INDO-AFGHAN RELATIONS: IMPLICATIONS FOR PAKISTAN

Muhammad Amjad Raza* & Ghulam Mustafa†

Abstract
Afghanistan is located at the convergence of Central, Middle and South Asian regions, one of the most world prime geographical locations. Its strategic location and abundant mineral resources have always attracted international community including India. Hence Indian objectives to develop relations with Afghanistan are manifold and decades old. Indian foreign policy is devised by many factors like its bitter relations with Pakistan and its desire of access route to Central Asian Republics by limiting Pakistan’s reach that has serious implications for Pakistan. In view of its past experience, Pakistan perceives Indian extended desire to engage in Afghanistan as a deliberate strategy of using the later as a battleground to show its power and use influence against Pakistan. Terrorist incidents in Balochistan provide evidence and links with Indian RAW activities organized in Afghan areas. So, Indian intention to invest in Afghanistan for infrastructure rebuilding is not as simple as it is often claimed. India has covert objectives of troubling Pakistan. In hostile lunacy, India increased, dramatically, its involvement in Afghanistan when the Taliban era came to an end. India’s interference in Afghanistan is a clear reflection of its desire to execute Afghan land against Pakistan. India sees Afghan war an opportunity to encounter Pakistan’s influence in the region. This research paper will analyze Indian involvement in Afghanistan and its implications for Pakistan. The study is designed to unveil the hidden objectives of fast growing Indo-Afghan relations and evaluates Indian strategies in regional context.

Key Words: India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Restructuring Afghanistan.

* M.Phil. research scholar, Department of Political Science & International Relations, Government College University Faisalabad, Email: Raza940@yahoo.com
† Assistant Professor and Head of Department, Department of Political Science & International Relations, Government College University (GC), Faisalabad, Pakistan. Email ghulammustafa@gcuf.edu.pk
Introduction

Previously, Pakistan had to give attention for defending only the eastern boundary, but as India is strengthening its presence in Afghanistan, on the Western front, therefore Pakistan is compelled to revise its military strategy to cope the emanating security threat caused by India. Antagonistic India on Eastern, Indian protagonist Afghanistan on the Western boundary and proactive Indian intelligence agency The Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) in Afghanistan are posturing great defense menace for Pakistan. India is playing the role of a spoiler and is pursuing strategies aiming at destabilizing Pakistan.1 Indo-Afghan proximity will be a hindrance for Pakistan’s access to Central Asian Republics (CARs) which will in turn benefit India. Indo-Iran-Afghan nexus, India’s economic agreements with China and financial and strategic aid to Afghanistan is a way of encompassing Pakistan diplomatically. Indian foreign policy during the 2005-2015 unveils its desire of exerting covert as well as overt hard power pressure and using soft power as a foreign policy tool for expanding her influence in the region.2

On one hand, India is involved in curtailing Pakistan’s influence in Afghanistan whereas, on the other, she is advancing her domestic and regional interests. India wants to contain Pakistan’s influence in Afghanistan to get leading role in Afghanistan and the region. To this end, India has opened more than 13 consulates in the vicinity of the Pak-Afghan border and increased its diplomatic presence to an extraordinary level in Afghanistan which is far more than any other country.3 Pakistan is uneasy over Indian consulates over and above its embassy in Kabul.4

India is advancing anti-Pakistan agenda in Afghanistan covertly on the pretext of restructuring and rebuilding the country. From Pakistan’s perspective, India’s objectives in Afghanistan stem from the calculated assessment, to establish itself firmly by obstructing adversary and expending its military footprints in Afghanistan.5

Alongside anti-Pakistan activities, India is playing its card effectively to propagate Pakistan as the center of militant activities. India has not

---

2 Kiran, Afifa. "Indian Quest for Strategic Ingress in Afghanistan and Its Implications for Pakistan. (Institute for Strategic Studies, Research & Analysis, 2009).
succeeded to prove Pathankot, Urri and Mumbai attacks at international level.\(^6\)

This research paper aims to explain Indo-Afghan relations and its implications for Pakistan. Although a large amount of data is available yet it is misleading and ignoring the facts of Indian engagement in Afghanistan. Indian hidden objectives have not been brought into light.

In the over-augmented involvement of India in Afghanistan and issues of security, state behaviors, and internal conflicts, realist theory provides a befitting and practicable framework for this study. However, implications for Pakistan are the case of Kautiliyan philosophy and will be seen in this purview. From the very start India does not has good and amicable relations with its neighbouring countries. According to Kautiliyan philosophy “All neighbours must be treated as the enemies and neighbour of such enemies must be considered as friends”.\(^7\) India has always adopted these guidelines and principles in her foreign policy towards the region. Pakistan is an immediate neighbour of India whereas Afghanistan is an immediate neighbour of Pakistan. Therefore following Kautiliyan principles Indian foreign policy mentors considers Pakistan as their enemy in the light of geographical link. That is why India always tried to destabilize Pakistan. India has imposed three full fledged conventional wars in 1948, 1965 and 1971 and wide range/severe clash in Kargil.\(^8\)

**Research Questions**

- Whether or not India has succeeded to develop differences between Pakistan and Afghanistan?
- Why India is giving so much importance to Afghanistan and what are the objectives to invest in Afghanistan?

The present research paper is undertaken by adopting, a mix method of qualitative and historical analysis. A flexible research methodology is applied to explore the genesis of fast-growing Indo-Afghan relations in inter-regional and intra-regional contexts. Politico-economic and strategic dynamics of the region are critically studied to answer the designated research questions. Available and existing literature in forms of books, journals’ articles, reports, editorials, electronic and print media is critically evaluated to make the study more representative and purposeful. In addition, I have conducted interviews with the notable economists, politicians, non-

---


governmental organizations’ representatives, media persons, and defense and strategic analysts, personally and electronically. I also arranged focused group discussions looping the universities academia and researchers.

**Indo-Afghan Relations: Historical perspective**

Afghanistan has been famous for its itinerant society and belligerency. It became the pivot of Great Game due to its geographical location. Afghanistan had been the reason for hostility between USSR and UK. In the 19th century, both world powers tried to hold their supremacy in the Central Asian Region.⁹ British took India as the jewel of Crown, therefore, they thought Russian expansionism a danger while expanding their influence in CARs and Afghanistan. In this scenario wars were fought, known as Anglo-Afghan wars. Right after independence, India and Afghanistan founded and strengthened their bilateral relations which culminated in the Friendship Treaty, 1950.¹⁰ In accordance with this agreement both the countries opened trade agencies in their respective capitals to enhance trade and strengthen bilateral relations. Later, a number of state visits from both sides were paid to further strengthen mutual ties. Anglo-Indian interventions in Afghanistan were to get access to India. All routes to India geographically pass through Afghanistan. Before invading Afghanistan, Russia first established a pro-Russian regime in Afghanistan. Meanwhile, India had developed its bilateral relations with Moscow. India’s interests in the region created convergence of Indo-Russian stakes in the state of Afghanistan.

During the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) occupation 1979-1989, India fully co-operated with Afghanistan and made a huge investment in development projects including humanitarian aid. Afghanistan proved a Vietnam for USSR while fighting a guerilla war with Mujahideen fully backed by the United States and its allies.¹¹ This war had deep effects on the Soviet Union which caused its disintegration. This provided the Mujahideen an opportunity to overthrow Najibullah’s pro-Soviet government in 1992. This advancement of Mujahideen was not good for Indian motives. Coming into power of Burhanuddin Rabbani provided relief to New Delhi because Rabbani was non-Pashtoon who ended up India’s

---

¹⁰ Fair, C. Christina. Fighting to the End: The Pakistan Army’s Way of War. (Oxford University Press, 2014)
Afghan war period was not good for Indians to wage their covert activities in Afghanistan, particularly because of the trajectory of US-Pak-Afghan alliance. However shrewd Indians exploited this opportunity to make deep and strong economic relations with Afghanistan. At the same time, they continued their support towards the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and augmented rebuilding activities/development projects in the country. When India saw that Pakistan was not engaged regarding prospects of regional solutions, even it received valuable American military and economic package, it did not make any censure of Soviet invasion/occupation. It preferred to keep quiet and chose to strengthen economic ties with successive Soviet puppet governments in Afghanistan. It had no respect and regard for the Islamist Afghan Mujahideen groups whom Pakistan supported on the backing of USA. During the period of Soviet occupation, India involved itself, having investments in development projects, especially, in the fields of industry, irrigation, hydro-electricity and communication.

Post demise of USSR, history shows that India tried to involve itself with the pro-Soviet and anti-Pakistan groups in Afghanistan to protect its vested interests. However, Indian influence in Afghanistan was lessened due to the Afghan Mujahideen uprising against Soviets supporters, the drawdown of Soviet forces and disintegration of the Soviet Union and formation of Mujahideen government in the country. Emphatically, Pakistan’s influence over Mujahideen government was unbearable for Indians.

The basic reason behind, Indian support for Northern Alliance and its leader Ahmed Shah Massoud, was its enmity with Taliban, who were backed by Pakistan and Taliban were disliked by Indians. Another reason for Indian aloofness from Taliban government was their staunch support of Kashmiri freedom fighters. India had sidelined itself after the end of

---

Rabbani Government and rise of the Taliban in 1996.\textsuperscript{17} It not only kept itself aloof from developmental works but also shun diplomatic relations by closing its embassy in Kabul. All these Indian’s moves showed their frustration with the Taliban’s government unconditional bent towards Pakistan.

The rise of Taliban gave a serious setback to Indian interests in Afghanistan. In this period Indian presence in Afghanistan curtailed to the bare minimum level.\textsuperscript{18} The biggest and largest beneficiary of Post 9/11 events, without making any significant sacrifice, is India. This incident provided India an opportunity to plunge in the affairs of Afghanistan. 9/11 terrorist attacks and its subsequent campaign of global war against terrorism, has given India an opportunity to advance objectives of its foreign policy to gain and manifest the status of regional as well as a world power.\textsuperscript{19}

**Indo-Afghan Relations (2005-2017)**

In the pretext of reconstruction of war-ravaged Afghanistan, India involved itself in many projects spending billions of dollars.\textsuperscript{20} India always had been looking for advancing multidimensional designs in Afghanistan. It was the best time for India to implement its hegemonic agenda, as there was a pro-Indian government in Afghanistan. Thinking it greater time to go further, India signed a Strategic Partnership Agreement in 2011.\textsuperscript{21} Both the countries agreed to devise a mechanism and to support each other on internal platforms. That is why Kabul fully supported New Delhi claim of a permanent seat in UNO Security Council. So far as regional peace is concerned, both the countries adopted collective measures against terrorists. New Delhi started providing military training and aid to Afghan security forces.\textsuperscript{22}

**The Salma Dam Project**

Salma Dam is situated on the right bank of Hari Rud River. To meet the energy requirement of Afghanistan, India undertook this project and invested billions of dollars. Water and Power Consultancy Services (India) Limited (WAPCOS) was assigned to design the project on behalf of

\textsuperscript{17} Rahman, Saeed ur. "Indian presence in afghanistan: Dynamics of Regional Security." Institute for strategic studies, research & analysis (issra), (2010).
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid.
Ministry of External Affairs. The project is successfully generating 42 megawatt (MW) electricity and fulfilling the Afghans energy requirements.

Roads and Telecommunication

A network of roads is being constructed by India in Afghanistan. An estimated, more than 700 KM length of road has been completed. There is a large strategic as well as economic interest in building highways. Although Indian projects in Afghanistan aim reconstruction and development of infrastructure, yet it has multidimensional designs. Zaranj-Delaram is one of these projects. It is also called route 606. India completed this project with the US $-110 million in three years (Keck 2013). The highway was handed over to Afghanistan in 2009. Over and above this highway India also completed small roads in the vicinity. For India, Zaranj-Delaram project has greater economic importance. Through this project, India will be able to transport its goods via Chahbahar to Afghanistan and CARs. India also constructed Gardez-Khost road by investing 88 million US dollars. Kabul-Kandahar road was reconstructed which was debilitated in war. India built this road as a gift to Afghan people. India is also laying down railway link of Afghanistan with Iran. This will connect the mineral rich Hajigak and Iran’s Chahbahar port. Country’s largest iron ore reserves are in this area. India wants to construct this railway link to undermine Pakistan’s Gawadar port.

Cooperation in Social Sectors

In almost all the big cities of Afghanistan, Indian medical missions are working. India constructed the largest children hospital for Afghan peoples. In 2005 Indira Gandhi Children Hospital was completed with 150 beds, equipped with the latest medical and surgical equipments. With the financial help of India first cerebral palsy started providing artificial limbs to the effectees of war. More than 1000 Afghan cripples used to get artificial limbs in a year. According to an estimate, India through its medical centers provides medical assistance to more than 350,000 Afghanis annually.

---

23 Swami, Praveen. "At Afghan dam inauguration, PM promises: India will not forget you." The Indian Express, (2016)
25 Keck, Zachary. "India’s Afghan Power Play, Via Iran." The Diplomat, (2013)
29 Ibid.
Literacy rate in Afghanistan is alarmingly low. Improvement in literacy rate is essential for the overall progress of the nation. Bringing children to schools is a very tough task. Milk and biscuits are given in schools to children with the help of the World Food Program actively. India is also providing Afghanistan with millions of tons of wheat.30 Afghans in large numbers are being provided educational scholarships in Indian universities. Training and capacity building of Afghan nationals has also been undertaken by India. Further, India is also providing cooperation in human resources development of Afghanistan. Short-term trainings to Afghan students in Vocational courses are being provided in India.31 To influence every person and win every heart, India has planned to go in every home of Afghanistan. Owing to this, Indian culture is being spread in Afghanistan through Indian movies and plays.32 In this way, India wages the media war against its rival Pakistan. India took following steps in this connection:-

i. Installation of transmitters.
ii. Provision of TV satellite.
iii. Devices of radio broadcasting.
iv. Access to Indian communication satellite.

For reconstruction of Afghanistan, a reconstruction fund was set up in which donor countries gave their donations for financial help. India donates more than US $- 200, 000 in the fund annually.33 India has undertaken following societal development projects in Afghanistan:-

i. Free medicines and treatment for masses across Afghanistan.34
ii. With the assistance of World Food Program, India is providing 100gm biscuit to each school going children every day.35
iii. Enabling Afghanistan to overcome food shortage, India bestowed gift of 250,000 tons of wheat.36

32 Yar, Irfan. "India’s influential soft power in Afghanistan: Giving edge over Pakistan." *Observer Research Foundation*, (2017)
33 Gandhi, Vishal. *India in Afghanistan*. (External Policy Division Ministry of External Affairs India, 2005).
35 Kumar, Pankaj. "India’s Interests and Strategies in Afghanistan." *The International Journal Of Humanities & Social Studies* 2, no. 5 (May 2014).
iv. For community development, India has launched a series of projects of short span aiming to improve the socio-economic conditions of war-affected communities.

v. India is providing university scholarships to Afghan students for educational and institutional development. In this regard, India is providing more than 200 scholarships to Indian students in different universities of India.  

vi. In five major cities of Afghanistan, Indian medical missions are busy in providing medical consultation and assistance to Afghan people.

vii. With the help of UNDP, dozens of Indian civil servants are working as coaches for capacity building of Afghan public administration.

viii. For vocational training of Afghan youth, Indian Confederation of Industry started Indo-Afghan Vocational Training Centre.

ix. For vocational training of women, Indian NGO Self Employed Women’s Association (SEWA) started women vocational training center in the capital city of Kabul.

x. To expand Afghan National TV transmission, India is providing infrastructural and technical assistance to Afghanistan. In this regard numbers of medium and long-range transmitters were installed in hilly and remote areas of Afghanistan.

xi. Under a deliberate strategy, India is steadily growing its films and culture in Afghanistan cities.

xii. India is engaged in building power plants and hydroelectric power projects.

xiii. Afghanistan is abundant in mineral resources. According to an estimate, more than US $3 trillion worth mineral resources are in Afghanistan including copper, iron, ore and coal reserves. India is avarice of Afghan mineral wealth. It seems that only this sector can solve all economic issues of Afghanistan and boost Indian economy.

38 Kumar, Pankaj. "India’s Interests and Strategies in Afghanistan." *The International Journal Of Humanities & Social Studies* 2, no. 5 (May 2014).
42 Kumar, Pankaj. "India’s Interests and Strategies in Afghanistan." *The International Journal Of Humanities & Social Studies* 2, no. 5 (May 2014).
That is why India is actively constructing and building roads and highways in Afghanistan. Construction of port and railway projects has the aims of linking the region for transportation of these resources.\textsuperscript{44} Besides mega national projects, India has also been undertaking small projects in all provinces of Afghanistan for ensuring and legitimating its presence in Afghanistan for a long time.\textsuperscript{45} Through this strategy, India has been putting ointment to Afghan wounds to heel them up but also creating circumstances ensuring the security of its investments and interests.

**Security/Political Cooperation**

Both India and Afghanistan entered into strategic partnership treaty in 2011 and believed to be the continuation of their Friendship Treaty of 1950 which said that there would be friendship and peace between the two countries which would strengthen friendly relations among the people of both sides.\textsuperscript{46}

Through signing this agreement India became able to get numerous benefits locally and internationally. It was able to get Afghan political support in security councils of UNO and to attain permanent seat therein. India got firm support and stand of Kabul for playing a pro-active role both at regional and global level.\textsuperscript{47} It succeeded in winning an opportunity of training Afghan forces which will serve India’s security objectives in the longer run for India. To meet its economic ends, India got access to Afghan natural and precious mineral resources. This agreement also gave India opportunities to penetrate freely in all spheres for protection and security of its strategic interests in Afghanistan.

On October 4, 2011 when India and Afghanistan signed Strategic Partnership Agreement two more agreements were signed which are:\textsuperscript{48}

i. MoU for extending cooperation in the development of Hydrocarbons.

ii. MoU to give support and cooperation in the sector of mineral development.

In the shape of the signing of both these agreements, long-awaited Indian desires were fulfilled. Afghanistan is considered rich in Hydrocarbons and to meet its requirement, India direly needs to explore them.

\textsuperscript{44} Fair, C. Christine. *Fighting to the End: The Pakistan Army's Way of War.* (Oxford University Press, 2014)

\textsuperscript{45} Kiran, Afifa. "Indian Quest for Strategic Ingress in Afghanistan and Its Implications for Pakistan." *Institute for Strategic Studies, Research and Analysis (ISSRA)* (Institute for Strategic Studies, Research & Analysis, 2009).


\textsuperscript{47} Kapila, Dr Subhash. "Afghanistan-India Strategic Partnership: A Perspective Analysis." (South Asia Analysis Group, 2011).

India aspires to safeguard the strategic interests of both the countries through Farkhor airbase which is located in Tajikistan 130 KM from its capital. Indian force made it functional on deep desire from Tajikistan. This was the first ever base which India had developed outside its territory. The development made Taliban led government of Kabul (1996-2001) more conscious towards the adventurous steps of India in the region. Then India had a soft corner for anti-Taliban Northern Alliance whom she was also providing war weapons and equipment through this base. A squadron of MiG 29 aircraft was stationed at this base. India used to extend helicopters to Northern Alliance for intelligence and information purposes through its spy agencies. India also opened a military hospital in Kabul to provide medical facilities to injured soldiers of Northern Alliance. Actually, it was functioning as a substation of war against Taliban regime. In this hospital, NA’s leader Ahmed Shah Massod on September 9, 2001 was also brought injured after the suicidal attack where despite of all efforts he could not survive. At first, New Delhi was hiding this place and her presence till 2005 when she admitted its control with help of Tajik military. India spent the US $-10 million to develop the “strategic” airbase.

Indian Influence in Afghanistan: A Genesis of Indo-Afghan Relations

In spite of no proximity and border sharing India gives over-augmented importance to Afghanistan, which should not have been given such significance being not immediate neighbor. Such extraordinary engagement of India in Afghanistan is the pursuit of Kautiliyan theory that an “enemy’s enemy is a friend. India wants to create trouble for Pakistan on its Western borders just to destabilize it and keeps its regional hegemony. India has not accepted the making of Pakistan even today. Therefore, she is using every strategy to weaken and break Pakistan by pursuing realism. Hence she has an inimical mindset towards Pakistan and with no reason takes Pakistan as its enemy. Following Kautiliyan theory India takes Afghanistan as its friend.

Why India Gives Much Importance to Afghanistan?

India thinks Afghanistan is very important for her economic pursuits in the region. She thinks Afghanistan would open new avenues for access to energy reserves of Central Asia.49 Due to the geographical location of Afghanistan, India plans to develop a strategic partnership with Afghanistan and counter the increasing influence of China in the region. Now India has to depend on Pakistan for trade to Afghanistan and CARs. To bypass Pakistan and reduce its importance, India is building an alternate route to

access CARs through Chabahar in Iran via Afghanistan for trade and transportation. Afghanistan has become a huge market for Indian goods.\textsuperscript{50} Both the countries have already bilateral trade volume of which is increasing day by day. India-Afghanistan bilateral trade value increased from $80 million to $280 million since 2001-2010.\textsuperscript{51} Afghanistan is also important to India to show her presence in the energy-rich region and influence in any gas/oil pipeline, which must pass across the territory of Afghanistan to go to Pakistan.

**Indian Afghan Policy: Pakistan Factor**

India, from the very outset, had tried to develop its meaningful relations with Afghanistan taking into new Afghanistan-Pakistan differences. The anti-Pakistan strategy is the main focus of India’s Afghan policy.\textsuperscript{52} India’s early involvement with post-Taliban regimes was also taken by other regional and world powers as a strategy of undermining Pakistan.

For many reasons, India has consistently improved its relations with Afghanistan after the fall of the Taliban.\textsuperscript{53} She, in a planned way, strengthened its relations with the Northern Alliance who are anti-Pakistan. Since the fall of the Taliban, many members of the Northern Alliance were holding the positions in Kabul, which showed their meaningful bent towards India ignoring Pakistan.

Indian security establishment relishes their apprehension that pro-Pakistan groups would take over Afghanistan’s control in the power vacuum after the drawdown of United States (US) and International Security Assistance Forces (ISAF).\textsuperscript{54} The announcement of delay in withdrawal from US authorities is warmly welcomed by New Delhi. In presence of US and ISAF, India knows that pro-Pakistan groups would find no space. Resultantly India can flaunt her muscles freely in Afghanistan.

**Indian Afghan Policy: Pakistan factor**

India is carrying out covert operations of ethnic violence, creating militancy, committing suicidal attacks, exploding bombs, target killings and sectarian strife.\textsuperscript{55} All these are systematic series of operations rather than random incidents. Factually, Pakistan is a victim of much planned

\textsuperscript{51} Price, Gareth. "India’s Policy towards." (Catham House, 2013).
\textsuperscript{52} Hanauer, Larry, and Peter Chalk. India’s and Pakistan’s Strategies in Afghanistan: Implications for the United States and the Region. (Arlington: RAND Corporation, 2012), 1-90.
\textsuperscript{53} Kumar, Pankaj. "India’s Interests and Strategies in Afghanistan." The International Journal Of Humanities & Social Studies 2, no. 5 (May 2014).
\textsuperscript{54} Khan, Raja Muhammad. "Margalla Papers 2012:challenges and opportunities." (Institute for strategic studies, research & analysis, 2012)
\textsuperscript{55} Marri, Jarrar Hazrat. "India's covert war on Pakistan is no longer a secret." Times of Islamabad, (2018).
methodically and professionally implanted covert war. Since coming into power of Northern Alliance, Indian RAW with the help of intelligence Agencies of USA, Israel, and Afghanistan is helping resurgence in Balochistan and other urban areas of the country.\(^{56}\)

**Research and Analysis Wing and Riyast-i-Amoor-o-Amanat-i-Milliyah (RAW-RAAM ) Collaboration**

Under the close and keen technical guidance of RAW, Afghan intelligence agency has been reorganized and renamed as RAAM after the name of Hindu god.\(^{57}\) Numerous RAW agents and personnel are in close contact and cooperation of Afghan intelligence.

India is using its embassy and consulates in Afghanistan to organize its covert operations to harm Pakistan. In collaboration with significant political figures, RAW is giving weapons to Baloch nationalists in different areas of the province. Afghan agencies used to host and accommodate Indian delegations to meet with the Baloch tribal leaders.

For Salma Dam construction in Herat, huge explosives were transported from Tajikistan to Afghanistan. From these explosives, a considerable amount was transported to Pakistan’s tribal areas by RAW and RAAM for using in terrorist activities.

Indian intelligence agency in collaboration with Northern Alliance has set up many training camps for insurgents in different border areas of Afghanistan. Ferraris and anti-Pakistan elements are assembled and trained there.

### Indian Goals and Objectives in Afghanistan

Indian goals in Afghanistan can be traced back to Kautilya’s writing, a scholar of the realist school of thought. He is famous as Indian Machiavelli. Kautilya in his book Arthashastra an English version published in 2016 asserted that:-

“Every neighboring state is an enemy and enemy’s enemy is a friend.”\(^{58}\) Afghanistan has always a pivotal place in India’s regional policy owing to its geographical and geo-strategic location, its hostile bent towards Pakistan and mineral reserves richness.\(^{59}\) Indian’s objectives in Afghanistan are multi-lateral; some of these aims are to limit the Taliban for neutralizing and

---


Indo-Afghan Relations: Implications for Pakistan

resurrecting Pakistan’s support to Kashmir jihad. She is helping the democratization process and installing a pro-India government in Afghanistan. The success of Pakistan’s Independence Movement, in turn, undercut Indian social fabric by boosting a vent to suppress minority groups like Sikhs and Kashmiri Muslims.

Countering Pakistan’s influence in the region to hold and capture leading role in Afghanistan and the Central Asian States, India increasing her diplomatic presence by opening consulates over the Pak-Afghan border areas.\(^60\) Pakistan is highly concerned about Indian consulates in Afghanistan because there are 3,000-4,000 Indians working across Afghanistan.\(^61\) That is why establishing consulates in Kandahar by India are a setback to Pakistan. Furthermore, some circles in Pakistan took it as deliberate effort, under US patronage, of suppressing Pashtoons and depriving them of their share in authority and promoting the interest of other minority groups including Uzbeks, Panjshiris, Tajiks, and Hazaras. Pakistan believes, from inside Afghanistan some elements both local and foreign are ostentatiously supporting terrorists and miscreants in KP and Balochistan province. In the context, Pakistan provided proofs of hosting Braham Dagh Bugti by Afghan National Directorate of Security (NDS) in Kabul, supported by photographs of his frequent visits to Delhi annexed with some instructions, which proves his connections with Balochistan un-rest.\(^62\)

Balochistan is an auspicious sole diamond of Pakistan which makes it pivotal to the heartland and Central Asia.\(^63\) It includes Arabian Sea coastland with Gawadar an important port, where from a Southern route to Central Asian states makes it immensely critical for India. Thus India is fomenting trouble and insurgency in Balochistan province aiming at delinking it from Pakistan so as to contain Pakistan’s economic and strategic potential as the future of its coming generations lies in Balochistan.\(^64\) Pakistan blames India and Afghanistan for supporting Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA) which is provoking insurgency in Balochistan and trying to attract attention towards their separatist movement.

Moreover, exploitation of Central Asian Republic’s energy resources is another and very important aim of Indian influence in Afghanistan. India wants to tap CARs energy resources and for this purpose developing Afghan


\(^61\) Kiran, Afifa. "Indian Quest for Strategic Ingress in Afghanistan and Its Implications for Pakistan." *Institute for Strategic Studies, Research and Analysis (ISSRA)* (Institute for Strategic Studies, Research & Analysis), 2009.

\(^62\) Ibid.


land as a bridge between itself and Central Asia. Fast growing Indian economy demands energy resources pressingly. To meet it out, CARs reserves make India to develop a relationship with Afghanistan. In this quest, India is making large investments for roads annexing Afghanistan and CARs.

**Countering Pakistan’s Strategic Interests in Afghan State**

Pakistan and Afghanistan have a common border equal to 2430 Km. Both of the countries have many common characteristics of lingual, cultural, social and religious nature which made them a natural ally. Therefore Pakistan is giving its committed and sincere technical, economic and political assistance to the state of Afghanistan and that is the thing India does not like. After the 9/11 incident, Indian interests in Afghanistan are evolving on three wide and main objectives.

i. Security apprehensions

ii. Economic interests

iii. Global and regional objectives

To achieve these objectives India is adopting a soft power strategy in Afghanistan. Soft power as explained by Joseph Nye “is the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments. It arises from attractiveness of a country’s culture, political ideals and policies. When our policies are seen as legitimate in the eyes of the others, our power is enhanced”. By pursuing soft power strategy India is focusing on building and improving physical infrastructure, capacity building of human resources, improving security and assistance in agriculture and industrial sectors.

India takes Pakistan as its archrival because it does not accept Indian hegemony in the region and challenges its supremacy. This refusal and its aspirations of relations on an equal basis were never liked by India. In consequence, India wants to punish Pakistan by isolating and ousting it from the regional scenario. India’s so-called help of building Afghanistan is nothing but her strive for becoming a regional hegemon and countering the influence of Pakistan.

---

65 Adnan, Mubeen, and Bushra Fatima. "Strategic and Economic Interests of Pakistan and India in Central Asia." *South Asian Studies* 30, no. 2 (July-December 2015).


67 Kiran, Afifa. "Indian Quest for Strategic Ingress in Afghanistan and Its Implications for Pakistan." *Institute for Strategic Studies, Research and Analysis (ISSRA), 2009.*


India considers Afghanistan necessary to gain access to Central Asian Republics for trade and import of energy. For this purpose, India is seeking better relations and cooperation with these states. In this pursuit, she extended $17 million assistance/grant for up-gradation of a hydropower generation plant in Tajikistan and signed memorandum of understanding (MoU) for Turkmenistan-Afghanistan–Pakistan–India (TAPI) gas pipeline.  

Occupying two-thirds Kashmir, India partially encircled Pakistan. Along with this encirclement, she is virtually increasing its forces and installation, in the Arabian Sea to turn it into its exclusive domain for limiting Pakistan. Large assistance of Iran towards constructing Chahbahar Port and construction of roads, linking the port to Afghanistan is the encirclement in strategic meaning. India is making its utmost efforts to dominate and influence Afghanistan in all fields i.e. social, cultural, political and economic.  

Indian Terrorism Activities and its Propaganda against Pakistan  

Since partition, India is inimical towards Pakistan. She loses no opportunity of deforming Pakistan. Through false operation, India tries to portray Pakistan a center of terrorist activities. Pathankot and Mumbai attacks are examples in this queue. India, through these activities, showing itself as the victim of Pakistan backed terrorist activities. Under the influence of India, Afghanistan is muttering the words of India and raising baseless allegations against Pakistan for advancing unrest in the country. In contradiction, many hidden networks of India have been traced and disclosed by Pakistan’s intelligence agency ISI in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran which were working with militants to promote terrorism in the region.

In Afghanistan, along with soft power India is using hard power to encircle Pakistan. Ernest Wilson describes hard power “the capacity to coerce”. Indian hard power strategies are counterproductive to the world’s determination to exterminate terrorism from the globe. There are reports about RAW’s involvement in terrorist activities and its role as a spoiler in the war against terrorism. Kalbushan Jadhav’s arrest and his confessions as a RAW agent, who is a serving Indian Navy officer, is a clear proof of sponsoring terrorism in Balochistan and South Asian region. The world must urge the Indian government to shun its nefarious actions against

Pakistan as the extermination and curbing terrorist activities is a common international objective.

Pakistan government had already raised the issue of Indian terrorism and its role as financer of terrorism before international community quite before Jadhav’s arrest. Pakistan also shared a cautiously prepared document containing proofs of terrorist activities by India with the UN General Secretary and US President.75 Pakistan as well as international media often exposed Indian involvement in terrorist activities in Pakistan undertaken by Indian RAW. The issue of opening numerous consulates in Afghanistan and their involvement in the training of terrorist element has been discussed in international media. James Dobbin, former US special envoy to AF-Pak stated in media that:-

“Pakistan’s concerns over Indian consulates involvement in anti-Pakistan and terrorist activities are based on realities and facts”. 76

Christine Fair, American scholar states that:-

“India is airing unrest and militancy in Afghanistan”.77

These statements by neutral persons are sufficient enough to prove Pakistan’s stance and apprehension in the context.

**Indo-Afghan Nexus: Implications for Pakistan**

Afghanistan’s ever increasing military ties and connections with India are a source of serious concern for Pakistan. India is making extraordinary efforts towards increasing its influence in Afghanistan including augmented training and equipment of its armed forces, the involvement of Indian consulates in anti-Pakistan activities is widening the already existing mistrust between Afghanistan and Pakistan.78 Pro-Pakistan Pashtoons are systematically excluded from government in Kabul. Pakistan is wary that India’s intelligence agency RAW is involved in fashioning clandestine plans to overpower Pakistan by using proxies within the Northern Alliance and NA’s government in Kabul. Although tripartite commission of USA, Pak, and Afghan is an effective forum to dispose-off the complaints yet dubious Indian action is growing suspicion between the

two countries. India thinks Afghanistan is very important to strategically encircle Pakistan and contains it economically so that it might not be able to challenge India’s supremacy in the region. These are the reasons due to which India provides support to Afghan institutions. India’s assistance to Afghanistan is symbolic; it has some other objectives different from those on the ground.

Previously Pakistan has to pay attention to activities of defending boundaries on her Eastern borders but now due to the increased presence of India in Afghanistan Pakistan has to revise and redesign its military strategy. India poses threats to Pakistan security from two sides of the borders. Pakistan is facing serious challenges and competition from Afghanistan because of the presence of International players there, including India. India’s strategy in Afghanistan is to limit Pakistan’s influence and to further contain it at the time of conflict. Indian intention is to spoil friendly relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan. New Delhi is going to every limit to this end. Resultantly, Pakistan is compelled to compete against every nefarious design of opening a hostile front on its Western borders.

The situation of Afghanistan after 9/11 has largely been serving the aims of Indian policymakers and legitimizing her presence in Afghanistan but at the same time, it has put the policy makers of Pakistan on their toes. Geographically, Afghanistan is situated in the backyard of Pakistan. This location gives her strategic depth for Pakistan. That is the reason for which New Delhi is taking deep interest and trying to take hold in Afghanistan. Indian approach towards Afghanistan is need-based for meddling in Pakistan’s influence. To Pakistan, all these efforts of India are to attain a dominant role in the region. Indian presence in Afghanistan, its policies, and dubious activities concern Pakistani policymakers. Genuine reasons for this fear are:-

i. At the time of war and conflict, Pakistan will lose its strategic depth which it now has in the form of Afghanistan.
ii. Being marginalized, Pakistan will not be able to use Afghanistan for transit trade.
iii. Gradual decreasing of pro-Pakistan elements in Afghanistan will result in the rivalry between neighboring countries.
iv. Military training to Afghan forces by India will become militancy threat for Pakistan.

Following Kautilyan philosophy India is using the USA and Afghan governments to slander Pakistan whereas India and USA have harmonious interests in present-day Afghanistan. In the scenario after the drawdown, USA believes India to play a considerable role and fill the power

79 Kiran, Afifa. ”Indian Quest for Strategic Ingress in Afghanistan and Its Implications for Pakistan.” Institute for Strategic Studies, Research and Analysis (ISSRA) (Institute for Strategic Studies, Research & Analysis), 2009.
vacuum in case Afghan forces cannot alone be effective. Hence New Delhi is now enjoying the full backing of USA.\textsuperscript{80} Because of the convergence in relations, both the countries are increasing pressure on Pakistan diplomatically and through media. To slander and defame Pakistan, the media of both the countries leave no opportunity of making false propaganda. Treading Indian footpath, the Afghan government also started blaming Pakistan for meddling in affairs of Afghanistan, just for pleasing India. Northern Alliance’s government is playing in the hands of India which irritates Pakistan.\textsuperscript{81} To achieve its goals and vested interests India has opened generously its treasure’s mouth and lavishly expending money. Afghan communication infrastructure including TV and radio networks have been completely rebuilt and recovered with full Indian technical and financial assistance.\textsuperscript{82} Establishing communication networks and systems at optimum levels, India installed different capacity transmitters along with access to its satellite INSAT 3-A.\textsuperscript{83} Indian cultural films have ultra effective and liking in Afghanistan. Exploiting this aspect, India is making vigorous propaganda against Pakistan which is culminating in hatred in Afghan people against Pakistan. India is advocating that Pakistan is responsible for all ills in Afghanistan whereas realizing itself their true, sincere and altruist friend. India aims and involves itself in power game not only in Afghanistan but also in the entire region; therefore Pakistan’s worries are not baseless.\textsuperscript{84}

\textbf{Indian Water Aggression against Pakistan}

Pursuing Pakistan’s animosity, India is undertaking aggression on waterfronts. Persistently following Kautilya philosophy, India has started undeclared water war against Pakistan and virtually making efforts to dry/barren its lands. Practically water flow of three rivers Chenab, Jhelum, and Sindh minimized due to numerous small and large dams in complete violation of Indus Water Treaty, whereas the second phase includes construction many such dams on Afghanistan’s Kabul River. Constructions of dams on Kabul River will stop the flow of Water to Pakistan equal to 5 million Acre-feet.\textsuperscript{85}


Conceiving the idea, New Delhi further apprised Afghan government for involving international agencies for construction of these dams. That plan amounts to complete destruction of Pakistan-Afghanistan and Pakistan share the water of nine rivers with approximate 18.3 million acre-foot (MAF) of water.\textsuperscript{86} Kunhar (Chitral) river originates from Pakistan after passing through Afghan land again flows in Pakistan. Consequently, Afghanistan has no legitimacy of using water of this river. Pakistan has reservations over the construction of these dams. Non-availability of requisite demands and reservoir in Pakistan makes it possible that Pakistan would have to depend on Afghanistan for its energy requirements. India is giving Kabul concrete and secret help and emphasizing to construct this dam at the earliest. Such projects would worsen Pakistan’s energy crisis. This plan is of Pakistan’s complete destruction as its industrial sector is near to collapse and their imports are lowest. Unfortunately, both the countries i.e. India and Afghanistan are making deep cooperation in this regard.

**Indian Activities in Balochistan**

Besides their political, strategic and economic ties, India and Afghanistan also have harmonious views and strategies about Pakistan’s deep sea, Gawadar Port, constructed by China. Gawadar is a kind of guarantee towards Pakistan’s progress and prosperity. This port has the potential of becoming awfully lucrative trade route for Arabian, Central Asian and South Asian countries. China will also have the access to CARs and Northern Europe through this port.\textsuperscript{87} This will be the most viable route for trade among the world’s richest regions. New Delhi has much worried on completion of this project. Pakistan’s viability and strong economic footing are unbearable for India. Under this agony, India started countering the project in shape of working on Chahbahar port which will ensure multifarious benefits to India.\textsuperscript{88}

i. Counter benefits of Pakistan’s Gawadar port.

ii. Building new trade rout eliminating Delhi’s rivals i.e. China and Pakistan.

iii. Developing strong economic relations with Tehran.

iv. Winning goodwill and sympathies of Afghans providing them alternative land route.

v. Bringing New Delhi closer to Pakistan’s two neighbors.

Pakistan is witnessing a toughest time of its history with regards to internal stability. Balochistan is less inhabited but abundant with mineral resources.


It is facing unrest because of interference from Afghanistan, Iran, and India. This factor with many other factors gives momentum to separatist movement in the shape of BLA. Such groups started undertaking activities against the Federation of Pakistan. Killings of unarmed and innocent people in Balochistan are the reality of the day.

**India’s Power Manifestations and Implications for Pakistan**

According to some observers, what makes the issue of Indian involvement so thorny is that all the three countries have overlapping national interests. India is trying to make an impression of regional and global power and aiming at the exploitation of valuable resources. New Delhi thinks that its efforts are in harmony of the needs and necessities of Kabul. The pro-Indian Afghans think that Indian support is essential for their country and Pakistan cannot hinder the bilateral relationship. But this is not as simple as is often described by Indians and Afghanistan, Barnett Rubin validates Pakistan’s concerns over Indian involvement and says it as a legitimate interest.

Without regard to the point whether Pakistan’s desires for its own strategic involvement in Afghanistan are outdated, Islamabad anyhow thinks itself surrounded by belligerent and inimical forces, viewing only China as a friendly neighbor. In many ways, Pakistan seems to apply same intensity and importance to Indian involvement as it gives to Kashmir issue. India’s increasing presence and growing influence in Afghanistan undermines the quest of Pakistan’s’ strategic depth. The quest will not be abandoned easily by Pakistan. Resultantly, working relentlessly it will go to considerable lengths, to undermine a cordial Indo-Afghan relationship and threaten Indian officials and personals within Afghanistan.

Pakistan has seen India’s rapid insertion of material support into Afghanistan as a strategic loss and rolling back decade’s long efforts to establish an Islamic alliance between Islamabad and Kabul. This assumed alliance had for years kept India away from Pakistan’s Western border but now Pakistan asserts that Delhi’s consulates close to the Durand line serve as hubs for aiding the Baloch insurgency. Pakistan believes that any Indian

---

89 Kiran, Afifa. "Indian Quest for Strategic Ingress in Afghanistan and Its Implications for Pakistan." Institute for Strategic Studies, Research and Analysis (ISSRA) (Institute for Strategic Studies, Research & Analysis), 2009.


involvement in Afghanistan is pernicious. This is especially true amid the calls for secession in some circles of Baloch nationalists and the alliance of Northern Balochis with tribes in FATA in an effort to form an ethnically Pashtun province in Pakistan. Afghanistan has a history of aiding Baloch nationalists as part and parcel of the tit-for-tat support that each country supplies to the enemies of the other. The Afghan government extended aid to some 30,000 Baloch tribesmen. Pakistan is now worried about similar and from an Afghan-allied India to this end Pakistani claims are legitimate.

Conclusion
Abetting subverting activities, facilitating infiltrators, sponsoring disgruntled factions and supporting dissident groups throughout Pakistan are main elements of Indian strategy in Afghanistan. Indian spy’s capture, his subsequent confessions have confirmed Indian RAW’s support and sponsorship to Baloch Liberation Army and waging terrorism in Balochistan/Sindh provinces. Disaffected factions of KP, rural Sindh and Karachi city have been sponsored and encouraged for years which expanded disturbance, insecurity, and uneasiness. India’s growing influence in Afghanistan through soft power tactics has some hidden impacts on Pakistan. Through this strategy, India wants to contain Pakistan and halt its economy to improve. India wants to control energy resources of Central Asia solely for its economic needs, ultimately to grasp the role of world’s major power.

Pakistan should play its productive role to stabilize Afghanistan and help her to come out from the prevailing critical situation. Stable Afghanistan will be more beneficial for Pakistan. Pakistan and Afghanistan should devise a comprehensive strategy to resolve all their issues including trade, border infiltrations, and cross-border firing. Both Pakistan and Afghanistan should make it mandatory that their land will never be used against each other. Pakistan should concentrate on her internal issues and maintain law and order and peace in the country. Pakistan should operate her foreign policy “pro-actively” rather than “reactively” to counter the Indian nefarious designs and propaganda. All diplomatic channels should be utilized in effective ways to highlight the RAW destabilizing activities in Pakistan, specifically in Balochistan.

In sum, intensive peace efforts are required for regional stability and peace. In this regard, both Pakistan and India should actively play their positive roles in Afghanistan by putting aside their mutual concerns and clashes. The trilateral engagement will help out the regional peaceful environment. For the long-term cooperation in Afghanistan’s reconstruction and building up her economy, transparency and confidence-building measures are required among India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan.

Bibliography
Adnan, Mubeen, and Bushra Fatima. "Strategic and Economic Interests of Pakistan and India in Central Asia." South Asian Studies 30, no. 2 (July-December 2015).


Dave, Bhavna. Resetting India's Engagement in Central Asia: from symbols to substance. S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, 2016.


Javaid, Umbreen, and Rameesha Javaid. "Indian Influence in Afghanistan and its Implications for Pakistan." 


Kapila, Dr Subhash. "Afghanistan-India Strategic Partnership: A Perspective Analysis." 
*South Asia Analysis Group*, 2011.

Karim, Muhammad. "World Powers Rivalry in Afghanistan and Its Effects on Pakistan." 
*The Dialogue XII*, no. 3 (2017).


Khalid, Iram. "The New Great Game in Afghanistan: Role of India (A Pakistani Perspective)." 

Khalil, Ahmad Bilal. "Features: The Tangled History of the Afghanistan-India-Pakistan Triangle." 

Khan, Mubarak Zeb. "Losing ground in Afghanistan." 

institute for strategic studies, research & analysis, 2012.


Khan, Sanaullah. "Indian, Afghan Agencies Supporting Terror in Pakistan." 
*DAWN*, 2016.


Kiran, Afifa. "Indian Quest for Strategic Ingress in Afghanistan and Its Implications for Pakistan." 
*Institute for Strategic Studies, Research and Analysis (ISSRA)* (Institute for Strategic Studies, Research & Analysis), 2009.

Kumar, Pankaj. "India’s Interests and Strategies in Afghanistan." 
*The International Journal Of Humanities & Social Studies* 2, no. 5 (May 2014).


Marri, Jarrar Hazrat. "India's covert war on Pakistan is no longer a secret." *Times of Islamabad*, 2018.


