

## **Indo-Afghanistan Relations: Challenges for Pakistan**

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### **ABSTRACT**

Afghanistan and India has been emerged as close affiliates after the Incumbent Karzai regime. She has helped Afghanistan in infrastructural development, institutionalizing capacity building, small development projects, assistance in food procurement, imparting training to Afghanistan's students on scholarships. India has signed Strategic Partnership Agreement (SPA) with Afghanistan in the year of 2011. All the neighbouring states and Pakistan as well have vested interests and key objectives in Afghanistan and to guard their interests and retain peace in the region. Afghanistan has been victim of regional and international hegemonic designs of Super Powers. It has great importance to outreach the Central Asian Republic States (CARS). India is trying to increase its influence in Afghanistan which is very much disturbing for Pakistan as India's growing influence in Afghanistan is the strategic loss for Pakistan. The prevalent security dilemma has increased the mistrust between India and Pakistan. The increased influence of India in Afghanistan is rankling in the strategist's minds of Pakistan as it debilitates the psychological advantages of Pakistan over India. The stable and tranquil Afghanistan is need of the hour for Pakistan as it is a gateway to Central Asia, South Asia and Middle East. The growing relationship of India with Afghanistan is vitiating the strategic depth paradigm of Pakistan.

**Keywords:** *Indo-Afghan Strategic partnership, Pakistan, Indian Hegemonic Design, Taliban*

### **Introduction**

Afghanistan and India has been emerged as close affiliates after the Incumbent Karzai regime. The peace, pluralism and prosperity of Afghanistan have been flourished with growing relationship with India. She has helped Afghanistan in infrastructural development, institutionalizing capacity building, small development projects, assistance in food procurement, imparting training to

Afghanistan's students on scholarships. India has signed Strategic Partnership Agreement (SPA) with Afghanistan in the year of 2011. All the neighbouring states and Pakistan as well have vested interests and key objectives in Afghanistan and to guard their interests and retain peace in the region.

Afghanistan has been victim of regional and international hegemonic designs of Super Powers. It has great importance to outreach the Central Asian Republic States. India is trying to increase its influence in Afghanistan which is very much disturbing for Pakistan as India's growing influence in Afghanistan is strategic loss for Pakistan. The prevalent security dilemma has increased the mistrust between India and Pakistan. The Peaceful Afghanistan is very much essential for the growth and peace of Pakistan. Both India and Pakistan want to forge enviable relations with Afghan Government. There are lot of ups and downs in the relationship of Pakistan and Afghanistan. India is arch rival of Pakistan and cannot tolerate Pakistan's prosperity which hinges upon peace in Afghanistan.

The recent actions that have been taken in Afghanistan and their association with other countries at the international level especially relationship between India and Afghanistan definitely effect its neighboring countries. Pakistan also effect by their relations because it is a central country (among Afghanistan, Pakistan and India) on the basis of geographical boundaries. The interconnectedness of Afghanistan and India shape the future of the region in terms of peace and conflict.

While on the other side of the coin, India is the seventh biggest nation in geological terms, second crowded and biggest popular government in the world. India imparts her frontier to Pakistan toward the west, Bhutan, China and Nepal toward the upper East and Bangladesh and Myanmar toward the East. Other than it, the Indian Ocean on the south, the Arabian Sea on the southwest and the Narrows of Bengal on the southeast likewise covers her. The nation is additionally in region of Sri Lanka and Maldives in the Indian Ocean. The Andaman and Nicobar islands of India offer an oceanic border with Thailand and Indonesia regarding her populace, size, monetary improvement, innovative headway and military abilities. India has an overwhelming position in South Asia and records for 76% of the population of South Asia living in 73.25% of the aggregate area territory of the region.

The change inside the inner and outer determinants of her outside Strategy has transformed her vision of the world. Post-Chilly war period saw India reformulating her outside arrangement while taking after the real determinants as financial development, vitality security, atomic ability, and vote based custom and delicate force capacity. Today, the main thrusts of her outside strategy are the requirement for managed monetary development, vitality and sea security, access to innovation and advancement, inner and outer security.

The present improvements and movements at worldwide request propose that the nation needs to work for making the outside environment helpful for her change and advancement. For this, India needs to mind and address the three arrangements of difficulties i.e. guaranteeing a tranquil neighborhood, setting up and adjusting the relations with the significant powers, and tending to the issues of nourishment security, water, vitality and environment. It is in this setting India's remote strategy since mid-21st century included an intermediating level between the districts and worldwide standpoint.

## Indo-Afghanistan Relations: Challenges for Pakistan

India also blamed that many different terror groups and militant groups are being trained and funded by Pakistan. India forced to international community that they put pressure on Islamabad to destroy and control these activities seriously. The USA attacked through Drone technology in the tribal areas of Pakistan because intelligence reports showed that militant groups are conduct attacked on southern Afghanistan and come back to their shelter in tribal areas of Afghanistan (Subrahmanya, 2012). Moreover, the intelligence reports of USA showed that Taliban are reuniting and gathering their strength in the border areas of Pakistan and Afghanistan (Chaudhuri, 2011). In these days Pakistan and Afghanistan are at the point of attack by the militant activities of Al Qaeda and Taliban (Young, Obama to Explore New Approach in Afghanistan War, 2008).

In South Asia, Pakistan and India is the competitor of each other and New Delhi thinks that policy towards Afghanistan is the main prospective. Pakistan and India has totally different political and security interests in Afghanistan. The relations between Pakistan, Afghanistan and India showed that India wants to remain Pakistan back foot regarding interference in the Afghan matters (Chaudhuri, 2011). Pakistan has concerns about the involvement of India in Afghanistan, such that conflicts between Pakistan and India grow strong (Ganguly, 2001). The relationships between India and Afghanistan are growing day by day and Pakistan showed great concerns by these growing interests and other side Iran has also grow her relationship with Afghanistan, this is also reject able for Pakistan (D'Souza, 2009). India foreign policy towards Afghanistan regarding gain her interests and end the Taliban regime has many critics, New Delhi think that, if Pakistan will interfere in the Afghanistan that will be harmful to her territory and interests (Grare, 2010). Now, Kashmir issue, Sir Creek issue and Siachen issue are conflicts between Pakistan and India, moreover, other some issues are also a big reason to rise conflicts like regional supremacy, economic race, arm race, become the alliance member to peruse the interests, natural resources etc.

The effect of the Indian Government in Afghanistan and catch the resources of central Asia, is not acceptable for the Pakistan and in this regard Pakistan struggles to minimize the influence of India in every level. To know the truth that, India uses Afghanistan as geographically and politically against the Pakistan, Islamabad does not want Afghanistan and India come close against the interests of Pakistan. Islamabad has also concerns that through the Afghanistan terror attacks are being conducts on the Pakistan by India. India may not be successful in this due to unity of religion.

India is taking steps to ensure her interests with the cooperation of Afghanistan. Pakistan thinks that Indian involvement in Afghanistan is harmful to her territory and interests. Islamabad stated that Indian Consulates in Afghanistan are being used in the terror attacks and conflicts are raise by Indian government other provinces of Pakistan (Sudha, Now it is War against India in Afghanistan, 2008). India involvement in Afghanistan is dangerous in the prospective of Pakistan. Islamabad observed that New Delhi is engaged in Afghanistan not only in respect of development but to destroy the Pakistani interests and destabilization. Islamabad protest against the power projects being construct on Chenab and Jhelum rivers by India in Afghanistan, in result the water flow will reduce in Pakistani land. The twelve power projects on Kabul River will affect badly on the relations of Pakistan, India and Afghanistan. India is busy to weaken the political

stability, encourage terrorism and downfall in economics of Pakistan (Baldauf, India-Pakistan Rivalry Reaches into Afghanistan, 2003).

India and Afghanistan signed in the Strategic Agreement and in this regard while Pakistan showed her concerns that this agreement is not useful for the Pakistan and it has wrong results on the region in future (Ahmed, 2011). To gain the status of close ally of USA instead Pakistan, India made efforts regarding maintained her position in Afghanistan (Baloch & Niazi, 2009). Pakistan also not agreed to admit that India has only purpose to help the development in Afghanistan. India is involving in Afghanistan against the Pakistan and reduces the Pakistani influence in Afghanistan and to hold the matters regarding support of Pakistan in Kashmir (Ahmed, 2011).

The purpose, to involvement in Afghanistan, of India is to establish a network to watch over the Pakistan activities, diplomatic surveillances. Pakistan has faced many terror attacks and anti-government movements in last few years against the Pakistan. Indian involvement in Baluchistan and Waziristan showed the concerns of Pakistan, as Pakistan always blames India to support the anti-Pakistan unite to harm the Pakistani hegemony and create the violence in different areas of Pakistan (Young, Obama to Explore New Approach in Afghanistan War, 2008).

Many political and military thinkers take the power projects on Kabul River and Zarnaj Delaram road as the main gap between relations of Afghanistan and Pakistan (Anand & Pamidi, 2010). Afghanistan has her importance as strategic depth and Pakistan is also seeking Afghanistan as her strategic depth at the time of trouble. Pakistan and United Arab Emirate and Saudi Arabia are the only countries who recognized the government of Taliban in Afghanistan in 1990s (Newberg, 2013). But the other hand, India think that Pakistan always used Afghanistan against her interest and weaken the Strategic Depth of India and Pakistan always establish her Afghan policy under the light of conflicts of India and Pakistan.

The first priority of Pakistan is stopping the influence of India in Afghanistan. After with draw of USA forces from Afghanistan, Pakistan makes hard efforts to stop the New Delhi to engage in Afghanistan. Pakistan has desired to use Afghanistan areas as past Pakistan done various benefits for her interests against India. Before the fall of government of Taliban in Afghanistan, Pakistan policy was to establish the long term relationship with the Afghanistan, Pakistan wanted to send back the refugees of Afghanistan, through this Pakistan intends to make relations with the Central Asian states and their market as well as access to oil and natural resources. After the 9/11 Pakistan comes forward to help the US to fight against Taliban and become the close ally of US. Pakistan made comfortable relations with Taliban regime as Pakistan stated that Taliban had no relations with India and Taliban will never go against the strategic depth of Pakistan (Anand & Pamidi, The State of Pakistan Today, 2010). In 2010 President of Afghanistan Mr. Hamid Karzai intends to make the Taliban as the part of government and in this regard Pakistan made efforts to table talk with the Haqqani Militants group to bring peace in Afghanistan (Nooruzzman, 2010). Pakistan Military realize that USA is not able to control the war of Afghanistan and offer her efforts to deal with Taliban to provide the safe route to ally forces for exit from Afghanistan.

Pakistan made efforts to bring peace in her land through negotiates with the Taliban and Haqqani group. Her efforts towards reconciliation between Haqqani

## Indo-Afghanistan Relations: Challenges for Pakistan

network and Taliban shows that Pakistan wants to engage together of these two groups in Afghanistan (Pant, New Phase in India Afghan Ties, 2011). India took this role of Islamabad to cease fire in Afghanistan as the danger of her interests in Afghanistan (Chaudhury, 2011). India did not want to re-engage Pakistan in Afghanistan as India predicts that this role of Pakistan will effect on her strategic depth.

The importance of Afghanistan for India is that Afghanistan shares a long border with Pakistan and India focused her policy against Pakistan. India also knows that if she continually supports to Afghanistan then Afghanistan will become the state that will be used for proxy war against Pakistan. History reveals that from the beginning the region of Afghanistan is not stable and there are always conducting war and anarchy. Indian involvement in Kabul shows that she believes that in future there will be not any possibilities that led the Afghanistan towards war. She is providing her modern weapons and war fare without thinking that if there will war in Afghanistan or rebel took over Afghanistan then these weapons can be used against the other state of region or world. This condition can lead the situation towards security crises in the region.

Indian involvement in Afghanistan should be on the basis of soft approach if India implement on this such that there will not security threat in the region. In Afghanistan, stability is very necessary for the regional security and India learn with that if she remains on her aims to achieve against Pakistan with the use of Afghanistan then there will be security crises in the region (Chaudry, 2011). India wants to set her goals in the long term basis instead the welfare of region. If India able to ensure to the regional states that her efforts in Afghanistan is only the development and economic growth, then concerns of regional states will be less regarding influence of India in Afghanistan. In this regard India continues the projects that have stopped from two years. Indian aims in Afghanistan are to achieve the status of regional head as Afghanistan is always place of interest for the other regional states (Chaudry, 2011). In past India has not enjoyed good relations with China and with the influence of India in Afghanistan, China is also having concerns regarding Indian involvement in Afghanistan.

In recent years, New Delhi is able to enhance her military powers and economic power; she is trying to use these capacities to get control on the regional security (Mition, 2010). It is hard to tell about the influence of India in the region because India did not openly claim that she wants to gain power in the region as a dominate state. In the position of globally India tries to achieve her interests and India also enhancing her economic development. These efforts are only in respect to dominate in the regional matters. India is also enhancing her political capacities regarding enhancing her influence. The influence in Afghanistan is vital example of India which reveal that Indian goals are not about to gain position in region but in international level as well as (Mition, 2010).

New Delhi predicts that Islamabad is responsible to the militant activities against her and she blamed that, the terror attacks on her are conduct by the Pakistan. New Delhi also blamed that Pakistan support terrorism in 1990s at the domestic level. Indian thinker blamed Inter-Services Intelligence to kill the Burhan ud din Rabbani the Peace Council chairman and the former president of Afghanistan in 2011 (Healy & Rubin, 2011). Keeping in mind the importance of Pakistan in the region

India does not want the involvement of her in Afghanistan regarding peace process and reconciliation (Singh, 2011). Moreover, India wants to prevent Pakistan to use the Afghanistan as proxy war against India.

Indian government predicts that Islamabad refused to use her land to India for access Central Asia. The trade of Afghanistan is almost full dependent on Pakistan. Recently Karachi port and the Gwadar port are managed large number of trade and through Pakistan want to gain her early position in Afghanistan. The route to connect Afghanistan with Central Asian states is suitable via Iran in result, Afghanistan will be able to reduce her dependency to connect with other countries and this will not be acceptable to Pakistan as her grip on Afghanistan will become loose. Indian government claimed that her interests in Afghanistan are not same as the Pakistan and her interests are only in respect to bring the peace in Afghanistan, to have safe access to Central Asian resources, to get energy resources.

To enhance the trade between India and Pakistan these two countries are making effort to solve the problems. Many international organizations and other related institutes appreciate this act from India and Pakistan to slow down the tension (Kugelman & Hathaway, 2013). From last few years trade relations between Pakistan and India are growing better than past. Islamabad declared India as most favorite nation in respect of trade in 2011. (Kugelman & Hathaway, 2013) As the declaration of Most Favorite Nation to India, Pakistan tries to trade on real basics to enhance the relations with India and control the negative trade with India (Chandra, India in the Afghan Maze: Search for Options, 2010). Mr. Anand Sharma the Commerce Minister of India visited to Pakistan along with hundred business men from all over India in 2012, in this visit both countries agreed to enhance cooperation regarding trade and economic relations (Inderfurth & Latif, 2012).

In result, Pakistan and India are able to find out the difficulties in trade and business. At the time of address, Barak Obama the President of US show his interest towards good relations between India and Pakistan as this is necessary to bring peace in the region (Sen, 2011). Moreover, he said that we want to understand to Pakistan that good relations Pakistan and Afghanistan are essential for the security of the region (Laishram, 2011).

After the 9/11 India is making efforts to remain in Afghanistan in every means like economic development, infrastructure building, capacity building etc. It also says that after the 9/11 New Delhi involvement can be seen in every sector of Afghanistan. Indian involvement in Afghanistan is a reason to enhance the concern for regional countries in respect of regional security. India is busy to enhance her military capacity to become dominant power in the region. In 1971, India played a vital role against Pakistan and disintegrated the Eastern Pakistan in Bangladesh; Pakistan has also worried about her western borders as India has become a close friend of Afghanistan (Baloch & Niazi, 2009).

Indian involvement in internal matters of her neighbors is an overbooked story, but Pakistan has faced many security threats by India in shape of regional influence. She desperately wants the regional supremacy in military, especially over Islamabad. In this respect she is making every possible move to come close with the Afghanistan so that India uses Afghanistan against Islamabad. India is investing in Afghanistan and uses her land and resources against the Pakistan. Indian

## Indo-Afghanistan Relations: Challenges for Pakistan

support to US in 2001 to attack on the Afghanistan and behind this support the main purpose of India was to stop the influence of Pakistan in Afghanistan as India believed that Pakistan is conducting terrorist attack (Ahmed, 2011).

Afghanistan has grown into a crucial point at global arena. The NATO, Russia, USA, China, Central Asian States, Pakistan, India, Iran and several other local and international actors are struggling to safe their benefits in Afghanistan. According to the US physical review Afghan natural resources positions at 1 trillion USD, this forces India to expand its associations with Afghanistan (Zaman, 2013). India is emerging at fast step, to preserve its economic progress it would need continuous energy deliveries, entrance to the oil rich Central Asian States and unused natural assets of Afghanistan and India is the major donor amongst the regional states to Afghanistan.

Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, in his recent visit to Afghanistan has devoted an extra \$ 500 million dollars to Afghanistan for several progressive works, taking the entire Indian support to \$2 billion (Kugelman & Hathaway, 2013). India is energetically intricate in Afghanistan. It is functioning in war torn state to form its setup and roads. India has constructed an imperative 218-km road that contacts Zaranj on the Iran-Afghan boundary and Delaram in south Afghanistan path which can diminish the Afghan dependency on Pakistan (Tiwari, 2015).

Such a progress in Afghanistan will really disturb Pakistan's strategic worth in the area. New Delhi will construct the Pul-e-Khumri as well to Kabul broadcast line and sub-station by the side of Chimtala Charikar (Lamont, India and Afghanistan Sign Security and Trade Pact, 2011). Further, Indian missions on Afghan land include renovation of Selma Dam in Herat, electricity dual transmission lines and Hydro-electric power projects. India has provided aid to Afghanistan in footings of teaching for health care, education development and training of Afghan police and diplomats as well. India will endure to have a tactical existence in Afghanistan even if the NATO and US Forces leaving from Afghanistan (Kapila, 2011).

According to the policy makers of Pakistan Indian strategies to remain in Afghanistan and its suspected secret activities against Pakistan in the name of reconstruction and development would further disrupt the region and incite more rigidity between two rival states. After 9/11, New Delhi maintained the anti-Pakistan militaries in war torn state. India supported the protection of the Northern Alliance to pawn Taliban and Pakistan's impact in Afghanistan by giving high-altitude conflict tools worth of \$ 10 million with the help of its Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) (Ashraf, 2007).

Water dispute between Pakistan and India is unsettled and now India has prolonged this strategy to Afghanistan. Through this it has encouraged and guaranteed its backing to Afghanistan for its twelve hydropower projects on the River of Kabul. Total water storing bulk of these dams would be 4.7 Million Acre Feet (MAF) in the viewpoints of news reports that will be 25% other than that of Pakistan's Mangla Dam (Joshi, 2014). These kinds of projects would have opposing allegations for Pakistan. While, Islamabad has always lay emphasis on that, Indian role in Afghanistan should be specified, limited and clear. Afghan territory should certainly not be used contrary to Pakistan

In case of Afghanistan, the objectives of Pakistan are very much clear as Pakistan wants stable and peaceful Afghanistan, because stability in war torn state assures the stability in Pakistan and India as well. Geoff Morrell a Pentagon spokesman said that, Indian character should be apparent in Afghanistan. He also reduced Indian part for the teaching of AN. (Iqbal, 2010). In current congressional inquiries senior US military officers as Gen David Patraeus and Admiral Mike Mullen confessed that Washington desired to be accessible to Islamabad's apprehensions. Gen Stanley McChrystal, who directives US and NATO force in Afghanistan warned in a report in September sent to the White House, that Indian economic and political impact is growing in Afghanistan and the present Afghan government seems to be pro-Indian by Islamabad (Iqbal, 2010).

Perhaps the most important point of deviation is on Pakistan's expected role in the negotiation. Many Afghan people trust Pakistan is supporting the actions of the Taliban and Haqqani network and thus blame Pakistani authorities for any violence these groups commit in Afghanistan. Afghan government and the United States of America wants Islamabad to take accountability for serving decrease violence in war torn state, cutting support and assistance for these groups and possibly going as far as military action against them. The Kabul government wants to transfer with the insurgence, but it would favor to talk to a faded Taliban. Pakistan claims that, it cannot force a discount in violence in Afghanistan even as the world discharges this claim and only wants to be held answerable for carrying the Taliban to the negotiating table. While Pakistan did potential to pressure the Taliban during the summer talks and threatened significances if the violence continued in Afghanistan and the Taliban declined to join those talks, the significances were unnamed and Pakistan would not take responsibility for the failure of talks and did not agree to punish the Taliban for it (Yusuf, 2015). In a nutshell, mistrust between Islamabad and Kabul creates hurdle for cooperation.

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### Indo-Afghanistan Relations: Challenges for Pakistan

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Pakistan and Afghanistan have not developed strategic relations as there have been many factors that hindered the progress in this sphere. Since the formation of national unity government in Afghanistan in September 2014 a paradigm shift was noted in the approach of Afghan government in engaging Pakistan. At Beijing Conference President Ghani defined five circles manifesting Afghanistan's future foreign policy. He placed Pakistan in first circle and stated that partnership with Pakistan was an important pillar of Afghan foreign policy. He placed India in fourth circle implying a shift in Afghan... Pakistan's wants to destabilize Indo-Afghan relations due to her covert relations with Afghan's non-state actors. Since 2001, Afghanistan's Foreign Policy towards New Delhi is quite receptive. India has growing stakes in peace and stability in Afghanistan. India's activities in Afghanistan had a geo-strategic flavour though, which not only confine to Afghanistan but travel deep into Central Asia. It is now widely accepted that India's Afghan policy seeks access to energy resources of the region. If India-Pakistan-Afghanistan cooperates by recognizing one another as opp "A transformation of Pakistan-Afghanistan ties can only take place in an overall context of improved Pakistani-Indian relations that enhances Pakistani confidence in its regional position." - Pakistan Policy Working Group report. Daily News Brief. Most policy experts support India's engagement in Afghanistan but recommend a three-way relationship between India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan. USIP's Thier says Afghanistan must reassert a neutral policy of pursuing strong relations with both India and Pakistan. In a 2006 Council Special Report on Afghanistan, Rubin writes: "The United States should strengthen its presence on the Afghan side of the border, and encourage India and Afghanistan not to engage in any provocative activity there."