

## INDIAN INFLUENCE IN AFGHANISTAN AND ITS IMPACTS ON PAKISTAN

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### ABSTRACT

*Afghanistan is a landlocked country in west Asia. It shares its boundaries with Iran Pakistan, Uzbekistan Tajikistan and China through a narrow strip of Wakhan valley. Throughout history Afghanistan remained instable due to its geography, weak governments and foreign invasions. Afghanistan has an important geostrategic location, its neighboring countries mostly involved in its internal affairs to serve their own national interest. In history it played a role of buffer state between Czarist Russian Empire and British India. Afghanistan like its past once again became an important state of the region due to its proximity with CAR's region. Pakistan and India are also two important neighbor of Afghanistan. After 9/11, both these countries bitterly involved to strengthen their influence in Afghanistan and to minimize influence of the other. Its looks that Afghanistan has become a second battle ground for both India and Afghanistan after the battleground of Kashmir. There are speculations that both India and Pakistan busy in proxy war against each other in Afghanistan. Both are trying to get their hold strong in Afghanistan and to minimize the role of her adversary. After 9/11, India became successful to enhance its influence in Afghanistan which has direct impact on Pakistan. This paper is going to discuss that how India has become successful in strengthening her influence in Afghanistan and what will be its repercussion for Pakistan.*

**Keywords:** Foreign Policy of Pakistan, Indian Influence in Afghanistan, Taliban, 9/11

### INTRODUCTION

India and Pakistan are two important south Asian neighboring states. Both got independence after the partition of British India on 14<sup>th</sup> and 15 August 1947. Unfortunately both these two countries became hostile towards each other, soon after their independence. Their issues of hostility are mostly belongs to British Indian portions plan.

After the partition of British India, Indian leader's specially ruling congress party leaders issued hostile statements against Pakistan and started huge propaganda. As Hindus never accepted portion of subcontinent by heart so from the very beginning they started propaganda that Pakistan will not sustained for long. It will break down sooner or later and at last it will again join mother India. This was not only there wished but they did their best to harm and damage to new born state of Pakistan in various ways and means.

Soon after the announcement of partition plan there was large scale massacre of Muslims and Hindus along with massive migration, resulted in animosity, hatred and hostility against each other. Pakistan suffered much due to the injustices with her in Red Cliff Award. Annexation of princely states like Juna Gadh, Hyderabad and occupation of Jammu and Kashmir by India created sense of insecurity vis-a-vis India. India also refused and hesitated

to pay to Pakistan its due share of British Indian Central Reserve along with its share of arms and ammunition.

Due to Indian occupation of Kashmir both of two countries have to fight a war in 1948. Further India tried to stop river water flowing into Pakistan to make it's a barren land. In 1951, India accumulated her forces on Pakistani border which may result an armed conflict. Such type of Indian measures against Pakistan compelled her to search for friends to strengthen its position against India. Pakistan first tried to get cooperation of Muslim countries, but soon it got disappointed and turned towards the west for economic and military aid. Pakistan joined west in the backdrop of its security needs (Levey, 1968). Due to security threat from India and poor economic conditions, Pakistan joined western security alliances i.e. SEATO and CENTO. Pakistan got huge economic and military aid from America and western countries which strengthened her to some extent its position.

Hostility between two countries resulted in another war in 1965, first in Run of Kutch and fully fledged war across international border. A smaller war on Run of Kutch ultimately turned into full scale war in September, 1965 (Khan, 1977: 39). Mutual hostility again brought both two countries in battle field when in 1971 sent her forces to assist secessionist forces in East Pakistan, resulted its separation and formation of a new state Bangladesh. During 80's forces of two countries confronting each other in Sia-Chin that became another factor of irritation between the two states. Another limited war has been fought in Kargil Sector in 1999. In 2002 India once again amassed her forces on international border. Forces remained on border for long eleven months but were dismantled.

After USSR's disintegration, central Asian Republics got independence. These are all enriching with mineral resources specially energy resources. As these states are land locked states so all these lacking direct link with international seas. These states can have an easy access to Indian Ocean through Afghanistan and Pakistan. Due to ample mineral resources of these states, the whole region has got importance for major power and also states of the region.

## **PAK-AFGHAN RIVALRY AND INDIA**

Pakistan and Afghanistan are two Muslim neighboring countries and sharing many things in common like religion, history, language and 2240 KM long boundaries. But without communality and sharing many things in common there remained hostile towards each other. Thanks to Durand Line Issue and Afghanistan Pashtunistan stunt for this hostility. A foreign policy expert writes:

On 3<sup>rd</sup> December, 1947 shortly after the independence of Pakistan Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah said that I desire that relationship between these two sister states i.e. Pakistan and Afghanistan may be of the greatest and most lasting friendship and I do hope that a the coming negotiation that may take place will secure and strengthen even more the goodwill and friendship between over two countries which already exist (Khalid, 2013: 232).

On the issue of Durand Line and Pashtunistan stunt Afghanistan was fully backed by India and Soviet Russia. Afghanistan is situated to the West of Pakistan. Soon after the independence of Pakistan it became hostile towards the new born state of Pakistan. Afghan Government unilaterally declared all the treaties made in the past with Government of British India, particularly Durand Line agreement signed between Amir Abdurrahman of Afghanistan and Sir Mortimer Durand in 1993 in Kabul as null and void.

Just after the creation of Pakistan on August 14, 1947, Afghanistan's Prime Minister Shah Mahmud Khan announced that all Indo-Afghan agreements in respect to border had been concluded by the British Indian and Afghan authorities, therefore all agreements would be void (*Ibid*: 29). Afghanistan was strongly supported by both India and Soviet Union in her claims against Pakistan.

So in this way Afghanistan politicized Durand Line and refused to accept it as International Border between Pakistan and Afghanistan. Other things which irritated relations between two neighbors, was Afghanistan claimed on Pashtun areas in Pakistan. Afghan leadership at that time thought that Pakistan is a young state being weak and unstable can be exploited. But Pakistan refused to bow before their demands as a result Afghanistan became her hostile towards Pakistan. It was the reason that when Pakistan applied for membership in United Nations, Afghanistan was the only country which opposed Pakistan entry in United Nation ([www.Afghanland.com](http://www.Afghanland.com)). September, 1947 Abdul Hussain Khan Aziz who was appointed as Afghan representative in United Nation said that Afghanistan cannot recognize North West Frontier Province (NWFP) as part of Pakistan because people of North West Frontier Province have not been given the opportunity to determine either they want to be independent or to be part of Pakistan, so Afghanistan opposed Pakistan into United Nation (Khalid, 2013: 234-235).

Referring to ancient Indian political philosopher Kautilya Chanakya's famous quote "Your neighbour is always your enemy but enemy's neighbour is always your friend" an analyst observes that following Chanakya's advice India adopted the policy of antagonism towards Pakistan and friendship towards Afghanistan since 1947. (Kalil, 2012) Due to Afghanistan's policy of rejecting the legitimacy of Durand Line and Afghanistan's consequent opposition of Pakistan's membership of UNO, India found an ally against Pakistan. Resultantly India signed a treaty of friendship with Afghanistan in 1950.

After the overthrow of Zahir Shah Regime, there was a hope of change in Afghan hostile policy toward Pakistan. Relation between Afghanistan and Pakistan improved a little during the Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Era in Pakistan. A significant change in Afghan hostile policy toward Pakistan occurred in 1976. Then Daud realized that Soviet had completely gained access to the Afghan Army, media and educational institutions. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, in his book "*If I am Assassinated*" writes:

When President Daud and his delegation arrived in Pakistan on August 1976, the threads of Kabul discussion were picked up in Rawalpindi. After the first round, the delegates from Afghanistan and Pakistan were instructed by their respective leaders to get together to work out a formula for the simultaneous agreement. The formula was finally reached. It called for recognition by the Afghanistan of the Durand Line as the international frontier and simultaneously, Pakistan would release the NAP leaders and announced a general amnesty. I studied the formula and said "I am satisfied". So the President Daud. There was to be a formal ceremony for signing the agreement in Kabul. Subsequent event prevented the visit from taking place (Quoted in *Ibid*: 245).

But after the bloody revolution of 1977, in which President Daud and his family was assassinated, communist backed regime came to power in Afghanistan, hostile policy of Afghanistan remained unchanged.

Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979 which changed situation in the region as a whole. Unlike hostile attitude of Afghan Government, when tough time came to them, Pakistan stood firmly with Afghan people in their struggle against Soviet occupation. During that period India contrary to Pakistan supported to communist regime in Afghanistan, where as Pakistan supported to Mujahidden. Pakistan hosted more than 3 million refugees on its soil.

Pakistan in collaboration with United State of America fully supported their freedom struggle against Soviet forces. After withdrawal of Soviet forces, Pakistan supported peace process in Afghanistan.

New Government of Professor Berhanuddin Rabani as President and Hykmatyar as Prime Minister were established with the efforts of Pakistan. But due to a lack of consensus and dissensions among war lords, civil war started in Afghanistan. As a result of which Afghanistan once again plunged in a state of war and instability.

In 1996, a new actor appeared on Afghan horizon with the name of Taliban. They became successful in capturing Kabul in 1997 and more than 90% area of Afghanistan territory. According to various reports Taliban were backed and supported by Pakistan Military and ISI. As Taliban established peace and stability in their occupied portion, Pakistan officially accepted Taliban Government in Afghanistan. Due to pro Pakistan stance of Taliban Government Pakistan remained successful in strengthening her influence in Afghanistan. On the other hand India was supporting Taliban's rival militant group northern alliance. It was for the first time that Pakistan had full control over Afghan affairs.

During Taliban rules (from 1996 – 2001) Indian influence in Kabul reached to the lowest ebb. India had to close its embassy in Kabul after it was captured by Taliban. During this time both India and Pakistan were opposite sides, India supported northern alliance while Pakistan was supporter of Taliban regime.

Taliban's adversary Northern Alliance in Afghanistan mostly consisted of Northern ethnic population belonging from northern region of Afghanistan that is why it is known as Northern Alliance. Northern Alliance was backed and supported by most of the World countries included India and Russia. Dr. Imran Khalid observes:

India provided high altitude warfare equipments at the cost of 10 million worth to Northern Alliance it also sent her military experts to assist Northern Alliance on defense front. India established hospital on Afghanistan and Tajikistan border in Farkhor where the Indian doctors gave medical treatment to the Northern Alliance injured Afghans. Indian government used the Tajikistan and the Uzbekistan bases to operate the military operation against Taliban government (*Ibid: 271*).

Situation in Afghanistan completely changed after 9/11. In retaliation of the attack on World Trade Centre in America, coalition forces attacked Afghanistan in 2001. Taliban Government was defeated and driven out from Afghanistan. As Northern Alliance supported Coalition forces in their war against Taliban, a new Government of Northern Alliance was installed in Kabul under Hamid Karzai. Father of Haimd Karzi assassinated during Taliban's reign and he got his undergraduate education in India. So he tilted more towards India and his policies clearly reflected his pro-Indian posture. During his rules India again got an opportunity to strengthening her influence in Afghanistan.

## **INDIAN GOALS IN AFGHANISTAN**

In 2011, Prime Minister of India Manmohan Sing said that India will stand by the people of Afghanistan as they prepare to assume the responsibility for their Governances and security after the with-drawl of International forces in 2014. There are various dimensions of India's foreign policy in the region. Firstly Indian has hegemonic designs as far as South Asia is concerned. It is a major country of the region so it wants dominant role in the region. But Pakistan is a major challeng or to its dominance in the region. Secondly India wanted to have an access to Central Asian Republics due to her long term economic interest in central Asia,

but it lack border access with them. For access to rich mineral resources of CAR's it is essential for India to have strong influence in Afghanistan. Thirdly India wanted to limit Pakistan's influence in Afghanistan and to contain Pakistan from its western border. Fourthly India wanted to avoid Taliban type government in Afghanistan, so that Afghanistan may not become a haven for militant groups, as India got experience of significant rise in intensity in the freedom struggle in Kashmir, when Taliban were in power in Afghanistan.

### **PAKISTANI GOALS IN AFGHANISTAN**

It is mentioned earlier that Afghanistan remained hostile towards Pakistan. At present it is very important for Pakistan to have a pro-Pakistan government because without it Pakistan may have to face difficulties. At present Pakistan western border along with eastern border, also has become insecure. It is the main interest of to have a safe western border. Pakistan can meet this challenge only by establishing close brotherly relations with Afghanistan. As India main interest in Afghanistan is to have a pro Indian government in Kabul, against it Pakistan's interest is to have a pro Pakistan government in Kabul. Another objective of Pakistan in Afghanistan is to establish brotherly relations with Afghanistan, beneficial for both two countries. Pakistan also wanted a strategic depth in Afghanistan. In early 2010, General Kayani, Pakistan chief of defence staff stated that "a peaceful and friendly Afghanistan can provide Pakistan a strategic depth."[www.dailydawn.com](http://www.dailydawn.com).

### **INDIAN STRATEGIES IN AFGHANISTAN TO STRENGTHEN HER INFLUENCE**

Presently India is busy to adopt multiple dimensional activities in Afghanistan. It is working in all socio-economic, military, political and diplomatic spheres to strengthen herself on its soil. India supported to Northern Alliance in their war against Taliban so now it is in the good book of Karzai government. As Pakistan supported Taliban so now they are looking towards Pakistan with suspicion.

India is 6<sup>th</sup> largest donors for Afghanistan, and spent there \$750 million in term of foreign assistance in developmental funds in early stages. Indian development assistance program for Afghanistan stands \$2 billion([www.timesofindia.com](http://www.timesofindia.com)). It offered to help rebuild the Afghan National Air line Arianna([www.rediff.com](http://www.rediff.com)). It also donated 3 Air buses in 2002([www.ficci-infopad.com](http://www.ficci-infopad.com)). India has donated 400 buses and 200 mini buses to Afghan Government as gift. India is busy in large number of construction and development project of varying nature. It is highly active in construction of roads, transmission of electricity lines, dams and important buildings. India is constructing Afghan Parliament building, that will be completed and handed over to afghan government by the end of 2014. It is involved in the constructions of Power Transmission lines in Northern Afghanistan, digging wells in 6 provinces, running sanitation projects in Kabul and using solar energy to light up to 100 villages. It had constructed Delaram –Zaranj Road 218 km long road enable Afghanistan to have an excess to sea via Iran and provide shorter rout to Indian goods to India([www.cacianalyst.org](http://www.cacianalyst.org))

India is constructing Salma dam in Hirat province probably completed in 2015. Transmission lines providing Uzbek electricity to Kabul, construction of the hydro electric Salma Dam, construction of parliament building in Kabul are the project of much importance. The 500 million dollars newly committed add by India will be used for development and infrastructure projects in Agriculture and Mining. India invested multibillion dollars in Hajigok Iron Ore Project([www.meforum.org](http://www.meforum.org)).

India is also helping afghan national Television Network for its improvement and expansion in the country. Indian films and TV dramas have much popularity in afghan population(Khalid, 2013: 355). It provides 2000 scholarship to Afghans annually for

schooling and training in India, including for 500 Afghan civil servants. Indian medical missions in Kabul, Jalalabad, Kandhar, Herat and Muzar-Sharif provided free treatment for more than 350000 Afghans only in 2009-10.

India is also providing military training to Afghan National Army. It is not only providing them training in Afghanistan but also in her military academies in India. Through its provision of education, medical treatment and small business support, India got strengthening her influence in Afghanistan. India game in Afghanistan is to win heart and mind of the people by improving her soft power image by economic aid and assistance.

### **IMPACT OF INDIAN INFLUENCE IN AFGHANISTAN ON PAKISTAN**

It is one of the goals of Pakistan to have an access to Central Asian Republics but it does not have direct boundary linkage with them. Afghanistan is only possible way for Pakistan to approach this region for variety of purpose. India through pro-Indian government is restricting Pakistan to reach Asian Republics and is busy in marginalizing Pakistan interests in Afghanistan. India constructed Zorang-Delaram highway to provide Afghanistan to have access to sea through Iranian Chabadar Port. This project directly lessened importance of Gawader Port of Pakistan being constructed by China. It has direct impact on Pakistan's economic interest in Afghanistan and Central Asia.

After the formation of Karzai Government in Afghanistan, India opened her Embassy Kabul and four consulates in Kandhar, Jalal-abad, Herat and Muzarsharif. According to media reports in Pakistan, Indian embassy in Kabul and her four consulates particularly consulates of Kandhar and Jalalabad which are near to the Durand Line are carrying clandestine operations in Pakistan i.e. FATA and Baluchistan. These consulates are arming and funding Baloch Nationalist Movement in Baluchistan and TTP in tribal area and KPK. It has been reported that a large number of BLA terrorist are getting training in Afghanistan. Their phone calls and messages have been intercepted by secrets agencies in Pakistan. It is also reported that Brahmdagh Bugti and Harbiyar Marri have Indian passports with them.

India opened new diplomatic missions in the Afghan cities nearing the Pakistani border. These missions according to Pakistani officials are being used against Pakistan by Indian Government. Pakistan says that camps in Kahak and Hassan Killies in Nimroz Province, Geredhek in Panjshir, and Qushila Jaded near Kabul are used by India for terrorist activities in Pakistan. The then Chairman of Pakistan Senate Foreign Relation Committee, Mushaid Hussain Syed stated in May 2006 that the Indian diplomatic missions serves as launching pad for undertaking covert operations against Pakistan, from the soil of Afghanistan. Particularly the Indian consulates in Kandhar and Jalalabad and their embassy in Kabul are being used for clandestine activities in Pakistan, generally in FATA and Particularly in Baluchistan([www.caciananalyst.org](http://www.caciananalyst.org)).

India cannot deny its involvement in Baluchistan and FATA, foreign office spokesman Abdul Basit([www.dailydawn.com](http://www.dailydawn.com), [www.paktribune.com](http://www.paktribune.com)). Although Indian Government is denying to any kind of involvement in Baluchistan and other part of Pakistan in acts of terrorism, yet a retired Indian army chief General Vigey Kumar himself admitted this fact in an enquiry([www.thenews.com](http://www.thenews.com)).

Proof of Indian involvement in terrorist activities made public by authorities in Pakistan at various occasions. A former Pakistan interior minister Rahman Malik directly charged India for arming and funding BLA. There are reports that former Prime Minister of Pakistan Syed

Yousaf Raza Galani has given documentary proof to Indian Prime Minister in their Sharmal Shaikh meeting in July 2009.

## **CONCLUSION**

Pakistan has serious concern about Indian involvement in Afghan affairs. Pakistan sees it as her encirclement, aimed at weakening or dismemberment of Pakistan. Pakistan has a desire of strategic depth in Afghanistan which could support Pakistan in event of war against India. It is the reason that Pakistan considered Indian influence in Afghanistan as a real dangerous threat to its survival. It is the reasons that threat perception in Pakistan has been changed from Eastern to Western border. Pakistan has presently internal threat supported by foreign elements. According to some reports Indian consulate in Afghanistan are busy in arming and funding Anti-state elements in Pakistan. So long as India influence in Afghanistan is enhanced, Pakistan security, integrity and solidarity are in dangers.

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