11-12, November-December 2008, p.417

<sup>26</sup> Mahesh Ranjan Debata, "India's Policy Towards Afghanistan", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.804

<sup>27</sup> Siegfried O. Wolf, "India-Afghanistan-Relations: Towards a More Robust Engagement", *Foreign Policy Research Centre*, No. 09, New Delhi, 2012, pp.157

<sup>28</sup> Tridib Chakraborti, "India's Relations with South Asia in 2010: A Journey of Crests and Troughs", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXI, No. 11-12, November-December 2010, p.516

<sup>29</sup> Mondira Dutta, "India-Afghanistan Relations: Opportunities and Challenges", *World Focus*, Vol. XXIX, No. 11-12, November-December 2008, p.413

<sup>30</sup> Latha A. Pandit, "India and Her Neighbours: Changing Perceptions", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 06, June 2011, p.342

<sup>31</sup> Siegfried O. Wolf, "India-Afghanistan-Relations: Towards a More Robust Engagement", *Foreign Policy Research Centre (FPRC)*, No. 09, New Delhi, 2012, pp.157-158

<sup>32</sup> Mahesh Ranjan Debata, "India's Policy towards Afghanistan", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.804

and stability in the region.<sup>33</sup> Afghanistan restored her democratic tradition while conducting the Presidential and Parliamentary elections and India provided all possible assistance in this regard. The commitment to restore democracy includes the construction of the new Parliament building in Kabul that is on the way of completion.<sup>34</sup> Another aspect to establish democracy in that country is the exchange of visits between the Parliament of India with the *Wolesi* and *Meshrano Jirgas* of the Afghanistan Parliament.<sup>35</sup> Besides it, India's Bureau of Parliamentary Study & Training provides training to the officials of the National Assembly Secretariat of Afghanistan.<sup>36</sup> Based on the Memorandum of Understanding between the Election Commissions of the two countries, regular exchanges, mutual visits for study and observation as well as training activities also took place between the members and officials of these institutions.<sup>37</sup> Taking into consideration the significance of civil services in strengthening the democracy, India has provided training to the Afghan police officers, diplomats and civil servants.<sup>38</sup> The country deputed twenty Civil Servants to the various departments of Afghanistan government under a tripartite 'Afghanistan-India-UNDP' programme of Capacity for Afghanistan Public Administration (CAP).<sup>39</sup> These officers, since 2007, are working as Coaches and Mentors in the key Afghan Ministries to enhance professional skill development in Afghan Public Administration.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> For details See Annexure – II

<sup>34</sup> Rajen Singh Laishram, "India's Afghanistan Policy: Beyond Bilateralism", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.776

<sup>35</sup> "India and Afghanistan: A Development Partnership", Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, p.21, accessible at: [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176\\_india-and-afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176_india-and-afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf), (accessed on November 02, 2012, at 21:30)

<sup>36</sup> "Rebuilding Afghanistan: India at Work", Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, p.9, accessible at: [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/180\\_Rebuilding-Afghanistan-updated.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/180_Rebuilding-Afghanistan-updated.pdf), (accessed on November 02, 2012, at 21:15)

<sup>37</sup> "India and Afghanistan: A Development Partnership", Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, p.21, accessible at: [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176\\_india-and-afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176_india-and-afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf), (accessed on November 02, 2012, at 21:30)

<sup>38</sup> Tridib Chakraborti, "India's Relations with South Asia in 2010: A Journey of Crests and Troughs", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXI, No. 11-12, November-December 2010, p.516

<sup>39</sup> "India and Afghanistan: A Development Partnership", Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, pp.34-35 accessible at: [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176\\_india-and-afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176_india-and-afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf), (accessed on November 02, 2012, at 21:30)

<sup>40</sup> "India and Afghanistan: A Development Partnership", Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, pp.34-35 accessible at: [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176\\_india-and-afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176_india-and-afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf), (accessed on November 02, 2012, at 21:30)

### 3.2 Economic Development

Both the countries have the realization that economic development of Afghanistan is a prerequisite for the stability and peace. There are several agreements under process focusing the energy requirements of Afghanistan.<sup>41</sup> The Preferential Trade Agreement, signed on 06<sup>th</sup> of March 2003,<sup>42</sup> between the two nations provides Afghanistan duty-free access to the import of dried figs, mulberries, pistachio, roasted pine nuts, fresh melons, asafoetida, lapis lazuli, ruby and emeralds.<sup>43</sup> The Agreement also bears 50% duty concession extended on green, red, golden and black raisins, walnuts, almonds, fresh grapes, apples, apricots, pomegranates, anise, caraway, linseed, alpha and sesame seeds, dried apricots, plums and sour cherries.<sup>44</sup> In October 2011, they also signed two Memorandums of Understanding to cooperate in the areas of exploration, production, research & training relating to hydrocarbons as oil & gas, investment in mining, mineral exploration and capacity building in the field of geosciences.<sup>45</sup> The Confederation of Indian Industries (CII) organized ‘Delhi Investment Summit on Afghanistan’ in partnership with the Governments of India and Afghanistan and in cooperation with Afghan Investment and other business organizations. The summit took place at Hotel Taj Palace, New Delhi on 28<sup>th</sup> of June 2012. The objective of the summit was to attract foreign investment into Afghanistan in the areas including mining, hydrocarbons, infrastructure, agriculture, industry, capacity building, health and services.<sup>46</sup> Besides the participation by India’s External Affairs Minister in the Kabul Conference on 20<sup>th</sup> of July 2010, India also took part in the first Afghanistan international Investors Conference held in Dubai in November 2010.<sup>47</sup> Earlier, in 2005, India has set up the Common Facility and Tool Room at Pul-

<sup>41</sup> Siegfried O. Wolf, “India–Afghanistan–Relations: Towards a More Robust Engagement”, *Foreign Policy Research Centre*, No. 09, New Delhi, 2012, pp.160-161

<sup>42</sup> For details see Annexure – IV

<sup>43</sup> “Rebuilding Afghanistan: India at Work”, Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, p.9, accessible at: [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/180\\_Rebuilding-Afghanistan-updated.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/180_Rebuilding-Afghanistan-updated.pdf), (accessed on November 02, 2012, at 21:15)

<sup>44</sup> “Rebuilding Afghanistan: India at Work”, Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, p.9, accessible at: [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/180\\_Rebuilding-Afghanistan-updated.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/180_Rebuilding-Afghanistan-updated.pdf), (accessed on November 02, 2012, at 21:15)

<sup>45</sup> For details see Annexure – XI

<sup>46</sup> “Delhi Investment Summit on Afghanistan”, Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, available at: <http://dsafghan.in/about-the-summit.html>, (accessed on January 11, 2013, at 16:55)

<sup>47</sup> Rajen Singh Laishram, “India’s Afghanistan Policy: Beyond Bilateralism”, *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.776

e-Charkhi in Afghanistan to speed up the process initiated by the Afghan government to restore Industrial Park, encourage industrial activity and promote mutual trade. Acknowledging India's contribution, Mr. Moktasil, Director of the Pul-e-Charkhi Industrial Complex said, "We are very grateful to India for its help. Without their efforts, the Industrial Park could not have restarted. Our workers are also trained at the Common Tool Room Facility. 250 units get power supply now".<sup>48</sup> Besides it, India's growing market is now open for Afghan products.<sup>49</sup> Thus, the economic cooperation and collaboration in the Industry and Commerce sector will enable Afghanistan to integrate effectively with the Indian economy as well as other economies in South, Central and Southeast Asia.

### 3.3 Development of Basic Amenities

The main aspect of India's reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan includes the humanitarian assistance.<sup>50</sup> The country has played a significant role in developing the health sector in Afghanistan. India sped up a team of thirteen doctors and paramedics to that country to attend the urgent medical needs in the end of 2001, and set camps for fitting artificial limbs in different parts of that country.<sup>51</sup> Five Indian Medical Missions (IMMs) working in Kabul, Herat, Jalalabad, Kandhar and Mazar-e-Sharif provide free medical consultation and medicines to serve the poor patients.<sup>52</sup> Every month, nearly 30,000 Afghans get free medical consultations and medicine through these IMMs.<sup>53</sup> India has upgraded various hospitals in that country and the most significant among them is the rehabilitation of the Indira Gandhi Institute for Child

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<sup>48</sup> "Rebuilding Afghanistan: India at Work", Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, p.14, accessible at: [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/180\\_Rebuilding-Afghanistan-updated.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/180_Rebuilding-Afghanistan-updated.pdf), (accessed on November 02, 2012, at 21:15)

<sup>49</sup> Siegfried O. Wolf, "India–Afghanistan–Relations: Towards a More Robust Engagement", *Foreign Policy Research Centre*, No. 09, New Delhi, 2012, p.160

<sup>50</sup> C. Christine Fair, "Under the Shrinking U.S. Security Umbrella: India's End Game in Afghanistan", *The Washington Quarterly*, 2011, pp.179-192

<sup>51</sup> C. Christine Fair, "Under the Shrinking U.S. Security Umbrella: India's End Game in Afghanistan", *The Washington Quarterly*, 2011, pp.179-192

<sup>52</sup> "Afghanistan First: India at Work", Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, p.23, accessible at: [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/189\\_Afghanistan-First.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/189_Afghanistan-First.pdf), (accessed on January 11, 2013, at 20:36)

<sup>53</sup> Rajen Singh Laishram, "India's Afghanistan Policy: Beyond Bilateralism", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.777

Health (IGICH), the largest paediatric hospital in Afghanistan.<sup>54</sup> In 2008, India rendered ten ambulances to the Afghan Ministry of Public Health that are now operational in Kabul and the regional hospitals in Jalalabad, Kandahar, Herat and Mazar-e-Sharif.<sup>55</sup> India's assistance also includes the capacity building of Afghan Doctors while attaching them to the reputed Indian Hospitals. The batches of IGICH specialists are getting training at the All India Institute of Medical Sciences (AIIMS), New Delhi. Under various Small Development Project Schemes, India has constructed the basic health clinics in the border provinces of Badakshan, Balkh, Kandahar, Khost, Kunar, Nangarhar, Nimroz, Nooristan, Paktia and Paktika.<sup>56</sup> Besides it, during the visit of Afghan President to India in January 2009, India gifted 250,000 metric tonnes of wheat to that country under the 'New Food Aid' program to help the countries food crisis.<sup>57</sup>

### 3.4 Educational Development

India, since 2001, has been providing educational and vocational scholarships to the Afghans. In 2006, they signed a 'Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation in the Field of Education' to encourage contacts and cooperation between the educational institutions of the two nations. The Memorandum also includes the exchange of research material, publications, educational literature, teaching aids, scholars, teachers, academics etc.<sup>58</sup> In June 2002, World Food Programme (WFP) was facing a serious resource shortfall and was looking for donors to fund the new school feeding operation. India came forward to support the 'Back to School' campaign of Afghanistan and under a 'School Feeding Programme' administered through the WFP, India supplies 100 gm of fortified, high-protein biscuits to nearly two million

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<sup>54</sup> "Rebuilding Afghanistan: India at Work", Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, p.20, accessible at: [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/180\\_Rebuilding-Afghanistan-updated.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/180_Rebuilding-Afghanistan-updated.pdf), (accessed on November 02, 2012, at 21:15)

<sup>55</sup> "India and Afghanistan: A Development Partnership", Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, p.16, accessible at: [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176\\_india-and-afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176_india-and-afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf), (accessed on November 02, 2012, 21:30)

<sup>56</sup> "India and Afghanistan: A Development Partnership", Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, p.16, accessible at: [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176\\_india-and-afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176_india-and-afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf), (accessed on November 02, 2012, at 21:30)

<sup>57</sup> For details see Annexure – VI

<sup>58</sup> For details see Annexure – II



schoolchildren every day.<sup>59</sup> The significance of such support is evident from the following statement of Charles Vincent, WFP Country Director, Afghanistan, as, “We are very grateful to the Government of India for this contribution. It has made a dramatic difference in our efforts to spread school feeding in Afghanistan and improve both health and educational condition of many poor Afghan children”.<sup>60</sup> The reconstruction of Habibia School in Kabul is also a significant aspect of India’s educational assistance to Afghanistan.<sup>61</sup> The Government of India offers various scholarships to the Afghan people who come to India for higher studies and short courses with the aim to produce and train a future generation capable of assisting the Afghan government in addressing various needs.<sup>62</sup> The Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR) has offered 500 scholarships a year to the Afghan people under a Special Scholarship Scheme.<sup>63</sup> Under this scheme, students selected on a countrywide competition in Afghanistan get admission to Indian universities for undergraduate and post-graduate courses. In order to ensure countrywide coverage, there is the reservation of six seats for each of the 34 provinces of that country under this scheme.<sup>64</sup> Assessing the significance of agriculture to bring development in the war torn country, India has offered 100 fellowships of study every year to the Afghan nationals for Master’s and Ph. D. programmes in Indian Universities besides the 200 fellowship graduate courses to the Afghan people for degree programmes in agriculture and related areas.<sup>65</sup>

### 3.5 Afghan Capacity Building

The most vital feature of India’s assistance programme in Afghanistan is the capacity building of Afghan people. The bilateral development partnership between the two

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<sup>59</sup> Rajen Singh Laishram, “India’s Afghanistan Policy: Beyond Bilateralism”, *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, pp.776-777

<sup>60</sup> “Rebuilding Afghanistan: India at Work”, Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, p.13, accessible at: [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/180\\_Rebuilding-Afghanistan-updated.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/180_Rebuilding-Afghanistan-updated.pdf), (accessed on November 02, 2012, at 21:15)

<sup>61</sup> “Afghanistan First: India at Work”, Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, p.25, accessible at: [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/189\\_Afghanistan-First.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/189_Afghanistan-First.pdf), (accessed on January 11, 2013, at 20:36)

<sup>62</sup> Mondira Dutta, “India-Afghanistan Relations: Opportunities and Challenges”, *World Focus*, Vol. XXIX, No. 11-12, November-December 2008, p.416

<sup>63</sup> C. Christine Fair, “Under the Shrinking U.S. Security Umbrella: India’s End Game in Afghanistan”, *The Washington Quarterly*, 2011, pp.179-192

<sup>64</sup> “India and Afghanistan: A Development Partnership”, Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, p.37, accessible at: [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176\\_india-and-afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176_india-and-afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf), (accessed on November 02, 2012, 21:30)

<sup>65</sup> Rajen Singh Laishram, “India’s Afghanistan Policy: Beyond Bilateralism”, *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.776

nations currently focuses the capacity development as well as building Afghan institutions.<sup>66</sup> During the visit of Dr. Manmohan Singh to Afghanistan in 2005, they agreed to launch a “Skill Building Initiative” in Afghanistan in partnership with the CII and the UN.<sup>67</sup> Capacity building is very essential in making the Afghan people self-dependent and self-reliant. In this respect, the establishment of the ‘India-Afghanistan Vocational Training Centre’ in Afghanistan by the CII in cooperation with the Afghan Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs is very significant. The Centre provides training to one thousand Afghan youths in the traits of carpentry, masonry, welding, plumbing and tailoring with the purpose to identify trainers and assessors from the trained personnel to continue the training modules on a self-sustainable basis.<sup>68</sup> The Self-Employed Women’s Association (SEWA)<sup>69</sup> carried out a Women’s Vocational Training Centre in Bagh-e-Zanana, Kabul called as ‘Community Learning and Business Resource Centre’ that provides training to thousands of Afghan women particularly in Garment Making & Embroidery, Nursery Plantation & Greenhouse Plants and Food & Fruit Processing.<sup>70</sup> Under the Indian Technical and Cooperation Programme, India offers 500 annual short-term ITEC training programmes for Afghan public servants in any technical and professional institution of their choice in India.<sup>71</sup> Capacity building programmes are also underway in the fields of diplomacy, media and information, civil aviation, agricultural research & education, health care & medicinal science, tourism, education, standardisation, rural development, public administration, electoral management and administration, and local governance.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Siegfried O. Wolf, “India–Afghanistan–Relations: Towards a More Robust Engagement”, *Foreign Policy Research Centre*, No. 09, New Delhi, 2012, pp.158-159

<sup>67</sup> For details see Annexure – II

<sup>68</sup> “India and Afghanistan: A Development Partnership”, Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, p.33, accessible at: [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176\\_india-and-afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176_india-and-afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf), (accessed on November 02, 2012, at 21:30)

<sup>69</sup> SEWA, an Indian Non-Governmental Organization, is the single largest union of self-employed women in India. It works for social empowerment through economic self-reliance by providing work, income and social security to women

<sup>70</sup> “India and Afghanistan: A Development Partnership”, Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, p.34, accessible at: [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176\\_india-and-afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176_india-and-afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf), (accessed on November 02, 2012, at 21:30)

<sup>71</sup> “Rebuilding Afghanistan: India at Work”, Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, p.8, accessible at: [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/180\\_Rebuilding-Afghanistan-updated.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/180_Rebuilding-Afghanistan-updated.pdf), (accessed on November 02, 2012, at 21:15)

<sup>72</sup> Mahesh Ranjan Debata, “India’s Policy Towards Afghanistan”, *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.805

### 3.6 Infrastructural and Technical Development

In 2005, India's Prime Minister announced an innovative scheme of 'Small Development Projects' (SDPs)<sup>73</sup> that have direct impact on community life in Afghanistan as the local community gets immediate benefits from it.<sup>74</sup> Eighty-four small projects under different stages of implementation in 19 provinces justify India's latest efforts to accelerate the massive institution building in the war torn nation.<sup>75</sup> Besides it, two interesting NGO-supported projects including 'Murad Khane' in Kabul and 'Hand-in-Hand Project' in Balkh province also got extensive support from India.<sup>76</sup> Taking into account the land-locked nature of Afghanistan and her dependence on others for trading with rest of the world, India has supported major infrastructure projects to reduce such dependence of Afghanistan.<sup>77</sup> In this regard, the contribution lies with the construction of a ring road connecting this country to the Iranian ports facilitating her trade with India and the Gulf states.<sup>78</sup> India's Border Roads Organization (BRO) has constructed this 218-kilometer long Zaranj-Delaram highway<sup>79</sup> in this country linking it up to the Chabahar Port.<sup>80</sup> The highway provides connectivity to the very end of southwestern Afghanistan and Iran by linking Zaranj to the Kandahar-Herat highway.<sup>81</sup> It facilitates the movement of goods and services

<sup>73</sup> For details see Annexure – II

<sup>74</sup> "India and Afghanistan: A Development Partnership", Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, pp.26-27, accessible at: [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176\\_india-and-afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176_india-and-afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf), (accessed on November 02, 2012, at 21:30)

<sup>75</sup> Mahesh Ranjan Debata, "India's Policy Towards Afghanistan", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.804

<sup>76</sup> "India and Afghanistan: A Development Partnership", Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, p.27, accessible at: [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176\\_india-and-afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176_india-and-afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf), (accessed on November 02, 2012, at 21:30)

<sup>77</sup> Siegfried O. Wolf, "India-Afghanistan-Relations: Towards a More Robust Engagement", *Foreign Policy Research Centre*, No. 09, New Delhi, 2012, pp.159-160

<sup>78</sup> Siegfried O. Wolf, "India-Afghanistan-Relations: Towards a More Robust Engagement", *Foreign Policy Research Centre*, No. 09, New Delhi, 2012, pp.159-160

<sup>79</sup> Nishit Dholabhai, "India Accomplishes Afghan Road Mission- Strategic Highway Survives Pakistan Scare and Kabul Embassy Blast", *The Telegraph*, July 16, 2008

<sup>80</sup> Rajen Singh Laishram, "India's Afghanistan Policy: Beyond Bilateralism", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.776

<sup>81</sup> "Rebuilding Afghanistan: India at Work", Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, p.19, accessible at: [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/180\\_Rebuilding-Afghanistan-updated.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/180_Rebuilding-Afghanistan-updated.pdf), (accessed on November 02, 2012, at 21:15)

via Iran.<sup>82</sup> Following the completion of the construction work in January 2009,<sup>83</sup> the President of Afghanistan Mr. Hamid Karzai and India's then External Affairs Minister Mr. Pranab Mukherjee inaugurated the highway on 22<sup>nd</sup> of January 2009.<sup>84</sup> The highway reduces dependence of the country on Pakistan to reach the sea.<sup>85</sup> It provides a supplementary and shorter access of that country to the sea via Iran.<sup>86</sup> India also built some inner-city roads including 40 kilometres in Zaranj, 10 kilometres in Gurguri and 08 kilometres connecting Gurguri to Razia.<sup>87</sup>

Dr. Singh also announced to adopt 100 villages in Afghanistan to promote integrated rural development by introducing solar electrification and rainwater harvesting.<sup>88</sup> The assistance also includes the generation and transmission of power. In this respect, India has built a power transmission line to Kabul.<sup>89</sup> The process of constructing 220 KV Double Circuit Transmission Line from Pul-e-Khumri to Kabul and Sub-station at Chintala to bring additional power from the northern grid to Kabul, began in 2005.<sup>90</sup> India completed the elected transmission line projects for uninterrupted power supply in Kabul.<sup>91</sup> The transmission line that passes over the Salang Range at a height of 4000 metres is already in use since 21<sup>st</sup> of January 2009. The line made it possible for Kabul to enjoy uninterrupted 24-hour power supply for the first time in May 2009.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>82</sup> "India and Afghanistan: A Development Partnership", Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, p.10, accessible at: [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176\\_india-and-afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176_india-and-afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf), (accessed on November 02, 2012, at 21:30)

<sup>83</sup> Tridib Chakraborti, "India's Relations with South Asia in 2010: A Journey of Crests and Troughs", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXI, No. 11-12, November-December 2010, p.516

<sup>84</sup> Mahesh Ranjan Debata, "India's Policy Towards Afghanistan", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.804

<sup>85</sup> Kuldeep Singh, "India, Central Asia and the Changing Contours of War on Terrorism", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.822

<sup>86</sup> "India and Afghanistan: A Development Partnership", Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, p.17, accessible at: [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176\\_india-and-afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176_india-and-afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf), (accessed on November 02, 2012, at 21:30)

<sup>87</sup> "India and Afghanistan: A Development Partnership", Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, p.5, accessible at: [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176\\_india-and-afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176_india-and-afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf), (accessed on November 02, 2012, at 21:30)

<sup>88</sup> For details see Annexure – II

<sup>89</sup> Tom Peter, "India Outdoes US aid efforts in Afghanistan", *Global Post*, September 09, 2010, accessible at: <http://www.globalpost.com/print/5583950>, (accessed on January 11, 2013, at 17:29)

<sup>90</sup> "Rebuilding Afghanistan: India at Work", Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, p.31, accessible at: [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/180\\_Rebuilding-Afghanistan-updated.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/180_Rebuilding-Afghanistan-updated.pdf), (accessed on November 02, 2012, at 21:15)

<sup>91</sup> Rajen Singh Laishram, "India's Afghanistan Policy: Beyond Bilateralism", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.776

<sup>92</sup> Mahesh Ranjan Debata, "India's Policy Towards Afghanistan", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.804

The other ongoing project is the Salma Dam Power Project in Herat province on river Hari Rud.<sup>93</sup> There are hundreds of Afghans and Indians working in the construction of this Dam.<sup>94</sup> Taking into consideration the country's ill public transport facilities due to the huge destruction and increasing pressure of returning refugees, India gifted 400 buses<sup>95</sup> supplemented by other 200 mini-buses. The country also provided 105 utility vehicles to Municipalities including water and cesspit tankers and garbage dumpers.<sup>96</sup> As a part of her military assistance programme, the country provided various packages including the delivery of 300 military transport vehicles<sup>97</sup> besides the team of Indian Army Officers impart training in military field craft to the Afghan National Army.<sup>98</sup> India also gifted 10 ambulances to the public hospitals in five cities of Afghanistan.<sup>99</sup> With the intention to make the national carrier *Ariana* Afghan Airlines quickly operational, the country provided three airbus aircrafts along with essential spares, besides sending the retrained airline officials for capacity development in the civilian aviation sector.<sup>100</sup> The country also pledges to extend further training opportunities in air traffic control, airport management, pilot and navigational training.<sup>101</sup> For the development of transmission sector, India undertook a project to facilitate uplink Radio and Television Afghanistan (RTA) from Kabul and downlinks in all 34 provinces of Afghanistan.<sup>102</sup> Indian Satellite INSAT 3A transmits the Radio

<sup>93</sup> Rajen Singh Laishram, "India's Afghanistan Policy: Beyond Bilateralism", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.776

<sup>94</sup> Mondira Dutta, "India-Afghanistan Relations: Opportunities and Challenges", *World Focus*, Vol. XXIX, No. 11-12, November-December 2008, p.415

<sup>95</sup> "Rebuilding Afghanistan: India at Work", Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, p.28, accessible at: [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/180\\_Rebuilding-Afghanistan-updated.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/180_Rebuilding-Afghanistan-updated.pdf), (accessed on November 02, 2012, at 21:15)

<sup>96</sup> "Afghanistan First: India at Work", Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, p.8, accessible at: [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/189\\_Afghanistan-First.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/189_Afghanistan-First.pdf), (accessed on January 11, 2013, at 20:36)

<sup>97</sup> "Afghanistan First: India at Work", Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, p.1, accessible at: [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/189\\_Afghanistan-First.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/189_Afghanistan-First.pdf), (accessed on January 11, 2013, at 20:36)

<sup>98</sup> Rajen Singh Laishram, "India's Afghanistan Policy: Beyond Bilateralism", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.777

<sup>99</sup> "India and Afghanistan: A Development Partnership", Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, p.24, accessible at: [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176\\_india-and-afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176_india-and-afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf), (accessed on November 02, 2012, at 21:30)

<sup>100</sup> W. Raja, "The Complicated Tussle: Competing Interests of Regional Powers & Afghanistan's Neighbours", *Master of Defence Studies Research Project*, Canadian Forces College, No. 38, p.36

<sup>101</sup> For details see Annexure - I

<sup>102</sup> "India and Afghanistan: A Development Partnership", Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, p.25, accessible at: [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176\\_india-and-afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176_india-and-afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf), (accessed on November 02, 2012, at 21:30)

and Television signals to these provinces.<sup>103</sup> The country has also restored telecommunication infrastructure in the eleven provinces of Afghanistan.<sup>104</sup> Besides the restoration of TV hardware in Jalalabad,<sup>105</sup> the country has set up a TV Studio, TV Transmitter, a Mobile TV Satellite Uplink and five TV Relay Centres in Afghanistan.<sup>106</sup>

### 3.7 Cultural Development and Cultural Exchanges

Taking into consideration their historical and cultural ties, both the nations are making commendable efforts to strengthen their relationship through cultural exchanges. The common cultural roots led them to share the classical musical traditions and now, the musical groups of both the countries annually participate at the *Nawroz* festival in Mazar-e- Sharif.<sup>107</sup> Several Indian music festivals also witnessed Afghan musicians participating and performing their local music as the music band of Afghanistan 'Talaash' (The Quest) performed at the SAARC Band Festival in New Delhi on 20<sup>th</sup> of February 2009.<sup>108</sup> For enhancing the cultural exchanges, India has set up an 'Indian Cultural Centre' in her Embassy at Kabul with the support of Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR) in 2007.<sup>109</sup> Besides it, the country has also set up the 'India-Afghanistan Foundation' in 2008 to foster the educational, cultural, scientific and technical cooperation. Seminars/Conferences, exchange of scholars and historians, translations & publication of books in Dari & Pashto languages, and revival of a quarterly literary magazine the 'Hind' are among the major activities of

<sup>103</sup> "Rebuilding Afghanistan: India at Work", Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, p.16, accessible at: [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/180\\_Rebuilding-Afghanistan-updated.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/180_Rebuilding-Afghanistan-updated.pdf), (accessed on November 02, 2012, at 21:15)

<sup>104</sup> "Afghanistan First: India at Work", Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, p.8, accessible at: [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/189\\_Afghanistan-First.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/189_Afghanistan-First.pdf), (accessed on November 02, 2012, at 20:36)

<sup>105</sup> For details see Annexure – I

<sup>106</sup> Mahesh Ranjan Debata, "India's Policy Towards Afghanistan", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.805

<sup>107</sup> "India and Afghanistan: A Development Partnership", Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, p.38, accessible at: [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176\\_india-and-afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176_india-and-afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf), (accessed on November 02, 2012, at 21:56)

<sup>108</sup> "India and Afghanistan: A Development Partnership", Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, p.38, accessible at: [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176\\_india-and-afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176_india-and-afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf), (accessed on November 02, 2012, at 21:30)

<sup>109</sup> Mahesh Ranjan Debata, "India's Policy Towards Afghanistan", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.805

India-Afghanistan Foundation.<sup>110</sup> Besides the exchange of media persons, exchange of radio & television programmes also took place between India and Afghanistan.<sup>111</sup> The Radio and Television Afghanistan (RTA) is looking for extensive coverage of Afghan monuments in India.<sup>112</sup> India has supplied musical instruments to the Afghan Universities, music academies, Afghan Radio & Television as well as the Afghan National Army Band.<sup>113</sup>

### 3.8 Strategic Partnership Agreement

India is one among the top five donors to Afghanistan. Since the signing of the Strategic Partnership Agreement (SPA) on 04<sup>th</sup> of October 2011, the country has extended her assistance programme for all round development of the war torn nation.<sup>114</sup> The Agreement contributes to their developing bilateral relations.<sup>115</sup> At the time when the International Security Assistance Forces (ISAF) is packing to leave the war torn country, this Agreement assumes greater significance. The two countries have signed this first-ever agreement on strategic ties in October 2011<sup>116</sup> on the realization that the Afghanistan National Security Forces (ANSF) would not be capable in handling the challenges of extremism and insurgency in post-2014 Afghanistan.<sup>117</sup> The Prime Minister of India Dr. Manmohan Singh hailing the Agreement stated, “*India will stand by the people of Afghanistan as they prepare to assume the responsibility for their governance and security after the withdrawal of international forces in 2014*”.<sup>118</sup> The SPA has provided the space for the two nations to expand their

<sup>110</sup> Mahesh Ranjan Debata, “India’s Policy Towards Afghanistan”, *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.805

<sup>111</sup> “Rebuilding Afghanistan: India at Work”, Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, p.16, accessible at: [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/180\\_Rebuilding-Afghanistan-updated.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/180_Rebuilding-Afghanistan-updated.pdf), (accessed on November 02, 2012, at 20:36)

<sup>112</sup> “India and Afghanistan: A Development Partnership”, Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, p.39, accessible at: [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176\\_india-and-afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176_india-and-afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf), (accessed on November 02, 2012, at 21:30)

<sup>113</sup> “Afghanistan First: India at Work”, Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, p.4, accessible at: [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/189\\_Afghanistan-First.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/189_Afghanistan-First.pdf), (accessed on January 11, 2013, at 20:36)

<sup>114</sup> Siegfried O. Wolf, “India–Afghanistan–Relations: Towards a More Robust Engagement”, *Foreign Policy Research Centre*, No. 09, New Delhi, 2012, pp.158-159

<sup>115</sup> Rama Lakshmi, “India and Afghanistan Sign Security and Trade Pact”, *The Washington Post*, October 04, 2011

<sup>116</sup> James Lamont, “Karzai Chooses India as Partner over Pakistan”, *Financial Times*, October 06, 2011

<sup>117</sup> Harsh V. Pant, “New Phase in India Afghan Ties”, *The Tribune*, 08 October 2011

<sup>118</sup> Sachin Parashar, “Indo-Afghan Pact Expected to Fuel Pakistan Anxiety”, *Times of India*, 05 October 2011, p.1

relations from trade and economic cooperation, capacity development, socio-cultural & civil society aspects to security dimension.<sup>119</sup> The agreement directs them to establish new institutional framework for political, security, trade and economic cooperation.<sup>120</sup> The implementation of the agreement will take place under the framework of a Partnership Council headed by the Foreign Ministers of both the nations.<sup>121</sup> The Partnership Council will consist of separate Joint Working Groups on Political & Security Consultations, Trade & Economic Cooperation, Capacity Development & Education, and Social-Cultural-Civil Society & People-to-People Relations involving high-level representatives from concerned ministries/authorities.<sup>122</sup>

India, as a part of the Strategic Agreement, agrees to train ANSF in post-2014 Afghanistan.<sup>123</sup> The vital features of this Agreement include defence cooperation, fighting terrorism measures and training of the ANSF agreed by India.<sup>124</sup> Thus, the country will provide lethal and non-lethal weapons to Afghanistan.<sup>125</sup> The agreement provides a framework for cooperation in the area of national security, fight against terrorism, drug trafficking and so on.<sup>126</sup> It comprises General Principles; Political & Security Cooperation; Trade & Economic Cooperation; Capacity Development & Education; and Social, Cultural, Civil Society & People-to-People Relations;<sup>127</sup> The SPA also make explicit the trade and economic cooperation between India and Afghanistan.<sup>128</sup> In May 2012, Afghanistan's Foreign Minister Dr. Zalmay Rassoul visited India to co-chair the inaugural session of the 'India-Afghanistan Partnership

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<sup>119</sup> Siegfried O. Wolf, "India–Afghanistan–Relations: Towards a More Robust Engagement", *Foreign Policy Research Centre*, No. 09, New Delhi, 2012, pp.158-159

<sup>120</sup> Rajen Singh Laishram, "India's Afghanistan Policy: Beyond Bilateralism", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.774

<sup>121</sup> Mahesh Ranjan Debata, "India's Policy Towards Afghanistan", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.802

<sup>122</sup> For details see Annexure – X

<sup>123</sup> Lydia Polgreen, "Karzai Tries to Soothe Pakistan over Warmer Relations with India", *The New York Times*, October 05, 2011

<sup>124</sup> For details see Annexure – X

<sup>125</sup> Mahesh Ranjan Debata, "India's Policy Towards Afghanistan", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.802

<sup>126</sup> Rajen Singh Laishram, "India's Afghanistan Policy: Beyond Bilateralism", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.774

<sup>127</sup> Mahesh Ranjan Debata, "India's Policy Towards Afghanistan", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.802

<sup>128</sup> Kuldeep Singh, "India, Central Asia and the Changing Contours of War on Terrorism", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.822



Council' with the then External Affairs Minister of India Mr. S. M. Krishna. The Council has the mandate to implement the 'Strategic Partnership Agreement'.<sup>129</sup>

Thus, India has significantly contributed in the sectors identified as priority areas for development by the Government of Afghanistan such as hydroelectricity, power transmission lines, construction of roads, agriculture, industry, information, broadcasting, education, health etc. The country remained at the forefront with her sincere efforts to help the government and people of this war torn nation build a stable, democratic and pluralistic society.<sup>130</sup> The country has now agreed to assist and train the ANSF to deal the security situation particularly in post-2014 Afghanistan.<sup>131</sup> India has contributed massive efforts, many lives and countless resources in reconstructing this nation. It is evident that most of her assistance aims at building capacity and enhancing economic growth. All this reveals her firm commitment and determination in strengthening ties with the war torn nation despite all the obstacles. The achievements in bilateral relations are the result of regular high-level talks between the respective Heads and other dignitary officials of both the Governments.<sup>132</sup>

Besides it, India has maintained an Indian Air Force (IAF) base in *Farkhor* (Tajikistan) only two kilometres away from the Afghan border, upgraded to a full-fledged airbase in 2004 and completed in March 2007.<sup>133</sup> The base is significant for her efforts to promote stability in Afghanistan. The country has also contributed to the reconstruction fund including support to the Afghan Government budget and the World Bank managed 'Afghan Reconstruction Trust Fund'.<sup>134</sup> The two nations are also speculating over certain vital issues such as Joint Anti-Terrorism efforts, trade & business, access to & development of Afghanistan's natural resources, particularly oil,

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<sup>129</sup> For details see Annexure – XII

<sup>130</sup> Tridib Chakraborti, "India's Relations with South Asia in 2010: A Journey of Crests and Troughs", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXI, No. 11-12, November-December 2010, p.516

<sup>131</sup> Kuldeep Singh, "India, Central Asia and the Changing Contours of War on Terrorism", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.822

<sup>132</sup> "India and Afghanistan: A Development Partnership", Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, p.11, accessible at: [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176\\_india-and-afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/176_india-and-afghanistan-a-development-partnership.pdf), (accessed on November 02, 2012, at 21:30)

<sup>133</sup> Mondira Dutta, "India-Afghanistan Relations: Opportunities and Challenges", *World Focus*, Vol. XXIX, No. 11-12, November-December 2008, p.417

<sup>134</sup> "Rebuilding Afghanistan: India at Work", Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, p.5, accessible at: [http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/180\\_Rebuilding-Afghanistan-updated.pdf](http://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/180_Rebuilding-Afghanistan-updated.pdf), (accessed on November 02, 2012, at 21:15)

mining sectors and uranium.<sup>135</sup> India has agreed to assist in developing trading routes and exploring the natural resources as hydrocarbons and mineral ores in Afghanistan.<sup>136</sup> On one side, India is among the top five nations of the world who are actively participating in the reconstructing Afghan nation and on the other side; India is the third largest importer of Afghan goods.<sup>137</sup> Regarding India, Rangin Dadfar Spanta, the Afghan National Security Adviser, on his visit to India on 01<sup>st</sup> of September 2010 said, “*Nobody in Afghanistan would support reduction in Indian engagement and its role in reconstruction and supporting capacity building in Afghanistan. This is the desire of Afghan people*”.<sup>138</sup> India's role and increased influence in this war torn country has made even the Western Countries to confess that road to peace in Afghanistan runs through New Delhi, besides Islamabad and Kabul.<sup>139</sup> Afghan Ambassador to India Mr. Nangyalai Tarzi speaking at the occasion of screening a short film “*Humsaye-Two Nations, Two Neighbours*” on 02 October 2010, appreciating India's efforts in bringing normalcy in Afghanistan said, “*India has stood with Afghanistan in rebuilding their nation during the periods of war, misery and destruction. One thing which I say as an Afghan, as a representative of the government, we are grateful and we are thankful to India which stood with us rebuild our country*”.<sup>140</sup> The Prime Minister of India, Dr. Manmohan Singh, at the 15<sup>th</sup> SAARC Summit in Colombo stated as “*India has an abiding commitment to Afghanistan's efforts to build a democratic, stable, prosperous and pluralistic polity. We will fulfil all our commitments to Afghanistan*”.<sup>141</sup>

<sup>135</sup> Mahesh Ranjan Debata, “India's Policy Towards Afghanistan”, *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.802

<sup>136</sup> Kuldip Singh, “India, Central Asia and the Changing Contours of War on Terrorism”, *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.822

<sup>137</sup> Rajen Singh Laishram, “India's Afghanistan Policy: Beyond Bilateralism”, *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.776

<sup>138</sup> Tridib Chakraborti, “India's Relations with South Asia in 2010: A Journey of Crests and Troughs”, *World Focus*, Vol. XXXI, No. 11-12, November-December 2010, p.516

<sup>139</sup> Shanthie Mariet D'Souza, “Securing India's Interests in Afghanistan”, *The Hindu*, 23 October 2009

<sup>140</sup> Tridib Chakraborti, “India's Relations with South Asia in 2010: A Journey of Crests and Troughs”, *World Focus*, Vol. XXXI, No. 11-12, November-December 2010, pp.516-517

<sup>141</sup> Mondira Dutta, “India-Afghanistan Relations: Opportunities and Challenges”, *World Focus*, Vol. XXIX, No. 11-12, November-December 2008, p.413

## ***Chapter 4***

# **Challenges and Prospects of India's Engagements with Afghanistan**

Jayant Prasad, Special Secretary of Public Diplomacy Division of India's Ministry of External Affairs, at the occasion of screening a short film "*Humsaye-Two Nations, Two Neighbours*" on 02<sup>nd</sup> October 2010 said, "*India and Afghanistan share common challenges. We live in an area....with terrorism and insurgencies and the biggest challenge of all is that of nation building and bringing the fruits of development to the common people. There are challenges and there are opportunities and we believe that if Afghanistan does well, Afghans do well, that will equally be India's success*".<sup>1</sup> Afghanistan is a legitimate sphere of influence for India.<sup>2</sup> Whatever India is doing in this country is mainly on humanitarian grounds. Besides promoting commercial relations, her investments have been largely developmental.<sup>3</sup> However, it does not mean that India works only on moral grounds and has no calculation of realism. Perceiving her role only to promote security and stability of the Afghan people is quite unrealistic.<sup>4</sup> The country is seeking to explore new opportunities in Afghanistan to address her foreign policy aspirations. Thus, her Afghan Policy involves various strategic and vital interests. However, there are some areas acting as constraints as well as posing threats for her engagements with Afghanistan. Thus, it is significant to explore India's interests and challenges to pursue her foreign policy in Afghanistan.

#### **4.1 India's Interests in Afghanistan**

Afghanistan holds the political and economic significance for India.<sup>5</sup> India is working for a stable, secure and prosperous neighbourhood and Afghanistan is a road for such design. The country is helping Afghanistan to preserve security and strengthening

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<sup>1</sup> Tridib Chakraborti, "India's Relations with South Asia in 2010: A Journey of Crests and Troughs", *World Focus*, Delhi, Vol. XXXI, No. 11-12, November-December 2010, p.517

<sup>2</sup> W. Raja, "The Complicated Tussle: Competing Interests of Regional Powers & Afghanistan's Neighbours", *Master of Defence Studies Research Project*, Canadian Forces College, No. 38, p.29

<sup>3</sup> Gautam Mukhopadhyaya, "Afghanistan: Is a Regional Strategy viable in Afghanistan", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, Washington D. C., 2010, pp.31-32

<sup>4</sup> Nicholas Howenstein, Sumit Ganguly, "Pakistan & Afghanistan: Domestic Pressures and Regional Threats: India-Pakistan Rivalry in Afghanistan", *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 63, No. 1, 2009, p.129

<sup>5</sup> Arun Mohanty, "India, Russia in the post-Unipolar World", *World Focus*, Delhi, Vol. XXXII, No. 11- 12, November-December, 2011, p.842

strategic partnership.<sup>6</sup> Thus, the country has considerable interests in Afghanistan.<sup>7</sup> Taking into consideration the changing circumstances and the overall analysis of her Afghan Policy aspirations, some vital interests are evident under the following headings:

#### **4.1 (a) Political and Economic Development of Afghanistan**

The object of a democratic Afghanistan constitutes the base of 'India's Afghan Policy'. The country wants the independent, united and peaceful Afghanistan capable of standing on her own feet. The country has a strong security interest in ensuring that this war torn nation remains a sovereign, stable, united and free from external influence.<sup>8</sup> The country wants to build her into a peaceful, secure and democratic nation.<sup>9</sup> A strong and stable civil government at Kabul is her interest. The country also wants to boost the Afghan economy and has the market potential to stimulate Afghan economy in several ways.<sup>10</sup> Afghanistan too provides a space for her companies currently engaged in the reconstruction process. This country has repeatedly expressed her will to enhance Indian business while developing the manufacturing hubs in different sectors as cement, oil, gas, electricity, banking, communications etc.<sup>11</sup> India's efforts are to gain strong foothold in the South, West and Central Asia by strengthening trade ties with Afghanistan.<sup>12</sup> In order to avail these opportunities, a democratic and a peaceful Afghanistan is a prerequisite.

#### **4.1 (b) Energy Security and India's Afghan Policy**

India is set to become the third largest economy in the world. For sustaining and achieving this objective, the country needs external energy resources to boost her

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<sup>6</sup> Kuldeep Singh, "India, Central Asia and the Changing Contours of War on Terrorism", *World Focus*, Delhi, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December, 2011, p.824

<sup>7</sup> Mahesh Ranjan Debata, "India's Policy towards Afghanistan", *World Focus*, Delhi, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December, 2011, p.802

<sup>8</sup> Latha A. Pandit, "India and Her Neighbours: Changing Perceptions", *World Focus*, Delhi, Vol. XXXII, No. 06, June 2011, p.342

<sup>9</sup> Sayed Saleem Shahzad, "US Orchestrates Pakistan-India Talks," *Asia Today*, September 30, 2009

<sup>10</sup> Gautam Mukhopadhyaya, "Afghanistan: Is a Regional Strategy viable in Afghanistan", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, Washington D. C., 2010, p.32

<sup>11</sup> Mondira Dutta, "India-Afghanistan Relations: Opportunities and Challenges", *World Focus*, Delhi, Vol. XXIX, No. 11-12, November-December, 2008, p.417

<sup>12</sup> Mahesh Ranjan Debata, "India's Policy towards Afghanistan", *World Focus*, Delhi, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.803

economic growth.<sup>13</sup> The growing population on one side and expanding economy on the other side has increased her energy requirements, giving rise to the need for energy resources. Energy security is a necessity to sustain her economic growth.<sup>14</sup> The country faces formidable challenges in meeting her energy needs,<sup>15</sup> and does not have the capacity to meet energy requirements from her domestic resources.<sup>16</sup> Thus, importing energy has become one of the important components of her foreign policy. Securing long-term energy sources has priority in her policy designs since the rising domestic demands, energy deficit and need to sustain a high economic growth rate.<sup>17</sup> There is a strong recognition of the need for alternative energy sources among the policy makers, taking into consideration the fact that the country imports 70% of oil and 50% of gas in the total consumption.<sup>18</sup> Her demand for energy has been growing at a rapid rate as expected to increase from 122 million tonnes in 2001-02 to 364 million tonnes in 2024-25.<sup>19</sup> This increasing demand suggests a comprehensive relationship with Central Asian Republics (CARs).<sup>20</sup> Afghanistan can act as a transit route for energy supply from the Central Asian region. TAPI (Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India) gas pipeline is the best example to justify the position of Afghanistan for India's energy security.<sup>21</sup> Thus, a secure, peaceful and friendly Afghanistan is mandatory for India to meet her energy requirements.

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<sup>13</sup> Rajen Singh Laishram, "India's Afghanistan Policy: Beyond Bilateralism", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December, 2011, p.778

<sup>14</sup> Dipanjan Roy Chaudhury, "India's Foreign Policy Priorities: Economy Emerges as the Driving Force", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXI, No. 11-12, November-December 2010, p.503

<sup>15</sup> Mahesh Ranjan Debata, "Central Asia – India's Extended Neighbourhood", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 06, June 2011, p.372

<sup>16</sup> Bhupendra Kumar Singh, "South Asia Energy Cooperation for Enhancing Cross Border Power Trading", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December, 2011, p.763

<sup>17</sup> Yashwant Sinha's keynote address, as the External Affairs Minister of India, at the Third India-Central Asia Conference, Tashkent, November 06, 2003, accessible at: <http://mea.gov.in/mystart.php?id=53017303>, (accessed on January 11, 2013, at 16:44)

<sup>18</sup> Mohammed Badrul Alam, "Basic Parameters of India's Foreign Policy and Its Resilience", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December, 2011, p.737

<sup>19</sup> Talmiz Ahmed, "Oil Diplomacy for India's Energy Security", Atish Sinha, Madhup Mehta (Eds.), *Indian Foreign Policy: Challenges and Opportunities*, New Delhi, 2007, p.1093

<sup>20</sup> Stephen Blank, "India's Rising Profile in Central Asia", *Comparative Strategy*, No. 22, 2003, p.148

<sup>21</sup> Nirmala Joshi, "India, Central Asia and Afghanistan: Security and Economic Dimensions", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXI, No. 11-12, November-December 2010, p.554

#### 4.1 (c) Central Asia: India's Extended Neighbourhood

Central Asia is an essential part of India's 'Extended Neighbourhood Policy'. Taking into account the transnational nature of the threats and challenges in the region, the South and Central Asia are interlinked. Central Asia not only connects Asia to Europe, but also is rich in vital resources and has a strong consumer market.<sup>22</sup> The vast energy reserves in this region and the increasing energy requirements of world nations since mid-1990s have made it attractive.<sup>23</sup> The CARs have shown interest in recent years to improve relations with Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India.<sup>24</sup> Besides the historical and cultural links, these republics are important for India taking into account the common challenges they face as combating terrorism, enhancing security and stability within the Central Asian region and curtailing drug trafficking.<sup>25</sup> Both had a common cause to cooperate the US-led global war against terror as the Republics, like India, were already the victims of terrorism or perceived themselves to be targets in the future.<sup>26</sup> These Republics have witnessed terrorism in the form of various organizations including Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), Hizb ut-Tahrir (HT) and East Turkestan Islamic Movement ((ETIM) and these organizations have links with international terrorist groups such as al Qaeda and Taliban.<sup>27</sup> The issue of energy has necessitated India's quest for intensifying her relations with these Republics. The region also provides overland routes for her to reach the resource rich Russia and Middle East.<sup>28</sup> Thus, India's aspirations of becoming a global power on one-side and meeting her energy requirements on the other side have placed the oil and mineral rich CARs at the centre of her foreign policy designs. The Republics also

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<sup>22</sup> Dipanjan Roy Chaudhury, "India's Foreign Policy Priorities: Economy Emerges as the Driving Force", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXI, No. 11-12, November-December 2010, p.505

<sup>23</sup> Nirmala Joshi, "India, Central Asia and Afghanistan: Security and Economic Dimensions", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXI, No. 11-12, November-December 2010, p.552

<sup>24</sup> Vinod Anand, "Multi-Directional Policies of Central Asian Nations and India", *World Focus*, Vol. XXIX, No. 11-12, November-December, 2008, p.449

<sup>25</sup> Vinod Anand, "Multi-Directional Policies of Central Asian Nations and India", *World Focus*, Vol. XXIX, No. 11-12, November-December, 2008, p.451

<sup>26</sup> Kuldip Singh, "India, Central Asia and the Changing Contours of War on Terrorism", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December, 2011, p.821

<sup>27</sup> Mahesh Ranjan Debata, "Central Asia – India's Extended Neighbourhood", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 06, June 2011, p.376

<sup>28</sup> Ibrokhim R. Mavlonov, "India's Economic Diplomacy with Central Asian Nations - and the Economic Development of the Region", *Dialogue*, Vol. 07, No. 03, 2006, p.25

provide market for her emerging export industries.<sup>29</sup> With the establishment of a hospital in Farkhor on the Afghan-Tajik border, construction of transmission line to bring electricity from Uzbekistan and participation in developing the Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) gas pipeline project, India has explored new ways to develop close links with the region.<sup>30</sup> Thus India, since the last decade, is focusing on engaging the CARs through a policy framework known as 'Connect Central Asia Policy' (CCAP) and Afghanistan, perceived as a gateway to the energy-rich region, holds strategic significance. In other words, "India's Afghan Policy" is an essential part of her "Connect Central Asia Policy".

#### **4.1 (d) Enhance Regional Ties via Afghanistan**

India is keen to develop stronger economic relations and cooperation in the region on trade, transit and energy. India has also acknowledged the need to promote regional economic integration. Taking into consideration the geo-strategic position of Afghanistan, her major policy framework is to rebuild this country as a land bridge between the regions. The country is also keen to have a firm foothold and exercise influence in the region along with other great powers to prevent any possible influence hostile to her interests.<sup>31</sup> In this regard, her Afghan Policy aims at increasing her influence and reputation as a regional power.<sup>32</sup> India's regional agenda is primarily focusing the reintegration of whole subcontinent in a single economic zone.<sup>33</sup> The primary concern of her 'neighbourhood' and 'extended neighbourhood' policy has been the stability and security of these nations.<sup>34</sup> However, Afghanistan acts as 'a hub of instability' in the South and Central Asian region.<sup>35</sup> Thus, a peaceful

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<sup>29</sup> Ibrokhim R. Mavlonov, "India's Economic Diplomacy with Central Asian Nations - and the Economic Development of the Region", *Dialogue*, Vol. 07, No. 03, 2006, p.25

<sup>30</sup> Mondira Dutta, "India-Afghanistan Relations: Opportunities and Challenges", *World Focus*, Vol. XXIX, No. 11-12, November-December, 2008, p.416

<sup>31</sup> Mahesh Ranjan Debata, "Central Asia – India's Extended Neighbourhood", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 06, June 2011, p.373

<sup>32</sup> Mondira Dutta, "India-Afghanistan Relations: Opportunities and Challenges", *World Focus*, Vol. XXIX, No. 11-12, November-December, 2008, p.417

<sup>33</sup> Mohammed Badrul Alam, "Basic Parameters of India's Foreign Policy and Its Resilience", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December, 2011, p.740

<sup>34</sup> Nirmala Joshi, "India, Central Asia and Afghanistan: Security and Economic Dimensions", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXI, No. 11-12, November-December 2010, p.554

<sup>35</sup> Arun Mohanty, "India, Russia in the post-Unipolar World", *World Focus*, Volume XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.842



and modernized Afghanistan is essential for India to build regional ties and economic links.

#### **4.1 (e) Create Alternative Routes to Reach the Central Asian Republics**

India does not have direct access to the Central Asian region and is trying her best to overcome this geographical barrier.<sup>36</sup> The best option to reach Afghanistan and CARs is via Pakistan. However, Pakistan's refusal of granting transit rights to India and the dynamism in Indo-Pak relations act as the greatest obstacle for her 'Afghan Policy' and 'Connect Central Asia Policy'.<sup>37</sup> However, the country has the realization as observed by Frederick Starr, a renowned scholar on Eurasian Affairs, that "*....the best way is to pursue whatever options makes the best scene under the circumstances, if one channel is blocked let trade flow through others. This process will encourage even force those countries creating blockages to calculate the opportunity cost to themselves of their own perspective*".<sup>38</sup> The assistance to build Chah Bahar Port on the Makran coast in Iran and Zarang-Delaram highway in Afghanistan provides India an alternative route for connecting the resource rich region of Central Asia.<sup>39</sup> The country has sought this second best option to overcome the geographical barrier to reach this region. The prospect of linking Iranian railway network with the Chah Bahar Port is underway.<sup>40</sup> Such developments and constructions assist the country to reach the CARs while cutting off Pakistan.<sup>41</sup> Thus, with the purpose of accessing Afghanistan and Eurasia and reducing the dependence of Afghanistan on Pakistan for trade and transit, India has made investments in opening sea, road and rail links through Chahbahar Port of Iran.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Dipanjan Roy Chaudhury, "India's Foreign Policy Priorities: Economy Emerges as the Driving Force", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXI, No. 11-12, November-December 2010, p.503

<sup>37</sup> Nirmala Joshi, "India, Central Asia and Afghanistan: Security and Economic Dimensions", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXI, No. 11-12, November-December 2010, p.554

<sup>38</sup> S. Frederick Starr, *The New Silk Roads: Transport and Trade in Greater Central Asia*, Washington D.C., 2007, p.31

<sup>39</sup> Kuldeep Singh, "India, Central Asia and the Changing Contours of War on Terrorism", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December, 2011, p.822

<sup>40</sup> Rajen Singh Laishram, "India's Afghanistan Policy: Beyond Bilateralism", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.777

<sup>41</sup> W. Raja, "The Complicated Tussle: Competing Interests of Regional Powers & Afghanistan's Neighbours", *Master of Defence Studies Research Project*, Canadian Forces College, JCSP 38, p.37

<sup>42</sup> Gautam Mukhopadhaya, "Afghanistan: Is a Regional Strategy viable in Afghanistan", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, Washington D. C., 2010, p.32

#### 4.1 (f) Contain Terrorism and Religious Extremism

India's primary concern in the region is the security aspect and has an abiding interest in containing and reversing the tide of religious fundamentalism and terrorism. The spread of Islamic extremism is the main security threat<sup>43</sup> and the main objective of India's Afghan Policy is to prevent the rise of radical Taliban. The country has been a victim of various terror outfits such as Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT), Hizbul Mujahideen (HM), Jaish-e-Mohammad etc.<sup>44</sup> The country believes that the Kashmiri insurgents have nexus with the Afghan militants.<sup>45</sup> Her interest is to counter the increasing nexus between the terrorist groups' active in Af-Pak region.<sup>46</sup> Her desire is to contain the resurgence of Taliban and weed out all the elements from the Afghan soil that act against her interests.<sup>47</sup> In a realistic perspective, the links between the Taliban and other radical groups operating in Pakistan would be hostile to her interests.<sup>48</sup> India counts that the rise of radical groups in Af-Pak may boost militancy in Kashmir valley. The militant groups operating in Kashmir coordinate training, resource allocation and logistical support with groups operating out of northwest Pakistan (i.e. East Afghanistan).<sup>49</sup> "As long as central control and legitimacy continues to elude in Kabul, the conflagration in Kashmir will have a ready supply of tinder".<sup>50</sup> Thus, India has the apprehension that any space for the radical and extremist elements in Kabul would marginalize her influence as well as boost the internal disturbances in India. It is under these security apprehensions that India is designing her Afghan policy to combat terrorism and contain religious extremism.

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<sup>43</sup> Stephen Blank, "India's Rising Profile in Central Asia," Taylor and Francis, 2003, pp.139-141

<sup>44</sup> Mahesh Ranjan Debata, "Central Asia – India's Extended Neighbourhood", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 06, June 2011, p.376

<sup>45</sup> Arun Mohanty, "India, Russia in the post-Unipolar World", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.842

<sup>46</sup> Dipanjan Roy Chaudhury, "India's Foreign Policy Priorities: Economy Emerges as the Driving Force", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXI, No. 11-12, November-December 2010, p.505

<sup>47</sup> Mondira Dutta, "India-Afghanistan Relations: Opportunities and Challenges", *World Focus*, Vol. XXIX, No. 11-12, November-December, 2008, p.417

<sup>48</sup> W. Raja, "The Complicated Tussle: Competing Interests of Regional Powers & Afghanistan's Neighbours", *Master of Defence Studies Research Project*, Canadian Forces College, JCSP 38, p.39

<sup>49</sup> Nicholas Howenstein, Sumit Ganguly, "Pakistan & Afghanistan: Domestic Pressures and Regional Threats: India-Pakistan Rivalry in Afghanistan", *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 63, No. 1, 2009, p.37

<sup>50</sup> Stephen Blank, "India's Rising Profile in Central Asia," Taylor and Francis, 2003, p.142

#### **4.1 (g) Contain Drug Trafficking and Narco-Terrorism**

Another concern for India is the production of opium in Afghanistan and drug trafficking in the region. The southern provinces of Afghanistan concentrate eighty percent of world's opium production.<sup>51</sup> The illegal trade of drugs in this country is a major source for the terrorist groups to generate money<sup>52</sup> and buy weaponry. Other related concern with this opium production is the spread of drugs throughout the region. Thus, fighting drug trafficking and Narco-terrorism forms a significant part of India's Afghan Policy.

#### **4.1 (h) Maintain Presence in Afghanistan**

India wants to consolidate her presence,<sup>53</sup> as it is effective in preventing the "Islamic (Extremist) Belt allied to Pakistan."<sup>54</sup> The Strategic Agreement signed between the two nations immediately after the US announcement of troop's withdrawal justifies that India does not want Kabul to fall prey to extremist Islamist ideology.<sup>55</sup> For maintaining her presence and securing a strong foothold, the country has to generate support from the local population and the major aim of her Afghan Policy is to build goodwill with the Afghan people.<sup>56</sup> The country has succeeded in this respect with her support in the infrastructure projects, capacity-building measures and skill development programmes.<sup>57</sup> Strategically, her presence in Afghanistan will also reduce the dominance of China and the United States in Central as well as South Asia.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Mondira Dutta, "India-Afghanistan Relations: Opportunities and Challenges", *World Focus*, Vol. XXIX, No. 11-12, November-December 2008, p.415

<sup>52</sup> Jorge Heine, Partha Ghosh, "The Elephant in the War: India and the Afghan-Pakistan Link", *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*, Vol. 17, No. 01, March 2011, p.55

<sup>53</sup> Dipanjan Roy Chaudhury, "India's Foreign Policy Priorities: Economy Emerges as the Driving Force", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXI, No. 11-12, November-December 2010, p.503

<sup>54</sup> Mondira Dutta, "India-Afghanistan Relations: Opportunities and Challenges", *World Focus*, Vol. XXIX, No. 11-12, November-December, 2008, p.417

<sup>55</sup> Mahesh Ranjan Debata, "India's Policy towards Afghanistan", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December, 2011, p.802

<sup>56</sup> W. Raja, "The Complicated Tussle: Competing Interests of Regional Powers & Afghanistan's Neighbours", *Master of Defence Studies Research Project*, Canadian Forces College, JCSP 38, p.36

<sup>57</sup> Vishal Chandra, "Growing Afghan Uncertainty and India's Options", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 06, June 2011, p.379

<sup>58</sup> Mondira Dutta, "India-Afghanistan Relations: Opportunities and Challenges", *World Focus*, Vol. XXIX, No. 11-12, November-December, 2008, p.417

## 4.2 Challenges for India's Afghan Policy

It is evident from the above discourse that India has considerable interests in Afghanistan. However, India's Afghan policy is not free from obstacles. There are various challenges ahead to promote her interests in Afghanistan. The changing circumstances in the form of the US troop's withdrawal up to 2014, resurgence of Taliban, Pakistan factor, emerging China factor in Afghan affairs etc. have fuelled the complex nature of challenges and the most significant among them are as following:

### 4.2 (a) Resurgence of Taliban

The Taliban insurgents have made a strong comeback with a new guerrilla strategy to challenge the US-led coalition forces and as such, the death toll of the ISAF went up five to six times since their resurgence.<sup>59</sup> The US decision of NATO withdrawal at a time when insurgency in Afghanistan is at climax is enough to describe that Taliban has succeeded in transforming the US-led war to its advantage.<sup>60</sup> The issues of poverty, unemployment, disenfranchised peasants and helpless tribes make it easy for the Taliban to exploit and recruit them for carrying the terrorist activities.<sup>61</sup> The backing of Pakistan as well as the overwhelming reliance on the Pashtun population led Taliban success during 1990s, and these two factors are still relevant for strengthening Taliban.<sup>62</sup> The continued instability and resurgence of extremism in Afghanistan do not augur well for India.<sup>63</sup> Various analysts while describing the attacks on Indians in Afghanistan as premeditated and specifically targeted take it as a part of Taliban's strategy to force her leave the country.<sup>64</sup> The impact of the Taliban resurgence on the regional and Pakistani extremist groups is also a major security

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<sup>59</sup> K Subrahmanya, "Afghanistan: The long Retreat of US", *Deccan Herald*, November 25, 2012

<sup>60</sup> Vishal Chandra, "India in the Afghan Maze: Search for Options", *Strategic Analysis*, Vol. 35, No. 1, January 2011, p.120

<sup>61</sup> "India's Strategy in Afghanistan: A Farewell to Dilemmas", India Research Group, New Delhi, 2010, p.18, accessible at: <http://tirgroup.org/pub/afghanistan>, (accessed on September 21, 2012, at 21:27)

<sup>62</sup> K Subrahmanya, "Afghanistan: The long Retreat of US", *Deccan Herald*, November 25, 2012

<sup>63</sup> Nirmala Joshi, "India, Central Asia and Afghanistan: Security and Economic Dimensions", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXI, No. 11-12, November-December 2010, p.551

<sup>64</sup> Mondira Dutta, "India-Afghanistan Relations: Opportunities and Challenges", *World Focus*, Vol. XXIX, No. 11-12, November-December 2008, p.414

concern for her.<sup>65</sup> There are also doubts regarding the confinement of Taliban only to Afghanistan if they return to power.

#### 4.2 (b) Growing Nexus between the Terrorist Organizations

Afghanistan since long has been acting as a breeding ground for Islamic Militants, Al-Qaeda operatives, Haqqani networks, Lashkar-e-Taiba, and the Taliban extremism.<sup>66</sup> Besides the strong resurgence of Taliban, there are reports suggesting that it has merged into horrific terrorist Haqqani network (a Pakistan-based terrorist outfit) operating particularly in the southern and eastern Afghanistan. Lashkar-e-Taiba has its own camps in Kunar that lies in the northeast Afghanistan.<sup>67</sup> The Pentagon Press Secretary, Mr. George Little, also acknowledged, "*The Haqqanis are a group that... pose a threat to ISAF forces in Afghanistan today. What Haqqani-related decisions are in a post-2014 Afghanistan, I cannot say on this day in November 2012. I think it's a logical question that would be surfaced in the review*".<sup>68</sup> Various Jihadi groups existent in Pakistan have strengthened ties with the Taliban and al Qaeda, besides assimilating the ambitions and methodology of al Qaeda.<sup>69</sup> There is also a threat that some of these groups are targeting the nuclear stockpile of Pakistan.<sup>70</sup> The Af-Pak region since 1990s is famous for providing training and other logistical support to various militant groups operating in Kashmir Valley like Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) and Hizb-ul-Mujahideen (HM).<sup>71</sup> Militant activities in the Kashmir valley continues as in 2013 the active militant groups carried out several deadly attacks on the military and civilian. Srinagar, the summer capital of Jammu & Kashmir, also witnessed some horrific attacks during the same year. Since the Jammu & Kashmir Panchayat elections in mid-2011, the militants have also killed many Sarpanches and Panches. The militant

<sup>65</sup> Gautam Mukhopadhaya, "Afghanistan: Is a Regional Strategy viable in Afghanistan", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, Washington D. C., 2010, p.27

<sup>66</sup> Rajen Singh Laishram, "India's Afghanistan Policy: Beyond Bilateralism", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.775

<sup>67</sup> C. Christine Fair, "Under the Shrinking U.S. Security Umbrella: India's Endgame in Afghanistan?", *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 2, 2011, p.181

<sup>68</sup> For details see *The Times of India*, November 28, 2012

<sup>69</sup> Gautam Mukhopadhaya, "Afghanistan: Is a Regional Strategy viable in Afghanistan", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, Washington D. C., 2010, p.30

<sup>70</sup> Gautam Mukhopadhaya, "Afghanistan: Is a Regional Strategy viable in Afghanistan", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, Washington D. C., 2010, p.30

<sup>71</sup> Nicholas Howenstein, Sumit Ganguly, "Pakistan & Afghanistan: Domestic Pressures and Regional Threats: India-Pakistan Rivalry in Afghanistan", *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 63, No. 1, 2009, p.37

groups active in Kashmir receive continues support across the border in the form of training, weaponry, money and shelter. Thus, the growing nexus between the terrorist organizations on one side and the insurgency in Kashmir valley on the other side is an utmost concern for India.

#### **4.2 (c) Security of the Indian Workers in Afghanistan**

The attacks on the Indian nationals and establishments pose another threat for India's interests in Afghanistan. The rising terrorist attacks in this war torn nation since 2006 has targeted India's developmental projects killing several Indian personnel.<sup>72</sup> These attacks have made it difficult for India to execute her assistance projects. Some attacks include an ambush killing two Indo-Tibetan Border Police personnel in Nimroz province in January 2008, the attack on the Indian road construction team in Minar area of Nimroz province killing two Indian engineers and injuring five others on 12<sup>th</sup> of April 2008, and the kidnapping of an India citizen in Herat province, working for Dubai-based HEB International Logistics.<sup>73</sup> India faced the first terror attack on her diplomatic mission abroad on 08<sup>th</sup> of July 2008 in the form of suicide car bombing on her Kabul Embassy that killed 54 including two senior Indian diplomats, Brig. Ravi Datt Mehta and IFS Officer V. Venkateswara, and two Indian security personnel.<sup>74</sup> The attacks on the Kabul Embassy followed by the 26/11 (Mumbai Attack) demonstrate the threat of terrorism for India.<sup>75</sup> Indian Embassy again targeted on October 08, 2009 cause death to 17 and injured 80, and the attack on February 26, 2010 at Arya guesthouse in Kabul leads to the death of 09 Indians.<sup>76</sup> Thus, the security of Indians working in Afghanistan is a matter of concern for India.

#### **4.2 (d) State Sponsored Terrorism against India in Abroad**

State sponsored terrorism is a major challenge for India. The country has repeatedly convinced the international community in general and the US in particular about the

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<sup>72</sup> Mahesh Ranjan Debata, "India's Policy towards Afghanistan", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.803

<sup>73</sup> Mondira Dutta, "India-Afghanistan Relations: Opportunities and Challenges", *World Focus*, Vol. XXIX, No. 11-12, November-December 2008, p.414

<sup>74</sup> Nalini Kant Jha, Sumit Kumar, "India's Policy towards South Asian Neighbours: Constraints and Prospects", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 05, May 2011, p.275

<sup>75</sup> Dipanjan Roy Chaudhury, "India's Foreign Policy Priorities: Economy Emerges as the Driving Force", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXI, No. 11-12, November-December 2010, p.503

<sup>76</sup> Rajen Singh Laishram, "India's Afghanistan Policy: Beyond Bilateralism", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.778

'ill designs of state sponsored terrorism in her neighbourhood and the security threats emanating from there'.<sup>77</sup> India suspects the involvement of Pakistan military in the attacks against Indian consulates and Embassy in Afghanistan.<sup>78</sup> As suggested by various reports, India holds ISI responsible for planning and Haqqani Network for carrying out these attacks.<sup>79</sup> As admitted by Admiral Michael Mullen, in capacity of the US Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in open Senate testimony, the terrorist Haqqani Network was a "veritable arm" of Pakistan's ISI-Directorate.<sup>80</sup> India, being the victim of state sponsored terrorism at domestic level, now faces the same abroad also. Thus, the menace of state sponsored terrorism challenges her foreign policy in general and Afghan policy in particular.

#### **4.2 (e) The United States Decision of NATO Withdrawal**

The US decision of withdrawing the NATO forces from Afghanistan has put the peace and reconstruction process in this war torn country in shuffles.<sup>81</sup> India has contributed a lot in rebuilding Afghanistan. However, all these efforts succeeded because of the security provided by the US-led coalition forces.<sup>82</sup> NATO exit will adversely affect her projects and personnel in Afghanistan, as the ANSF is not in capacity to handle and face the extremist insurgency.<sup>83</sup> The resurgence of Taliban and its increasing guerrilla warfare is enough to justify that Afghanistan is still dangerous for the neighbouring countries and the regions adjacent to her.<sup>84</sup> The US withdrawal now raises the threat perception that the war torn nation will again become an epicentre of terror. The 1990s style civil war is also possible in Afghanistan if the international coalition forces left Afghanistan at this critical juncture.<sup>85</sup> The US

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<sup>77</sup> Kuldip Singh, "India, Central Asia and the Changing Contours of War on Terrorism", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.824

<sup>78</sup> Gautam Mukhopadhaya, "Afghanistan: Is a Regional Strategy viable in Afghanistan", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, Washington D. C., 2010, p.27

<sup>79</sup> Nalini Kant Jha, Sumit Kumar, "India's Policy towards South Asian Neighbours: Constraints and Prospects", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 05, May 2011, p.275

<sup>80</sup> Elisabeth Bumiller, Jane Perlez, "Pakistan's Spy Agency is Tied to Attack on US Embassy", *The New York Times*, September 22, 2011

<sup>81</sup> Mahesh Ranjan Debata, "India's Policy towards Afghanistan", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.802

<sup>82</sup> Sumit Ganguly, "India's Role in Afghanistan", *CIDOB Policy Research Project*, January 2012, p.4

<sup>83</sup> Nalini Kant Jha, Sumit Kumar, "India's Policy towards South Asian Neighbours: Constraints and Prospects", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 05, May 2011, p.275

<sup>84</sup> K Subrahmanya, "Afghanistan: The long Retreat of US", *Deccan Herald*, November 25, 2012

<sup>85</sup> Nalini Kant Jha, Sumit Kumar, "India's Policy towards South Asian Neighbours: Constraints and Prospects", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 05, May 2011, p.275

decision appears defective,<sup>86</sup> as the outcome of NATO withdrawal with only half work done in Afghanistan could be more dangerous than 1996 to 2001.

#### **4.2 (f) Ambiguity in the United States Afghan Policy**

India and USA, as against the early phase of post-9/11, witnessed divergence of perceptions on Afghanistan issue in the current phase. The two have different perceptions regarding certain issues including the relative threats posed by al Qaeda, Afghan Taliban, Pakistani Taliban and other militant groups active in Pakistan, the reliability of Pakistan army to campaign with the US in tackling the Taliban, Pakistan's propaganda over India's role in Afghanistan, and the issue of negotiations with the Taliban.<sup>87</sup> The US doublespeak has not provided any good sign for India. Besides criticizing Pakistan for her links with terrorist groups and the presence of Osama bin Laden at Abbottabad in Pakistan, the United States has not taken any concrete action against her.<sup>88</sup> The confusion over the commitments of West has put India under suspicion regarding the US designs in the region. The London Conference on Afghanistan in January 2010 to reach out the Taliban creates doubt regarding the fulfilment of commitment by the US in the region.<sup>89</sup> The ISI facilitated a meeting between the US National Security Advisor Tom Donilon and Haqqani family members in Dubai in August 2011.<sup>90</sup> The purpose of the meeting was to work out a future arrangement in Kabul to accommodate Haqqani Network in some way.<sup>91</sup> The shift in the US Afghan policy to seek a possible political role for the Taliban could add to uncertainties and instability of Afghanistan.

#### **4.2 (g) The Process of Taliban Reconciliation**

The reconciliation process to deal with Taliban for the future of Afghanistan is a major challenge before India. With the backing of the United States, the Karzai

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<sup>86</sup> Vishal Chandra, "Growing Afghan Uncertainty and India's Options", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 06, June 2011, p.378

<sup>87</sup> Gautam Mukhopadhaya, "Afghanistan: Is a Regional Strategy viable in Afghanistan", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, Washington D. C., 2010, p.27

<sup>88</sup> Mahesh Ranjan Debata, "India's Policy towards Afghanistan", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.805

<sup>89</sup> Gautam Mukhopadhaya, "Afghanistan: Is a Regional Strategy viable in Afghanistan", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, Washington D. C., 2010, p.30

<sup>90</sup> Chidananda Rajghatta, "Terror Shadow: US Set to Cut Pak Ties", *Times of India*, October 08, 2011, p.22

<sup>91</sup> Mahesh Ranjan Debata, "India's Policy towards Afghanistan", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.805



government has started this process since the London Conference on Afghanistan held in 2010. The basic aim of this policy is to engage Taliban to share power at Kabul. However, the reconciliation process may lead towards severe consequences. For India, the Taliban regime during 1990s proved against her interests and any future arrangement of power sharing with Taliban does not have good sign for her. The country perceives that the seizure of power by any faction of Taliban will provide safe havens for terrorism in general and attacks on Indian projects and personnel in particular.<sup>92</sup>

#### **4.2 (h) Ambiguity in the Policies of Afghan Government**

Another challenge for India's Afghan Policy is the contradictory approach of the Government of Afghanistan. On the one hand, Afghan government criticizes Pakistan for supporting Taliban and on the other hand seeks Pakistan's help to deal her internal problems.<sup>93</sup> Besides accusing Pakistan of fighting a proxy war within the Afghan territory, the Afghan President did not hesitate to hail Pakistan as 'twin brother' and a key for long-term peace in the region.<sup>94</sup> Mr. Karzai delivering the Third RK Mishra Memorial Lecture at New Delhi (organized by Observer research Foundation) said, "*Pakistan is a twin brother. India is a great friend. The agreement we (Afghanistan) signed yesterday (04<sup>th</sup> of October 2011) with our friend (India) will not affect our brother*".<sup>95</sup> The efforts of the Washington and Kabul to frame out the future of Afghanistan and the space they have provided for Islamabad in this process itself speaks of the contradictory approach. This ambiguity in the Afghan policies is also a major challenge before India's Afghan Policy.

#### **4.2 (i) Training and Equipping the ANSF**

Since the US decision of ISAF withdrawal from Afghanistan, the training of the ANSF has become a question for all interested players in Afghanistan. The limited and rushed training of the ANSF is not enough to face the challenge posed by the

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<sup>92</sup> Nalini Kant Jha, Sumit Kumar, "India's Policy towards South Asian Neighbours: Constraints and Prospects", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 05, May 2011, p.275

<sup>93</sup> Mahesh Ranjan Debata, "India's Policy towards Afghanistan", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.805

<sup>94</sup> Joshua Partlow, Karin Brulliard, "Karzai Seeks Pakistan's Help in Stalled Peace Process", *Hindustan Times*, October 10, 2011, p.15

<sup>95</sup> "After Tango with India, Karzai Tunes in to Pakistan", *Hindustan Times*, October 06, 2011, p.10

Taliban insurgency. Thus, the other challenge for India's Afghan Policy is to transform the ANSF into real fighting force capable of facing the Taliban and al Qaeda. India has agreed to train and support the ANSF to fight extremism and control violence. However, such capacity of India has the limits taking into consideration the susceptibility created by Pakistan among the world nations regarding her activities in Afghanistan.

#### **4.2 (j) Suspicion over India's Presence in Afghanistan**

The susceptibility of international community, particularly the regional players, regarding India's presence in Afghanistan as created by Pakistan's sensitiveness poses a serious challenge for her.<sup>96</sup> There is also a perception that the hegemonic designs in the region are driving India's Afghan policy.<sup>97</sup> There are also opinions from various think tanks that the country has a design to control the land routes for Central Asian resources leading to warm water ports with the perception to prevent both Pakistan and China acting against her interests in the region.<sup>98</sup> This susceptibility limits her capacity to help Afghanistan become a secure, peaceful and democratic nation.<sup>99</sup> Thus, it is a matter of concern for India to make the world community realize that her interests in Afghanistan are not against any nation.

#### **4.2 (k) China's involvement in Afghanistan**

China appears as a new competitor to India in Afghanistan. With the signing of a deal with Afghanistan in May 2008, China has made the largest single foreign direct investment in that country amounting to US\$ 3.5 billion in the Aynak Copper field in Logar province.<sup>100</sup> On 16<sup>th</sup> of September 2011, her oil company 'China National Petroleum Corporation' (CNPC) has won Afghanistan's first oil field auction since the US invasion. This will help her to secure energy resources as well as increase her

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<sup>96</sup> Gautam Mukhopadhaya, "Afghanistan: Is a Regional Strategy viable in Afghanistan", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, Washington D. C., 2010, p.32

<sup>97</sup> W. Raja, "The Complicated Tussle: Competing Interests of Regional Powers & Afghanistan's Neighbours", *Master of Defence Studies Research Project*, Canadian Forces College, No. 38, pp.29-30

<sup>98</sup> Stephen Blank, "India's Rising Profile in Central Asia," *Taylor and Francis*, 2003, p.141

<sup>99</sup> Gautam Mukhopadhaya, "Afghanistan: Is a Regional Strategy viable in Afghanistan", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, Washington D. C., 2010, p.32

<sup>100</sup> Rajen Singh Laishram, "India's Afghanistan Policy: Beyond Bilateralism", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.777

presence in the war torn nation.<sup>101</sup> China also committed to build a 400 MW Coal-fired power plant, a freight railway running from Xinjiang through Tajikistan to Afghanistan, a hospital and a Mosque.<sup>102</sup> The country has already targeted India while overreaching her in Southeast Asia and Central Asia and managed to establish a strategic presence in India's neighbourhood.<sup>103</sup> Her presence in Afghanistan, thus, has serious implications for India. Another related aspect with China Factor is the growing Sino-Pak nexus. The post-Osama phase witnessed the US decision of troop's drawdown on one side and Sino-Pak cooperation on matters relating to counter-terrorism as well as promoting stability & peace in Afghanistan on the other side.<sup>104</sup> These changes have raised concerns for India about the nature of power relations in the region.

#### **4.2 (I) Lack of Direct Transit to Afghanistan and Obstacles via Iran**

India has built a road from Zaranj to Delaram and assisted in Chah Bahar Port to reduce the transit dependence on Pakistan. However, the attacks of Taliban also prevent the movement of goods from this road.<sup>105</sup> Besides it, the US is not happy with India's increasing engagements with Iran. Reaching Afghanistan and the Central Asian Republics via Iran irritates the west. Iran too has reservations regarding India's closeness with the US. The US-Iran rift has put India in doldrums and it is a crucial task and most difficult challenge for India to balance the USA and Iran.

#### **4.3 Pakistan Factor in Indo-Afghan Relations**

Pakistan is the primary rival of India in South Asia<sup>106</sup> and a main challenge for her Afghan Policy.<sup>107</sup> The political, security and economic interests of the two rivals in

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<sup>101</sup> Mahesh Ranjan Debata, "India's Policy towards Afghanistan", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.803

<sup>102</sup> Christian Le Miere, "Kabul's New Patron: The Growing Afghan-Chinese Relationship", *Foreign Affairs*, April 13, 2010, accessible at: <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/66194/christian-le-miere/kabuls-new-patron>, (accessed on March 03, 2012, at 22:12)

<sup>103</sup> Mahesh Ranjan Debata, "India's Policy towards Afghanistan", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.803

<sup>104</sup> Mohor Chakraborty, "India-Pakistan Relations: From Trust Deficit to Trust Building", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.799

<sup>105</sup> Mondira Dutta, "India-Afghanistan Relations: Opportunities and Challenges", *World Focus*, Vol. XXIX, No. 11-12, November-December 2008, p.415

<sup>106</sup> Tridib Chakraborti, "India's Relations with South Asia in 2010: A Journey of Crests and Troughs", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXI, No. 11-12, November-December 2010, p.510

<sup>107</sup> Mondira Dutta, "India-Afghanistan Relations: Opportunities and Challenges", *World Focus*, Vol. XXIX, No. 11-12, November-December 2008, p.417

Afghanistan largely deviate with each other. The strategic triangle of 'India-Pakistan-Afghanistan' is evident with the observation that “*Central aim for Pakistan's military tsars is to make sure that the future political make-up in Afghanistan does not allow India to expand (her) security or even develop footprint*”.<sup>108</sup> Given the mistrust and discord between the two, India's presence in Afghanistan has created apprehensions within Pakistan.<sup>109</sup> The country seems antagonistic to the growing Indo-Afghan relations on one side and India, Afghanistan and Iran on the other side.<sup>110</sup> There is an apprehension among the critics of India's Afghan Policy in sustaining her presence in Afghanistan taking into consideration the resurgence of Taliban, Pakistan's comeback in Afghan politics and Pakistan's design to use Afghan territory against the interests of India.<sup>111</sup> Indo-Pak conflict did not remain confined to the traditional issues of Kashmir, Siachen, Sir Creek, but has moved to more complex issues including economic battle, international-cum-regional status, intra & inter regional alliances with diverge interests, expanding their areas of influence against each other, access to the unexplored natural resources in the regions adjacent and so on. In this respect, Central Asia, being a resource rich region and at close distance to India and Pakistan, is also a matter of concern between the two.<sup>112</sup> Regarding India's presence in Afghanistan, Pakistan perceives that her design is to marginalize Pakistan's position to become a strong partner of Central Asian resources.<sup>113</sup> Thus, marginalizing India's influence in Afghanistan is vital for her strategic designs to prevent India from reaching the Central Asia.<sup>114</sup> Pakistan also comprehends that India perceives Afghanistan as a geopolitical constraint on her.<sup>115</sup> The country has the suspicion that

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<sup>108</sup> Rudra Chaudhuri, “Balancing US Interests in India and Pakistan”, *The International Spectator*, Vol. 46, No. 2, 2011, p.85

<sup>109</sup> Sumit Ganguly, *Conflict Unending: India-Pakistan Tensions since 1947*, New York, 2001

<sup>110</sup> Rajen Singh Laishram, “India's Afghanistan Policy: Beyond Bilateralism”, *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.778

<sup>111</sup> Mondira Dutta, “India-Afghanistan Relations: Opportunities and Challenges”, *World Focus*, Vol. XXIX, No. 11-12, November-December 2008, p.417

<sup>112</sup> Frederic Grare, “Pakistan”, *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, Washington D. C., 2010, pp.18-19

<sup>113</sup> Qadar Bakhsh Baloch, Abdul Hafeez Khan Niazi, “Indian Encroachment in Afghanistan: A New Imperialism in the Making”, *The Dialogue*, Vol. III, November 01, 2009, p.19

<sup>114</sup> Eric Randolph, “India's Afghanistan Dilemma”, *The Guardian*, January 05, 2010

<sup>115</sup> Qadar Bakhsh Baloch, Abdul Hafeez Khan Niazi, “Indian Encroachment in Afghanistan: A New Imperialism in the Making”, *The Dialogue*, Vol. III, November 01, 2009, p.22

India is encircling with the purpose to destabilize her,<sup>116</sup> and takes it as the primary motive of India to encircle her while establishing a strategic foothold in Afghanistan.<sup>117</sup> India's presence in Afghanistan is irritating her in many respects,<sup>118</sup> and the country has repeatedly expressed her concern in this regard.<sup>119</sup> The country has the perception that India uses her Consulates to encourage conflict in Baluchistan and other provinces across the border.<sup>120</sup> Thus, Pakistan takes every move of India in Afghanistan hostile to her interests.<sup>121</sup> The country considers the objective of India's support to the US-led war in Afghanistan not to end terrorism, but to destabilize Pakistan.<sup>122</sup> While building the hydropower projects on the Indus, Jhelum and Chenab rivers, India has restricted the flow of waters to this country. Now, building 12 hydropower projects on the Kabul River are certainly going to have severe consequences for Pakistan.<sup>123</sup> Thus, from her perspective, India is looking to undermine her political stability, territorial integrity and economic viability.<sup>124</sup> Taking into account the Strategic Agreement signed between India and Afghanistan, Pakistan officials have expressed concerns with the suspicion that such kind of pact could harm the long-term interests of the country in the region.<sup>125</sup> India also wants, as the analysts of Pakistan think, to maintain presence in Afghanistan with the motive to replace Pakistan as the strategic ally of the United States.<sup>126</sup> The policy makers of the country also deny accepting the economic interests of India as of primary concern. They hold that India, primarily, has strategic interests to counter-balance Pakistan's support to

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<sup>116</sup> Gautam Mukhopadhaya, "Afghanistan: Is a Regional Strategy viable in Afghanistan", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, Washington D. C., 2010, p.34

<sup>117</sup> Simon Tisdall, "India May Pay Heavily in Future for Supporting the Karzai Regime", *The Guardian*, October 05, 2011

<sup>118</sup> Mondira Dutta, "India-Afghanistan Relations: Opportunities and Challenges", *World Focus*, Vol. XXIX, No. 11-12, November-December 2008, p.415

<sup>119</sup> Simon Tisdall, "India May Pay Heavily in Future for Supporting the Karzai Regime", *The Guardian*, October 05, 2011

<sup>120</sup> Ramachandran Sudha, "Now it is War against India in Afghanistan", *Asia Times*, July 2008, p.37

<sup>121</sup> Gautam Mukhopadhaya, "Afghanistan: Is a Regional Strategy viable in Afghanistan", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, Washington D. C., 2010, p.34

<sup>122</sup> Qadar Bakhsh Baloch, Abdul Hafeez Khan Niazi, "Indian Encroachment in Afghanistan: A New Imperialism in the Making", *The Dialogue*, Vol. III, November 01, 2009, p.17

<sup>123</sup> W. Raja, "The Complicated Tussle: Competing Interests of Regional Powers & Afghanistan's Neighbours", *Master of Defence Studies Research Project*, Canadian Forces College, No. 38, p.37

<sup>124</sup> Scott Baldauf, "India-Pakistan Rivalry Reaches into Afghanistan", *Christian Science Monitor*, September 12, 2003

<sup>125</sup> Imtiaz Ahmad, "Pakistan Reacts Cautiously to India-Afghan Pact", *Hindustan Times*, October 06, 2011, p.17

<sup>126</sup> Qadar Bakhsh Baloch, Abdul Hafeez Khan Niazi, "Indian Encroachment in Afghanistan: A New Imperialism in the Making", *The Dialogue*, Vol. III, November 01, 2009, p.20

the insurgency movement of Kashmir.<sup>127</sup> The country also suspects that India's presence in Afghanistan aim at cultivating a diplomatic and intelligence network to maintain a close watch over Pakistan.<sup>128</sup>

Pakistan since last few years has witnessed sudden increase of domestic violence in the form of terrorist attacks and insurgency movements. India, being her main rival, is the primary target to be accused and the country suspects that India supports the insurgencies in Baluchistan and Waziristan.<sup>129</sup> Her main justification for suspecting India behind this instability is the perception that Pakistan is the only potential country in the region to challenge the hegemonic tendencies of India, and is, thus, likely to face severe security threats under the hands of India.<sup>130</sup> The country projects the Indian Consulates in Afghanistan working for India's intelligence agency RAW (Research and Analysis Wing),<sup>131</sup> to supply money, arms and ammunition to the insurgent groups in her tribal areas.<sup>132</sup> Various think tanks also suggest that India's construction of Zaranj-Delaram highway on one side and dams on the Kabul River on the other side aim at creating rift between Afghanistan and Pakistan.<sup>133</sup>

Pakistan has always seen Afghanistan as her backyard and a source of strategic depth. During 1990s, only Saudi Arabia, the UAE and Pakistan recognised the Taliban government in Afghanistan.<sup>134</sup> The country has used Afghanistan against the interests of India under the policy framework of 'Strategic Depth',<sup>135</sup> and has designed her Afghan strategy in accordance with the Indo-Pak conflict. The first objective of

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<sup>127</sup> Qadar Bakhsh Baloch, Abdul Hafeez Khan Niazi, "Indian Encroachment in Afghanistan: A New Imperialism in the Making", *The Dialogue*, Vol. III, November 01, 2009, p.18

<sup>128</sup> W. Raja, "The Complicated Tussle: Competing Interests of Regional Powers & Afghanistan's Neighbours", *Master of Defence Studies Research Project*, Canadian Forces College, No. 38, p.40

<sup>129</sup> Karen De Young, "Obama to Explore New Approach in Afghanistan War", *Washington Post*, November 11, 2008

<sup>130</sup> Qadar Bakhsh Baloch, Abdul Hafeez Khan Niazi, "Indian Encroachment in Afghanistan: A New Imperialism in the Making", *The Dialogue*, Vol. III, November 01, 2009, p.17

<sup>131</sup> Scott Baldauf, "India-Pakistan Rivalry Reaches into Afghanistan", *Christian Science Monitor*, September 12, 2003

<sup>132</sup> Shaiq Hussain, "Pakistan to Ask India to Rein in Afghan Consulates", *Nation*, March 18, 2006

<sup>133</sup> W. Raja, "The Complicated Tussle: Competing Interests of Regional Powers & Afghanistan's Neighbours", *Master of Defence Studies Research Project*, Canadian Forces College, No. 38, p.39

<sup>134</sup> Paula Newberg, "Pakistan Taliban and Afghanistan: Implications for Region and Options for International Action", *Special Report*, accessible at: [www.usip.org](http://www.usip.org), (accessed on March 03, 2013, at 22:27)

<sup>135</sup> Gautam Mukhopadhaya, "Afghanistan: Is a Regional Strategy viable in Afghanistan", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, Washington D. C., 2010, p.27

Pakistan is to prevent India's influence in Afghanistan.<sup>136</sup> The country again designs her 'Strategic Depth' to limit India's role and presence in a post-US Afghanistan.<sup>137</sup> The Strategic Depth will enable her to use the Afghan territory, as previously done, to organize and train terrorist groups against India to forge violence, particularly in Jammu & Kashmir.<sup>138</sup> Before the 9/11, Pakistan's strategic interests in Afghanistan were to formulate a durable peace with the pro-Pak government in Kabul, repatriate the Afghan refugees from Pakistan, access the markets in Central Asia and explore a safe route for the oil and gas pipeline from Turkmenistan to the Arabian Sea.<sup>139</sup> Following the event of 9/11, the country emerged out as a front line state and became a trusted US ally in her war against Afghanistan.<sup>140</sup> The Government of Pakistan announced the end of support to the Taliban, immediately after the event of 9/11 and provided all possible support to the international coalition forces in the form of military bases and transit routes.<sup>141</sup> Now, when the US has announced to drawdown troops, Pakistan has the designs to map out the future arrangements in Afghanistan. The long-standing objective of this country in Afghanistan has been to establish a friendly government.<sup>142</sup> The Pak perception regarding the Taliban controlled Afghanistan is two-folded. First, Taliban in power at Kabul would be more comfortable for Pakistan's Strategic Depth. Second, New Delhi would have no influence over the Taliban.<sup>143</sup> Since the idea of Afghan President Mr. Hamid Karzai in 2010 to induct Taliban into the government, Pakistan is trying hard to bring Haqqani Network into the negotiating table.<sup>144</sup> Assessing that US is not capable of handling the Afghan war properly; the Pak Army shows the interest for the workable exit strategy

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<sup>136</sup> Frederic Grare, "Pakistan", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, Washington D. C., 2010, p.17

<sup>137</sup> Eric Randolph, "India's Afghanistan Dilemma", *The Guardian*, January 05, 2010

<sup>138</sup> S. Paul Kapur, Sumit Ganguly, "The Sorcerer's Apprentice: Islamist Militancy in South Asia" *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 33, No. 1, January 2010, p.51

<sup>139</sup> Kamal Matinuddin, *The Taliban Phenomenon: Afghanistan 1994-1997*, London, 1999, p.141

<sup>140</sup> G. G. Pamidi, "The Changing US-Pakistan Relations and Its Effect on India", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.812

<sup>141</sup> Frederic Grare, "Pakistan", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, Washington D. C., 2010, pp.18-19

<sup>142</sup> Paula Newberg, "Pakistan Taliban and Afghanistan: Implications for Region and Options for International Action", *Special Report*, accessible at: [www.usip.org](http://www.usip.org), (accessed on March 03, 2013, at 23:18)

<sup>143</sup> Vinod Anand, G.G. Pamidi, "The State of Pakistan Today", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXI, No. 11-12, November-December 2010, p.535

<sup>144</sup> Syed Nooruzzaman, "Pro-Pak Taliban Faction's Bid for Power", *The Tribune*, June 19, 2010

to set the deal with Taliban.<sup>145</sup> The country takes the resurgence of Taliban as an advantage to win the international community's assurance, particularly the United States that Pakistan is all time frontline state in the Afghan affairs.<sup>146</sup> Her interest is that the security situation in Pakistan will become better if reconciliation between Afghanistan and Haqqani group take place. It is now clear that the country has the interest of including Haqqani Network and Taliban to share power at Kabul.<sup>147</sup> Her role in the Afghan national reconciliation process poses another challenge for India.<sup>148</sup> India fears that such role would allow her Strategic Depth to play again against the interests of India.<sup>149</sup> With the return of Pakistan in the Afghan politics, the compulsions for India's Afghan Policy have grown up.<sup>150</sup>

The newly elected Obama administration in 2009 focused to redraw the map to include the tribal regions of western Pakistan as the part of war in Afghanistan.<sup>151</sup> After the meeting of President Obama with Afghan President Hamid Karzai and Pakistan President Asif Ali Zardari, General James Jones (US National Security Adviser) put it in a press briefing that "*We have several countries, but we have one theatre*".<sup>152</sup> Thus, the Obama administration introduced the term "AfPak" with the realization that Pakistan has equal priority to deal with the terrorist groups and achieve success in Afghanistan.<sup>153</sup> However, Pakistan continues to provide shelter to various extremist groups, and has done nothing effectively in this regard instead of tremendous pressure from international community.<sup>154</sup> A number of terrorist groups

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<sup>145</sup> Vinod Anand, G.G. Pamidi, "The State of Pakistan Today", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXI, No. 11-12, November-December 2010, p.535

<sup>146</sup> Mondira Dutta, "India-Afghanistan Relations: Opportunities and Challenges", *World Focus*, Vol. XXIX, No. 11-12, November-December 2008, p.417

<sup>147</sup> Harsh V. Pant, "New Phase in India Afghan Ties", *The Tribune*, October 08, 2011

<sup>148</sup> Dipanjan Roy Chaudhury, "India's Foreign Policy Priorities: Economy Emerges as the Driving Force", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXI, No. 11-12, November-December 2010, p.505

<sup>149</sup> Kuldeep Singh, "India, Central Asia and the Changing Contours of War on Terrorism", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.824

<sup>150</sup> Vishal Chandra, "India in the Afghan Maze: Search for Options", *Strategic Analysis*, Vol. 35, No. 1, January 2011, p.20

<sup>151</sup> Karen De Young, "Obama to Explore New Approach in Afghanistan War", *Washington Post*, November 11, 2008

<sup>152</sup> Jessica T. Mathews, "Through Their Eyes: Possibility for a Regional Approach to Afghanistan", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, Washington D. C., 2010, p.2

<sup>153</sup> Jessica T. Mathews, "Through Their Eyes: Possibility for a Regional Approach to Afghanistan", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, Washington D. C., 2010, p.2

<sup>154</sup> Frederic Grare, "Pakistan", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, Washington D. C., 2010, p.21



still receive support, training and funds from Pakistan.<sup>155</sup> India has repeatedly asked the international community to pressurize the country to curb terrorism operating from her soil.<sup>156</sup> The Taliban and al Qaeda mainly operate across the southern Afghanistan in the tribal areas of Pakistan and this is in principle responsible for the United States to order unmanned Drone attacks on these hideouts in Pakistan.<sup>157</sup> US officials and intelligence reports repeatedly attribute the Taliban resurgence and growing strength of al Qaeda to the safe havens of Af-Pak region.<sup>158</sup> Today, the insurgencies of Taliban and al Qaeda are equally active in AfPak.<sup>159</sup> Pakistan has repeatedly supported the insurgency movements within the territory of India. Besides it, India has faced various attacks fuelled by this country. Being the victim of state sponsored terrorism at domestic level since 1990s; India is now facing the same in abroad. This has become evident with the attacks killing the Indians workers and targeting her official establishments in Afghanistan. Various international reports suggest that Pakistan's spy agency ISI might be behind these attacks.<sup>160</sup> The security threat perception of India is looming large with the growing suspicion of international community on the links between the terrorist groups and Pakistan's ISI.<sup>161</sup> There are also expert suggestions that view ISI's hand in the killing of the former President of Afghanistan and the head of the High Peace Council, Burhanuddin Rabbani, in September 2011.<sup>162</sup> Thus, taking into account the strategic designs of Pakistan within the region, India is not at ease with her direct involvement in the process of reintegration and reconciliation of Taliban in Afghanistan,<sup>163</sup> and containing Pakistan from playing such proxies is a crucial challenge for India's Afghan Policy. Besides it,

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<sup>155</sup> Frederic Grare, "Pakistan", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, Washington D. C., 2010, p.20

<sup>156</sup> Latha A. Pandit, "India and Her Neighbours: Changing Perceptions", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 06, June 2011, p.341

<sup>157</sup> K Subrahmanya, "Afghanistan: The long retreat of US", *Deccan Herald*, November 25, 2012

<sup>158</sup> "The Troubled Afghan-Pakistani Border" Council on Foreign Affairs, accessible at: <http://www.cfr.org/pakistan/troubled-afghan-pakistani-border/p14905>, (accessed on March 18, 2012, at 22:18)

<sup>159</sup> Karen De Young, "Obama to Explore New Approach in Afghanistan War", *Washington Post*, November 11, 2008

<sup>160</sup> Warrick Jobby, "U.S. Officials: Pakistani Agents Helped Plan Kabul Bombing", *The Washington Post*, 2008, p.12

<sup>161</sup> Mahesh Ranjan Debata, "India's Policy towards Afghanistan", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.803

<sup>162</sup> Jack Healy, Alissa J. Rubin, "Afghanistan Favours India and Denigrates Pakistan", *The New York Times*, October 04, 2011

<sup>163</sup> Kuldeep Singh, "India, Central Asia and the Changing Contours of War on Terrorism", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.824

Pakistan being the crucial land link between India and Central Asia acts as a barrier<sup>164</sup> and hinders the trade relations<sup>165</sup> while refusing to provide transit rights.<sup>166</sup> Afghanistan is largely dependent on Pakistan for all of her major imports. Currently, the Gwadar and Karachi Ports in Pakistan deal large amount of her trade<sup>167</sup> and Pakistan wants to retain her hegemony over it.<sup>168</sup> Thus, a potential alternative route to connect Afghanistan and the Central Asian Republics via Iran, reducing dependence of international community on Pakistan, is a threat to the central position of that country in the Afghan conflict.<sup>169</sup>

There is a general perception that India and Pakistan are competing for strategic gains in Afghanistan that now acts as a battleground between the two.<sup>170</sup> India's efforts to expand the bilateral relations with Afghanistan, as evident with the signing of the Strategic Partnership Agreement<sup>171</sup>, witnessed hostile reactions<sup>172</sup> as well as caused distrust within Pakistan.<sup>173</sup> However, India claims that her interests in Afghanistan extend beyond the Pakistan factor<sup>174</sup> and her desire is to increase trade and enhance new energy ties with both Central and West Asia and Afghanistan provides a most suitable route for this.<sup>175</sup> India has also repeatedly shown her interest to sustain the process of composite dialogue with Pakistan. This is evident with the fact that the country has initiated several measures to encourage peaceful relations and build trust

<sup>164</sup> Vinod Anand, "Multi-Directional Policies of Central Asian Nations and India", *World Focus*, Vol. XXIX, No. 11-12, November-December 2008, p.450

<sup>165</sup> Latha A. Pandit, "India and Her Neighbours: Changing Perceptions", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 06, June 2011, p.342

<sup>166</sup> Frederic Grare, "Pakistan", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, Washington D. C., 2010, p.21

<sup>167</sup> Mondira Dutta, "India-Afghanistan Relations: Opportunities and Challenges", *World Focus*, Vol. XXIX, No. 11-12, November-December 2008, p.417

<sup>168</sup> Mondira Dutta, "India-Afghanistan Relations: Opportunities and Challenges", *World Focus*, Vol. XXIX, No. 11-12, November-December 2008, p.415

<sup>169</sup> Frederic Grare, "Pakistan", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, Washington D. C., 2010, pp.18-19

<sup>170</sup> Vinod Anand, G.G. Pamidi, "The State of Pakistan Today", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXI, No. 11-12, November-December 2010, p.535

<sup>171</sup> For details see Annexure – X

<sup>172</sup> Lydia Polgreen, "Karzai Tries to Soothe Pakistan Over Warmer Ties with India", *The New York Times*, October 05, 2011

<sup>173</sup> Simon Tisdall, "India May Pay Heavily in Future for Supporting the Karzai Regime", *The Guardian*, October 05, 2011

<sup>174</sup> W. Raja, "The Complicated Tussle: Competing Interests of Regional Powers & Afghanistan's Neighbours", *Master of Defence Studies Research Project*, Canadian Forces College, No. 38, pp.29-30

<sup>175</sup> Gautam Mukhopadhaya, "Afghanistan: Is a Regional Strategy viable in Afghanistan", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, Washington D. C., 2010, p.27

with Pakistan. The most notable initiative is the current focus to enhance trade ties. A number of experts and institutions including the World Bank have supported the liberalization of trade between the two nations<sup>176</sup> and over the past years, some developments took place to resume trade relations.<sup>177</sup> In November 2011, Pakistan announced to grant 'Most Favoured Nation' status to India.<sup>178</sup> Pakistan's former Foreign Minister, Hina Rabbani Khar while speaking in the National assembly of Pakistan on 13<sup>th</sup> of October 2011 stated, "Pakistan has decided in principle to grant Most Favoured Nation (MFN) status to India".<sup>179</sup> The decision to confer 'Most Favoured Nation' status to India by replacing a positive trade list to a negative trade list of about 200 items is enough to describe the realization of enhancing bilateral trade and commerce.<sup>180</sup> In February 2012, the historic visit to Pakistan by the Commerce Minister of India Mr. Anand Sharma, with a delegation of over 100 Indian business leaders to discuss ways to deepen trade relations, marked another important step in normalizing trade relations with the signing of three agreements on customs cooperation.<sup>181</sup> Thus, the two nations have to realize the common concerns and issues that require a joint mechanism to address. The US President Barak Obama in Washington said that he want Pakistan to realize that a peaceful relation with India is in the best interest of the whole region.<sup>182</sup> Talking about the US intention in Af-Pak region, President Obama stated, "Part of what we want.... is actually get Pakistan to realize that a peaceful approach towards India would be in everybody's interests".<sup>183</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> Zafar Mahmood, "Moving Towards Pakistan-India Trade Normalizations: An Overview", Michael Kugelman, Robert M. Hathaway (Eds), *Pakistan-India Trade: What Needs To Be Done? What Does It Matter?*, Washington D.C., 2013, p.18

<sup>177</sup> Ishrat Hussain, "Managing India-Pakistan Trade Relations", Michael Kugelman, Robert M. Hathaway (Eds.), *Pakistan-India Trade: What Needs To Be Done? What Does It Matter?*, Washington D.C., 2013, p.59

<sup>178</sup> Michael Kugelman, "The Pakistan-India Trade Relationship: Prospects, Profits and Pitfalls", Michael Kugelman, Robert M. Hathaway (Eds), *Pakistan-India Trade: What Needs To Be Done? What Does It Matter?*, Washington D.C., 2013, p.1

<sup>179</sup> Qamar Zaman, "Pakistan to Offer India Trade Concessions", October 13, 2011, accessible at: <http://tribune.com.pk/story/272550/pakistan-decides-to-grant-mfn-status-to-india-khar/>, (accessed on March 03, 2013, at 19:44)

<sup>180</sup> Mohor Chakraborty, "India-Pakistan Relations: From Trust Deficit to Trust Building", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.797

<sup>181</sup> Karl F. Inderfurth, S. Amer Latif, "India and Pakistan: Practical Steps, Transformational Benefits" *Centre for Strategic and International Studies*, Global Forecast, 2012, pp.47-48

<sup>182</sup> Ashish Kumar Sen, "Shed Afghan-India Paranoia for Peace", *The Tribune*, October 08, 2011

<sup>183</sup> Rajen Singh Laishram, "India's Afghanistan Policy: Beyond Bilateralism", *World Focus*, Vol. XXXII, No. 11-12, November-December 2011, p.776

Since 9/11, India has played an influential role in the development and stability of Afghanistan. For this, the country is doing enough with the ongoing efforts of building institutions, developing businesses & human capital, and enhancing the capacity of Afghanistan to provide security and welfare to her citizens. The country has always prioritized the requirements and demands of the Afghan people. The focus of her assistance remained on the economic development of this war torn nation. Thus, her basic aim is the economic empowerment of Afghanistan. India's investments and the valuable role in promoting commercial relations with this country have directed the foreign policies of the world nations to make Afghanistan's economy a self-reliant and not aid-dependent.

India has an ambition of becoming a developed state and for this purpose, India follows the 'economy first' strategy. Thus, "Connect Central Asia Policy" is a part of India's economic diplomacy, and India's "Afghan Policy" forms the significant part of "Connect Central Asia Policy". It is because of Afghanistan having the significance of providing strong link for India with the CARs. As a part of India's desire to increase trade and enhance new energy ties with Central Asia and Middle East, Afghanistan provides a most suitable space to achieve this objective. It is under such aspiration that the country places Afghanistan at the centre of her economic diplomacy. The country's interest is to rebuild Afghanistan as a cross-connection and transit route between the regions adjacent. For this purpose, the country has contributed US \$ 2 billion to develop a democratic, peaceful, stable and self-reliant Afghanistan. The minerals, hydrocarbons and developing human capital in Afghanistan, besides the geo-centric position between the South, Central, West and East Asia justifies her potential to drive the regional economic growth. India has an abiding interest to develop stronger economic relations and cooperation in the region on trade, transit and energy via this country. With her role in bridging the gap between Afghanistan and the Central Asia while making the former as an emerging market for the resources of the latter, India has developed close links with the CARs. Thus, the country aims at increasing her influence in South and Central Asia to reach Afghanistan as well as the resource-rich CARs.

The mineral resources and business-cum-investment opportunities in Afghanistan are significant contributors to encourage the regional countries to avail mutual benefits. However, there are some intense but common threats to all of them such as terrorism, religious extremism, nexus between terrorist organizations, illegal weapons and drug trafficking that demands collective action to prevent their spread and affect over the whole region. Taking into consideration the threat of non-traditional notions of security in the region, India wants to prevent the return of extremist Taliban to power in Kabul as well as to cut-off the chain between the Taliban and other terrorist groups operative in the adjacent countries, particularly Pakistan. The country also has the interest to prevent the spread of religious extremism in the region. Her basic aim is to promote peace and security in the region as well as prevent her own territory from the terrorist provocations. The insurgency movement in the Kashmir valley, though marginalized since last few years, is prone to violence. In this regard, any sort of space, support or provocation may hamper the infant peace and development process in this part of India.

India's presence in Afghanistan also aims at managing the strategic challenge posed by Pakistan. Pakistan acts as a geographical barrier as well as the ideological constraint to hamper the moderate Indo-Afghan relations. The flexible approach of Pakistan towards the safe havens of terrorists in her soil endangers the whole region in general, and Afghanistan and India in particular. The country also aims at defaming India's influence in Afghanistan as well as among the world nations while projecting her presence in Afghanistan as a strategic design to encircle Pakistan. The country also suspects India's hand in the violence and insurgency movements within her territory, particularly in Baluchistan and Waziristan. However, such projections regarding India's presence and activities in Afghanistan did not match the actual role the country plays in the war torn nation. It is a matter of concern for everyone that Pakistan is facing extreme violence under the hands of terrorist groups, but her past role of providing safe havens to these groups is more responsible for this instead of the provocation under any external influence. Instead, there are reports about ISI's hand in the attacks against the Indian workers and official establishments in Afghanistan. Pakistan continues her policy to breed and support terrorism against India. The country also has the designs for the future of Afghanistan as an outcome of

her Strategic Depth. Thus, India has concerns vis-à-vis her role in mapping out the future of Afghanistan. Further, with the perception to meet her energy requirements in Central Asia and under the provocation by Pakistan while acting as a barrier between her and Afghanistan, India has developed an alternative route via Iran to delink Indo-Afghan relations dependence on Pakistan. Thus, the economic dimension of India's 'Afghan Policy' is independent of Pakistan Factor, while the security dimension of India's 'Afghan Policy' has the concern with 'Pakistan's Afghan Strategy'.

Taliban resurgence is a good sign neither for the regions adjacent nor for the whole world community. Instead, it has raised security concerns for Afghanistan, Pakistan, China, the Central Asian Republics, Iran as well as India. The NATO exit is a matter of concern for India as they are leaving at a stage when the Taliban insurgency is at peaks. The situation in Afghanistan has not improved up to the levels of expectation and the government there with weak security forces is not in capacity to prevent the country from again becoming a breeding house of terrorism. There are frameworks designed by the nation-state actors, including India, to train and equip the ANSF. However, the effectiveness and credibility of the Afghan forces is a matter of concern for every nation.

## **Suggestions**

After deep analysis, thorough discussions and generous scrutiny of the developing Indo-Afghan relations since 9/11, following suggestions came out of the study. The suggestions aim at influencing the policy-making in India to guide and map out future strategy for India's 'Afghan Policy'. The suggestions are largely concerned with the changing circumstances and India's engagements with the post-2014 Afghanistan.

### **1. Proactive Role via both Soft Line Strategy (SLS) & Hard Line Strategy (HLS)**

India has to refrain from 'Doing Nothing' or 'Wait & Watch' policies, as they will put her at the position of a poor bystander. The country has to take a bold and proactive stand in the Afghan issue to work for peace and protect her interests. For this, there are two choices to adopt in her approach i.e. the Soft Line Strategy (SLS) and the Hard Line Strategy (HLS). SLS includes the activities to win goodwill of the Afghan people, influence the Afghan people in culture, society, polity etc. HLS includes the influence in power sharing in Afghanistan, extension of paramilitary forces in Afghanistan, training and equipping the security forces of Afghanistan with modern war tactics, weaponry etc. The changing circumstances in Afghanistan demands India to mix some selective elements of 'HLS' with the existing 'SLS' to make the international community felt her presence and significant role in stabilizing Afghanistan.

### **2. Inclusive Approach to Train the ANSF**

The US drawdown will provide an opportunity for the regional countries to train and equip the security forces of Afghanistan as the ANSF is not in a position to substitute ISAF. India has to support the development of the Afghan security forces to face the challenges ahead in Afghanistan. The security of Indian's interests, projects and personnel working in Afghanistan, the threat of Taliban to recapture power and the NATO pull out could necessitate an expanded paramilitary presence. The country has already agreed for the same with the signing of the Strategic Partnership Agreement. However, India has to refrain from unilateral approach in this regard, as it will provide space for the provoking agencies to encourage the terrorists more and more against her. Any effort of military intervention or training of Afghan security forces

must be inclusive. In other words, the country has to focus the multi-lateral and refrain from the unilateral military intervention in Afghanistan. Thus, India has to work for engaging the regional and international actors, particularly the US, Russia and China, in supporting the cause.

### **3. Focus the Institutional Approach to Stabilize Afghanistan**

India has to direct the international community strategically towards Afghanistan stability through UN mediation and peacekeeping. The country can also work for a UN-SAARC Joint Mission to stabilize Afghanistan. There is also an option to use the cover of SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation) to progress her political initiative to achieve the objective of Afghan stabilization. India can also focus the UN-SAARC Peacekeeping Mission in Afghanistan (USPMA) to help the ANSF in combating insurgency in the war torn nation. There is a space to enhance the role of regional organizations such as SAARC and SCO (Shanghai Cooperation Organization) in mapping out collective strategies to address the Afghan issue.

### **4. Coalition Structure: A Bilateral & Multi-Lateral Mechanism**

Taking into consideration the current situation in Afghanistan, no alone country can do wonders. India has to acknowledge the significance of collective efforts to stabilize Afghanistan. For this, the country has to work for an inclusive approach to help Afghan stability and prosperity. Thus, multilateralism and regionalism must guide her Afghan Policy in future. The country can engage the intra-regional, inter-regional and extra-regional actors in various bilateral and multi-lateral mechanisms while exploiting the common security and economic concerns. The collective efforts to bring peace in Afghanistan and in the whole region demands a coalition structure of the world nation-actors. India has to provide a platform and work for establishing such a coalition structure. However, taking into consideration the diverse interests and suspicion among few regional countries, India can apply the coalition structural strategy in two phases. In a short-term phase, a coalition structure besides India must include the willing and credible international actors as USA, Russia, Central Asian Republics and Iran. The long-term phase, besides these actors, requires a coalition structure including Pakistan, China and other willing actors.



### **5. Focus on Regional Approach to Stabilize Afghanistan**

The prospect of peace and stability in Afghanistan is not possible without the cooperation of her neighbours. There is a need for greater emphasis on the regional approach. The essential regional players include Pakistan, India, Iran, the Central Asian States, China and Russia. India has to ensure a strong, Afghan-centric and more inclusive regional approach. India, as a part of her economic diplomacy, must foster energy investments and promote regional trade across the South, West, Central and East Asia via Afghanistan. This will benefit India in many respects while providing her space to maintain foothold in Afghanistan, access the energy resources of Central Asia and check the elements antithetical to her interests. Her ‘Afghan Policy’ and ‘Connect Central Asia Policy’ requires being more accommodative with the changing circumstances in order to achieve the long-term objectives of energy security and combating terrorism. A regional approach is the main requirement, whether the international forces stay or leave Afghanistan, to execute multilateral strategies to address the problems Afghanistan is facing. The peace and stability in this country is not possible without the wholehearted cooperation of the region, particularly the countries having direct geographical linkage with Afghanistan. Thus, India has to encourage all these countries to cooperate in her Afghan mission while working out a strategy to accommodate the interests of these countries in Afghanistan.

### **6. Utilize Pipeline Politics**

Trade & Pipe-line politics is a better option for addressing both the economic and security aspects of the region. India has to utilize this option aptly in generating the cooperation of the regional countries. This will make the process to achieve her objectives in Afghanistan easy.

### **7. Cooperation-cum-Containment Policy to Address Pakistan Factor**

India’s Afghan Policy will depend inevitably on Pakistan factor. India has three choices to deal the Pakistan factor in her relations with Afghanistan i.e. Isolation, Cooperation and Containment. ‘Isolation’ means the country has to move back and close her consulates and other projects in Afghanistan. ‘Cooperation’ advocates that the country have to seek mutual interests and persuade Pakistan to cooperate in her Afghan Mission. ‘Containment’ refers to the reactionary policy to prevent Pakistan

from harming her interests in Afghanistan. However, taking into consideration the geographical and strategic significance of Pakistan in the Afghan issue, India has to deal cautiously with Pakistan. For this, the best option is the Cooperation-cum-Containment Policy. This implies cooperation with Pakistan for the development, stabilization and democratization of Afghanistan as well as to contain Pakistan playing proxies to marginalize India's influence and use Afghan territory against her interests.

Beside it, the country has to focus the cooperation of the international community and all regional players to persuade Pakistan to address the Taliban and other terrorist groups operating on her territory with dedication and honesty and expose the provoking & sheltering agencies of the terrorist organizations operating from her soil. Nevertheless, India has to reorient her peace strategy with Pakistan while making the Afghan issue as its significant aspect. The country also requires a cautious approach to prevent any design of Pakistan to establish a regime in Afghanistan unfriendly to India. Lastly, the country has to ensure others that the Pak-projected security concerns vis-à-vis her presence in Afghanistan is meaningless and misleading.

#### **8. Encourage Pakistan & Refrain from Activities Harming Pakistan's Interests**

Regarding the Pakistan factor in Indo-Afghan relations, India has to refrain from the activities that may harm the interests of Pakistan. In this regard, the country has to remain cautious while building constructions and dams on the rivers in Afghanistan that flow to Pakistan. The country also needs to seek and explore mutual interests and benefits to encourage the Government of Pakistan provide cooperation to work for peace, stability, development and prosperity of the region in general and Afghanistan in particular.

#### **9. Keep Afghanistan out of Indo-Pak Conflict**

In order to keep the Indo-Pak conflict out of the Afghan issue, there is a primary requirement of a trilateral agreement between India-Pakistan-Afghanistan to prevent Afghanistan from becoming another area of dispute between the two giants of South Asia.

### **10. Focus Iran Policy**

India has a geographical constraint in reaching Afghanistan. Taking into consideration the dynamic nature of Indo-Pak relations, India has to engage Iran passionately in addressing this problem. Thus, her Afghan Policy requires focusing Iran as a viable option to disengage her dependence on Pakistan to reach Afghanistan and Central Asia. Iran has the potential not only to overcome this geographical barrier, but also to contain the emerging Sunni Islamic extremist belt throughout the region. Besides it, Iran is also a viable option to check the Taliban rule in Afghanistan as it shares direct border with Afghanistan and has the common concern with India regarding the Sunni Islamic extremist group ruling Afghanistan. As per the energy requirements of India, a policy to engage Iran and Central Asian Republics will serve her interests better.

### **11. Support the Kabul-led Reconciliation Process with Pre-conditions**

India has to support the efforts of the Afghan government to integrate Taliban in the peace-process and cooperate in the experiment of reconciling Taliban while persuading them to change the extremist character. The country can go a step forward and offer her assistance in the rehabilitation of surrendered insurgents. However, India has to emphasize the international community, particularly the US, and the Government of Afghanistan to ensure Taliban's acceptance of the existing Constitution of Afghanistan, cut off all links with all extremist groups in the region and work strictly under the democratic principles. Among the preconditions, the country must focus strictly the assurance of the moderate-Taliban not to allow any terrorist organization operate from the territory of Afghanistan.

### **12. Continue the Selfless Approach in Developing Afghanistan**

In order to sustain her presence and challenge the disturbing elements, India has to continue her reconstruction assistance, capacity building, human capital development and other developmental projects in Afghanistan with more focus on her 'local ownership' policy and 'selfless approach'.

**13. Focus the Comprehensive Security Development of Afghanistan**

Besides the state security in Afghanistan, there is a need to address human security and freedom from fear & want. India has to guide her future Afghan policy in the direction to ensure comprehensive security in Afghanistan.

**14. Multi-Track Diplomacy to Engage Afghanistan**

India also has to utilize multi-track diplomacies while encouraging the high level official visits between the two nations, encouraging the private business sectors of India to invest in Afghanistan, enhance people-to-people contacts etc.

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## **Annexure – I**

### **Summary of MOUs signed by India and Afghanistan during the Visit of President Karzai to India**

February 24, 2005

1. Following two MOUs were signed during the visit of President Karzai.

i) MOU on cooperation in the field of civil aviation

ii) MOU on cooperation in the field of media and information

2. MOU on cooperation in the field of civil aviation is aimed at building capacity and strengthening institutional structure of Afghanistan's civil aviation sector. This would include training in areas of airport management, air traffic control, navigational aids etc, including safety and maintenance of aircrafts.

3. MOU on cooperation in the field of media and information calls for greater interaction between the media persons and radio and TV organizations of the two countries. Under India's assistance programme, Government of India has completed the work on TV Satellite uplink at Kabul and downlink at 10 provincial capitals in Afghanistan, which are already operational. Work has commenced on restoration/augmentation of TV hardware in Jalalabad and Nangarhar province. India will be taking up the next phase of augmentation of TV coverage through additional satellite uplinks and downlinks.

**New Delhi**

**February 24, 2005<sup>1</sup>**

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<sup>1</sup> Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, accessible at: <http://meaindia.nic.in/mystart.php?id=53059045>, (accessed on November 07, 2011, at 17:37)

**Annexure – II****India-Afghanistan Joint Statement during the visit of Dr. Manmohan Singh to Afghanistan**

August 28, 2005

During the visit, the two leaders held talks on a broad range of bilateral issues as well as regional and international issues of common concern. They expressed satisfaction at the progress in bilateral relations since President Hamid Karzai's visit to India (23-25 February, 2005) and agreed to take this relationship into a new stage of partnership.

India remains fully supportive to the goal of a sovereign, stable, democratic and prosperous Afghanistan. Both leaders agreed that such an Afghanistan is also necessary for peace, security and stability in the region. The two leaders condemned global terrorism as threat to democracy and declared that there can be no compromise with those who resort to terrorism. They reiterated their commitment to work together to ensure that Afghanistan would never again become a safe haven for terrorism and extremism.

India has admired the courageous steps taken by the Afghan Government and the people, under the leadership of President Hamid Karzai, towards the restoration of peace and the adoption of a democratic polity while addressing the challenge of economic development and reconstruction.

In the presence of Prime Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh and President Hamid Karzai, bilateral cooperation agreements in the areas of Agriculture and Health were signed. A new initiative on 'Small Development Projects' has been launched to work with local communities in development programmes. Following on a pilot project undertaken by the Confederation of Indian Industry in pursuance to President Karzai's visit to India earlier this year, the two Governments agreed to launch a "Skill Building Initiative" in Afghanistan in partnership with the Confederation of Indian Industry and the United Nations. Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh announced that India will adopt 100 villages in Afghanistan to promote integrated rural development by

introducing solar electrification and rain water harvesting using technologies that have been developed and successfully demonstrated in India. While announcing a gift of 1000 sewing machine to the Ministry of Women's Affairs, it was agreed that India would assist in establishing a Women's Vocational Training Centre in Kabul.

Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh welcomed President Hamid Karzai's suggestion to make greater use of Indian institutions for training of Afghans. In order to accelerate the human resource development process, Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh announced 500 scholarships for Afghan students for university education and in addition, 500 short-term training fellowships under the ITEC programme for Afghan men and women. A symbol of long-standing cooperation between the two countries in the field of education is the 102-year old Habibia School which was destroyed in the war and after its rebuilding by India, will be jointly inaugurated by Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh and President Hamid Karzai later today.

To support Afghanistan's steps towards democracy, both countries will expand their cooperation in building of democratic institutions, infrastructure and human capacity. India has dedicated training programmes for Afghanistan officials. Baba-e-Millat His Majesty Mohammad Zahir Shah laid the foundation stone of the new Parliament Building in the presence of Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh and President Hamid Karzai at Daral Aman.

President Hamid Karzai shared his vision of restoring Afghanistan's historical role as a land bridge between Central Asia and Indian sub-continent and the initiatives taken by rebuilding its road network. Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh endorsed this vision as an important step for promoting regional cooperation by encouraging, both trade and people-to-people contact among the countries of the region.

The two leaders reaffirmed that Afghanistan and India have a common interest in reinvigorating the past ties and developing a new partnership for the 21st century.

**Kabul**  
**August 28, 2005<sup>2</sup>**

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<sup>2</sup> Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, accessible at: <http://meaindia.nic.in/mystart.php?id=530510092>, (accessed on November 07, 2011, at 17:24)



**Annexure – III****Summary of MoUs signed by India and Afghanistan during the State Visit of President Hamid Karzai to India**

April 10, 2006

Three MoUs were signed between India and Afghanistan on April 10, 2006 in presence of Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh and President Hamid Karzai of Afghanistan. The summary of the three MoUs are given below:

- 1) MoU on cooperation in the field of education was signed between Shri Arjun Singh, Minister of Human Resource Development and Dr Abdullah Abdullah, Foreign Minister of Afghanistan, on behalf of Afghanistan's Ministry of Higher Education. The MoU will encourage the development of contacts and cooperation between the educational institutions of the two Governments, based on their respective academic and educational needs. In addition, there will be: a) exchange of research materials, publications, educational literature and teaching aids; b) organization of training programmes for educational administrators and teachers; c) exchange of scholars, teachers, academic, experts and students; d) twinning arrangements between institutions of higher learning; e) setting up of chairs on contemporary studies, or any other mutually agreed subject; f) development of programmes between institutions of technical, vocational and higher education; and g) mutual assistance in the fields of Information Technology and Computer Science
- 2) MoU in the field of Rural Development was signed by Dr. Raghuvansh Prasad Singh, Minister of Rural Development and Mr Mohammad Hanif Atmar, Afghanistan's Minister of Rural Rehabilitation and Development. The MoU will encourage, develop and strengthen technical cooperation between the two countries in the field of rural development, including, development and maintenance of rural access and connectivity; rural water supply and sanitation and village-based irrigation schemes; generation of wage and self-employment opportunities for the rural poor; development of rural infrastructure using the wage employment programme; and sector-specific human resource development,

including assistance in setting up of a dedicated institution for rural development in Afghanistan. The MoU will be implemented through a biennial Work Plans that will be developed jointly.

- 3) MoU on cooperation in the field of Standardization was signed between Shri Svayam Prakash Sharma, Director General, Bureau of Indian Standards and Mr Abdul Hai Khurasani, Charged' Affaires of Embassy of Afghanistan in New Delhi. This MoU calls for co-operation in the field of standardisation by enhancing and strengthening technical cooperation in the fields of standardization, certification, testing, measurement and quality assurance systems with the aim of exchange of necessary information and expertise between the Bureau of Indian Standards and Afghanistan National Standardisation Authority. The two parties will jointly develop an Annual Action Plan.

**New Delhi**

**April 10, 2006<sup>3</sup>**

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<sup>3</sup> Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, accessible at: <http://meaindia.nic.in/mystart.php?id=530511222>, (accessed on November 07, 2011, at 17:02)

**Annexure - IV****India-Afghanistan Joint Statement, State Visit of President Hamid Karzai to India**

April 10, 2006

During the visit, the two leaders held talks on a wide-range of bilateral issues as well as regional and international matters of common interest. They affirmed that the time-tested friendly relationship between the two countries, underpinned by historical and cultural ties, had overcome many challenges and were today based on a shared commitment to the ideals of democracy, peace and security.

To broaden cooperation between the two countries, three cooperation agreements were signed in the areas of Rural Development, Education and Standardization in the presence of President Karzai and Prime Minister Singh.

Going beyond the core areas of government-to-government developmental cooperation, both leaders also explored the possibilities of expanding business-to-business cooperation, particularly between the small and medium entrepreneurs of the two countries. President Karzai is also accompanied by a strong business delegation on this visit, which will be interacting with Indian business and industry counterparts from CII, FICCI and ASSOCHAM this afternoon. Prime Minister Dr Manmohan Singh offered to consider extending a US \$ 50 million Line of Credit facility to promote trade and investment between the two countries.

As provided for under Article 11 of the Preferential Trade Agreement signed between the two countries on March 6, 2003, the two sides agreed to constitute a Joint Committee at Ministerial level to review the progress in the implementation of the Agreement, thereby promoting mutually beneficial bilateral trade.

At the regional level, the two leaders reiterated their vision of Afghanistan regaining its strategic position at the cross roads of Central Asia and the Indian subcontinent. The need for greater regional cooperation by encouraging trade and people-to-people contact among the countries of the region was emphasized. President Karzai thanked Prime Minister Dr. Singh for India's strong support for Afghanistan's membership of

SAARC and pledged to work together with the member countries in all fields to effect greater harmonization of political, economic, social and security policies.

President Karzai welcomed that India would host the Second Regional Economic Cooperation Conference for Afghanistan in New Delhi, November 18-19, 2006, with participation of all the regional countries, G-8 member States and international organizations. This Conference will also have a business-to-business component to promote private sector linkages.

Confronting the shared challenges of fundamentalism and terrorism, the two leaders condemned global terrorism as a threat to democracy and declared that there can be no compromise with its perpetrators. India expressed its support to the efforts made by Afghanistan in recent months in tackling the increased terrorist activities in certain provinces in the country.

The two leaders emphasized the importance of regular high-level exchanges between the two countries for taking this partnership to greater heights.

## **New Delhi**

**April 10, 2006<sup>4</sup>**

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<sup>4</sup> Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, accessible at: <http://meaindia.nic.in/mystart.php?id=530511223>, (accessed on November 07, 2011, at 18:07)

**Annexure – V****India-Afghanistan Joint Statement during State Visit of President Hamid Karzai to India**

August 04, 2008

India reiterated its full support to the goal of a sovereign, democratic, peaceful and prosperous Afghanistan, conducive to the peace, security and stability of the region.

President Karzai's visit comes at a time when there has been a resurgence of terrorism whose specter profoundly threatens our societies. The attack on the Indian Embassy in Kabul on the 7th of July was an attack on the friendship between India and Afghanistan. President Hamid Karzai's presence today conveys a befitting response to that attack. The leaders expressed their determination to fight terrorism unitedly and with all the forces at their command.

Prime Minister Dr. Singh conveyed to President Karzai that all of India's commitments to Afghanistan would be fully met.

India's efforts for the reconstruction and development of Afghanistan are also part of a larger international endeavour to help the Afghan people in forging a pluralistic and democratic society. It was agreed that a meeting of the Joint Coordination and Monitoring Bureau would be hosted by India next year.

**New Delhi**

**August 04, 2008<sup>5</sup>**

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<sup>5</sup> Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, accessible at: <http://meaindia.nic.in/mystart.php?id=530514119>, (accessed on November 07, 2011, at 21:18)

## Annexure – VI

### Joint Statement on the visit of President Hamid Karzai

January 12, 2009

President Karzai's visit to India is symbolic, to express Afghanistan's solidarity with the Government and people of India in the wake of the Mumbai terrorist attack. The deplorable incident shows that terrorism is a threat to the entire humanity.

The leaders called for the full compliance with bilateral, multilateral and international obligations of States to prevent terrorism in any manner originating from territories under their control since terrorism emanates from the sanctuaries and training camps and the sustenance and support received by the terrorist groups.

Prime Minister Dr. Singh conveyed to President Karzai that, following the completion of the road from Zaranj to Delaram in South-western Afghanistan, a second major infrastructure project, the Pul-e-Khumri to Kabul transmission line and the sub-station at Chimtala in Northern Afghanistan, will be handed over shortly to the Government of Afghanistan.

Prime Minister Dr. Singh further conveyed that in order to help the fraternal people of Afghanistan in tiding over their current food crisis, India will gift Afghanistan 250,000 metric tonnes of wheat. The shipment will be effected immediately, as soon as the Government of Afghanistan has worked out its transportation arrangements.

The two leaders reaffirmed the special relationship between India and Afghanistan, to build a strong, united, and prosperous Afghanistan and to work towards peace, stability and development of the entire region.

**New Delhi**

**January 12, 2009<sup>6</sup>**

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<sup>6</sup> Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, accessible at: <http://meaindia.nic.in/mystart.php?id=530514629>, (accessed on November 07, 2011, at 22:17)

**Annexure – VII****Visit of Foreign Minister Dr. Rangin Dadfar Spanta of Afghanistan**

July 28, 2009

During the visit, the Afghan Foreign Minister called on Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh and had meetings with the Minister of External Affairs and the National Security Advisor Mr. Narayanan on a range of bilateral, regional, and global issues of mutual interest.

The Afghan Foreign Minister conveyed Afghanistan's deep appreciation for India's friendship, generous contribution and vital role in the processes of stabilisation, reconstruction and national development of Afghanistan.

The two Ministers reaffirmed the abiding determination of the two governments to work for making South Asia an abode of peace, prosperity, moderation and cooperation. They highlighted terrorism as the most important security threat facing the region and reiterated their full resolve to combat it.

The Ministers decided to establish an India-Afghanistan Partnership Council composed of separate groups on political consultation, capacity development & education, power & water, culture, trade & industry, health, and agriculture. This will harness greater institutional support for the implementation of ongoing programmes and enlarge development cooperation between the two countries.

**New Delhi**

**July 28, 2009<sup>7</sup>**

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<sup>7</sup> Ministry of External Affairs, The republic of India, accessible at: <http://meaindia.nic.in/mystart.php?id=530515068>, (accessed on November 07, 2011, at 22:10)

**Annexure – VIII****India-Afghanistan Joint Statement during the visit of President Mr. Hamid Karzai**

April 26, 2010

During the discussions between President Karzai and Prime Minister Singh the two sides noted that these relations were rooted in historical and civilisation links, and served not only the interests and welfare of the two countries, but also contributed to peace, stability and prosperity in the region.

Prime Minister Singh stated that India desired to see a strong, stable and prosperous Afghanistan, at peace. India remained committed to assisting Afghanistan in its development efforts in accordance with the wishes and priorities of the people of Afghanistan. India's development partnership is focussed on areas of infrastructure development, human resource development and capacity building, food assistance and small development projects that bring immediate benefit to the people at the grass-roots level.

The two leaders reiterated their conviction that the national rebuilding process in Afghanistan should be led by the people of Afghanistan in keeping with the principles of national sovereignty, independence and non-interference in internal affairs. They expressed their grave concern over the threat posed by terrorism to Afghanistan's national development efforts. They expressed their determination to work with the international community to combat the forces of terrorism which pose a particular threat to the region.

President Karzai conveyed his outrage and deep condolences over the terrorist attacks on Indian nationals in Afghanistan, and assured the Indian side that the Government of Afghanistan is committed to providing full security to them. The Indian side welcomed these assurances.

**New Delhi**  
**April 26, 2010<sup>8</sup>**

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<sup>8</sup> Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, accessible at: <http://meaindia.nic.in/mystart.php?id=530515751>, (accessed on November 07, 2011, at 18:44)



**Annexure – IX****Joint Statement during the visit of President of Afghanistan**

February 03, 2011

The Indian side reiterated its long term commitment to the reconstruction and development of Afghanistan, and to the efforts of the Government of Afghanistan under President Karzai's leadership to build a strong, independent, democratic, peaceful and prosperous nation. The two leaders agreed that the strategic partnership between India and Afghanistan is a positive factor for peace and stability in the region. In this context, the two leaders also discussed the common threat faced by both their societies from terrorism. They agreed that this ran counter to the aspiration of their peoples.

President Karzai expressed gratitude of the Afghan people for the assistance provided by India over the years. He underlined the need for the two countries to work together in close cooperation in the interest of the people of the two countries and stability in the region at large.

Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh accepted an invitation from President Karzai to visit Afghanistan at an early date.

**New Delhi**

**February 3, 2011<sup>9</sup>**

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<sup>9</sup> Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, accessible at: <http://meaindia.nic.in/mystart.php?id=530517136>, (accessed on November 07, 2011, at 16:37)

**Annexure – X**

**Text of Agreement on Strategic Partnership between the Republic of India and the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan**

October 04, 2011

The Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and the Republic of India, hereinafter referred to as "the Sides",

RECOGNISING the time-tested and friendly relationship between the two countries, underpinned by historical and cultural ties;

EMPHASISING the fundamental and lasting importance of the Treaty of Friendship between the Government of India and the Royal Government of Afghanistan of 4 January 1950, and subsequent Agreements and Joint Statements;

PROCEEDING from a desire to further strengthen their traditional and historical ties to mutual benefit;

DRAWING upon their rich and fruitful tradition of cooperation in various fields since the establishment of their diplomatic relations;

CONVINCED that the further comprehensive development of their bilateral ties would promote progress and prosperity in both states and the region as a whole;

APPRECIATING the significant expansion of bilateral ties between the two countries and, in this context, the sincere and generous assistance that the Republic of India has provided to the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan over the past ten years;

SEEKING to impart a long term commitment to their multifaceted bilateral relations and to actively develop them in political, development, economic, trade, scientific, technological, cultural and other fields in the years ahead;

CONFIRMING their adherence to the common ideals of peace, democracy, rule of law, non-violence, human rights and fundamental freedoms;

REAFFIRMING their commitment to international law, including to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter;

Hereby proclaim the establishment of relations of Strategic Partnership, as laid out in the following paragraphs including GENERAL PRINCIPLES, POLITICAL & SECURITY COOPERATION, TRADE & ECONOMIC COOPERATION, CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION, SOCIAL, CULTURAL, CIVIL SOCIETY & PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE RELATIONS.

#### IMPLEMENTATION MECHANISM

This Strategic Partnership would be implemented under the framework of a Partnership Council, which will be headed by the Foreign Ministers of both countries. The Council will convene annual meetings.

The Council will consist of separate Joint Working Groups on Political & Security Consultations, Trade and Economic Cooperation, Capacity Development & Education, and Social, Cultural and Civil Society, involving high level representatives from concerned Ministries/Authorities.

The existing dialogue mechanisms between the two sides will become part of the Council.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, accessible at: <http://meaindia.nic.in/mystart.php?id=530518343>, (accessed on June 06, 2012, at 22:48)

**Annexure – XI****Brief notes on two MOUs signed during visit of President of Afghanistan**

October 04, 2011

**Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation in the Field of Development of Hydrocarbons**

The bilateral MoU signed between the Indian Ministry of Petroleum & Natural Gas and Afghan Ministry of Mines, establishes a cooperative institutional framework to facilitate and enhance, bilateral cooperation in the hydrocarbon sector, including oil and gas. It envisages cooperation in the areas of exploration, production, infrastructure, research & training and promotion of private and public sector investment in development of hydrocarbons including oil and natural gas.

**Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation in the Field of Mineral Resources Development**

The bilateral MoU signed between the Indian and Afghan Ministry of Mines aims at promotion of private and public sector investment in mining and mining-related activities; mineral exploration & exploitation and capacity building in the field of geosciences and mining in Afghanistan.

**New Delhi**

**October 4, 2011<sup>11</sup>**

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<sup>11</sup> Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, accessible at: <http://meaindia.nic.in/mystart.php?id=530518345>, (accessed on June 06, 2012, at 22:32)

**Annexure – XII****Joint Statement by India and Afghanistan on the Visit of Minister of Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan to India**

May 01, 2012

At the invitation of Shri S.M. Krishna, External Affairs Minister, H.E. Dr. Zalmi Rassoul, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, is currently on a visit to India. The Ministers co-chaired the inaugural session of the India-Afghanistan Partnership Council which has been mandated to implement the Strategic Partnership Agreement signed by the Prime Minister and the President of Afghanistan in October 2011. The meeting of the Partnership Council was preceded by a meeting of the Joint Working Group on Political and Security Consultations headed by Foreign Secretary and the Deputy Foreign Minister of Afghanistan.

The Prime Minister welcomed the holding of the first session of the India-Afghanistan Partnership Council and expressed the hope that the strategic partnership between India and Afghanistan would be further strengthened in the critical period ahead.

The two Ministers welcomed the holding of the first meeting of the Joint Working Group on Political and Security Consultations and decided that the three Joint Working Groups on Trade and Economic Cooperation, Capacity Development and Education, and Social, Cultural, Civil Society and people to people contacts will meet at an early date. The Foreign Minister of Afghanistan welcomed India's initiative to host a Regional Investors' Meeting in New Delhi to facilitate investments in Afghanistan.

**New Delhi**

**May 1, 2012<sup>12</sup>**

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<sup>12</sup> Ministry of External Affairs, The Republic of India, accessible at: <http://meaindia.nic.in/mystart.php?id=530519270>, (accessed on August 08, 2012, at 16:56)