



INSIGHT JOURNAL
UNIVERSITI TEKNOLOGI MARA CAWANGAN JOHOR

**International, Refereed, Open Access,
Online Journal**

**Volume 3
2019**

eISSN : 2600-8564

INSIGHT JOURNAL (IJ)

UiTM Cawangan Johor Online Journal Vol. 3: 2019

eISSN :2600-8564

Published by UiTM Cawangan Johor

insightjournal.my

About

INSIGHT Journal is an international, open access, refereed, online, academic research journal established by Universiti Teknologi MARA Cawangan Johor, Malaysia. It is indexed in MyJurnal MCC.

INSIGHT Journal focuses on social science and humanities research. The main aim of INSIGHT Journal is to provide an intellectual forum for the publication and dissemination of original work that contributes to the understanding of the main and related disciplines of the following areas: Accounting, Business Management, Law, Information Management, Administrative Science and Policy Studies, Language Studies, Islamic Studies (ACIS) and Education.

Editorial Board Editors

Associate Professor Dr. Saunah Zainon
(Editor-in-Chief)

Dr. Noriah Ismail

Associate Professor Dr. Raja Adzrin Raja Ahmad

Associate Professor Dr. Carolyn Soo Kum Yoke

Associate Professor Dr Mohd Halim Kadri

Associate Professor Dr. Intan Safinas Mohd Ariff
Albakri

Dr. Noor Sufiawati Khairani

Dr. Akmal Aini Othman

Dr Norashikin Ismail

Dr Syahrul Ahmar Ahmad

Dr. Faridah Najuna Misman

Associate Editors

Aidarohani Samsudin

Deepak Ratan Singh

Derwina Daud

Dia Widyawati Amat

Diana Mazan

Fairuz Husna Mohd Yusof

Fazdilah Md Kassim

Haryati Ahmad

Ida Suriya Ismail

Isma Ishak

Nazhatulshima Nolan

Norintan binti Wahab

Nurul Azlin Mohd Azmi

Puteri Nurhidayah Kamaludin

Rohani Jangga

Rosnani Mohd Salleh

Sharazad Haris

Siti Farrah Shahwir

Siti Nuur-Ila Mat Kamal

Suhaila Osman

Zuraidah Sumery

Editorial Review Board

Associate Professor Dr. Ahmad Naqiyuddin Bakar
Rector
Universiti Teknologi MARA Cawangan Johor,
Malaysia

Professor Dr. Kevin Mattinson
Associate Dean and Head of School of Education
and Social Work
Birmingham City University, United Kingdom

Associate Professor Dr. Steve Mann
Centre for Applied Linguistics
University of Warwick, United Kingdom

Dr. Mahbood Ullah
Pro-Chancellor
Al Taqwa University Nangarhar Afghanistan

Assistant Professor Dr. Ilhan Karasubasi
Italiano Language and Literature Department
Rectorat's Coordinator for International Relations
Ankara University, Turkey

Professor Dr. Supyan Hussin
Director of ATMA
Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Malaysia

Dr. Nuri Wulandari
Indonesia Banking School
Jakarta Indonesia

Associate Professor Dr. Norsuhaily Abu Bakar
Universiti Sultan Zainal Abidin Terengganu,
Malaysia

Mohammad Ismail Stanikzai
Assistant Professor
Laghman University, Afghanistan

Dr. Istianingsih, Ak, CA, CSRA, CMA, CACP
Indonesia Banking School
Jakarta Indonesia

Dr. Ira Geraldina
Indonesia Banking School
Jakarta Indonesia

Associate Professor Dr. Hj Amanuddin
Shamsuddin
Universiti Tenaga Nasional
Malaysia

Dr. Ahmad Fawwaz Mohd Nasarudin
Assistant Professor
International Islamic University Malaysia

Dr. Surachman Surjaatmadja
Indonesia Banking School
Jakarta Indonesia

Dr. Mahyarni SE, MM
Lecturer of Management in Economic Faculty
Universitas Islam Negeri Sultan Syarif Kasim
Riau, Indonesia

Dr. Angeline Ranjethamoney Vijayarajoo
Lecturer
Universiti Teknologi MARA Cawangan Negeri
Sembilan, Malaysia

Dr. Eley Suzana Kasim
Lecturer
Universiti Teknologi MARA Cawangan Negeri
Sembilan, Malaysia

Dr Aida Hazlin Ismail
Senior Lecturer
Universiti Teknologi Mara
Kampus Puncak Alam Selangor

Zulaiha Ahmad
Universiti Teknologi MARA Cawangan Perlis
Malaysia

Tuan Sarifah Aini Syed Ahmad
Universiti Teknologi MARA Cawangan Negeri
Sembilan, Malaysia

Associate Professor Dr. Norsuhaily Abu Bakar
Universiti Sultan Zainal Abidin Terengganu
Malaysia

Dr. Zainuddin, Ibrahim
Universiti Teknologi MARA
Malaysia

Reprints and permissions

All research articles published in INSIGHT Journal are made available and publicly accessible via the Internet without any restrictions or payment to be made by the user. PDF versions of all research articles are available freely for download by any reader who intent to download it.

Disclaimer

The authors, editors, and publisher will not accept any legal responsibility for any errors or omissions that may have been made in this publication. The publisher makes no warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Paper Title	Page
Creative Writings in Preparing Undergraduate Pharmacy Theses	1
5Ps: Governance and Performance Measurement Framework for Social Enterprises in Creating Social Values to Society	8
Job satisfaction and Employees Turnover: A Case of Higher Educational Institutions in Afghanistan	23
Water Resource Management: Quest for Sustainability	41
Compliment Responses by Iban ESL Learners	50
Job Performance of Lecturers in a Centre of Foundation Studies	68
The Foreign Policy of China towards Afghanistan	83
Analyzing the Role of Quality Governance in Green Initiatives and the Impact towards the Organisational Performance	92
Insights of ESL Students' Peer Review in Writing Class	108
Awareness of Autism among Parents	129
Empowering Learning Motivation and Experience Through Cross-Age Tutoring Community Service Project: Khind Education Hub to Community	137
Banking Fragility and Financial Crisis: Evidence from Southeast Asia	149
Influence of Servant Leadership on Job Satisfaction: A Study of Land and Survey Department	161

The Foreign Policy of China towards Afghanistan

Noor Ahmad Sahar
Assistant Professor, Faculty of Public Administration and Policy
Nangarhar University, Afghanistan
noorahmadsahar@gmail.com

Raihanullah Rahimi
Assistant professor
Faculty of Public Administration and policy
Nangarhar University, Afghanistan
raihan.rahimi@yahoo.com

Abstract

Foreign Policy is the use of political influence in order to induce other states to exercise their law-making power in a manner desired by the states concerned: it is an interaction between forces originating outside the country's borders and those working within them. The policy pursued by People's Republic of China in order to achieve its national/international interests by maintaining relations with other states at international level is regarded as Chinese Foreign policy. The diplomatic relationship between Afghanistan and China started in 1955 when the first diplomat of Afghanistan, Abdul Samad, was posted to Peking. Historically, the two neighbouring countries were involved in trade relations with one another via Xin Jiang and Wakhan Corridor. This paper covers the role of China in the peace building and reconstruction of Afghanistan since 2001 as well as the foreign policy of China towards Afghanistan in the era of Xi Jinping and onwards as the complete paradigm shift of Chinese foreign policy in his era. In this paper, the foreign policy of China towards Afghanistan in different dimensions i.e.; trade, politics, defence etc. will be analysed. The discussion will revolve around the contemporary socio-economic, political and strategic relations between these states.

Keywords: Afghanistan, China, Foreign Policy

1. Introduction

Foreign policy of a country describes the behaviour of one country towards other countries in international system. Foreign policy documents the ways the federal government of an independent country keep relationship with other countries according to the international system to accomplish numerous goals and objectives. Foreign policy is the key element in the process by which a state translates its broadly conceived goals and interests into a concrete course of actions to attain these objectives and preserve interests (Sutter, 2007).

Afghanistan and China, being neighbouring states, has maintained diplomatic relations with one another since 1955. After the invasion of Afghanistan by former Soviet Union in 1979, the relationships between Afghanistan and China faded and reached their worst point. Their relations improved significantly in the 21st century. China has always maintained a supportive and neutral policy towards Afghanistan. It has never interfered in the internal matters of Afghanistan.

In the last 2 to 3 years, particularly during Xi Jinping's presidency, we can see a major increase in the direct diplomacy and high level visits between the two countries. In the last few days of Hamid Karzai in office and the first official visit to Beijing of newly elected President Ashraf Ghani are the indicators that the two countries are trying their best to be as friendly as possible towards each other. Although China has always raised concerns over insurgency in

Afghanistan which seems like never ending, it has some major interests in Afghanistan as Afghanistan has a lot of potentials in terms of natural and human resources as well as a prime strategic position in the region. China is an emerging economic and super power in international arena and its concerns of engaging itself in such the complex and controversial issue of insurgency is legitimate because remaining completely unconcerned over this issue will cause a problem for regional security and stability which is very necessary for the growth of China these days.¹

1.1 Objectives

The fundamental objectives of this study are to identify:

- the foreign strategy of China for Afghanistan
- the role of China in the reconstruction and development of Afghanistan

1.2 Methodology

The ultimate focus of the research is to evaluate the Chinese foreign policy towards Afghanistan in different dimensions i.e. social, political, economic, defence etc. China's investment in Afghanistan will be discussed in the light of some statistical data. This research paper discusses the various factors that can make Afghanistan a strategic and economic partner of China. Therefore, the type of research would be analytical, statistical and descriptive.

The type of data used for the research paper is secondary as different books and research articles were consulted. Organizational homepages were also consulted and it has been made sure that only authentic sources were being consulted.

1.3 Theoretical Framework

The foreign policy of China towards Afghanistan in the recent years can be seen through the lens of Liberalism. Kant, being the major proponent of Liberalism, emphasizes on the ways through which peace and cooperation could be achieved. Under the presidency of Xi Jinping, one can observe that China is investing in Afghanistan and is assuming the responsibility as a regional power in taking greater and more dynamic role in the long delayed peace process in Afghanistan. This is despite the fact that it has always stayed away from regions and nations at war.²

Afghan-China Relations – An Overview

Historical Relations - Before Year 659

During the entire history of relationship between Afghanistan and China, it consisted mostly of tea and fruit trades via caravans through Wakhan Corridor and Xinjing on their borders. Before the year 659, Buddhist monks from the location (existing Afghanistan) were involved in the Silk Road transmission of Buddhism to Han dynasty, China. The territory of Han dynasty of Western areas bordered the Kushan Kingdom (An, 2012).

¹ <http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/04/08/china-afghanistans-new-hope/>

² http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/25/world/asia/china-considers-larger-role-in-afghanistan-peace-process.html?_r=0

Modern Relations - After 1955

The border between Afghanistan and China consists of 92.45 kilometers. The diplomatic relations between Afghanistan and China was established on 20th January 1955, when the first ambassador of Afghanistan, Abdul Samad was posted to China. In January 1957, Premier Zhou and Vice Premier He Long came to Afghanistan and met with Zahir Shah (king of Afghanistan), and Mohammad Daud Khan (Prime Minister) and other top leaders of Afghanistan. This was the first ever visit of Chinese leaders to Afghanistan in the Sino-Afghan relationship. This visit raised the joint understanding between Afghanistan and China and grounded a concrete foundation for boosting the friendly relationship between these countries (Daveed, 2014).

Mohammad Daud Khan visited China in October 1957 after receiving an invitation from the Chinese government. He held meetings with the top leaders of China regarding mutual understanding and friendly trade relationship (Derven, 2000). The mutual relations were developed through the passage of time. Afghanistan and China signed the boundary treaty in Beijing in November 22, 1963. This agreement eliminated the territorial dispute between Afghanistan and China over the Wakhan - Afghan controlled, the border between Xingiang Uyghur Automous- China and Badakhshan province-Afghanistan.

But the relations were badly affected in December 27, 1979 when Soviet troops were deployed in Afghanistan and the government of China refused to recognize Soviet-supported Karmal government. The separation of Sino-Soviet strained the Afghan-China relations and resulted in gory border disputes and mutual backing for enemies. During the rule of Kings, the relations between both countries remained neutral. In 1978, the seize of power by the pro-Soviet Afghanistan Communists positively harmonized the relations between neighbouring countries again.

Post Relations - 2001

The relation between Afghanistan and China improved in 2001 after the fall of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. In 2001, China sent a team from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Afghanistan to attend the interim administration foundation ceremony and to relay a congratulatory message to newly selected President Hamid Karzai (James, 2013). The president of Afghanistan- Hamid Karzai, visited China in January 2002 and met his counterpart, President Jiang Zemin and other high officials. China donated USD one million in cash and thirty million yuan of emergent materials. Besides this, the government of China declared that it will provide USD150 million for the reconstruction of Afghanistan (Routledge, 2016). The Foreign Minister of China visited Afghanistan in May 2002 and met with the president, the chairman-interim administration and his counterpart. Both countries signed a contract regarding technical and economic cooperation with the provision of USD30 million to aid Afghanistan (Opacin, 2014).

The Afghan Foreign Minister visited China in November and exchanged with them a provision of USD one million of material aid to Afghanistan. China along with five other Afghan neighbouring countries signed a declaration in Kabul endorsing its assurance to venerate the sovereignty and regional integrity of Afghanistan to support its peace and reconstruction process. The president of Afghanistan- Hamid Karzai visited China in February 2003 twice and then the vicepresident of Afghanistan- Newmatullah Sharhrani visited China to talk with his counterpart, Zeng Qinghong, and other high authorities and signed an agreement of USD15 million for economic and technical cooperation (Joshu. K., 2018).

Three Dynamics of Foreign Policy of China's towards Afghanistan:

The foreign policy of China towards Afghanistan can be seen in three different dynamics:

- 1) Security, being the first and most important one.
- 2) Commercial and economic interests.
- 3) Public Diplomacy.

1.4 Security:

Security, as mentioned earlier, is one of the most important factors for China to make its foreign policy towards Afghanistan.

1.4.1 Chinese Approach towards Afghanistan in Terms of Security Threats:

Reuters (2018) documented that National security and state survival are the most important factors for any country, so China's main interest in Afghanistan is its security. These two countries are neighbours and share a border line of about 92.45 kilometers. Afghanistan is regarded as a hub for extremists and terrorists, while on Chinese side, its Xin Jiang province, is highly susceptible to separatist and extremist movements. China has concerns over the spread of extremism and separatism via Afghanistan to its north western territories of Xin Jiang because the radical factions in Afghanistan have sympathies for the Uighur Muslim minorities in Xin Jiang who are not allowed to practice their religion openly (Starriditor, 2012).

The situation in Xin Jiang is becoming highly complex and has become one of the major parts of national security strategy of China. A dualistic approach is required to solve this security threat. On one hand, it has to control and combat separatist and extremist movements in the region, while on the other hand, it has to isolate external terrorism and terrorism from reaching there via Afghanistan by sealing off the narrow Wakhan corridor and by not participating in internal affairs of Afghanistan.³

1.4.2 Chinese Efforts to Maintain Stability and Peace in Afghanistan:

In the recent years, we can see that Beijing has started establishing "security relations" with Kabul slowly and gradually since the election of Ashraf Ghani in 2014. The chief of army staff of China announced in February 2016 of roughly \$70 million donation to help the government of Afghanistan with their struggle against terrorism. At the beginning of July, the first lot of military equipment by Chinese Army was received by Afghan forces.

China is participating in multifaceted and regional struggles to approach Afghanistan's issues, extending from dealing with security and formal capabilities to improving border control, combating networks of criminal, and antiterrorism. One such case is of Heart of Asia process which started in 2011 and involves various states including China. The sole purpose of this is to provide Afghanistan with fewer problems around its surroundings and a better internal situation.

Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), a regional alliance and organization aiming to promote peace, stability and cooperation on economy, politics, defence and security, of which China is an important part, has given Afghanistan a status of a member state in the start of 2016 (Stanzel,, 2016). China has until now contributed in the development assistance, investment projects, and in its more recent and less typical contribution to peace talks between the Afghan government and the Taliban. China has increased its contributions to Afghanistan's development significantly in the last two to three years: it provided roughly \$240 million in

³ <http://www.e-ir.info/2012/12/19/afghanistan-chinas-new-frontier/>

development assistance and aid between 2001 and 2013, and around \$80 million in 2014 alone.⁴

2. Commercial and Economic Interests:

The second wave is commercial and economic interests of China in Afghanistan which can be seen shaping the foreign policy of China in recent years. Afghanistan's ironic inorganic resources propose opportunities for the public and private corporations of China to invest in it (Xiangyu, & Chunyan, 2012).

2.1 China's Approach towards Afghanistan in Trade, Economy and Investment:

Huasheng,, (2015) argued that although China is reluctant to make any huge investments in Afghanistan, its changing attitude can be easily seen in the past few years particularly after the election of Ashraf Ghani as the prime minister of Afghanistan. One can easily observe the growing Chinese interest in Afghanistan not just because of its highly significant strategic position but also because of its human and mineral resources. According to a US report, there are untouched resources of about \$1 trillion in Afghanistan. Once China starts exploring and exploiting them, it can fully use their mineral wealth.

2.1.1 Two Important Investment Projects by China:

Coherent with the investment priorities of China, Chinese SOE's (State owned Enterprises) are working in the mining and energy sectors of Afghanistan. The two main investment projects by Chinese companies in Afghanistan are:

- The Project of Aynak copper mine in the Kabul's Southeast (2008) in which two Chinese SOE's, MCC and Jiangxi Copper Cooperation (JCCL) are supposed to invest about \$3 billion and are jointly developing this mine.⁵
- The "China National Petroleum Company" which is developing the Amu Darya Oil Fields in Northern region of Afghanistan.

These three companies have planned to invest about \$5 billion in Afghanistan through China's Exim Bank and China Development Bank.

2.1.2 Infrastructural Developments and Penetration of Chinese companies in Domestic Market of Afghanistan:

China, in the few recent years, has become more involved in infrastructure development across Afghanistan by constructing a network of railways. China Railway Construction Corporation is involved in these railway constructions and is most likely to expand this network across the country in the coming years.⁶

2.1.3 Economic Aids:

In the past few years, the economic support of China for Afghanistan have boosted expressively. Between the time period 2001- 2013, China provided Afghanistan with an economic aid of about \$240 million. But in the year 2014, this economic aid by China to Afghanistan increased and it reached \$80 million. And in the coming five years, it could increase even more.⁷

⁴ <https://cpianalysis.org/2016/09/05/chinas-interests-in-afghanistan/>

⁵ <https://cpianalysis.org/2016/09/05/chinas-interests-in-afghanistan/>

⁶ Chinese Foreign relations with weak peripheral states by Jefferey Reeves.

⁷ <http://carnegieendowment.org/2015/03/08/what-is-behind-china-s-growing-attention-to-afghanistan-pub-59286>

2.1.4 One Belt One Road Initiative

Under the inventiveness of One Belt One Road (OBOR), the revitalization of old silk routes, China can integrate Afghanistan in it and make Afghanistan improves its economy.⁸ China's Silk Road Economic Belt strategy comprises the building of railways and roads to link the Middle East, Central Asia and South Asia. Afghanistan is situated at the axle of geography of these regions, and any strife there would most likely result in insecurity, making it difficult for the plan to succeed (Downs, 2012). If Afghanistan touches a particular level of security and affluence with a growing population, it might become a manufacturing and export destination for the producers of China hunting for new markets and economical labour. China also desires to utilize Afghanistan as a transit route for oil inventing in Iran.

2.1.5 Implications of Chinese Investment in Afghanistan:

China is keenly interested in security in Afghanistan but has followed diverse plans to attain security. The investment of China in Afghanistan could affect the initiation of region either as a global economic player or as a continuously examined anxiety spot.⁹

3. Public Diplomacy

China requires a stable and peaceful Afghanistan towards which it can extend and advance its economic policies. China has never ever interfered in the internal domestic matters of Afghanistan, but from the mid 2000's, we can see that China is trying to ensure stability in Afghanistan and is showing responsibility and commitment towards this cause (Xiangyu, 2011).

China wants and aims to extend its soft power i.e. negotiations, dialogues, mediation etc. in a country which is suffering from war conditions and civil unrest. It wants to use soft power instead of hard power in case of Afghanistan. They have always opted for dialogues and cooperations in their policy towards Afghanistan. China has always tried to keep its hands off any controversial issues because it does not want to be professed as outfitting to Western interests. It never participated in War on Terror by sending its troops in Afghanistan with ISAF forces of UN.

Tanner, (2010) described that the formation of the Confucius Institute at Kabul University as part of a cultural exchange agreement in 2008 as a sign of China's policy of multilevel rendezvous. It is a very critical phase in outspreading the soft power of China as part of its inclusive Afghan strategy.

4. Strategy of China in Afghanistan

The foreign policy of China towards Afghanistan stem from the declaration of Deng Xiaoping in 1992 that they must have a low profile and concentrate on national development. According to Shambaugh (2013), China must bite time, conceal brightness and not become leaders but it needs to do something. The expert on China documented that Afghanistan has been struggling on application of this strategy; what must China do and how must it keep its profile low?

Husaheng, (2009) documented that China is playing a vibrant role in maintaining a low profile in Afghanistan and its preliminary stake in Xinjiang's security. This has consisted supporting efforts related to reconstruction in Afghanistan but without indulging to attach supply direction via Pakistan with the Northern Distributing Network of NATO. Zhao Huasheng (2014) stated

⁸ <http://mantraya.org/economic-impact-of-obor-on-afghanistan/>

⁹ 2013-12, China's interests in Afghanistan: current projects and future prospects, James, Brian C. Monterey, California: Naval Postgraduate School.

that China seeks peace and stability in Afghanistan through resolving issues with the Taliban and it is strongly against war inside Afghanistan. The greater negative analysis of China seeks pressure by the United States for more Chinese participation as a mean of moving risk for China.

Xiangyu, and Chunyan, (2012) mentioned that experts describe that China is looking for chances to extend hands on energy and mine resources in Afghanistan, which could give a significant link for business and development of infrastructure in South Asia and Central Asia and the entire stake of China in these regions. The entire objective of China is enhancing its complete national power and economic condition in Asia (Rozman, 2010). China has been contributing its role in reconstruction and development of Afghanistan since 2001 by means of financial aids and physical assistance for Afghanistan. However, the government of China does not wish to be a part of war in Afghanistan and has been keeping a low profile as the key aim of China is to boost its economy not to be part of any war (An, 2012)

5. Conclusion

It is vibrant from aforementioned discussion that the foreign policy of China towards Afghanistan has undergone a complete change in the recent few years. China has started acknowledging the fact that for a secure China, it has to protect its borders and for protecting its borders, it has to contribute a significant role in the establishment and the keeping of peace in the entire Afghanistan. It has come to realize how strategically, and economically important Afghanistan could be. It has accepted the geo strategic importance of Afghanistan and has been trying to engage in negotiations with Afghan government officials to achieve their national interests at different levels.

5.1 Contribution of the Study

According to the authors' knowledge, this is the first ever study in Afghanistan that examine the foreign policy of China towards Afghanistan. Besides this, the various views of the Chinese experts regarding this policy for Afghanistan and China are also discussed.

5.2 Future Recommendations

The present study covers most of the aspects of foreign policy of China towards Afghanistan, but future studies may be conducted on:

- Afghanistan Foreign Policy towards China
- Comparison between the foreign policies of both countries and its impact
- Comparison between the policies of both countries and recommended suggestions what to add in
- the Foreign policy of Afghanistan in order to boost its ties with China and other neighbouring countries.

References

- An, Z., (2012). Zhonguo yu Afuhan guanxi shi yanjiu lue” [A Review of the History of Relationship between China and Afghanistan], *Gaoxiao Sheke Dongtai* [Social Science Perspectives in Higher Education], no. (Anhui University and Renmin University, Beijing).
- Daveed (2014). China’s Post-2014 Role in Afghanistan, Gartenstein-Ross, Daniel Trombly & Nathaniel Barr, Foundation For Defense Of Democracies, Washington DC, October 2014.
- Derven H. J. Van (2000). Warfare in Chinese History. BRILL. pp. 122–ISBN 90-04-11774-1.
- Downs, E., (2012). China Buys into Afghanistan, SAIS Review, Vol XXXII no.2, Summer-Fall
- Huasheng, Z., (2015). What is behind Chinese growing attention to Afghanistan?, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- International Boundary Study Afghanistan (2015). China Boundary, China: A History. Hackett Publishing. pp. 167.
- James, Brian C. (2013) China's Interests in Afghanistan: Current projects and future prospects, Monterey, California: Naval Postgraduate School.
- Kucera, Joshu. (2018) "Report: China Building Military Base on Afghan-Tajik Border". EurasiaNet.
- Opacin, N., (2014), China’s Role in Afghanistan: A Capitalist Peace Approach, Anchor Academic Publishing.
- Reuters (2018). "Afghan troops to train in China, ambassador says". The Straits Times.
- Routledge, (2016). Chinese Foreign Relations with Weak Peripheral States: Asymmetrical Economic Power and Insecurity, by Jeffery Reeves. London and New York: Pages 91-106.
- Rozman, G., (2010) *Chinese Strategic Thought toward Asia* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 5.
- Shambaugh, (204). Shambaugh finds no evidence that Deng ever made this statement. 18–19
- Stanzel, A., (2016). China’s interests in Afghanistan, , China Policy Institute.
- Sutter, G.R., (2007). Chinese Foreign Relations: Power and Policy since the Cold War, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.
- Starriditor S. F., (2012). Xinjiang: China's Muslim Borderland(illustrated ed.). M.E. Sharpe. p. 157. ISBN 0-7656-1318-2. Retrieved May 22, 2012.
- Starr S. F., (2004). Xinjiang: China's Muslim Borderland (illustrated ed.). M.E. Sharpe. p. 158. ISBN 0-7656-1318-2. Retrieved May 22, 2012.
- Tanner, M.H., (2009). China: A History. Hackett Publishing. pp. 167.

- Tanner, M. H., (2010). *China: A History: Volume 1: From Neolithic cultures through the Great Qing Empire 10,000 BCE–1799 CE*. Hackett Publishing Company. pp. 167
- Xiangyu, Z., and Chunyan Z, (2012) He Jie (PLA Foreign Languages Institute, Henan) “Zhongguo yu Afuhan youqi hezuo tanxi” [An Analysis of China’s Oil and Gas Cooperation with Afghanistan], *Zhongguo Shiyou Daxue Xuebao (Sheke Kexue Ban)* [Journal of China Petroleum University (Social Sciences Edition)] 28, no. 6: 9.
- Xiangyu, Z., (2011). *Afghanistan and Regional Security: Implications for China, Policy Perspectives*, Vol. 8, No. 2, pp. 65-72, Published by Pluto Journals.



INSIGHT JOURNAL
UNIVERSITI TEKNOLOGI MARA CAWANGAN JOHOR

**International, Refereed, Open Access,
Online Journal**

**Volume 3
2019**

eISSN : 2600-8564