

China's Policy in Afghanistan: Internal Factors Shaping Developments



Muhammad Nauman Akhter

PhD International Politics, Shandong University, China.
Email: raonauman123@gmail.com

Abstract: Since Xi Jinping assumed the presidency, his ambitions for China to be at a prominent place in the world have accelerated China's diplomatic engagement with the neighboring countries. Before Afghanistan came on the Chinese radar, it was the low priority area as far as China's economic, political, social, and cultural relations were concerned. Now, China's emerging economic profile requires it to recalibrate its engagement policy with Afghanistan. The paper opines that some internal policy changes in China have been the main factors in the Chinese policy shift towards Afghanistan. Now, China's vision about Afghanistan internally rests on three pillars: Xi Jinping's arrival, the New Neighborhood policy and BRI. Consequently, Afghanistan holds a substantial amount of attention in Chinese foreign policy.

Key Words: Afghanistan, China, BRI, Xi Jinping, New Neighborhood Policy

Introduction

From calculated indifference to careful consideration, the post 9/11 events brought a highly visible shift in Chinese foreign policy toward Afghanistan. It was rightly thought of by the Communist party that, as unlike the big players in Afghanistan, the policy of reconciliation should be the ultimate aim rather than promoting dissension among various Afghan ethnicities.

Policy analysts present three main reasons behind the Chinese push toward Afghanistan:

- (1) A leadership transition in China began in Nov 2012 and was completed in March 2013 at the National People's Congress (NPC) meeting. Subsequently, a visible shift in China's foreign policy has been detected, underlying the changed socio-economic conditions of the world.
- (2) Since the initiation of BRI, China has multiplied its engagement with Afghanistan. According to a scholar, "With particular reference to China-Pakistan-Economic-Corridor, Afghanistan manages a strong position in case of above-forecasted contingency situation for China. In such a geostrategic landscape, it is worthy to note that Afghanistan observers also say that Beijing is seeking Pakistan's assistance not only

to help create peace in Afghanistan but also to keep regional rival India at bay. Since their independence from British rule, both India and Pakistan have sought to increase their clout in Afghanistan" (Shamil, 2017).

- (3) China's Neighborhood Policy, particularly from the perspective of geopolitical tension, avoids the delicate links which may be detrimental for the safety of the region, particularly in Afghanistan. China always appears very careful in her 'non-interventionist' approach when it comes to dealing with Afghanistan and her relations with the great powers in Afghanistan. The paper clearly elucidates the internal Chinese motivations behind Afghanistan's diplomatic push-up.

Understanding China's Perception of the International System: An Impetus for Afghanistan Engagement

China's Afghan policy takes proactive turns amidst the changing geopolitical landscape. The breakthroughs that distinguished new initiatives from the past are the following: (1) 'the Rejuvenation of Great Nation', this slogan shares the thought that China must get a higher status in the comity of the world for which it is

destined for. (2) the realization of the "Chinese Dream" (3) the revival of the ancient Silk route. These ideas set the tone for Chinese foreign relations to be adopted for the future.

According to President Xi's vision, the Central Asian (CA) states and Russia's relations were taken to new heights. President Xi announced his future vision about the nature of relationships with CAR and Russia in the following words: "China is committed to peaceful development and independent foreign policy of peace. We respect the development paths and domestic foreign policies pursued independently by the people of every country. We will never interfere in the internal affairs of the Central Asian countries. We do not seek to dominate regional affairs or establish any sphere of influence. We stand ready to enhance consultation and coordination with Russia and all the Central Asian countries to sustain harmony in our region".

Since Xi became a member of the politburo standing committee, he had high ambitions for China to be at the forefront of connectivity and rejuvenation of Chinese civilization. This thought exists very much amongst the Chinese political elite that Asia is for Asians with their norms and cultural traditions. President Xi endorsed and patronized these ideas of Pan Asia.

Chinese foreign minister visited Kabul and expressed good hopes for the future of Afghanistan: "We hope to see the development of Afghanistan. Development is fundamental, and only with economic growth can the poverty problem be solved, and the foundations of terrorism and extremism are eliminated. We maintain that the international community needs to make good on its promises of aid and help Afghanistan achieve sustainable development. China will do all it can to provide aid to Afghanistan, assisting Afghanistan to strengthen its capacity for self-development and in other fields. China aid is limited, but it is heartfelt, with no attached political conditions" ([Xi Jinping 2014](#)).

President Xi met with Afghan President Ashraf Ghani in 2016 and announced that "at present, China-Afghanistan relations maintain a sound momentum of development. Regarding Afghanistan as a good neighbor and friend that is trustworthy, China stands ready to conduct close high-level exchanges with Afghanistan and enhance strategic communication. The two sides should strengthen economic

cooperation and focus on promoting progress from projects concerning people's livelihood.

Both countries should well implement the memorandum of understanding on jointly promoting the construction of the 'Belt and Road' between China and Afghanistan. China supports Afghanistan to participate in connectivity construction and stands ready to strengthen cooperation in such areas as economy and trade, energy, agriculture, infrastructure construction, and human resource development between both countries, and deepen cooperation in anti-terrorism and security, to push China-Afghanistan strategic cooperative partnership to a new height" (MOFA China, 2016).

President Xi also emphasized that China will support the "Afghan-led and Afghan-owned" peace process that is the only surety for durable peace in Afghanistan. He further said that China would contribute to Afghanistan's development by donating to public welfare projects. He also said that Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) would perform an essential part in resolving the Afghan crisis (MOFA China, 2016).

It was an important announcement that China appointed its peace envoy to look after its interests. This was an extraordinary step in Chinese diplomacy towards Afghanistan. The Chinese ministry of foreign affairs also signified the importance of friendship between two countries in the following words: "China and Afghanistan are traditional friendly neighbors. China pays great attention to developments in Afghanistan and is committed to deepening both countries' strategic partnership, and so decided to appoint a special envoy." ([Reuters, 2014](#)).

Xi Jinping's era took a divergent outlook unpracticed in the previous regimes of "Keeping a Low Profile and Bind Your Time." In the early 90s, Deng Xiaoping presented three primary goals for the coming decade: (1) do battle with hegemonism, (2) unification with Taiwan, (3) modernization of China under reform and economic open-up policy ([Sing, 2014](#)).

Another notable figure after Deng Xiaoping was Jiang Zemin. He subtly changed the passivity of China's foreign policy by introducing new terms such as 'Developing China as a Comprehensive Power,' 'Building a New International Order,' and 'Gearing with the World'. These global terms indicated China growing confidence in her domestic economic stability, and in return, Jiang Zemin acceptance of the international compulsions to accelerate the local

economic growth. Meanwhile, in the Hu era, the 'Building a Harmonious Society' converted into the 'Building a Harmonious World' on China's foreign policy priorities. China established Confucius institutes all over the world to facilitate weak links with the outside world.

However, China's approach still was not very much active in foreign affairs in Hu's era. Suiting Zhao wrote about Hu's period in the following words: "The Hu's foreign policy legacy was complicated. After many years, China raised its profile and made new headways in its foreign policy. Growing confidence in its power, however, was progressively irritated by the containment of the Western powers.

In the same way, China's anxiety of many social, economic and political doubts at home also played an important role in Hu's foreign policy. China was never "psychologically prepared to play a full 'great power' leadership role in confronting problems. Beijing assertiveness, therefore, was not joined with a broader vision, making China often reluctant to shoulder greater international responsibilities" ([Zhao, 2012](#)).

A leadership transition in China began in Nov 2012 and was completed in March 2013 at the National People's Congress meeting. Subsequently, a visible shift in China's foreign policy has been detected, underlying the changed socio-economic conditions of the world. Consequently, Afghanistan gained special treatment in Chinese foreign policy.

BRI shapes the future of China-Afghanistan Relations

China's vision to attach Asian states with Europe, using modern infrastructure, no doubt, appears as the novel concept, finds no parallel in history. Furthermore, the objective of this initiative is to enhance people-to-people contact, infrastructure development, and regional connectivity. For the financial backup of this mega initiative, China established the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and the New Silk Road Fund (NSRF). Wang Yi commented: "BRI is an international public good that China provides for the world. It is neither a "Marshall Plan" nor a geostrategic concept."

These crucial proposals are consistent with the goals that China holds about opening-up strategy, win-win cooperation that China has supported for a long time, building a community with a shared future for humanity around the globe" ([Wang Yi, 2018](#)). China

declares that this initiative is not exclusive and invites every country without prejudices and biases.

BRI is one of the greatest initiatives ever made in any country to promote connectivity in the world. It will likely make China a primary engine of global economic growth. China will become a link between the developed and the underdeveloped countries. It has a combination of two projects: land and sea connectivity.

A Chinese expert says that "China has created an action plan for its Silk Road concept in the form of the BRI Initiative. It is grandiose, potentially involving an area that covers 55% of world GNP, 70% of the global population, and 75% of energy reserves. China's financial commitments to the project seem huge. Some multilateral and bilateral pledges may overlap, but it is still likely we are looking at up to 300 \$ billion in infrastructure financing from China in the coming years." ([Y He, 2015](#)). For this project, the Chinese investment bank has announced \$890 billion. And its completion date is around 2049, at the 100th birth anniversary of China.

Afghanistan holds a significant place for China's BRI project. Being located at the center of Asia, Afghanistan can play an essential role in shaping China's future global vision. The Chinese ambassador in Afghanistan, Yao Jing, said, "without Afghan connectivity, there is no way to connect China with the rest of the world." This initiative has the potential to maximize the economic and political stability of Afghanistan ([Azeta, Luwei, 2017](#)).

To bring all competing parties on the negotiation table in Afghanistan for peaceful initiation of BRI, China's vision appears straightforward, and without resorting to the traditional geopolitical tactics, it was thought friendly environment among all contenders as a remedy for instability in Afghanistan for speedy implementation of BRI.

According to Mariam Safi, executive director of Afghan think-tank, said that "Afghan people from all walks of life appreciated China's invitation to build the BRI jointly. While the Afghan situation is still not peaceful, the move gave Afghanistan a 'cardiotonic'. It is aligned with the fundamental interests of Afghanistan and its people. It will be conducive to Afghanistan's fully tapping its development potentials and regaining the glories as the Heart of Asia, Eurasian crossroads.

The BRI is a general term of Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road, which

were announced by Chinese President Xi Jinping during his several visits to Kazakhstan and Indonesia in 2013. The BRI also got the support from H.E. President Ghani and all folks of Afghan people" ([Jinsong, 2019](#)). Afghanistan, being in the neighborhood of CPEC, holds a special place as far as security issues are concerned. Afghanistan's security, as Chinese policymakers duly believe, appears determining factor, historically a pawn in the hands of imperialists to destabilize the region for CPEC safety.

China's conscious overtures for Afghan peace are required to evaluate these intrigues of the great powers very carefully. Since the initiation of BRI, China's interaction with South Asia appears to hold these delicate geopolitical balances. It acts, contrary to the traditions which China calls far away from the zero-sum game. Nevertheless, China faces a dilemma in Afghanistan about the CPEC security: India's stance over the Kashmir issue.

In such a geostrategic landscape, Afghanistan experts claim that Pakistan's assistance leverages China in Afghanistan both for internal maneuvering and also to keep India at bay.

The New Neighborhood Diplomacy: China and Afghanistan Peace

China's priority for having good relations with the neighboring countries has always been the supreme policy of the Communist party. With unfolding strategic concerns, after the formal inauguration of the BRI, it was duly felt and proceed with the system that existed earlier, however, which still needed to be invigorated in demands with the emerging challenges for the BRI.

The ancient Chinese wisdom says that "benevolence and good neighborliness are treasured assets of a country" Another proverb also holds that "a close neighbor is better than a kinsman afar" ([Ruan, Chen, Lan, Song, and Guojinyue, 2016](#)). Afghanistan's position in Chinese Neighborhood policy has an extraordinary place. Since the inception of the People's Republic of China, except for some unfavorable security situations, the Communist party has been maintaining good bilateral relations with Afghanistan. Even though China faces security concerns from Afghanistan, her policy has always been reconciliatory rather than a mischief-monger in Afghanistan.

In 2013, President Xi inaugurated the neighborhood policy for strong working relations with the neighboring countries. For strengthening the foundation of bilateral ties, China made recent strategic engagements with the South Asian and South-East Asian countries.

The new neighborhood diplomacy emphasizes two key aspects: (1) to resolve the differences with the neighboring countries (2) and policy of shared development. According to Xinhua, elaborated the new neighborhood policy was that "Stretching from the Pacific to the Eurasian continent, China's territory gives a variety of neighbors. China has been dedicated to having good relations with its neighboring countries while reserving differences. China's efforts aim to safeguard regional peace and stability" ([Xinhua, 2018](#)).

The Chinese concept of 'shared development' embodies the characteristics which the modern nation-states are unfamiliar. These emerging global ideas are sheer contrast to the images which the traditional western states hold about the world. BRI is the emblem of this diplomacy based on morality and win-win cooperation.

Xinhua explains this in the following words: "In the past five years, from the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor to the China-Mongolia-Russia Economic Corridor, from the New Eurasian Land Bridge to the China-Indochina Peninsula Economic Corridor, the BRI has linked different countries together and created an interconnecting network between China and its neighboring countries" ([Xinhua, 2018](#)). The New Neighborhood diplomacy includes the words, "amity, sincerity, mutual benefit, and inclusiveness". These words were pronounced by President Xi Jinping at the National Work Forum on Neighborhood Diplomacy in Oct 2013.

Amity connotes the meaning of friendship based on geographical proximity. Sincerity means building trust with different nations. And mutual benefit also means the win-win cooperation, the system of assistance that is not based on a zero-sum game. Inclusiveness also denotes that the new vision believes the accommodation of differences is the paramount necessity that is going to be addressed in the original image.

At the occasion of the Shanghai Summit, President Xi gave the concept of 'common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable. The addition of new terminology in China's bilateral relations with the neighboring countries seems that

China is ready to assume a more responsible role in international relations. Wang Yi, the Chinese Foreign Minister, said in his address about the New Neighborhood role,

“Neighboring cooperation no matter what difficulties and setbacks we may encounter, we should continuously promote mutually beneficial cooperation; countries have always been the main direction of China’s diplomacy. To well a long-term view and conduct sustainable. Manage relations with neighboring countries. First, we need to make friends with hearts. Different countries are different in size, but all are equal. Despite all sorts of contradictions and differences, Asian countries will always be neighbors. As long as we sincerely engage with and trust each other, our relations will be firmly guaranteed. Second, we need to resolve differences with sincerity. Since Asian countries have a long history of their relations, problems of one kind or another are hardly avoidable. If we follow the right approach of candidacy and friendly consultation, we can undoubtedly find proper solutions to these problems. Third, we need to promote cooperation with persistence. Cooperation among neighboring countries is neither a one-time deal nor a short-term activity. For this reason, we should take a long-term view and conduct sustainable collaboration. No matter what difficulties and setbacks we may encounter, we should continuously promote mutually beneficial cooperation.” (MOFA, China, 2019).

With increasing investment in Afghanistan’s infrastructure, participation in the Afghan peace process, humanitarian assistance to a scale previously unimagined, Afghanistan assumes immense importance in Xi Jinping’s New Neighborhood diplomacy.

For the peaceful resolution of the Afghan conflict, China engages with the world on a bilateral, trilateral, quadrilateral, and multilateral level. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations with Afghanistan, China’s approach has always been focused on humanitarian aid distributions, public works, the construction of infrastructure, i.e., roads, bridges, and dams for irrigation purposes previously ignored by the great powers. A new wave of bilateral relations was observed at the occasion of Afghan president Ashraf Ghani Ahmadzai taking an oath in 2014.

Chinese Minister of Human Resource and Social Security Yin Weimin, on the individual instruction of President Xi Jinping, attended the oath-taking

ceremony of newly elected President Ashraf Ghani. He used this special occasion to talk with the new CEO, Abdullah Abdullah. On behalf of President Xi Jinping, Yin Weimin conveyed the invitation to Ashraf Ghani to come to China on an official visit. Yin Weimin even talked about the 'bilateral strategic partnership of cooperation with Afghanistan.

His appointment was remarkable in two senses: (1) President Xi specially dispatched a high-level official such as Yin Weimin in a region which was not yet exposed to the higher level of Chinese diplomacy; second, by offering a strategic partnership to a country that has been devastated by the more than a decade long war. This renewed effort of more robust diplomatic relations with Afghanistan, although China, since the 2001 war, has been pursuing the relationships steadily yet no hyper diplomatic activity, indicates something different in the minds of Chinese either they were not happy with the past administration or they wanted a new opening.

In 2003, the Chinese government donated \$ 4.5 million for the construction of the Republic hospital in Kabul. This health project is intended to deliver the necessary health facilities for ordinary Afghan people (Schar, 2018). China’s emerging approach has been strictly attached to the vision of President Xi Jinping. He said that “China supports Afghanistan to integrate itself into regional cooperation, and stands ready to help the country promote connectivity with neighboring countries, seek synergy between China’s ‘Belt and Road’ initiative and Afghanistan’s transformation and development strategy, and strengthen comprehensive cooperation between the two sides, to promote the common development of the two countries” (Counselor Office of PRC in Afghanistan, 2016).

As for as Afghanistan is concerned, China’s policy has always been in line with the fundamentals of the 'non-interventionist' system. The concern for Afghanistan’s security situation, frequently expressed by Chinese politicians, academia, and media, stems from the instability that Afghanistan poses to the strategically important oil-rich Xinjiang Autonomous region. Before the initiation of a New Neighborhood Policy, China had always been compelled to think of Afghanistan in terms of security threats for Xinjiang.

In the larger picture of China’s new neighborhood diplomacy, to counter the burgeoning influence of organizations like the Islamic State of Iraq and Levant adjacent to its western border, it is almost entirely the

policy of China to contain it within the boundaries of Afghanistan. To constraint trans-border terrorism, China's strategy has always been to work with the Afghan government providing training to its military personnel, necessary security equipment, and sometimes donations.

China assists the Afghan army in making a mountain brigade ([Daly, 2018](#)). Since 2016, China has been providing Afghanistan with military equipment ([Martina, 2018](#)). It was reported in Military Times that Chinese and Afghan forces were performing counter-terror patrols ([Snow, 2017](#)).

Zhou Yangkao, the domestic security chief of China, visited Afghanistan in 2012 signed an agreement with President Karzai to 'train, fund and equip Afghan police' ([Taylor, 2012](#)). This was an extraordinary trip intended to forge ties for lingering Afghan security.

According to Andrew Small, "Yongkao represents China's security and intelligence apparatus and demonstrates Beijing's intention to be a player in Afghanistan's dark arts as well as its commercial ones" ([Small, 2012](#)). China's increasing assertiveness, contrary to past perceptions about Afghanistan, indicates that China no more believes on as a silent spectator in Afghanistan affairs. Afghan President Ashraf Ghani requested the higher Chinese authority for help in modernizing the Afghan security forces. In response to Afghanistan's request, General Fang Fenghua, the chief of the general staff PLA, met with the Afghan President Ashraf Ghani and donated 480 million Chinese Yuan in military aid ([The Daily Outlook Afghanistan 2016](#)).

This rare aid in the military domain indicates that China's chief concerns in Afghanistan have been fixed on security. China promised to help Afghan security forces and said that "increasing security cooperation suits both countries' interests. China will continue to supply Afghanistan with security supplies, technology, equipment, and training assistance" ([Reuters, 2015](#)).

Under quadrilateral cooperation among China, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Tajikistan, it was stated that "In September 2016 China signed an agreement with Tajikistan, pledging the construction of eleven outposts of different sizes and a training center for (Tajik) border guards along the Afghan-Tajik border, and during five days in late October 2016, China and Tajikistan reportedly held counterterrorism exercises in the Tajik part of the Wakhan Corridor – a narrow stretch of Afghan territory, wedged in between

Tajikistan and Pakistan with the short border with China at its very end" ([Marty, 2017](#)). These exercises are a clear indication to cope with the concerns emanating from the precarious security situation in Afghanistan. Wakhan Corridor has a unique strategic place for China's security.

With the 'Cultural Exchange Agreement' of 2008, a Confucius Institute at Kabul University was created to provide an understanding of Chinese culture and language learning to Afghans. Very similar to the new Chinese global perception of win-win cooperation, it was willingly decided by the new leadership to proceed with collaboration with the smaller neighbors rather than focusing on conflict.

In 2016, China supported non-humanitarian assistance to vulnerable Afghan families to enhance bilateral ties. Afghan Minister Nasir Ahmed Durrani said that "we appreciate China for assisting, and the non-food humanitarian items such as blankets and tents will be distributed to Afghan returnees, war-displaced families and natural disaster affected people across the country" ([Xinhua Net, 2016](#)).

China's Neighborhood Policy, particularly from the perspective of geopolitical tension, avoids the delicate links which may be detrimental for the safety of the region, particularly in Afghanistan. The strict observance of the 'non-interference' approach in the host country's internal affairs, particularly in the case of smaller and weaker states, is something that has been erased in the dictionary of modern international relations. China always appears very careful in her 'non-interventionist' approach when it comes to dealing with Afghanistan and her relations with the great powers in Afghanistan. Afghanistan is located in the neighborhood of China, and India enjoys a place of eminence and influence.

Both China and India appear vying for power in Afghanistan. However, China avoids geopolitical competition for exerting influence in Afghanistan, particularly with India. Since her involvement in Afghanistan affairs, it has been persistently claimed by the higher Chinese authorities that China does not want any competition and believes in working within the present international system. Even American President Obama, in 2009, requested China to be active in Afghanistan. Despite her security link with Pakistan, China in Afghanistan plays a game of rationale stabilizer concerning India rather than following Pakistan's line. China Institute of International Studies (CIIS), noted in its 2015 report

about China-India relations in the following words, "Sino-Indian relations are strategically more important for the entire region and the rest of the world. Currently, these relations are in a transition period featuring 'rebalancing' and 'repositioning'".

Both China and India's approach, to the maximum extent, has been more driven to economic benefits rather than pursuing the traditional rivalry. On many occasions, particularly in the Afghan peace process, India, time and again, has been consulted by the Chinese government. The most obvious fact, yet less praised, is that despite the record of traditional rivalry, China pluralist approach has been very helpful in bringing all contending forces on the negotiation table. India's global engagement with the USA appears a matter which has some disturbing consequences for Afghanistan peace. That is the point where China thinks of being encircled by the rival forces in Afghanistan. India is an essential member of the US Pivot to Asia policy.

Conclusion

China's priority for having good relations with the neighboring countries has always been the supreme policy of the Communist party. With unfolding strategic concerns, after the formal inauguration of the

BRI, it was duly felt and proceed with the system that existed earlier, however, which still needed to be invigorated in demands with the emerging challenges for the BRI.

With the coming of new leadership, it was taken as an opportunity to introduce China as a powerful force in international relations. The goal was to ensure the peaceful rise of China, and even China's Afghan policy underwent a significant shift. The breakthroughs which distinguished Xi's foreign policy initiatives from the past are followings: (1) 'the rejuvenation of great nation' this slogan shares the thought that China must get the higher status in the comity of the world for which it is destined for. (2) the realization of the "Chinese Dream" (3) the revival of the ancient Silk route.

The paper concludes that Chinese dramatic shift in Afghan policy is the result of some internal policies and initiatives which lay the foundation of reinvigorated China-Afghanistan relations. The proactive China's Afghan diplomacy is also reminiscent of the fact that China no longer holds the position of isolation and low profile. China's new economic profile also necessitates it to be active on the international stage rather than the past practices of low profile.

References

- Daly, J. C. K. (2018, March 9). *China to Provide Military Assistance to Afghanistan's Badakhshan Province*. The Central Asia-Caucasus Analyst. <https://www.cacianalyst.org/publications/analytical-articles/item/13501-china-to-provide-military-assistance-to-afghanistans-badakhshan-province.html>.
- Economic and Commercial Counselor's Office of the People's Republic of China in the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan. (2016, June 6). *Xi Jinping Meets with Chief Executive Officer Abdullah Abdullah of Afghanistan*, "Economic and Commercial Counselor's Office of the People's Republic of China in the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan." <http://af2.mofcom.gov.cn/article/bilateralvisits/201606/20160601333415.shtml>
- Franz, J. M. (2017, February 3). The curious case of Chinese troops on Afghan soil. The Central Asia-Caucasus Analyst.
- Hatef, A., & Luqiu, L. R. (2017). Where does Afghanistan fit in China's grand project? A content analysis of Afghan and Chinese news coverage of the One Belt, One Road initiative. *International Communication Gazette*, 80(6), 551–569. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1748048517747495>
- He, Y. (2015). China to invest \$900 billion in Belt and Road Initiative. *The Telegraph*.
- Jinping, X. (2014). *The Governance of China*. Foreign Languages Press, p. 316.
- Jinsong, L. (2019, April 14). *The Belt and Road Initiative Help Afghanistan Regain Its Glories in Silk Road*. Daily Outlook Afghanistan, the Leading Independent Newspaper. http://www.outlookafghanistan.net/topics.php?post_id=23381
- Martina, M. (2018, Sep 6). *Afghan Troops to Train in China, Ambassador Says*. Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-afghanistan-idUSKCN1LM1MR>.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People Republic of China. (2018, Aug 23). *FM: Wang Yi: The Belt and Road Initiative is not a "Marshal Plan" but a vivid practice of Jointly Building a Community with a Shared Future for Mankind*. https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/zxxx_662805/t1588358.shtml.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People Republic of China. (2020, March 29). *Wang Yi on Neighborhood Diplomacy: Making Friends with Heart, and Resolve Differences with Sincerity and Promoting Cooperation with Persistence*. https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjb_663304/wjbz_663308/activities_663312/t1682452.shtml
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China. (2016, June 24). *Xi Jinping Meets with President Muhammad Ashraf Ghani of Afghanistan*. http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/topics.
- Reuters. (2014, July 18). China appoints special envoy for Afghanistan. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-afghanistan/china-appoints-special-envoy-for-afghanistan-id>.
- Reuters. (2015, July 10). China's Xi pledges security equipment, training for Afghanistan. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-afghanistan-security-idUSKCN0PK0Q020150710>.
- Ruan, Z. et al.. (2016). China's New Neighborhood Diplomacy: Seeking Stability Through Management and Planning. CIIS Report No. 9, *China Institute of International Studies*, p.6.
- Sabir, S. (2018). A Neo-Classical Realist Explanation of Policy Evolution: China's Changing Posture towards Afghanistan (2009-2017). (PhD diss., Jilin University China). http://new.oversea.cnki.net/kns/brief/default_result.aspx.
- Shams, S. (2017). *China's increasing interest in Afghanistan*. DW.COM. <https://www.dw.com/en/what-does-china-want-to-achieve-in-afghanistan/a-39406187>.
- Sing, T. (2014, September 10). Contemporary Foreign Policy of China: Legacy of Deng Xiaoping. *Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies*.
- Small, A. (2012, Oct 3). *China's Afghan Moment*. Foreign Policy. <http://foreignpolicy.com/2012/10/03/chinas-afghan-moment/>.
- Snow, S. (2017, March 5). *Chinese Troops Appear to Be Operating in Afghanistan, and the Pentagon Is OK with It*. Military Time. <https://www.militarytimes.com/news/pentagon-congress/2017/03/05/chinese-troops-appear-to-be-operating-in-afghanistan-and-the->

- [pentagon-is-ok-with-it/](#).
- Taylor, R. (2012, September 23). *Top China official visits Afghanistan, signs security deal*. Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/article/afghanistan-china/top-china-official-visits-afghanistan-signs-security-deal-id U1SL4E8KN00U20120923>.
- The Daily Outlook Afghanistan. (2016, March 2). China to Extend \$72m in Military Aid to Afghanistan. http://outlookafghanistan.net/national_detail.php?post_id=14613.
- Xinhua, N. (2016, December 22). China Provides Humanitarian aid to Afghanistan. http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2016-12/22/c_135924384.htm see also “China Provides humanitarian aid to Afghanistan,” China Daily, December 22, 2016. http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/world/2016-12/22/content_27742488.htm.
- Xinhua. (2018, Oct 25). How China’s Neighborhood Diplomacy Brings Shared Prosperity. http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2018-10/25/c_137555837.htm
- Yi, W. (2014, February 23). FM: China attaches great importance to bilateral ties with Afghanistan. *CNTV*. <http://english.cntv.cn/program/newsupdate/201>.
- Zhao, S. (2012, Dec 8). Hu Jintao’s Foreign Policy Legacy. *E-International Relations*. <https://www.e-ir.info/pdf/30673>
- Zhenmin, L. (2013, Dec 31). *Forging ahead with determination, playing the main melody of Asian cooperation*. http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjdt_665385/zyjh_665391/t1114403.shtml.