INTERDEPENDENCY: A CASE OF SINO-AFGHAN RELATIONS (2002-2016)

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Abstract

In recent past, Sino-Afghan relations have taken a new phase of collaboration and inter-dependency to work jointly to advance their common geo-strategic and geo-economic goals. Being an international power on the global chessboard, China does have a great role in the regional geopolitical setting to ensure peace and tranquility in the region on the one hand and prioritize its own interests on the other. Afghanistan, being an epicenter of the region, draws a special attention of neighboring countries especially China to address threat perception emanating from cross-border terrorism, drug trafficking and promoting insurgency in its region of Xinjiang. This paper attempts to analyze the scope of bilateral collaboration between China and Afghanistan. The paper also intends to ascertain whether Afghan leadership will be wise enough to use Chinese assistance as a trap card to utilize their geographic setting in such a manner in which both Chinese and Afghans can benefit and also to ensure their cooperation for longer period of time for peaceful and prosperous Afghanistan.

Keywords: China, Afghanistan, Peace and Stability, Terrorism, security, economic development, Regional Cooperation, Political Reconciliation, Investments.

Foreign relations of a state depicts the framework and a collection of actions, policies, aims, and means to get national interests. It is the combination of various determinants while describing the foreign policy one should keep in mind the three vital and palpable components that play a leading role in its formulation and behavior of state towards others. These three major components are described by different authors in a variety of

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ways. Firstly, the actions and behavior of individual state, secondly, the internal or domestic or national governing elements of state and thirdly. external environment or changing trends in the international arena that produce effects on state's actions like the international law, international organization. While some other authors have squeezed this explanation, and illustrated these components into two main categories: permanent influencing factors such as geographical location, size and population, political organization, culture and history and the varying temporary factors such as developmental goals, system of government, national security and global politics. ² Therefore, China's vested interests and vision towards Afghanistan and vice versa are evaluated in this article as one of the effective factors. The aim of the paper is to analyze and evaluate virtual capacities and potentials in Sino-Afghan relations by reviewing Chinese foreign policy in general at first and then shift the focus Chines approach towards Afghanistan and explores different aspects of bilateral relations between them.

Geography plays an important role on the chessboard of global politics. This idea has already been observed as playing its role in case of China that is traditionally viewed as a continental power because of its extended geography. China is one of the powerful members of BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India, and China) these emerging economies have brought a complete shift in the paradigm of global politics. Their power and strength lie not only in their economic growth but also in their population and land-as 40% of world population live in the BRIC's territories. The Chinese approach is based on utilizing manpower in their policies that are based on the future of the state. ³

The huge economic ideas such as 'Silk Road' and 'One Belt One Road' (OBOR) show that China's prime ambition is to become a rising economic power in the world. These megaprojects are based on a two-fold strategy: One is internal reforms to regain the economic momentum and the other is to enhance its international position while satisfying its national security needs. ⁴ In order to achieve these objectives, China pursued an independent foreign policy. According to the constitution of China, the basic principle of Chinese foreign policy is to safeguard its sovereignty, create a favorable international

¹ Marijke Breuning, *Foreign Policy Analysis: A Comparative Introduction*, 1st ed. (Palgrave Macmillan US, 2007), https://www.palgrave.com/gp/book/9780312296193.

² Marc Lanteigne, *Chinese Foreign Policy: An Introduction* (Routledge, 2015).

³ Nubia Nieto, "The Influence of Emerging Economies in International Affairs," *Estudos Avançados* 26, no. 75 (August 2012): 173–183.

⁴ Minghao Zhao, "' March Westwards' and a New Look on China's Grand Strategy," no. November (2013): 1–13, http://d3qi0qp55mx5f5.cloudfront.net/cpost/i/docs/Zhao__Minghao_Workshop_Paper.pd f.

environment for its economic reforms and modernization efforts, as well as to maintain world peace. ⁵After 9/11, China has exposed the world to a new approach to reaching out to the world peacefully through its foreign policy. ⁶ China is striving hard to become an economic power in the region as it deems it necessary for it to balance the pace of its expansion and increasing working age population. This vision has given China a lead against the U.S. in 2014 as the largest economy in purchasing power parity (PPP²) term. Moreover, it is fairly expected and assumed by an some of the economists that China will also take lead against the U.S. in market exchange term by the year 2028. ⁷

Afghanistan is one of the potential and feasible country where Chinese economic ambitions can be, partially, satiated. Situated in the Southwest of China, it is a landlocked country. Both states have a common border of 96 km in the northeastern mountain area. From a historical viewpoint, both states had been connected through old Silk Road which linked Rome to China through Afghanistan around 2000 years ago. In addition, both these states had remained connected with each other through the bond of religion as Chinese Buddhist would visit Afghanistan during 4th and 5th centuries AD. Furthermore, in the past, along with the development of social relations, China and Afghanistan maintained friendly relations with each other on state-level. Kabul and Beijing had established their diplomatic ties in 1922. ⁸Both Afghanistan and China had recognized each other as independent states during 1950 and 1955 respectively. During the subsequent years, the Sino-Afghan relations went through several phases with the arrival of successive governments and introduction of rational policies. The traditional passive approach of Chines foreign policy towards Afghanistan has been

⁵ Lanteigne, Chinese Foreign Policy: An Introduction.

⁶ Li Shijia, "Harmonious World: China's Ancient Philosophy," *Chinese Embassy*, last modified 2014, accessed September 1, 2017, http://sk.china-embassy.org/slo/zt/58v/t363935.htm.

⁷ PWC, "The World in 2050: Will the Shift in Global Economic Power Continue?" (PWC, February 2015).

⁸ Ghulam Mohammad Sokhanyar, 50th Anniversary of Establishment of Diplomatic Relation between Afghanistan and China (Kabul: Strategic Studies Center of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan, 2005).

⁹ Jonathan Z. Ludwig, "Sino-Afghan Relations in the Twenty-First Century: From Uncertainty to Engagement?," *Grifth Asia Quarterly* 3 (2015): 1–25, https://research-repository.griffith.edu.au/bitstream/handle/10072/340314/628-2056-1-PB.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.

turned into an active approach since 2001. ¹⁰ The relations between both the states are based on common interest. The campaign for peace and work for prosperity are the two most dominant aspects of this partnership. The mines, trade, and transit are the major areas need private investments in Afghanistan. ¹¹

China-Afghanistan Foreign Policies towards Each Other

The Chinese modern diplomacy has evolved through different phases during the last three decades. Initially, Afghanistan had not gained central importance in the foreign policy of China but now with the changing political dynamics in the region, it had attained the special attention of China. ¹² The geostrategic position of Afghanistan is quite important for China as it can be the part of the OBOR project in near future. It is mentioned in the IMF report (2015) that China has decided to invest \$100 million in Afghanistan out of \$890 billion- grand OBOR project which is further comprised of over 900 projects- as it is an inevitable part of China's neighborhood diplomacy. ¹³

Another important feature of Chinese foreign policy is its historical mindset and philosophy that have been followed by the principles of peaceful coexistence. According to International law, it comes under the right of any country to follow or opt any social system. For economic progress in the current era, it is necessary for all states to cooperate with each other to attain their mutual goals. ¹⁴ While keeping in mind the needs of contemporary era justify China-Afghanistan relations. For a long period of time, Chinese policymakers and diplomacy formulate their policies for Afghanistan based on the consistent pattern of cautiousness and vigilance. But this style of policymaking is constantly changing with the changing

¹¹ Alec E Metz, "The Mine at Aynak, The Culture and Conflict Review," *The Washington Quarterly* 2 (2007): 1–2.

Dirk van der Kley, "China's Foreign Policy in Afghanistan," Lowy Institute. org (2014): 1–24, http://www.lowyinstitute.org/files/chinas-foreign-policy-in-afghanistan_0.pdf.

¹² Zhao Huasheng, "Afghanistan and China's New Neighborhood Diplomacy," *Chatham House*, last modified 2016, accessed November 12, 2016, https://www.chathamhouse.org/publication/ia/afghanistan-and-china-s-new-neighbourhood-diplomacy.

¹³ Zabihullah Mudabber, "Where Does Afghanistan Fit in China's Belt and Road?," *Cssforum*, last modified 2016, accessed January 6, 2017, http://www.cssforum.com.pk/general/news-articles/foreign-newspapers/109173-where-does-afghanistan-fit-china-s-belt-road.html.

¹⁴ Anil Kumar, "New Security Concept of China: An Analysis," *IPCS Series on Inside China*, no. 1–12 (2012), http://www.ipcs.org/article/southeast-asia/malaysia-mou-with-bangladesh-on-manpower-export-3801.html.

priorities of policymakers for Afghanistan along with the emerging trends in international politics. Therefore, its approaches towards Afghanistan are also modified by four factors such as safeguarding security and stability, developing the economy, improving governance by the model of government suited for Afghanistan while enhancing international cooperation.

Therefore, the core of Chinese policy towards Afghanistan is based on the principles of Afghan-led and Afghan-owned initiatives and processes for upholding the independence of the country, its territorial integrity, and accepting the path adopted by the people of the country for their progress. Beijing has always supported peaceful solution for resolving conflicts and maintaining peace in the region. This is the reason it has employed strict policies for combating terrorism in Xinjiang province. In addition, it has also been a great supporter of non-military solution and establishment of a lasting peace in Afghanistan. Thus, in a nutshell, the two core interests determine China's foreign policy in Afghanistan, security, and economy. ¹⁵

Some expert is of the opinion that four priorities are in forefront of the Afghanistan foreign policy, political reconciliation, war against terrorism and narcotics, good governance and economic development. Afghanistan is facing internal and external pressures and struggling on different fronts simultaneously. On the one hand, the country is faced with challenges such as activities of anti-state actors, militancy and weak law and order situation after 2014 and surge in militants' attack during 2017. However, Kabul policies and Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) had tried a lot to take control of the deteriorating situation. While on the other, the international community is forcing it to take responsibility for its national security through its own budget instead of depending on the international aid. It is quite hard for the war-torn country to take control on social problems like human and drug trafficking, ensure national security and economic developments in the country in the absence of international financial assistance and private revenues. In this miserable condition, regional economic integration favors Afghanistan for attracting foreign investment and assets for getting benefits of its vast resources and mineral deposits and transport infrastructures.

On its part, the Afghan leaders have not only given clues but identified China on different international forums for its support for the country and its

¹⁵ Huasheng, "Afghanistan and China's New Neighborhood Diplomacy."

impoverished people. President Mohammad Ashraf Ghani in his remarks at the SCO summit (2015) in UFA said, "We try to create a local push to resolve Afghanistan's problems". ¹⁶

In order to develop a long-term partnership, China and Afghanistan need each other support and assistance to address their needs and to gain their objectives. The only factor that acts as a hindrance to the development of Afghanistan, meanwhile, barring Chinese from investing adequately is the weak security conditions with the presence of NATO forces in the country. Suspicions prevail among the Chinese policymakers about the presence of NATO troops. While Afghanistan expects China to come up with an independent policy based on a clear vision of the country. However, the increasing economic and security interest in China by the Afghan leadership is an indicator of a great rebalancing act of Kabul to China. ¹⁷

Challenges and Avenues for Joint Ventures

Different regional issues and competition in economic front, religious and political dynamics have visibly fluctuated the Sino-Afghan mutual relations in the past. The altering peace and security landscape of Afghanistan after 2014 has impressed upon the Chinese policymakers to think over their policies towards Afghanistan. A significant development in the economic, security and diplomatic sector was observed after the visit of Afghan President Ashraf Ghani to China in Oct 2014 ¹⁸.

Each state has vested interests towards other states. No country happens to be interested in utilizing its own resources for the development of another state purely based on humanitarian grounds. There exists scarcity of resources in the world, therefore, no state can progress in isolation. It is necessary for all states to cooperate with each other and share their resources to gain their goals because it's a two-way process. This is what is termed as and win-win situation among states. The same phenomenon is unfolding in the case of China and Afghanistan. China is a resources hungry country and Afghanistan is a resource-rich country, China needs the Afghan resources while Afghanistan needs Chines investment and skills to embark upon the path of development. To gain these tough and formidable goals, China has adopted a proactive approach towards Afghanistan's development. However, development of Afghanistan is a mammoth task as it will ultimately pave

¹⁷ Tamim Asey, "China: Afghanistan's New Hope," *Foreign Policy* (Dalian, April 8, 2015), http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/04/08/china-afghanistans-new-hope/.

¹⁶ Mudabber, "Where Does Afghanistan Fit in China's Belt and Road?"

Ahmad Bilal Khalil, "The Rise of China-Afghanistan Security Relations | The Diplomat."

way for peace in the restive Xinjiang province. Thus, by bringing stability in Afghanistan the region of Xinjiang might be secured as well. With peaceful Xinjiang, China will be more strengthened on economic front which will help it in emerging as a biggest economic power in Asia. ¹⁹ On the other hand, war-torn Afghanistan will also get advantages from its resources, technological advancements, and infrastructure development by developing good relations with China.

Having an abundance of raw material and resources, Afghanistan still needs to embark upon the path of development in almost all sectors. Having advanced heavy machinery and equipment and engaging its technological advancement in transforming the raw material into refining products and energy production services, China is one of the biggest consumers. Therefore, both these states can offer opportunities to each other. Moreover, China can access a land bridge network, while investing in the infrastructure development of Afghanistan.

Influential key factors that goad the Chinese policymakers attention are the security, the attitude of Chinese enterprises, and Chinese investment in significant undeveloped mineral deposits which had "great capacity for the uplifting the graph of country's development in terms of providing capital, technology, and employment opportunities". ²⁰ States can change their friends and enemies, nature of relations and behavior towards other states but they can't change their neighbors. The secret lies behind the progress of the state is that one should keep good and healthy relations with its neighbors. This is the reason that nature of relationships with neighbors determines the stability inside and outside of the state. Afghanistan is an inseparable part of China's neighborhood diplomacy. Therefore, China needs to be more concerned about its Sino-Afghan adjoining border areas in order to maintain a safe environment, ameliorating its strategic position and expanding its international influence on the regional and international level.

The positive impacts of Chinese investment in the development sector of Afghanistan will give an opportunity to establish and bring stability in economic and political sectors of Afghanistan. Its economy is heavily depended on foreign aid. The Chinese investment in the country will not only support the frail economy of the country, it will also minimize the spread of militancy in the western region of China. ²¹ Bringing peace and

¹⁹ Huasheng, "Afghanistan and China's New Neighborhood Diplomacy."

²⁰ Kley, "China's Foreign Policy in Afghanistan."

²¹ Lemar Alexander Farhad, "Promises and Pitfalls: Sino-Afghan Relations," *Small Wars Journal* (2018), http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/promises-and-pitfalls-sino-afghan-relations.

security inside Afghanistan is one of the major objectives of Chinese foreign policy towards Afghanistan. Having said that, one fact should always be remembered by both the countries that their bilateral relations are always influenced by external factors and presence of other powers in Afghanistan. For instance, the U.S. presence in Afghanistan is a case in focus which has changed the Chinese approach towards Afghanistan.

China is taking a keen interest in Afghanistan to counter the US. China-Afghanistan propinquity appeared for the first time in 2012 when both states signed a strategic declaration. ²² From 2001 to 2013, almost 13 years China offered US\$ 240 million to Afghanistan government for development purpose. It has initiated the new phases of connectivity with Afghanistan in different professions. China is providing technical training to 3,000 Afghan professionals. Moreover, it has offered 500 scholarships in the span of five years from 2015 to 2019. ²³ In addition, it reassured its economic assistance to Afghanistan during Ghani's visit to China in the year 2014. It has also announced enormous aids for Afghanistan in 2014 which is 81.4 million USD and 244 million during 2015-2017. ²⁴China has not only assisted Afghanistan during its economic decline but it has also assisted the country when natural calamity struck. It provided 10 million Yuan in an earthquake in 2015 and Chinese Red Cross Society provided US\$100,000 grants in emergency aid to Afghanistan's Red Crescent. ²⁵

The stability and prosperity of Afghanistan lie in the path from an aid-dependent to the export-oriented economy. ²⁶ It owns a precious wealth of mineral resources. More than 1400 types of minerals are registered have been on record to have been found in Afghanistan. According to the findings of Geodetic Survey report of 2007, the value of minerals evaluated \$1 trillion which has been revised by Afghanistan's MoM to \$3 trillion of minerals and hydrocarbons. ²⁷ Chines investments in the mining sector in addition to other benefits will bring a huge amount in shape of revenues. Such as, the China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) agreed to pay royalties generously through the construction of a refinery which are 15% on

²² Raja Muhammad Khan, "The Regional Scenario: Soundings From SCO," *FWU Journal of Social Sciences* (2015): 74–87.

²³ Huasheng, "Afghanistan and China's New Neighborhood Diplomacy."

²⁴ Dr. Hussain Yasa, "60 Years of Sino-Afghan Relations," *Daily Outlook Afghanistan*, January 26, 2015, http://outlookafghanistan.net/editorialdetail.php?post_id=11561.

²⁵ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the China, "Promote China-Afghanistan Cooperation and Bring New Life to the Silk Road," *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PRC*, last modified 2015, accessed November 13, 2016, http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjdt_665385/zyjh_665391/t1312149.shtml.

²⁶ Asey, "China: Afghanistan's New Hope."

²⁷ Brian C. James, *China's Interests in Afghanistan: Current Projects and Future Prospects* (California: Naval Postgraduate School, 2013), https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/38955.

oil, 20% on revenue tax, and 50% or more on tax profits, able to approximately generate annual tax revenues of more than US\$300 million.

China support through the SCO is of immense importance for Afghanistan. The SCO in different summits supported "Afghanistan's effort in building an independent, neutral, peaceful, prosperous country free of terrorism and drug-related crimes. ²⁸Close coordination with SCO member is a fundamental need for the national security of China. To ensure its security, China has developed close ties with SCO members as it has faced major ethnic challenges from Xinjiang having borders with Pakistan, Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. ²⁹ Xinjiang has strategic and economic importance for China as it is the hub of trade and the land of deposits of hydrocarbon and subsoil mineral deposits that are "estimated 34% of China's gas reserves, 40% of coal reserves and 30% of oil reserves. Its geostrategic position is quite critical for China as it provides the favorable location for the import of a large amount of gas and oil through pipelines passing from Central Asia to China's east coast markets. Although, apart from the positive side of Xinjiang the separatist rebellious group generates its revenue by means of drug trafficking.

From 2002 to 2010 the biggest foreign investment contract in Afghanistan's history of \$3.4 billion have been won by Chinese companies. Afghanistan also presents an opportunity for China to reshape its posture as a responsible global player while securing its hegemony in the region. Moreover, China imports 5.5 million barrels of crude oil a day and 69% of the imported oil comes from Africa and the Middle East while the majority of this oil is imported through tankers. China is the third largest gas consumer in the world and its natural gas consumption in 2013 was approximately 160 billion cubic meters. 80% of China's imported oil passes through the Strait of Malacca.". ³⁰

In terms of the bilateral trade, according to statistics in 2014, Afghanistan exported \$770 million and imported \$6. 42 billion, resulting in the negative trade balance of \$5.65 billion. Meanwhile, among the top trading partners of Afghanistan, China is in the third position with \$709 million. The mutual trade between China and Afghanistan in 2001 was less than \$20 million. However, in 2015, it increased to \$1100 million.

²⁸ Raj Kumar Sharma, "SCO's Role in Afghanistan: Prospects and Challenges," Mainstream Weekly (New Dehli, June 6, 2015), http://www.mainstreamweekly.net/article5721.html.

²⁹ Weitz Richard, "China and Afghanistan after the NATO Withdrawal," *The Jamestown Foundation* (2015): 11, https://jamestown.org/product/china-and-afghanistan-after-the-nato-withdrawal/.

³⁰ James, China's Interests in Afghanistan: Current Projects and Future Prospects.

³¹Economic development is the more favored area for both side's joint venture. Active transportation is an important factor for the Afghan government to run the state machinery effectively, which is the primary mean towards the development of its infrastructure. To achieve this purpose, the Chinese projects in the field of transportation have played an active and supportive role. Afghanistan sits at heart of Silk Road where China has invested \$100 million in the Silk Road project in Afghanistan. China believes that peace and security can only be achieved through economic development. The infrastructure development is expected to foster trade. The results show that reduction in the cost of transportation can help increase the international trade. Thus 10% reduction in the costs of railway, air and maritime would increase trade by 2%, 5.5%, and 1.1% respectively. ³² As per the previous analysis, China has attempted in many ways to bring economic stability in its landlocked and war-torn neighboring country. Moreover, it has also provided numerous opportunities to Afghanistan to emerge as an important partner in regional energy market. ³³

Beijing has been engaged in Afghanistan on diplomatic and economic front. However, at present, it is gradually increasing its sphere of security and defense affairs as well. During 2014, both states have signed four MoUs in security and defense sector. In the year 2016 Chinese military officials had visited Kabul for the first time in the history of Sino-Afghan military relations and the Central Military Commission (CMC) and allocated \$73 million for Afghan Security forces. ³⁴

China is also working on shaping a new strategy for bringing stability and peace inside Afghanistan. It is developing links with the U.S. in Afghanistan as both, China and the U.S., have a common goal i.e. to bring stability to the war-torn country. ³⁵ The U.S. and China both have decided to opt for cooperation with each other in Afghanistan. ³⁶China has always held positive views about peace in Afghanistan because it does not support any sector local group ideology. Recently, Beijing has shunned its passive

³¹ OEC, "Afghanistan," *OEC*, last modified 2015, accessed November 12, 2016, http://atlas.media.mit.edu/en/profile/country/afg/.

³² Ana Blazheska, "Understanding the Narrative behind OBOR Connectivity," *China-CEE Institute*, no. 11 (2017), https://china-cee.eu/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/Work_paper-201711.pdf.

³³ Karin Chau, "CfP 'Regional Integration and Disintegration' Contribution: China in Afghanistan," *Mapping China* (2016), https://mappingchina.org/2016/12/13/cfp-regional-integration-and-disintegration-contribution-china-in-afghanistan/.

³⁴ Khalil, "The Rise of China-Afghanistan Security Relations | The Diplomat."

³⁵ James, China's Interests in Afghanistan: Current Projects and Future Prospects.

³⁶ Chen Weihua, "US, China Team up in Afghanistan," *China Daily* (Washington, October 30, 2014), http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/world/2014-10/30/content_18828693.htm.

policies and got actively involved in Afghanistan. ³⁷ According to different thinkers and analysts, China can adopt various approaches for bringing peace in Afghanistan. Some are of the view that it should opt for traditional non-interfering approach while others favor the active involvement of China in its neighborhood.

Conclusion

Individuals or states help others only for their interests. The transborder cooperation is one of the top features of a globalized society. Meanwhile, China and Afghanistan have common interests that have joined them. Afghanistan and China both have similar foreign policies towards other states. But Afghanistan is war-torn country and its people aspire for viable peacebuilding processes and economic prosperity on a much greater pace; while, the ground realities in the country do not allow for peace efforts on the desired pace. However, Chinese proactive approach towards Afghanistan and its keen interest in the resolution of all conflicts in the country might become a blessing for Afghanistan. The Afghan government should extend full cooperation to the Chinese government and private investor to gain maximum benefit out of its strategic location. Both countries have enormous opportunities at hand that leading them to a more robust and close cooperation for the achievement of their aims.

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³⁷ Weitz Richatd, "Assessing China's Afghan Peace Play," *The Jamestown Foundation*, last modified 2014, accessed June 3, 2016, http://www.jamestown.org/programs/chinabrief/single/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=431 58&cHash=cdf9d3723aea6491802a49aad8f898be.

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