

Indo- Afghan Nexus: Implications for Pakistan (2001- 2014)

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ABSTRACT

Afghanistan, unlike India and Pakistan, has never been colonized throughout its history. People of Afghanistan have always enjoyed cordial relations with the people of undivided sub-continent. However, the creation of a new state ‘Pakistan’ was considered as both, a threat and a geographical de linkage between the people of Afghanistan and India. Both Indo- Afghan strengthen their bi-lateral relations through the treaty of friendship 1950. On the contrary, Afghanistan was the only country to vote against Pakistan’s admission to United Nations Organization. Despite of lingual, cultural and religious ties, Pak- Afghan relations failed to form strong basis. Since the emergence of Pakistan, India has been engaged in derailing Pakistan’s stability and security through its multidimensional approaches. India’s aim to isolate Pakistan in its neighbors is a serious implication for Pakistan. Indian consulates in Kandahar and Jalalabad near the Pak-Afghan border have further raised serious concerns for Pakistan about the Indian presence in Afghanistan. The US war against terror campaign and Pakistan’s policy reversal against Taliban grew severe resentments among the Afghan Taliban against Pakistan. This article analyzes the Indian designs and its involvement in Afghanistan which directly affects the security and stability of Pakistan.

Keywords: *Indo-Afghan Nexus, Pak-Afghan Relations, Indo- Pak Rivalry.*

Introduction

Afghanistan’s strategic importance is highly valued by the regional as well as global powers. Pakistan and Afghanistan shares a long border and are strategically inter-locked with each other. A peaceful and secure Afghanistan would not only benefit Pakistan militarily but also politically, economically and socially as well. However, India’s rapidly increasing influence and presence in Afghanistan is a matter of grave concern for Pakistan. India aims to achieve its multi-dimensional needs from Afghanistan through various approaches. India plans to secure a major role post US security forces departure from Afghanistan. India’s main ambition is to isolate and encircle Pakistan in its neighbors. Indian policy makers are strictly following the Kautilian philosophy according to which all neighbors should be considered as enemies and neighbors of these enemies must be treated as good

friends. India's ambition to isolate Pakistan can also be witnessed in I.K Gujral's doctrine. Gujral was the 12 Indian Prime Minister who provided India with a foreign policy regarding peace with the immediate neighbors but not with Pakistan. Indian designs in Afghanistan are based on these ideas guided by their leaders and Gurus. Afghanistan, unlike Pakistan and India has never been colonized and is famously known as "Graveyard of Empires". Being neighbors, the people of Afghanistan enjoyed friendly and cordial relations with the people of Sub-continent. A prominent Afghan leader Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan played a vibrant role during India's freedom struggle from British Raj in 1940's. India in return helped him lobbying against Pakhtunistan (Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa) territory of newly emerged Pakistan. However, the division of India and creation of Pakistan was taken as a hostile act by both India and Afghanistan respectively. Despite of having cultural, social and religious ties, relationship between both states remained tensed since the emergence of Pakistan. Afghanistan was the only country who voted against Pakistan's accession to United Nations. Kabul's irrational claim over NWFP (K.P.K) territory initially became the bone of contention between Pak-Afghan relations. On the contrary, India and Afghanistan signed a friendship treaty in 1950 (Dr Hanifur Rehman, 2014). Besides assuring long-lasting peace and friendship, the treaty also established diplomatic ties between both governments of India and Afghanistan.

USSR invaded Afghanistan in 1979 with the motive to install pro-soviet regime in Afghanistan. India being Soviet's ally provided socio-economic aid to pro-soviet regime in Afghanistan. Pakistan with the US aid and support started providing training to Afghan mujahedeen's to counter the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan. After a decade long invasion, Soviet was forced to withdraw its forces from Afghanistan. Civil unrest and chaos in Afghanistan provided Taliban an opportunity to form their own government by toppling Rabbani's regime in 1996. Indo- Afghan witnessed tensed relations first time in their history during the Taliban's regime in Afghanistan during 1996 to 2001 (Trivedi, 2008). Indian influence in Afghanistan was totally marginalized during Taliban's rule. India closed down its embassies and consulates in Afghanistan until the collapse of Taliban's rule and started funding the Northern Alliance (opposition party) who had little control over some parts of Afghanistan. Whereas, Pakistan first time witnessed a period of cordial and friendly relations with Afghanistan during Taliban's rule.

The 9/11 incident shook the global politics. Al-Qaeda was held responsible for the attacks. US Asked Taliban to hand over the master mind of 9/11 attacks (Osama Bin Laden) but Taliban refused. US security forces started operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan with the motive of capturing Osama bin Laden. With the end of Bonn Conference 2001, an interim government was installed for the period of two years mainly comprising of Northern Alliance leaders. 9/11 attacks proved to become a blessing in disguise for India as it provided India the long waited opportunity to regain its lost influence in Afghanistan and to counter its rival Pakistan (Fair, 2010). India supported and provided massive money in the name of socio-economic and developmental aid to the interim government of Pakistan. Since then, India has kept its involvement in Afghanistan through various infrastructural and developmental projects. India has constructed a 218km long

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road in Herat province of Afghanistan which will provide connectivity to Iranian border through which flow of trade will be made via Chahbahar port.

Indian investment and influence in Kabul will provide New-Delhi a safe and secure route in entering the energy rich Central Asia's Market. Furthermore, the 2011 Indo-Afghan strategic agreement had provided India an opportunity to enter in Afghanistan to train afghan military troops. India's ambitions to isolate Pakistan can be easily witnessed through its intelligence agency RAW's agents espionage activities. The arrest of Kalbhusan Jadev(RAW's Agent) near Chaman border in Baluchistan and his statement clearly reveals India's intentions to sabotage the Baluchistan province specially CPEC by supporting various militants and separatist groups. Pakistan strongly condemns Indian ambitions and its presence in Afghanistan as it has to face threats from its Eastern as well as Western border. America, in order to contain Chinese influence across the region is strengthening its ties with India. A recent pentagon report "Enhancing security and stability in Afghanistan" released on 2017 categorized India as the most reliable regional partner of Afghanistan. On the other hand, this report accused Pakistan of providing support to Afghan militant groups. Afghanistan's President Ashraf Ghani visited India later on 2017 and appreciated trump's admin new strategy across south Asia as a game changer for the whole region. Furthermore, the Afghan President also threatened to block Pakistan's access to Central Asia via Afghanistan if Pakistan will not provide Kabul access to India via CPEC (ToloNews, 2017).

Hypothesis

Indo-Afghan collaboration may work against the interests of Pakistan which will increase security challenges for Pakistan

Objectives

1. To encircle and isolate Pakistan in its neighboring states.
2. To gain a safe and secure passage to Central Asia via Afghanistan.
3. To fulfill its aspiration of becoming the regional hegemonic power.

Research Questions

1. How can Pakistan undo the security threats from Indo-Afghan nexus?
2. What are the Indian interests in Afghanistan?
3. How Pak-Afghan relations can be improved?

Indian Motives in Afghanistan

India has the following mentioned Political, Economic and security motives to cater in Afghanistan

Political and Strategic Motives There are multiple political reasons behind Indian aid to Afghanistan. New- Delhi's decision of admitting Kabul to SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation) was highly strategic as much as it was commercialized. There is an ongoing race between China and India for becoming regional hegemonic power of South Asia. India by providing social and developmental aid to Kabul aims to limit Beijing's influence over Afghanistan.

China being an emerging super power has to cater its energy needs for which it aims to utilize Central Asian states unexploited resources and minerals. Afghanistan being the gate way to Central Asia will provide India access to these states. India has already installed its military base located at Farkhor in Tajikistan through which it is providing aid and assistance to Afghanistan (Arshad, 2012). This base provides India with an opportunity to maintain its physical presence in the South Asian region and to keep an eye on its arch rival Pakistan and China. Through Chahbahar port, India will have a surface route access to Farkhor base via Afghanistan (Gulshan, 2014).

Economic Motives Indian economic goals in Afghanistan are no less important than its political ones. Following the end of Taliban's regime from Kabul, reconstruction and development of Afghanistan was the top priority. Due to India's massive aid and investment in Afghanistan, India has been able to carry a "soft power" policy in Afghanistan. Soft power is a term coined by Joseph Nye. According to Nye, "Soft power is the ability to get what you desire from attractiveness rather than coercion or payments (Joseph S. Nye, 1990). India's Soft power projection in Afghanistan can be seen in various projects as written below.

1. India is providing scholarships to almost 500 Afghan students every year under the Indian Council for Culture and Relations scholarships program.
2. India's providing free medical care and facility to almost 30,000 Afghan's in five major Afghan cities and clinics (Iwanek, 2019).
3. India developed a cricket stadium in Kandahar, Afghanistan along with expanding Afghan national television line and upgradation of telephone exchanges in some provinces.
4. Bollywood culture is increasing among the Afghan masses day by day.
5. Around 500 of Afghan public servants are trained annually in India. It has witnessed a significant increase after 2009.

Indian economic manifestation in Afghanistan can be seen through various Indian developmental projects including Salma Dam also called as Indo-Afghan friendship dam in Afghanistan's province Herat, Construction of International North South Trade Corridor (INSTC) which will be a bridge between Chahbahar and Kabul. Being a landlocked country, Afghanistan does not provide a direct trade route to India. Pakistan has already rejected Indian request of using Wagah border for exporting its goods to Afghanistan. The Iranian Chahbahar port, supported by India, will provide India an alternative route for trade with Afghanistan as well as Central Asia. Afghanistan has already invited Indian industries to explore Afghanistan's natural resources worth trillion of dollars. India close ties with Afghanistan make it easier for India to attain footings in the Central Asian region. New-Delhi is engaging in different bi-lateral agreements with these Central Asian countries (Kiran, 2009). Through TAPI gas pipeline project with Turkmenistan, India will be able to receive gas from Turkmenistan. India and Kazakhstan signed a bi-lateral agreement for energy and Industrial Corporation (Hussain, 2009). Through this agreement Astana will provide nuclear fuel to New-Delhi from 2015 till the end of 2019.

Security Motives India is the largest state of South Asia in terms of population as well as territory. It has severe security concerns on its North and West front. India has fought three wars with Pakistan on West and Indo- Sino war of 1961 with China in North. With the emergence of Taliban's regime in Kabul, the insurgency in Indian occupied Jammu and Kashmir also escalated. One of India's main security motives is to counter Taliban's and Jihadists uprisings internally as well as externally. India's biggest interest is to make sure that Jihadists and Taliban's militancy remains under control in Kashmir and Afghanistan. India has already witnessed isolation from Afghanistan during the Taliban's government. Due to Taliban's pro- Pakistani nature, India was pushed out of Afghanistan's affairs till the end of Taliban's rule. India cannot afford to lose its position in Afghanistan again for which it is making sure to contain any type of Islamic militancy or Jihadist activity in India as well as Afghanistan. India fears that any Jihadi uprising in Afghanistan will have direct impact on India's security. The ongoing atrocities on the people of Indian occupied Kashmir specially muslims by the Indian armed forces have made their lives miserable. Human rights violations, forced arrests or disappearances are being committed by the Indian government on innocent Kashmiris. The fascist regime of Indian PM Narendra Modi is strictly following the "Hindutva" ideology which believes in hegemony of Hindus and their culture. India fears that any uprising in Afghanistan will also create unrest in Indian occupied Kashmir. Moreover, India has deployed a vast network of its intelligence agency RAW agents near its Kandahar and Jalalabad consulates mainly to destabilize Baluchistan and by supporting militant organizations to create unrest and anarchy across Pakistan to blame it as a terrorist state. Being among the largest donor states to Afghanistan, India is increasing its presence in Afghanistan on the name of reconstruction process (Mullen, 2017).

India's multi-dimensional designs in Kabul can be seen in various sectors and projects among which most are already completed. Construction of Roads, Afghan Parliament building construction, Reconstruction of Indira Gandhi Children Hospital in Kabul, Construction of Dams. And Power houses, Expansion of Media channels, Cooperation in Trade and Mining etc.

Implication's for Pakistan

Pakistan's emergence was taken as an act of hostility by both Afghanistan as well as India. Pakistan is the only hindrance in India's way to become regional hegemonic power. Pakistan is the arch rival and neighbor of India and Afghanistan is immediate neighbor of Pakistan. India always considered Pakistan as foe and wants to destabilize it at any cost. Both Indo-Pak had fought wars in 1948, 1965, 1971 along with Kargil conflict in 1999. As the History states, Pakistan has witnessed a lot of complications in security sector due to Afghanistan's relationship with India. Despite of Afghanistan's refusal to Pakistan's membership to United Nations, Pakistan still wished to form brotherly relations with Afghanistan. Having same religious, cultural ethical and social values as Pakistan, the government of Afghanistan remained tilted towards India and pro-Indian policies until the Taliban's regime during 1996-2001. Pakistan played an important role during the Soviet invasion to provide shelter to the Afghan refugees (Cheema, 1983) for which it faced several issues.

1. Refugees Problem.
2. Kalashnikov Culture.
3. Heroine and opium production.
4. Suicide bombings and killings.
5. APS School Peshawar Incident.

Pakistan fears that Indian presence in Afghanistan, specially its consulates in Kandahar and Jalalabad near Pak-Afghan border are just a propaganda to provide shelter to the Indian intelligence agencies to secretly perform their missions and launch attacks on Pakistan. Indian multidimensional designs in Afghanistan and its struggle to encircle or contain Pakistan through its east and west border have raised serious concerns and unrest for the government officials and policy makers in Islamabad in the below mentioned ways.

1. Pakistan will lose its strategic leverage in Kabul due to rapidly increasing Indian influence in Afghanistan.
2. Islamabad will not have any support from its neighboring state Afghanistan during a conflict with its enemy India.
3. India can wage water war against Pakistan through Afghanistan along with convincing Kabul to once again raise Durand line issue with Islamabad.
4. A marginalized and encircled Pakistan will have no access to Central Asia for trade via Afghanistan.

India's massive presence and ongoing struggle in Afghanistan and to achieve its regional hegemonic power status is causing an alarming threat which is not only limited to Pakistan but to the whole South Asian region (Wazir, 2012). India's air base in Tajikistan "Farkhor Airbase" is also a potential threat to Pakistan as it would provide India leverage during any future conflict with Pakistan. Despite Pakistan's full support to Afghanistan, Afghan government under leadership of Hamid Karzai accused Pakistan for the insurgency in Afghanistan. Having education from India, Hamid Karzai and his government policies are more Pro-Indian. His false accusations against Pakistan always pleased New-Delhi which further fortifies their bi-lateral relations.

Indo- Afghan Water Wars against Pakistan India in Afghanistan not only desires to develop close ties with Central Asia, but it has far more plans to achieve from Afghanistan. India has often block Pakistan's water and has declared water war against Pakistan to make it a barren and dry country (HESSAMI, 2018). India has constructed more than twelve big and small hydro power projects on three main rivers (Chenab, Jhelum and Indus). Due to making of these hydro power projects, flow of water towards Pakistan has been decreased rapidly. These Indian hydro power projects are an open violation of the 1960 Indus Water Treaty signed between India and Pakistan. India also plans to develop similar hydro power projects on river Kabul in Afghanistan. Afghan government has initiated the talks with the World Bank regarding these hydro power projects. Afghanistan plans to build 12 mini and big hydro power projects on River Kabul which will further lower the flow of water to Pakistan to the maximum extent. Due to lack of Dams

and water storage reservoirs, there are huge chances that in future Pakistan would be asking Afghanistan for water to meet its agriculture and energy needs. India has already taken advantage of this situation and has planned to put up Pakistan in water crisis. India is fully supporting Afghanistan's government to build up these dams on river Kabul as its earliest (TheNews, 2011). Pakistan is already facing several internal as well as external crises. Industries are moving out of Pakistan due to unavailability of energy and rising prices. Main cities like Karachi are deprived of clean drinking water. Unfortunately, both Indo- Afghan nexus have escalated the water issues for Pakistan.

Indian Insurgency in Baluchistan Apart from indo- Afghan nexus, Pakistan faces direct threats from India in the form of insurgency in its province Baluchistan. India could not bear the burden of operational Gwadar port. Gwadar port, constructed with the help of Chinese government is a potential threat for Indian aspiration of becoming the regional hegemonic power. China has constructed the Deep-Water port in Gwadar. This project will not only boost Pakistan's economy but will provide a trade between South Asia to Central Asia and other Arabian states. This project is considered as India's biggest nightmare. India will never welcome the boost in Pakistan's economy which this Gwadar port will bring. India is aiding several militant organizations and anti-state elements via their intelligence agents to create anarchy and chaos all across Pakistan especially in Baluchistan and FATA (Khetran, 2017). India in order to counter Pakistan's Gwadar Port has started investing and developing the Chahbahar port in Iran. Through Chahbahar port, India aims to accomplish following mentioned benefits.

1. Chahbahar port will act as an alternative to Gwadar port, Thus India will be able to counter Pakistan's Gwadar port.
2. Through Chahbahar port, India will be able to build strong economic and political ties with Iran and may be strategic ties in future as well.
3. With the construction of Deelaram Zaranj highway, India plans to connect land lock Afghanistan with Iran thus minimizing Afghanistan's dependency over Pakistan to use its Karachi port for trade routes.
4. Through Chahbahar port, India aims to import oil at low cost to fulfill its energy and has already boosted its oil purchase from Iran.

Baluchistan is the largest province of Pakistan but is highly deprived of resources. It is the smallest province in terms of population and is filled with natural and untapped resources. Unfortunately majority of the Pakistani governments failed to provide Baluchistan with resources and their demands. Many insurgents have been working in Baluchistan to create unrest and De-stability across Pakistan since its emergence. Many Baluch leaders like Harbiyar Marri, and Brahamdad Bugti started working against Pakistan with the help of India. According to former Director General of Military operations Pakistan, Ahmad Shuja Pasha during his briefing to the parliament of Pakistan told that India and Russia both are involved behind the insurgency in Baluchistan (Imtiaz, 2010). He further stated that India has installed nine training camps across Pak- Afghan border in which Indian forces are providing training and war equipment's to the Baluch Liberation Army and their militants. He claimed that India was funding Baluch Liberation Army due to Pakistan's construction of Gwadar port with Beijing's help.

Pakistan considered Afghanistan as a strategic depth and its backyard during any Pak- Indo conflict or war. Unfortunately, after the collapse of Taliban's regime from Kabul, the strategic depth shifted towards India because of pro –Indian interim government in Afghanistan and India's massive aid to the interim government.

Way Forward to Counter Indian Threats

India since the emergence of newly born Pakistan had never missed any chance to damage and deteriorates Pakistan's image and reputations regionally as well as globally. India always wished to gain some influence over Pakistan in which it failed badly almost every time. India never missed a single opportunity to destabilize Pakistan economically politically and domestically. Pakistan has to make serious efforts by utilizing all the available options for bringing peace in Afghanistan. Indian threats should be kept in mind while forming any policy related towards Afghanistan. Some of the ways through which Pakistan can counter Indian threats are mentioned below

1. Pakistan should bring consistency in its foreign policies by keeping view of its national interests.
2. Pakistan's should bring calmness in its complexed political situations to project the image of nation's oneness regionally as well as internationally.
3. Both civil and military leadership should formulate the foreign and internal policies for the betterment of Pakistan.
4. Pakistan should stop taking dictation or pressure from foreign powers and should rather work for fulfilling its own national interests.
5. Pakistan must gather international and regional attention on the atrocities in Indian occupied Kashmir by Indian military and security forces.
6. Pakistan should provide United Nations organization and other international forums with sufficient evidence which will prove India's involvement in Baluchistan.
7. Negotiations with Taliban should be done rather than indulging in another conflict.
8. Pakistan should indulge itself in different bi-lateral and strategic agreements with China. Emerging as the new world power, Rising China is the biggest fear of India now days. Close Pak China ties will be a permanent source of tension for India and its policy makers.
9. Pakistan government should ask India for peaceful negotiations regarding Kashmir issue and other Pak-Indo conflicts by maintaining its stance that any Indian misadventure in Pakistan should be responded in the same manner.
10. Construction of Dams and water reservoirs in Pakistan is the need of hour. India not only through its own rivers but also from River Kabul plans to turn Pakistan in to a dry land by raging water against Pakistan from both sides East and West of Pakistan.

Areas of Convergence for Pak- Afghan relations

Despite of its policy failures in Afghanistan, the road of peace and stability to Afghanistan passes through Pakistan (Islamabad, 2018). Pakistan wishes to bring peace and harmony through engaging Taliban and America in a dialogue process rather than a conflict. Following written aspects are highly important in bringing Peace and stability across Afghanistan which will provide a moment of relief to Pakistan:

1. All the Afghan stakeholders most importantly Taliban must be on the same page during the dialogue process.
2. Taliban's should be provided with an opportunity to passively surrender and stop their militancy operations in Pakistan and Afghanistan.
3. Taliban's should be allowed and permitted to participate in Afghan mainstream politics and elections for bringing harmony and peace across Afghanistan and Pakistan.
4. All regional and international powers including United Nations must make sure that Afghanistan will not be used by other states for their own proxy wars..
5. No external influence shall be cater by Afghan government to destabilize other countries.
6. Afghanistan leadership must make sure that no country would be permitted to use Afghan land against any other state.
7. Afghanistan policy makers must make a reliable strategy and plans on how to maintain security, law and order in Afghanistan post U.S and NATO security forces withdrawal.

Pak-Afghan Economic Inter-dependence The economic inter- dependence between Pak- Afghan is highly significant and cannot be undermined. Afghanistan is the gateway to energy, and resources filled Central Asia, which can provide an opportunity to Pakistani markets for exporting of its goods as services. Nevertheless, Central Asia will be able to use Gwadar port by passing through Afghanistan to Pakistan and vice versa. Similarly, Afghanistan's trade via Karachi Port seems to be the major source of its economy. Both nations play a vital role for each other.

Summary

Indian policy makers are strictly following the Kautilian philosophy, through which immediate neighbors are considered as foes, and neighbors of these foes must be considered as friends. The biggest aim behind Indian presence in Kabul after the 9/11 incident, was to marginalize and encircle Pakistan in its neighbors. Pakistan's fear of Indian presence in Afghanistan to de- stabilize Pakistan seems to be logical and justified especially after the reopening of Indian consulates near Pakistan's border. The sole purpose of these Indian consulates is to spread anti-state elements across Pakistan, to stop Gwadar Port's functionality and to grow anti- Pakistan sentiments among the local Afghans. India is continuously

supporting the separatist's movements and their leaders in Baluchistan. India could not digest the Gwadar port of Pakistan, which will provide a significant boost in Pakistan's economy after its functionality. Just to achieve its ambition of encircling Pakistan, India started sponsoring and reconstructing Iran's Chahbahar port which will act as an alternative to Gwadar Port. With the support of Pro-Indian regime in Afghanistan, India has been able to marginalize Pakistan's role in Afghanistan. America is also supporting Indian presence in Afghanistan as it plans to withdraw its forces from Afghanistan. India does not miss any opportunity to defame Pakistan or to start a new conflict with its neighbor. India plans to turn Pakistan into a dry and barren land for which it is raging water wars against Pakistan. Indian Airbase 'Farkhor' in Tajikistan is also a permanent source of tension for Pakistan's establishment as it will provide Indian fighters jets with no time to enter Pakistan's space boundary. Strict counter measures for Indian threats should be made at its earliest by Pakistan. The withdrawal of American and NATO security forces troops from Afghanistan without any proper strategy or plan can most possibly create the situation of Civil wars and anarchy in Afghanistan. Destability in Afghanistan is a threat to peace and harmony of the whole South Asian region. Through only dialogues, negotiations and trade agreements, peace and stability can be brought in Afghanistan which will eventually guarantee peace and security in the South Asian region.

Conclusion

India Afghanistan nexus has played a significant role in de stabilizing Pakistan's security and integrity since its emergence in 1947. Indo- Afghan nexus has embraced a policy to encircle and isolate Pakistan in its neighbors. Both nations are countering Pakistan's interests in Afghanistan. Indian presence in Afghanistan in the name of its reconstruction process is just to hide its evil motives. The strategic agreement between India and Afghanistan has already provided Indian military with an opportunity to continue its anti- Pakistan policies through Afghanistan. Islamabad has a logical fear that the Indian consulates in Jalalabad and Kandahar near Pak- Afghan border are solely working to de- stabilize Pakistan by supporting anti- state elements and separatist's movements in Baluchistan province which will ultimately effect the Gwadar port functionality. Indian presence in Afghanistan poses serious threats to not only Pakistan but to the peace and harmony of the whole South Asian region. The ongoing race between the world powers to gain influence over Afghanistan and Central Asia has put the whole South Asian region into danger. Despite of all Indian efforts to marginalize Pakistan's influence in Kabul, Islamabad still plays a significant role in the peace and stability process of Afghanistan.

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