PREFACE

peace research studies in international relations are still in the embryonic stage in India. Unlike in the West, especially the United States, the discipline has not yet attained fulfilled autonomy. However this need not be a cause for pessimism. Many universities and research institutions have started peace research study programmes. The Afghan crisis has been studied from various perspectives and it has been the focal point of serious academic research during the past decade and its future academic potential is also tremendous, for searching out new ways of guiding operational policies in a volatile world.

Afghanistan, traditionally a peace-loving and non-aligned country witnessed a political upheaval in April 1978 when People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) assumed power in Kabul by overthrowing the government of Sardar Mohammad Daud. The PDPA governments' "progressive" policies and the "pro-Moscow" ties proved instrumental in building up a resistance movement by the opponents. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan beginning on 27 December 1979 and the continued presence of more than 1,20,000 Soviet troops on Afghan soil, helped
the PDPÅ to retain grip over the reins of power in Kabul, but it led to massive exodus of Afghans seeking shelter in Pakistan and Iran. The Afghan refugees organized themselves as Afghan Mujahideen (Afghan freedom fighters) and launched armed resistance against the regular Afghan forces and the Soviet troops.

In the wake of the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, the government of Pakistan raised the issue of Soviet threat to its security and territorial integrity. Accordingly, Pakistan sought military assistance from the United States. Concomitantly, the United States, having lost hold in Iran, as its most powerful ally in the Persian Gulf in the wake of the advent of Islamic revolution in that country in February 1979, was looking for another trustworthy ally who could safeguard American strategic and geopolitical interests in the Persian Gulf and South Asian region. This convergence and complementarity of each other's interests got accentuated in the aftermath of Soviet military presence in Afghanistan and thus Washington and Islamabad came closer to each other.

Under a package aid deal, United States provided military assistance to Pakistan worth $ 5.7 billion during 1982-86 period which included the supply of
40 sophisticated F-16 combat aircraft, howitzer guns, stinger missiles etc. Subsequently, the United States has further pledged military assistance worth $4.2 billion during the 1987-92 period.

The induction of sophisticated military weapons into Pakistan upset the military balance in the Indian subcontinent in favour of Pakistan and the latter acquired strategic and military superiority over India. Consequently with a view to safeguard its territorial integrity and to match Pakistan's weapons superiority, India also started procuring arms from the Soviet Union, France, Sweden, West Germany, etc. Thus an arms race was generated in the subcontinent.

The exacerbation of tension in the subcontinent having military implications in the aftermath of Soviet military action in Afghanistan coincided with the aggravation of military confrontation in the Gulf region in the wake of Iran-Iraq conflict. Thus the entire region of Southwest Asia was and has been subjected to serious political turmoil posing a serious threat to international peace and security.

The Persian Gulf and Western Indian Ocean region which is also called Southwest Asian region is strategically very significant to the industrialized world,
especially the United States and the Soviet Union. Bulk of the supply of petroleum and other strategic minerals from the Gulf and Middle Eastern countries is facilitated through the sea lanes of communications (SLOCs) of Persian Gulf and Western Indian Ocean region (PGWIO). Both the super powers have naval bases or base facilities in the region to protect their interests. Any exacerbation of tension in the region especially in view of Afghan crisis and Gulf crisis can spill over to other regions thus portending serious threat to international peace and security.

Keeping in view the above state of affairs in the contemporary international relations, the Afghan crisis has been interpreted by academicians, political scientists, policy makers, journalists and others from different perspectives. The resultant impact is discernible from the plethora of literature in the form of research studies, books, pamphlets, research articles and press reports on Afghan crisis. A brief review of the existing contemporary literature is called for at this stage.

Henry S. Bradsher's book ¹ deals with Afghan-Soviet

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¹ Henry S. Bradsher, Soviet Union and Afghanistan (Durham, 1985).
relations. It is a valuable study based on authentic data and covers the emergence of Afghan crisis and Soviet military tactics. However, as the title suggests, the book deals with bilateral nature of relationship with only a cursory look at its global implications. Richard S. Newell's two books on Afghanistan also shed abundant light on Afghanistan's internal and external policies. His first book deals with events upto 1970 and the second book written in co-authorship with his wife deals with the emergence of Afghan crisis and its different aspects. The book is useful for understanding the background leading to the advent of Afghan crisis but it fails to provide an indepth assessment of geopolitical implications for South West Asia.

Another notable work has been produced on the contemporary Afghan crisis by Thomas T. Hammond. The author has provided an indepth analysis of developments leading to Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan.


and its global implications for the United States. Another commendable work has been produced by Louis Dupree. His book covers the historical background, economic and social aspects of Afghanistan. Besides, Dupree's periodical articles published in the American Universities Field Staff Reports (AUFSR) and other journals provide rich source of material in understanding the Afghan crisis. However, the implications of Afghan crisis for peace in Southwest Asia have not been analysed.

The Indian scholars have also perceived and commented on the various aspects of Afghan crisis. Bhabani Sen Gupta's book\(^5\) deals with the Soviet military action in Afghanistan and the response and reaction by India, Pakistan and China. The book is useful but is limited in scope. Similarly K.P. Misra's edited book\(^6\) contains a variety of articles by Indian scholars dealing with different aspects but there is little

\(^4\) Louis Dupree, Afghanistan (Princeton, 1980).

\(^5\) Bhabani Sengupta, Afghan Syndrome (New Delhi, 1980).

about the geopolitical implications on Southwest Asia. Kuldip Nayar's book provides some new insights into Soviet machinations in Afghanistan and how the Afghan Mujahideen mobilised resources to wage resistance operations.

Similarly research articles which have appeared from time to time in prestigious national and international journals have dealt with different aspects of the Afghan crisis in a perceptive manner. The research articles written by American, Pakistani or Indian scholars generally present the viewpoints of the respective countries. Selig S. Harrison's articles provide an indepth look into the ongoing developments in Afghanistan. W.E. Griffith's article delves into the impact of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan on the super power detente. Craig M. Karp deals with the Soviet long term objectives in continuing occupation of Afghanistan and its impact.

on the geo-political situation in the Third World.

Pakistani scholars in their research articles have focused mainly on the security implications for Pakistan in the aftermath of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Iqbal Pervez Cheema, Riffat Sardar and others have perceived the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and the continued presence of Soviet troops on Afghan soil as portending serious threat to Pakistan's security and territorial integrity.

The Indian scholars have expressed their apprehensions about the induction of sophisticated American weapons into Pakistan on the pretext of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and its implications for India's security. K. Subrahmanyam, Jagat S. Mehta, A.K. Banerji


and others have in their articles tried to analyse the security implications for India emanating from Afghan crisis.

It is evident from the above brief survey of the literature available on Afghanistan crisis that there is still scope for a scholarly but holistic academic research work which sheds light on the Afghan crisis and its impact on super power detente with special reference to Southwest Asia. Thus keeping in view these considerations the present study has attempted to examine all these issues through its various chapters and their sub-sections.

The first chapter presents an indepth analysis of the concepts of conflict and peace. While analysing, the causes leading to generation of conflict, the chapter examines as to how conflict can be resolved through institutional approach within the framework of the United Nations Charter. The second chapter provides an assessment of the super power rivalry in Southwest Asia in historical context till the conclusion of second world war. The analysis follows with special reference to Pakistan.

The third chapter proceeds with the assessment of the advent of the Cold War and the emergence of Soviet-
US rivalry in Southwest Asia and its impact on Afghan foreign policy. The fourth chapter examines the evolution of democratic movements in Afghanistan and its relations with the Soviet Union and the United States from 1963 until the advent of Saur Revolution in Kabul in April 1978.

The fifth chapter focuses on the nature of regional conflicts in Southwest Asia and their implications for international peace and security. The regional conflicts examined in the chapter include Indo-Pakistan conflicts, Pakhtoonistan issue, issues between Iran and Afghanistan and Iran-Iraq war. The sixth chapter deals with the situation in Afghanistan from April 1978 till the Soviet invasion of that country in December 1979, Afghanistan's relations with super powers, supply of sophisticated US weapons to Pakistan and its implications for India's security. It also examines in detail the impact of Soviet military action in Afghanistan on peace and security of Southwest Asia and its global implications.

The seventh chapter examines the role played by the United Nations in defusing the Afghan crisis and thus help maintain international peace and security.
The peace building initiatives undertaken by NAM, Organisation of Islamic Countries (OIC) and EEC have also been examined in the chapter.

The final part of the present research work is in the form of conclusion which examines the Geneva peace accord on Afghanistan with its prospects.

Initially the period of study was envisaged from 1970 to 1980. However, the Afghan crisis assumed new dimensions with Russian aggression in 1980s and the indepth analysis of uptodate events in their regional and global perspective had become indispensable to do academic justice to the present study. Hence the period of analysis is not confined to 1980 but extends upto April 1988 when Geneva accord on Afghanistan was signed.

The study has made extensive use of both primary and secondary sources. The information and data have been analysed in the historical, analytical and comparative perspectives.