

International Negotiation Through Foreign Aid: India's Aid To Afghanistan

Anusmita Dutta

Abstract: This paper delves into the concept of foreign aid and its theoretical understanding with an objective to eventually decode India's policy of aid to Afghanistan. The concept of foreign aid, which began as a temporary expedient of Cold War diplomacy, has in the present day evolved into a virtually universal norm. Besides dealing with the scholarly interpretations of this potent political symbol, the clear intention here is to recover the subtlety present in India's aid to Afghanistan. India being one of the largest donor of aid to conflict-ridden Afghanistan impede intellectual inquiry to decipher the calculations driven by geo-political and strategic aspirations. What are the drivers behind India providing aid to Afghanistan? What are the sectors India is investing in, the volume, size and the structure and its impact? The historical legacy of this aid program and the rationale behind it is also part of this inquiry. While doing so the paper seeks to comprehend India's aid program and its unique characteristics compared to other aid donors. The understanding of the South-South cooperation in this aid programme of India is also delineated, as different from the West-centric debate of North-South cooperation in aid giving.

Index Terms: India- Afghanistan relation, International Negotiation, Aid Diplomacy

1. INTRODUCTION

Afghanistan, since the fall of the Taliban, which until then led to a dire situation of political instability and an indomitable violence in the region, was in the grip of underdevelopment and poverty (D'Souza, 2007). To deal with this situation in Afghanistan, the United States and the International Security Forces (ISAF) intervened for more than a decade to cleanse the nation from the fundamentalist Taliban regime and the Al Qaida. However, its withdrawal without effectively achieving its strategic goal could further lead to the resurgence of violence in the conflict-afflicted area. India, being the leading South Asian power, needs to take initiative to stabilize Afghanistan as it is of strategic importance to the entire region. This effort is required through multiple fronts, namely economic, military and diplomatic measures to achieve this end of a peaceful Afghanistan (Davar, 2014). India's aid to Afghanistan through development assistance forms one of the measures to deal with conflict afflicted Afghanistan and help foster peace and stability in the region. The domestic revenue of the country has been constantly low due to this turmoil and civil war situation. As such the country has to rely on foreign aid as a means of its sustenance. Aid is provided to it from various countries like the United States, Japan, Germany and United Kingdom in the sectors identified by the government as the priority area for development. India forms the fifth largest donor of aid to this country and has emerged as the important player in the ongoing reconstruction and the development program of Afghanistan (Mullen and Arora, 2016). Most of these aids are for humanitarian assistance, both small and long-term development projects that are channeled mainly through the Afghan government or through community efforts of international donors (D'Souza, 2007). India thus effectively maintains its relations with Afghanistan through this aid diplomacy. The concept of foreign aid is, however, a puzzling phenomenon. This is because of the difficulty to demystify why a state provides their own scarce public concessional resources to promote the well-being of people in other countries. Also, another question arises regarding the aid effectiveness. Is aid successful in achieving the desired aim of peace and development or does it need a set of other entailing factors too to achieve its objective? Taking this into account the first part of the paper seeks to

study the historical context and the theoretical understanding of foreign aid. Various theories of International Relations put forth their own justification to the aspect of foreign aid, which is analyzed in detail. The second part deals with India's aid programme, its specific characteristics, and its uniqueness. In this, the South-South cooperation framework is portrayed as a model developed by many countries including India. The third part seeks to delineate India-Afghanistan relation from a historical context. Both the nations share a strong historical and a cultural link from the ancient period. This close relation and good-will are maintained until now, with the former Afghan President Hamid Karzai regarding India as the "most trusted ally and all-weathered friend". It seeks to study the primary driving force and effort on India's side for Afghanistan's development and stability and to understand why aid has been given over the years by India to Afghanistan. The final part of the paper elucidates India's aid to Afghanistan. It seeks to comprehend the situation in Afghanistan that necessitated aid for its reconstruction and development, the volume, size and structure of this aid, the factors contributing to it and finally an assessment of it.

2. Historical Context and Theoretical Understanding of Foreign Aid

The global security threat created after the 9/11 incident necessitates the role of aid as a tool of foreign policy to deal with the weak and the fragile state thus created (World Bank Report, 2011). This tool is used by the states in consonance with diplomacy and defense to attain the much-desired result of peace and stability. Foreign aid can thus be defined as the voluntary transfer of public resources, from one government to another independent government, to an NGO, or to an international organization with a certain amount of grant element (Lancaster, 2007). The goal of such aid is to better the human condition in the country receiving the aid. It can be regarded as a potent political symbol and signal. The OECD (1985) defines aid as loans as well as grants given to the developing countries and in doing so, it fulfills three criteria to be called so. First, the aid should be given by the public sector. Secondly, it should be given so as to fulfill the need of economic development. Thirdly the grant element of the aid should be at least 25 percent. In order to address the development

and security aspect of a nation, foreign aid may be of various types, namely cash transfer of conditional nature, development which is community driven, infrastructural development, employment scheme, humanitarian assistance as well as aid provided to the military of that nation (Zurcher, 2017) So it is provided in the form of cash, in-kind (food aid), or in the form of debt relief. Foreign Aid, however, as an international institution is complex in nature and it has experienced, since its inception in the twentieth century, a significant degree of transformation (Therien, 2002). More clearly, it could be stated that there has been a continuous process of evolution of foreign aid (Ahmed and Singh, 2014). It began particularly in the abovementioned century in which financial resources were transferred to the poorer nations in a non- reciprocal manner. Thus foreign aid particularly, in political terms, was entrenched in the relation between countries, which are now referred to as North-South. The evolution of the phenomenon of aid has been shaped by various factors like decolonization, end of the Cold war and later with the coming of globalization (Therien, 2002). Aid began as a temporary expedient of Cold War diplomacy and in the present day, it has evolved into a virtually universal norm through which the rich countries need to give money to the poor countries. However, despite the norm, aid programme varies greatly in their amounts, purposes, recipients, and uses. Scholars of International Relations throughout the years have attempted to reason out this purpose of aid. For the realist scholars like George Liska and Morgenthau, aid is primarily a tool of hard-headed diplomacy used for enhancing national power and security. It is driven mainly by the motivation of national interest. With the imminent threat of a nuclear war among states in the Cold War period, the war competition was shifted to the Third World by the superpowers (Hattori, 2003). As for instance, the United States was motivated to provide such assistance by the Cold War concerns. For the Marxist and post-modern thinkers, foreign aid is a tool of the dominant states to control and exploit the developing countries in the world capitalist system. Even the World system theorists put forth the same line of argument as they recognized aid as the economic domination as well as the exploitation of the periphery by the industrialized core. For the liberal internationalist, aid is an instrument for states to cooperate in addressing the problem of interdependence and globalization. It is regarded as an instrument for furthering peace and prosperity through the means of trade and commerce. The constructivists interpret this aid giving through the prism of ideas, norms and values which developed between states, with the idea that rich countries should assist poor countries to help the latter develop the quality of life of its people. However, none of these theories adequately explain the complexities of aid purpose. All these theories lack the impact of domestic politics on aid giving. Foreign aid must be understood through the conjunction of the lens of both realism and constructivism (Lancaster, 2007). So the aspect of aid in international negotiation needs to be explained through an eclectic approach, as no one single theory can adequately explain the aspect entirely. It is the factor of security, international norms as well as domestic variables which create this aspect of aid as a necessary tool for diplomacy. States give aid to fulfill all these factors. The desired aim of foreign aid

to reduce violence by fostering development and security in the region affected by conflict may be considered a misnomer. Although development economist expound its relevance in reducing the risk of war, evidence suggest otherwise. In the literature, on aid diplomacy, the relevance of aid in establishing peace is hotly debated. After a systematic review, Christoph Zurcher (2017) enunciated that it is mainly the local environment that determines if the aid provided is likely to lessen violence or proliferate it. In a secure environment, the aid injected is likely to bring positive results as it is less prone to predation or even sabotage. In a conflict-prone area, sometimes it can worsen violence (Berman, Eli et. al., 2015). Also, the rebel group operating in the region of conflict hinders its implementation as it has the potential to win the popular support of the local people for their own government and thus undermine their influence. Also the type of aid matters in its success or failure. Targeted and conditional transfers provided with the local community assistance and inputs from experts of development assistance have the probability of reducing violence more than the one provided on a larger scale (Berman, Eli et. al., 2015). Thus these factors need to be scrutinized effectively while dealing with India's aid programme in Afghanistan.

3. INDIA'S AID PROGRAMME

The genesis of India's aid programme can be traced to the period just after its independence. It was in the early 1950s, the first aid was rendered to Nepal by India (Chanana, 2009). Similar assistance programme was commenced for other neighbors too for their development. In 1964, the Indian Technical Corporation Programme (ITEC) was created. The Ministry of External Affairs under its aegis established a Development Partnership Administration in 2012, and this combined all the arms of development assistance thus heralding a unified mechanism to India's aid policy and providing it with direction, coherence and further efficiency (Rana, 2013). Thus the disbursement of foreign aid is not new for India. The only difference that is visible in the present aid programme is the scale at which it is offered and the strategic thinking behind it in providing this aid (Roychoudhury, 2013). Traditionally, India was perceived as an aid-receiving nation. Though it gave aid in the 1950s also but that was on benign motive and of relatively small proportion. Today, however, it is an emerging donor with its economic progress, development of its external trade, and its growing market of information technology all playing a significant role in its enhanced capacity. It has also representation on the multilateral forum, the need to get recognition as a global power and also to advance its interest for its strategic ambitions (Chanana, 2009). In fact, aid partnership has been considered now as an integral part of India's foreign policy and it is used to highlight India's soft power dominance globally (Roychoudhury, 2013). India, in providing aid to the countries of Asia and Africa, has its own model of aid. This model is a 'holistic' one as it incorporates the all-round development of the receiving nation from infrastructure and technical assistance to education and capacity building. It mainly incorporates the South-South cooperation initiative, which is a step away from the North-South one. Thus India is an 'active shaper' of the aid policy, and not just adheres to the traditional institutions of aid (Chanana, 2009).

Countries like China, Saudi Arabia are among other nations that are involved in this South-South cooperation. The parameters are different too, in the sense that it mainly aims to make the climate congenial for trade and investment to bring about further sustainability and thus provides for an inclusive partnership. This addresses the developmental challenges faced by the global South. India's aid programme is also based on this South-South cooperation framework. Also, a unique characteristic of Indian Aid programme is that it portrays itself as a 'partnership of development' rather than a 'donor-recipient' relationship which is generally the case while aid is being provided (Ahmed and Singh, 2014). This cooperation is based on a relationship that is premised on mutual benefit and solidarity and it is mainly 'demand-driven' as it is aligned with the interest of the recipient nation (Roychoudhury, 2013). This thus enables India to earn trust of the nation and thus helps in building a cordial relationship.

4. Delineating India's Relation with Afghanistan

India's relation with Afghanistan is based on a multi-pronged strategy that is driven primarily by regional as well as global ambitions. The genesis of this relation can almost be traced back to the period of Indus Valley civilization. The relation span over centuries because historically Afghanistan had a close link to the civilization of South Asia (Pant, 2010). Between the 10th and mid-18th century, the northern part of India has been invaded by a number of invaders like Khiljis, Suris and Ghurids, all from the region which is now Afghanistan. The relation extends from the political to the historical and the cultural sphere as well and this provides, to a certain extent, an element of stability in the relation between both the nations. Both the countries share a close relationship despite not sharing any border, unlike other neighbors of India. Traditionally, India had a strong link with various governments of Afghanistan. During the colonial period, Afghanistan was considered a 'pawn' by the British and Russian colonizers in their 'great game' (Pant, 2010). There was boundary contestation between Afghanistan and British India. However after Independence, India was partitioned and the boundary problem shifted to Pakistan's side, with the legacy issue of the Durand line still present. During the Cold War period, both India and Afghanistan adopted a similar foreign policy stand. However in 1979, the Soviet invaded Afghanistan and India's Non-Aligned Movement supported the Soviet, as they (Soviet's) were Pakistan's adversary. This however made India lose its credibility as well as its stature in the world community. With the end of Cold War, India supported Afghanistan's government, provided they opposed Pakistan (Fair, 2014). However, the post-Soviet Afghanistan was soon undertaken by the Taliban in 1996. The relation was however scrapped with India from this period until 2001 in which Taliban backed by Pakistan had its stronghold in the country's rule. With the Taliban's collapse in 2001, the relation between both the nations improved (Sharma, 2009). India in the fight against the Taliban, funded, supported and also armed the Northern Alliance, like Iran. This relation was revamped in not only political, financial and diplomatic sphere but also in India's concerted effort to reach the people through its aid

diplomacy. For Afghanistan, India is the "most trusted ally and an all-weather friend" (Agarwal, 2014). The relationship between both the nations, in the recent decade, has been further reinforced with the signing of the Strategic Partnership Agreement (SPA) in 2011 between both the countries (MEA, 2016). Afghanistan in the present scenario has been undergoing changes in the security, political and economic sphere. India in this situation has attempted to dispel its fear by providing a long-term commitment to its security as well as development. The SPA in this context provides the much-required help and assistance to Afghanistan to build back its institution and infrastructure. For the inclusive process of reconciliation and peace in the nation, India provides assistance by encouraging its growth in the form of re-building its capacity, boosting growth of its indigenous capacity, providing investment and duty-free access to Afghanistan's export to Indian market, investing in its natural resources and assisting the nation to fulfill its commitment to the international community. The Heart of Asia Ministerial Conference held in December 2016 in Amritsar has also focused on the primary issue of concern in the nation, which is terrorism, whose immediate elimination is an utmost necessity for a peaceful economic and political transition of the nation. Along with it, there is the presence of an engagement at the summit level with Afghanistan (MEA, 2016). India is as such aiding Afghanistan in its process of transition and reconstruction after 2001.

5. Elucidating India's Aid to Afghanistan

Afghanistan is still an aid-dependent country. In the nineteenth century, aid in the form of regular subsidies was provided to the Afghan Emirs by the British to earn their support. In the Cold War period, it was given to limit the USSR's influence over the region, followed by the period of aid given to ouster the Taliban's hold over the region. Now it is mainly for the economic and political reconstruction of the country after 2001 that aid flows into it from various directions (Fayez, 2012). Afghanistan, since 2001 incident and the fall of the Taliban regime was in need of reconstruction and major humanitarian assistance. The country has been receiving aid from almost forty-seven different countries and development partners. India was one of the aid givers. India thus seeks to maintain its relationship with Afghanistan through its diplomacy and goodwill towards the nation via the aspect of foreign aid. The role of foreign aid in the public expenditure of Afghanistan is significant as it plays a crucial role in sustaining the economic growth and also for future development and stability. Also, the unstable domestic situation and the weak institutional capacity do not produce a viable scope to generate much domestic revenue. While assessing India's aid to Afghanistan three factors are given particular importance. Firstly the aspect of where, India is investing; the volume, size and structure of the investment. Secondly, an assessment of the drivers in influencing India to invest in the region is made. The third aspect is a critical assessment of this aid provided to Afghanistan.

5.1. Volume, Size and Structure of Aid

The socio-economic development of India makes it vital for the nation to ensure its regional security. India being one of the largest bilateral donor in Afghanistan has provided an

aid of \$2 billion since 2001 (Mullen and Arora, 2016). This aid is provided under the framework of South-South cooperation. Three main instruments are essentially present in this development assistance which includes cooperation in the technical field, grant assistance and lines of credit (Roychoudhury, 2013). The development aid and assistance by India to Afghanistan is mainly on three crucial areas (Ahmed, 2014) It includes firstly the community development programme along with humanitarian assistance (Ahmed, 2011). For instance, food assistance to primary school is provided and construction and rehabilitation are also done with the disbursement of an aid of about \$321 million. There is also a supply of 250,000 tonnes of wheat to feed the undernourished (Price, 2013:5). The second category includes the cooperation and assistance in the economic and technical field. For instance, in the construction of a power line from Pul-i-Khumri to Kabul about \$120 million is spent, for the construction of the Salma Dam Power Project about \$130 million is given as aid, in the rehabilitation of 218 kilometer of Delaram-Zaranj road \$150 million is given and the building of the Afghan Parliament in Kabul (Price, 2013). In June 2016, the hydroelectric dam project has been inaugurated along with the opening of the new Parliament complex in December. In the third category of aid programme, the aspect of capacity building and training is included. It includes providing scholarship to Afghan students in India, providing training to improve their trade sustainability for development (Ahmed, 2011). India has also undertaken small developmental projects (SDP) which are community-based in the region like funds given to build medical clinics to the Afghan Ministry of Health, training of Afghan policeman and army officers, training grants for civil servants, college scholarships and so on (Roychoudhury, 2013). On the recent two-day state visit of the President of Afghanistan to India in 2016, New Delhi pledged to provide another \$1 billion aid to Afghanistan. This relationship improved mainly after the USA's insistence to India to play an active role in the stability of Afghanistan (Panda, 2016). India is committed to strengthening the war-torn country in the field of agriculture, health, education and other sectors. This support of India is crucial in Afghanistan's fight against the offensive stand of the Taliban.

5.2. Factors contributing to it

In the reconstruction of Afghanistan, India takes a leading role as the stability of Afghanistan is in its own strategic interests. The security of the region of South Asia is closely intertwined to the stability of Afghanistan (Roychoudhury, 2013). These made India extend and expand its helping hand through diplomatic means possible in order to preserve and enhance Afghanistan's interest. The aid provided to Afghanistan, as such, serves a dual purpose, namely, to gain an advantage over Pakistan and China, the regional competitors of India and to strengthen the geopolitical influence of India in the region for its security. The policy of assisting Afghanistan, to a larger extent, is guided by its objective to counter Pakistan's influence and domination in the region (Pant, 2010). The Islamist extremism which causes trouble in India's own soil, and back the separatist of Jammu and Kashmir for the cause of self-determination has been a growing menace to the government and the people of India. This extremism found

safe haven in Pakistan and Afghanistan, though the later has successfully eliminated the Taliban regime in 2001. Also, the communal polarization by the Taliban in its neighborhood may seek to threaten the secular fabric of India (Fair, 2014). So it is the strategic objective for the foreign policy of India that Afghanistan does not go back to its former state (Pant, 2010). For India, Afghanistan is also a gateway to the region of Central Asia, where India has a potential to expand its influence for its energy security (Fair, 2014). As such the assistance for the peace, prosperity and democracy in Afghanistan is of utmost importance. So the aid and assistance are mainly to balance its interest against Pakistan and keep Afghanistan's goodwill on its side. India along with sharing a long civilizational and historical links with Afghanistan also maintains a good will and a moral driven approach towards the region. Its stability and peace, primarily post 2011, forms a major concern for India. So it is not Pakistan centric concern alone but it has shifted to a much greater purpose of bringing stability in Afghanistan. Also crucial in this aspect is Afghanistan's stability to India. Preventing the return of Islamic government could provide India with a strategic depth in the region of Afghanistan. India is also a responsible stakeholder in the region of South Asia. As a dominant regional power, it has the duty to support and accommodate its neighbors without expecting benefits in return. The "Gujral doctrine" clearly enunciates this benevolent attitude of India. Aid is used as an instrument to project India's soft power globally. The primary focus of the aid is to foster development in the recipient nation. So a benign attitude is adopted by India towards its neighbor. This in turn actually seeks to benefit India itself as it has a major concern regarding the stability of Afghanistan and a weak state in its neighborhood will be a major threat to India's own security. Its positive role in Afghanistan can also help India to set a good image as a responsible regional power. Of late India's emergence as a significant player in developmental assistance could also be clearly seen. Although it is not a new phenomenon, however, this role as an aid provider got enhanced with its economic growth and development, its progress in external trade, foreign investment and information technology (Roychoudhury 2013). This will be further in sync with its rising profile in the military and economic sphere (Pant, 2010:58). This pro- active role in bringing stability to its own backyard may further help India, although indirectly, to improve its image in the world community and further to fulfill India's ambition to rise as a 'great power' in future.

5.3. An Assessment of the Aid

This aid programme, however, has not been successful in producing the desired outcome as it is mainly an assistance program. This failure can be traced on one hand to the situation at home and on the other hand to the factors affecting India's aid to Afghanistan. The standard of the aid suffers not because the aid provided to the nation is low or it lacks good will. But it has its shortcomings due to many other factors. At the domestic front, there is the visibility of disparity between the commitments and disbursements and as such a gap in implementation. The problem becomes more prominent in the case of a long-term project as there is a gap in the time period in the initial commitments made. Also the undesirable operating conditions due to the influence of the Taliban and the high level of corruption that

exist from the government side lead to further problems for this aid implementation. Thus the aid program suffers. Moreover, the country providing the aid has their self-interest kept at a high pedestal with their military and political aim being the prime drivers rather than the actual need of the receiving country. The prime driver behind aid program is mainly to marginalize Pakistan's influence over the region, rather than the whole hearted development of Afghanistan (D'Souza, 2007: 434). Moreover, a large portion of the aid is regarded as just prescriptive as well as supply-driven in its nature rather than its actual aim of meeting the indigenous need of the nation. Projects are also generally undertaken in order to show the sheer number of the scheme launched rather than the actual purpose of development and capacity building (Fayez, 2012:65). Also, there are conflicting objectives between most nations that have a direct stake with Afghanistan. The United States, after its military weariness and also financial burden on its economy, yearn for a 'trouble-free exit' from Afghanistan. Russia is hopeful of some future benefits from Kabul due to the increase in its military sale because of the ongoing conflict. For China, the reservoir of natural resources present in Russia makes it a point of attraction which it wishes to harness. The restoration of Shia's influence is the main objective for Iran in Afghanistan. For Pakistan, their interest in Afghanistan is mainly to establish a regime that is supportive of its strategic interest and is against India's influence in the region which is present either through development projects or soft power (Davar, 2014). Through this aid programme, India seeks to generate reciprocity among the states, a power to 'attract or co-opt' which is mainly an instrument of soft power (Chanana, 2009). Countries providing aid are to certain extent seeking to balance their own interest rather than catering to the need of the donor state, which is making the result much less than effective. Nevertheless, this program helps the conflict-ridden Afghanistan, mainly after the 9/11 incident in its reconstruction and development. Since 2002 there has been significant improvement in the capacity of state institutions (Ahmed, 2019). Afghanistan was on the verge of becoming a 'failed state' if it was not handled with the military assistance from the West. But the situation could be saved in the future not just by the military solution but also if the pace of its development, as well as reconstruction, is improved (Pant, 2010). Afghanistan is strategically important to the entire South Asian region and particularly to India as the nation provides a gateway to the Central Asian region (Narasimhan, 2017). Goodwill and historic relation is no doubt associated with this aid program. But for its success, the focus has to be changed to a certain extent. There needs to be a dedicated agency to undertake functions in a right direction and also call forth an engagement of the government, the academicians and the civil society for better results (Roychoudhury, 2013). India very well recognizes that development of Afghanistan is necessary for it to ensure its regional security.

6. The Way Ahead

Thus, it can be concluded by saying that, a pivotal role is undertaken by India in undertaking its aid programme under the framework of South-South cooperation. It is becoming a key player in this effort of development assistance through various initiatives like strengthening its institutions that play

a crucial role in aid diplomacy, harnessing the potential of Information and Communication technology in the present digital era as well as developing its mechanism. Thus it seeks to achieve aid efficiency in order to achieve development and sustainability in the receiving nation. The former president Hamid Karzai in his visit to India in May 2013 as an Afghan Ambassador briefly stated that "...investment in the security and development in Afghanistan means the safety and security of India." (Davar, 2014). In terms of the value generated by this aid programme it has been regarded as the "most focused and effective programme" (Palrecha and Tourangbam, 2018). India's relationship with Afghanistan is a multi-layered one. This relationship is present in all direction, namely military and security terms, cultural relations and also socio-cultural relations (Price, 2013). The aid provided by India is mainly an assistance program which helps Afghanistan in its capacity building and in training its professions in specific activity. After the September 11 incident, the country was in a chaotic situation. So this assistance program mainly helped them to overcome their predicament to a certain extent. The signing of Strategic Partnership between India and Afghanistan on 4 October 2011 during the visit of the then President Hamid Karzai to India played an important role in this aid program of India. Though it did not achieve the desired result, this program could still be counted as successful. The aid program, no doubt, is helping Afghanistan, although to a limited extent. The problem lies in its implementation stage. This diplomatic policy of aid should be supplemented by India by other concerted steps in order to improve the condition of Afghanistan. It includes-reviving contacts with the building of an effective norm-based regime against terrorism, create a regional forum for dialogue among the neighboring nations in this direction and forge an alliance with the international actors. Also, India's policy vis-a-vis Afghanistan is an ambitious one. This aid diplomacy as such is a necessary move by India for its success as a regional player and also in the international scenario.

REFERENCES

- [1] Agarwal, Rajeev (2014), "Post-2014 Afghanistan: Policy Options for India and Iran", Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies, Issue Brief 247.
- [2] Ahmed, Ejaz (2019), "The Politics of Aid in Afghanistan", Observer Research Foundation, Expert Speak 2nd July, <https://www.orfonline.org/expert-speak/the-politics-of-aid-in-afghanistan-52668/>
- [3] Ahmed, Faisal (2011), "Indo- Afghan Engagements: Less Economics and More Geo-economics", the Financial Express, 6th October 2011, <http://www.financialexpress.com/archive/indo-afghan-engagements-less-economics-and-more-geo-economics/856394/>
- [4] Ahmed, Faisal and Vipul Kumar Singh (2014), "An Indian Model of Aid: Rethinking Policy Perspective", Procedia- Social and Behavioral Sciences, 157: 196-202.
- [5] Berman Eli et al (2015) "Aid for Peace: Does Money Buy Hearts and Minds", Foreign Affairs.

- [6] Chanana, Dweep (2009), "India as an Emerging Donor", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 44(12): 11-14.
- [7] D'Souza, Shanthie Mariet (2007), "India's Aid to Afghanistan: Challenges and Prospects", *Strategic Analysis*, 31 (5): 833-842.
- [8] Davar, Kamal (2014) "Afghanistan: A Grave Unfolding Crisis", *Vayu Aerospace and Defence Review*, 2014, 1:14-43.
- [9] Fair, Christine C., (2014), "Securing India's Interest in Afghanistan Beyond 2014", *Asian Policy*, 17: 27-33.
- [10] Fayez, Hikmatullah (2012), "The Role of Foreign Aid in Afghanistan's Reconstruction: A Critical Assessment", *Economic and Political Weekly*, XLVII (39): 65-70.
- [11] Hattori, Tomohisa (2003), "The Moral Politics of Foreign Aid", *Review of International Studies*, 29 (2): 229-247.
- [12] Lancaster, Carol (2007), *Foreign Aid: Diplomacy, Development, Domestic Politics*, The University of Chicago Press.
- [13] Ministry of External Affairs (2016), "India-Afghanistan Relations", Website-https://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/Afghanistan_Dec_2016.pdf
- [14] Mullen, Rani D. and Kashyap Arora, (2016), "Indian Development Cooperation with Afghanistan and the Afghan- India Friendship Dam", *Indian Development Cooperation and Research*, Centre For Policy Research.
- [15] Narasimhan, S. L. (2017) "Why India's Increased Military Assistance to Afghanistan is a Step in the Right Direction", *Firstpost*, <http://www.firstpost.com/india/why-indias-increased-military-assistance-to-afghanistan-is-a-step-in-the-right-direction-3286278.html>
- [16] OECD (1985), "Twenty-Five Years of Development Co-Operation: A Review", Paris, 171-173.
- [17] Palrecha, Nandita and Monish Tourangba (2018), "India's Development Aid to Afghanistan: Does Afghanistan Need What India Gives?", *The Diplomat*, <https://thediplomat.com/2018/11/indias-development-aid-to-afghanistan-does-afghanistan-need-what-india-gives/>
- [18] Panda, Ankit (2016), "India Pledges \$1 billion in Assistance to Afghanistan", *The Diplomat*, <http://thediplomat.com/2016/09/india-pledges-1-billion-in-assistance-to-afghanistan/>
- [19] Pant, Harsh V. (2010), "India's Challenge in Afghanistan: With Power Comes Responsibility", *Contemporary Readings in Law and Social Justice*, 21 (1): 36-67.
- [20] Price, Gareth (2013), "India's Policy towards Afghanistan", *Chatham House Publication*, accessed through www.chathamhouse.org, 1-10.
- [21] Rana, Kishan (2013), "India's Aid Diplomacy", *Business Standard*, May 11, 2013, http://www.business-standard.com/article/opinion/india-s-aid-diplomacy-113051100628_1.html
- [22] Roychoudhury, Supriya (2013), "India's External Aid: Lessons and Opportunities", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 48 (36): 22-26.
- [23] Sharma, Raghav (2009), "India and Afghanistan: Charting the Future", *Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies (IPCS) Special Report*, 69: 1-8.
- [24] Therien, Jean Philippe (2002), "Debating Foreign Aid: Right versus Left", *Third World Quarterly*, 23 (3): 449-466.
- [25] *World Development Report (2011), Conflict, Security and Development*, The World Bank: 1818 H Street NW.
- [26] Zurcher, Christoph (2017), "What Do We (Not) Know About Development Aid and Violence? A Systematic Review", *World Development*, 98: 506-522.