

INDIA AND CHINA'S POLICIES APPROACH AND ACHIEVMENT TOWARD
AFGHANISTAN

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Introduction

Afghanistan is a problematic country because of its multi-ethnic population in the heart of Asia with sensitive strategic location but lack of security, and rich in natural resources. Therefore, policies of two big powers India and China have a fundamental role on Afghanistan's situation because both of them are regional powers and located in close proximity. Afghanistan's long term instability has made it unattractive for foreign investments and weak economy has made it unable to provide security. On the other hand, ISAF withdrawal at the end of 2014 gave security tension to the regional states. Accordingly, India and China are seriously concerned about security of Afghanistan. They seek to improve the situation through investment because they cannot ignore unsecure country in their proximities that has strategic geopolitical role for them.¹ Strengthening Afghanistan's security demands economy and economy requires security to prepare safe environment for investment. **Therefore, economic development and security are two interconnected factors for Afghanistan's prosperity and stability.**

In spite of instability India and China are the main economic investors in Afghanistan and the main challenge for them is Afghanistan's insecurity to accomplish economic projects successfully. China has investment on natural resources such as Mes Ayanak copper mining in Logar province of Afghanistan and iron, oil, gas with many other undiscovered resources. China's ambition is being regional economic dominant according to "peaceful growth" doctrine.²

¹ Gareth. Price, "India's Policy towards Afghanistan," *Chatham House*, Asia ASP 2013/04, (August 2013). 1-10
http://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/public/Research/Asia/0813pp_indiaafghanistan.pdf

² Amrith. Dhaka, "Factoring Central Asia into China's Afghanistan Policy," *Hanyang University*, Vol 5, no 1. (2013) 98-104. <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1879366513000286>

India also has multi construction and Hajigak mining projects in Bamyān province of Afghanistan.³

Moreover, India's share border with Pakistan makes Afghanistan's position fundamental for India because of the historical enmity of the two countries. Similarly, Afghanistan's security is important for China because it has small border with Afghanistan in Xingjian province. Finally, Afghanistan's stability is related to Pakistan because the Taliban as the main security threat has shelters in Pakistan. Hence, Pakistan's role in peace building process is highly important for China as its close ties and for Afghanistan as its close neighbor.

Research Questions

- 1) What are the major regional securities polices of India and China toward Afghanistan?
- 2) Do economic and security interests of India and China have positive effects on Afghanistan?
- 3) Which of the two countries (India or China) has the best position to play the role of security guarantor and economic benefactor for Afghanistan?

Hypothesis

This paper has two assumptions first, the main approaches of the regional powers, China and India are to build security in Afghanistan through economic investment and geopolitically dynamic and the second is, the major incentives of India and China are to achieve goals of their inclusive "Relational" and "Grand Strategy" policies through secure and strong Afghanistan.

³ Gareth Price, "India's Policy towards Afghanistan". 3

Theory

The International Relations Security Theory by Buzan in the regional level is used in this paper. In security theory units generally avoid active political engagement. They take action in case of their interests seriously be under the threat. There is more global engagement between big powers and raise of power capacities.⁴ In geopolitical proximity major units are located with different characteristics and specific location in the system structure.⁵ Theory of security explains relations and behavior of each state and stresses on issues of security dilemma, power balance, arm races and security regimes.⁶ It mostly discusses the interdependency of the states in geopolitical location from different perspectives which is similar to geopolitical location of Afghanistan and India and China's policies and approach toward it.⁷ Consequently, those states which receive more benefit from Afghanistan's geopolitical location have more incentives to get engaged in security and economic matters of this country.

In fact, a country's geopolitical location is so important regionally and internationally. Afghanistan's geopolitical location in the heart of Asia from one side makes it somehow important on the other hand so sensitive and susceptible. First, it shares border with Pakistan where Taliban, al-Qaida and other terrorist groups have safe haven.⁸ Secondly, Pakistan and India have historical enmity, therefore; they cannot bear active presence of each other in

⁴ Barry .Buzan, Ole Waever, and Japp De Wilde, "Security: A New Framework for Analysis," *Published in the United States of America*, (1998): 9

⁵ Buzan. " Security: A New Framework for Analysis," 10

⁶ Ibid, 11

⁷ Ibid, 11

⁸ Sumit .Grnguly and Nicholas .Howenstein, "India-Pakistan Rivalry in Afghanistan," *The Trustees of Columbia University in the City of New York*, (2009). 127-131. <http://jia.sipa.columbia.edu/india-pakistan-rivalry-afghanistan/> `

Afghanistan. Third, China has low profile in Afghanistan and big desire of economic investment. Fourth, Afghanistan has a defenseless position because of its weak defense system, instable because of long term insecurity and sensitive location between her neighbors as a buffer state. However, China is the first country which has the biggest economic investment and India has active construction projects and humanitarian assistance in Afghanistan. Thus, policies of neighboring states especially powerful states of the region have a fateful effect on the political stability and economic prosperity of Afghanistan.

Methodology

This is a qualitative case study policies approach of two countries in the Asian region. The paper is based on description, comparison, and analysis of the secondary data such as articles, journals and websites.

Literature

Many scholars have written about India and China's foreign policies approach toward Afghanistan. To consider India and China's incentives toward Afghanistan for more deliberate and precise analysis, this literature review covers the involved factors and origin of multi-interests goals for both states which support my hypothesis.

India and Afghanistan have long term political relations. The bilateral relations of India and Afghanistan are described in two parts. The first article by Vikash Yadan and Conrad Barwa explains Indian concerns on security, political influence, economic relations and investment. India's policy toward Afghanistan is to achieve the main priorities of their policies. The article called "relational control" defines concept of relations control in Indian policy towards the region. This concept explains Indian's foreign policy in South Asia from perspective of realism and idealism. The concept of relational control defines "Meta-Power" of the territory. It shows several actors play to gain the chance within the matrix.⁹ The implementation of Indian policy is not by state-actors rather by policy organization to guide neighbors' actions. These scholars believe India historically has tried to maintain a neutral foreign policy with neighbors in South Asia, but authors did not explain more about India's neutrality. The point of article is serious concern of India towards Pakistan which provokes India to influence in Afghanistan as the only gate towards Pakistan. Moreover, Yaldan and Brawa analyze Northern Alliance of Afghanistan support India that called Indian ambassador under support of Abdullah Abdullah who is pro India. In 2001 in the presence of U.S. and NATO troops, India increased its presence in

⁹ Vikash. Yadan and Conrad. Barwa, "Relationsal Control: India's Grand Strategy in Afghanistan and Pakistan," (Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, Foreign Affairs, vol 4.no 2 (2011) 20-37. Accessed: 5. December. 2014.

http://www.academia.edu/580931/Relationsal_Control_Indias_Grand_Strategy_in_Afghanistan_and_Pakistan .

Afghanistan. India has enjoyed the support of the Northern Alliance because after Boon agreement and announcing new cabinet Mohammad Fahim and Abdullah Abdullah remained as Foreign Ministers, which were in favor of India's interest. Noticeably, Indian policy is to change political economy of Afghanistan which means independency of Afghanistan from Pakistan and denying Pakistan by Afghanistan is an advance for India.¹⁰

Similarly, the second article by C. Christine Fair has the same idea, which is emphasis on India's concerns about Pakistan in Afghanistan. It indicates that other states see Afghanistan as a buffer state because of its geopolitical location. Christine Fair pointed out the common problem of India and Afghanistan with Pakistan, which is related to the border issue. India has border problem with Pakistan over Kashmir and Afghanistan has border problem over Pushtonestan.¹¹ Christine Fair believes that policy of India towards Afghanistan has link to the event of the hijacking in 1998 of Indian Airlines by Harkat-ul-Jihad-al-Islami (HUJI) which was terrorist threat.¹² The purpose of this event was replacing of three Pakistani terrorists with the passengers of airplane. The three released terrorist prisoners were member of Masood Azhar in Karachi Pakistan which made a new militant group by the name of Jashi-e-Mohammad (JM).¹³ This group became one of the activist terrorist groups in India that has ties with the Taliban in Afghanistan. Furthermore, Christine Fair emphasizes the issue of terrorism made India much

¹⁰ Michael. Clarke, "China's Strategy in "Greater Central Asia": Is Afghanistan the Missing Link?," *Asian affairs: An American Review*, Routledge, (2013).
Accessed: 5. Dec.2014. <http://ldb.auca.kg:2686/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=1&sid=6c9c8fce-fe7e-40e3-bdf9-9bd4b3400398%40sessionmgr4001&hid=4113>.

¹¹ Vikash Yadan and Conrad Barwa.

¹² C. Christine Fair, "Under the Shrinking U.S. Security Umbrella: India's end Game in Afghanistan," *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, (2011).
Accessed: 19.November.2014.
<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/0163660X.2011.562461#preview> .

¹³ Christine. Fair, Under the Shrinking U.S. Security Umbrella: India's end Game in Afghanistan, "(2011).

more sensitive towards Afghanistan. This is realist attitude of the author regarding foreign policy of a country such as India, which has historical rivalry with Pakistan and close proximity to Afghanistan. India always has open eyes over political movements of Pakistan and controls instability of Afghanistan because it has direct effect on security of India.¹⁴

Moreover, Harsh V. Pant has common point with Christine Fair in his article “The Afghanistan Conflict: India’s changing Role” says position of India in Afghanistan was under the threat by the Taliban with coordination of Pakistan. India had good relations with previous regime and present government of Afghanistan, but the only trouble-maker for India was Pakistan and its instrument the Taliban. Accordingly, India should think again on its policy towards Afghanistan-Pakistan with accompany of strong alliance.¹⁵ Likewise, Harsh explained in other words Afghanistan is a security dilemma for India because Pakistan has much more influence in Afghanistan. In addition, Pashtun ethnics have blood ties in Pakistan. This dilemma obliges India to make cautious calculation in its movement while choosing alliances. The other common point of these articles is provision of yearly scholarships for Pashtuns in India. It is because of proving its especial concerns to the President Karzai and achieving his assistance. The other side of offering scholarships is to influence the students’ mentality. Pashtun students will learn Indian ideology and feel close to India. India mainly has political purpose in Afghanistan to access South Asia, East and Central Asia by engaging Afghanistan to the South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC).¹⁶

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Harsh V. Pant, “The Afghanistan Conflict: India’s Changing Role,” *Middle East Quarterly*, (2011). Accessed: 19. November.2014. <http://www.meforum.org/meq/pdfs/2895.pdf>

¹⁶ Harsh V. Pant

Similarly, Gareth Price and Chatham House article mention some other interests of India to the New Silk Road narrative, beside Pakistan and Islamic extremist. Additionally, it also indicates that regional stability depends on Afghanistan's economic growth. This is a common point with China. This journal points out China's interest in TAPI project stimulate India for economic investment on Hajigak natural resources in Afghanistan.¹⁷ Thus, presence of NATO in Kabul gave opportunity to India to achieve its ambitious policy approach which is surrounding neighborhood and control across Asia. It gives an active role to India and makes her good player in international peace and security. This is a rational calculation of Indian foreign policy towards Afghanistan and the region. It is well-designed and applicable policy if the Taliban and Pakistan do not bother India or India could be able to cope over its rivalries. In fact, India seeks benefit in relations with Afghanistan to maintain its policy with Southwest, central and east of Asia. Moreover, India in order to achieve her goals accelerates its activities in Afghanistan in areas of irrigation, hydroelectric projects, scholarships and support of Northern Alliance.¹⁸ However, it would be better if Christine Fair more explained internal security of Afghanistan such as ethnic conflict.

Moreover, China's policy towards Afghanistan is significant and all scholars have common approach to analyze China's policy. Jeff Reeves, Ambrish Dhaka and Zhao Huasheng have common points regarding China's concern about U.S. presence in Afghanistan, regional security and issue of Xinjiang province. They believe China sees regional security in economic growth of Afghanistan; therefore China is interested in increasing investment in Afghanistan if security was provided. China wisely calculated that economic diversification will bring many

¹⁷ Ibid, Gareth Price.

¹⁸ Ibid

other regional benefits. China has investment in Central Asian's natural resource, which refers to China's doctrine "peaceful rise".¹⁹

Ambrish Dhaka explained that China's Afghanistan Policy (CAP) highlighted insecurity in Xinjiang province because of extremism, separatism and terrorism. Dhaka defined China's economic interest calculated geopolitics of South Asia as proper place for investment in Central Asia. China is the only super power that has direct access to the natural resources of Afghanistan. Dhaka emphasizes, China is looking for investment opportunity in the region as an economic rational actor. It will not lose any opportunity for investment in the whole region because China's doctrine policy is peaceful growth by diversification of economic.²⁰ Moreover, China has serious concern about rebuilding of Afghanistan and deploying resources in 2014 after the U.S. withdrawal. It will give considerable opportunities to China. China's rapid investment prepares condition for bigger area of activity in Afghanistan but the main requirement of rapid growth is stability and security of Afghanistan.

Zhao Huasheng believes that China's policy towards Afghanistan is bilateral relationship, promoting economic cooperation, and providing financial assistance to Afghanistan to fight against organized crime and radicalism inside and outside the country. Zhao believes China has wider chance of investment if it plays an active role in Afghanistan's policy and military assistance. Huasheng emphasis the only internal concerns that makes China oblige to reform its neutral policy is regional terrorism and extremism in case of Xinjiang province because most residents are Muslim population and Uyghur separatist. Thus, if China thinks about

¹⁹ Ambrish. Dhaka, "Factoring Central Asia into China's Afghanistan Policy," *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, September (2013).

Accessed: 13, Nov. 2014. <https://www.mysciencework.com/publication/show/3265869/factoring-central-asia-into-china-s-Afghanistan-policy>

²⁰ Jeff Reeves, 30

bigger investment in Afghanistan, it should be concerned about Afghan internal security, security of the region, anti-terrorist and extremist activities. Hereby, it makes high profile and better situation for diverse investment. China's investment makes it favorable partner for the new government of Afghanistan. Furthermore, China's bilateral policy has broad approaches which dose not only covers Afghanistan but also zone of Central Asia. Afghanistan is a gateway for China and India towards regional hegemony and balance of power. Consequently, India and China have rivalry to have more influence in Afghanistan.²¹

According to Jeff Reeves, China believes that Afghan domestic security prepares the situation for economic growth. Therefore, security is the only essential factor for investment and independency of Afghanistan from presence of the U.S.²² However, this point is not fully true, because Afghanistan social context is much more complicate that could solve merely by pullout of the U.S. troops. Afghanistan historically has experienced rulings elites. It means Afghanistan is a weak government because its power is limited to the center. Nevertheless, China has image of a big role in Afghanistan but most of its policy objective remained as a goal. The biggest engagement of China in Afghanistan is economic development. Accordingly, China increases use of Shanghai Cooperation Organization to point out insecurity of Afghanistan. Additionally, China's engagement in Afghanistan covers multiple areas such as regional stability and active role in China-US-Pakistan relations on the issue of Afghanistan.²³ Thus, China is interested in

²¹ Zhao Huasheng, "China and Afghanistan China's interests, Stances, and Perspectives," *CSIS Center for Strategic and International studies*, (March 2012).
http://csis.org/files/publication/120322_Zhao_ChinaAfghan_web.pdf

²² Jeff Reeves PhD, "Does China's Afghan Foreign Policy Constitute a Grand Strategy?," *Asian Affairs: An American Review*, (Feb.2013) Routledge.
Accessed: 28. Dec.2014 <http://www.isn.ethz.ch/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/?ots591=40db1b50-7439-887d-706e-8ec00590bdb9&lng=en&id=128433>

²³ Zhao Hong, "China's Afghan Policy: The Forming of the "March West" Strategy?" (2013).

facilitating regional economic integration as regional actor. Economic integration increase regional cooperation mainly on the shared border of China and Afghanistan. Reeves explains, security concern is just small part of China's interest compared to huge economic investment in Afghanistan and Central Asia along with deep regional influence that is doctrine of China's policy. Therefore, Afghanistan is a good choice for China to follow its "March West" Strategy. This policy refers to expanding economic influence in the South Asia and beyond. China will concern about terrorism in its future policy to achieve its economic goal after the U.S. left Afghanistan. China considers itself as the main actor of the region to provide security.²⁴

Furthermore, Karthleen Caulderwood analysis of Chinese economic policy is very clear. It invested on Mes Aynak cooper project which is the biggest Chinese investments in Afghanistan's resources. This is the largest mining agreement of a \$3 billion with Afghan government which offers many job opportunities, revenue and enhancements in Afghanistan's communications. Caulderwood thinks insecurity, corruption and poor management of finance are the main obstacles for archaeologist to finish this big project.²⁵

Moreover, China declared that its new policy towards Afghanistan shifts from marginal to central position in the beginning of 2015 after U.S and NATO pulled.²⁶ It mostly focuses on spheres of economic and partly in the area of terrorism and separatism to keep under control the Western part of its territory. Similarly, China wants to keep its partner Pakistan in a good mood.

²⁴ Reeves PhD.

²⁵ Karthleen Caulderwood, "China and Afghanistan's Minerals: Archeologists still Scrambling to save Mes Aynak", *International Business Time* (August 2015).

Accessed: 15. December.2014. <http://www.ibtimes.com/china-afghanistans-minerals-archaeologists-still-scrambling-save-mes-aynak-1668808> .

²⁶ Jeff Reeves. 31

Chapter I

Brief historical background of India and China's relationships with Afghanistan

India historically has had similar culture and diplomatic relations with the series of Afghan governments. It is one of the countries that recognized Afghanistan's government after Soviet Union pulled back in 1989. The closest relational relation between India and Afghanistan was during King Zahir Shah's rule (1933-1973). Following the overthrow of King Zahir Shah, India tried to maintain its close relations with the subsequent communist regime in Afghanistan.²⁷ Likewise, during the Mujahideens war towards the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, India started supporting Northern Alliance of Afghanistan under the leadership of Ahmad Shah Massoud from Northern of Afghanistan. Massoud was fighting with Pakistan because it was supporting mujahideen. Mujahideen groups were promoting Islamic ideology by support of Pakistan.²⁸ Furthermore, the Taliban with the help of Pakistan took over Afghanistan in 1996 at which time India did not recognize it as an official government of Afghanistan and continued support of Northern Alliance. In the aftermath of the collapsed Taliban regime and transition of Afghan government to democratic with the support of the United States and presidency of Hamid Karzai, India quickly increased its presence more actively in Afghanistan. India reopened its embassy in Kabul which was banned during the Taliban. During the presidential elections in 2009 and 2014 India supported Abdullah Abdullah because he was nominated from Northern Alliance. It regularly has maintained political support with all Northern Alliance officials in different government positions. Simultaneously, India tried to make close relations with Hamid

²⁷ Sumit Ganguly , Nicholas Howenstein, "India-Pakistan Rivalry in Afghanistan," *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol 63 (2009): 127-133
<http://ldb.auca.kg:2684/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=3b900ea8-f7bf-430d-b253-3d8a5f064707%40sessionmgr198&vid=2&hid=113>

²⁸ Sumit Ganguly. NicholasHowenstein, 128

Karzai from Pashtun majority ethnic group to receive his political support inside of Afghanistan.²⁹ Consequently, India maintains a historical stable relation with Afghanistan because of close diplomatic ties, economic interests and rivalry with Pakistan.

Similarly, China historically has shared diplomatic relations with Afghanistan. In the 19th century during the Great Game imperial shared a narrow border at the end of Wakhan Corridor.³⁰ The formal Sino relationship with Afghanistan was established after World War II because of external geopolitical factors.³¹ Moreover, in 1950 Afghanistan was one of the first countries that recognized the government of the People's Republic of China (PRC). In spite of this fact Afghanistan was always a peripheral interest for China compared to other regional countries such as India and Pakistan in Chinese foreign relations. Chinese foreign relations with Afghanistan did not develop due to many political crises and civil wars in Afghanistan. In 1964 King Zahir Shah visited Beijing and decided to expand cooperation between the two nations.³² Afterward, Afghanistan's prime minister Daoud overthrew King Zahir Shah in 1973. However, China was worried about Daoud's policy, but he established a neutral and friendly foreign policy with China and his first official visit to China was in 1957. Hence, the first aid agreement was signed in 1965 and remained in effect until the communist party of the Soviet Union took control of Afghanistan in 1978 and Chinese investment was suspended. Moreover, China sees Afghanistan as a bridge that links Southwest and Southeast Asia together and it is the only gateway to the plains of South Asian beaches of the Indian Ocean. In that time China was seriously involved in

²⁹ Ibid. Sumit Ganguly, Nicholas Howenstein, 130.

³⁰ Jonathan Z Ludwig, "Sixty years of Sino-Afghan relations", Vol. 26, No.2. (2013): 392.
<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09557571.2013.790585?journalCode=ccam20#preview>

³¹ Jonathan Z Ludwig. 393

³² Ibid. 396-6

Afghanistan's crisis because of regional security interests. Thus, China has strengthened relations through diplomatic pressures, alliance building and resistance against Soviet efforts consolidation by giving military assistance to the Mujahideen in order to defeat Soviet Union.³³ In 2001, China preferred to have a multinational union in Afghanistan rather to act alone with terrorism. The coalition was NATO/ISAF mission by support of the United States. Accordingly, China preferred to stay out of military engagement and to see the outcome of the mission. The only role China had was persuading Pakistan to support NATO/ISAF during the operation. After the events of 9/11 and following collapse of the Taliban China's relationship was limited to domestic issues mainly in economic and security-based areas. The events of 9/11 and the "war on terror" by the United States provided opportunity for Beijing to deal with Islamic group and Uyghur separatism in Xinjiang province.³⁴

Comprehensive Policies of India and China

The two big powers India and China both have attempted to increase their influence in Afghanistan as self-interest states.³⁵ They have similar comprehensive policies and similar interests. The purpose of comparing the policies of the two countries is to understand the complete policies of India's Relational Policy and China's Grand Strategy Policy and how they implement their policies toward Afghanistan.

³³ A.Z. HILALI, "China's response to the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan," *Central Asian Survey*, 20 (3), (2001): 326-330.
http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/02634930120095349?journalCode=ccas20#.VM1TQts_fqY

³⁴ Jonathan Z Ludwig, "Sixty years of Sino-Afghan relations", *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Col.26. No.2 (2013): 392- 402.

³⁵ Zia Sadiq, "India and China; Effort for more Influence in Afghanistan," *Diplomat Magazine*, (3, March, 2015). <http://8am.af/india-and-china-trying-to-influence-in-afghanistan/>

India's Relational Policy

India implements its policy according to Indian Relational Control Policy. It is in response to potential security threats of India's state and perception that the state has not used force in its pursuit of great power status. This policy is the same as security theory that Buzan has described. Buzan's security theory says states raise their power and try to maintain and protect it.³⁶ The concept of "relational control"³⁷ is an accurate of Indian foreign policy. It has a superior framework that designs India's foreign policy in South Asia between realism and liberalism.³⁸ This strategy is used to secure free space for ongoing process of state-building, nation building and economic growth.³⁹ This is a comprehensive strategy with multi-dimensions which takes action based on others reaction in dynamic manner where "several players have participated to influence changes in a competitive environment". The relational strategy is based on "rules of game" exercise a degree of influence over the actions of neighbors. The neutrality for India is neutrality of its neighbors and absence of big power alliances. Accordingly, entrance of great powers such as China in South Asia restricts India's activities in the region and ability to maneuver. The concept of relational control is defined as utilized centralized states and imperial rule in India.⁴⁰ India's realist perspective recognized Afghanistan as a key component in India's policy of relational control towards Pakistan. This is a strong reason that India is supporting

³⁶ Vikash Yandav , Conrad Barwa. "Relationals Control: India's Grand Strategy in Afghanistan and Pakistan," *India Review*, vol. 10, no. 2. (2011): 93.
<http://ldb.auca.kg:2686/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=2&sid=3f06ff94-4ceb-41bb-a332-156409e4d3f3%40sessionmgr4002&hid=4202>.

³⁷ VikashYadab , Conrad Barwa. 93

³⁸ Vikash Yadab, ConradBarwa. 94

³⁹ Ibid. 94-5

⁴⁰ Ibid. 95

Northern Alliance of Afghanistan Tajik ethnic group to receive its political support inside Afghanistan for achieving multi-dimensional goals. This policy has three categories. First is important role of Afghanistan as the main gateway for India to achieve its goals. It uses Afghanistan as a favorable hub for transport energy, pipelines, and possibility to oil and gas from the Caspian basin across Central Asia to India. Second, India's perspective is extension of actions outside of powers and extension of neighborhood across Asia and Indian Ocean Littoral. Thus, India needs Afghanistan as a gateway to access the crucial spot for counterbalancing with other big powers.⁴¹ Accordingly, all the aspects which are described in India's policy are supported by security theory of Buzan about behavior of state. Third, India wants to maintain balance of power and prevent other influences from interfering in its image as a great power on the global stage and key player in international peace. Furthermore, Afghanistan's security and its geopolitical position are important for India because the country suffers from the shared border neighbors of Pakistan and China. Long term hostility of Pakistan with India and China's interest in the Indian Ocean made Pakistan and China a close alliance. New Delhi's hostility with Pakistan compels India to maintain friendly ties with Afghanistan for self-protection. On the other hand, Pakistan has a large Pashtun minority that has blood ties with Pashtun ethnic group of Afghanistan. The blood tie makes them close which is disadvantage for India. Consequently, India needs more efforts to keep strong relations with Afghan government in order to keep place for itself in Afghanistan.

⁴¹ Sumit Ganduly, Nicholas Howestein. "INDIA-PAKISTAN RIVALRY IN AFGHANISTAN," *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol.63, No.1. (2009):127-123. <http://jia.sipa.columbia.edu/india-pakistan-rivalry-afghanistan/>

Thus, India has dedicated yearly scholarships for a large numbers of Afghan students. In addition, it has various construction projects.⁴² In addition, it has several investment projects including the \$11 billion dollar Hajigak iron project in Bamyán province which is not started yet due to security matters.⁴³ Accordingly, India's aims are partially achieved because Indian political influence and economic investment are active in Afghanistan and Afghan people have positive images of India rather than Pakistan.⁴⁴ As a result, India has attempted to support Afghanistan through humanitarian aid and investment. It gradually leads Afghanistan towards progression and security. India's purpose is a stable and autonomous Afghanistan at the same time favorable to Indian policy. Consequently, India will be able to apply foreign policy strategy in Afghanistan related on Relational Control.

China's Grand Strategy Policy

China's policy is framed according to the Grand Strategy Policy. It believes security in Afghanistan is achievable by economic investment because economic investment will enable the state to spend on security forces. China's doctrine of "peaceful rise" influenced its foreign policy which is called Grand Strategy of "peaceful rise" to achieve economic growth in any country without direct engagement in the military and political spheres.⁴⁵ According to Buzan's security theory, in geopolitical proximity different units have different characteristics and each of these units follows its own policy and behavior.

⁴² C. Christine Fair, "Under the Shrinking U.S. Security Umbrella: India's End Game in Afghanistan?," *Center for Strategic and International Studies the Washington Quarterly*, (2011): 180

⁴³ Eltaf, Najafizada & Abhishek Shanker, "Indian Group Wins Rights to Mine in Afghanistan's Hajigak", *Bloomberg Business* (29, November, 2011).

Accessed: 1, April, 2015. <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2011-11-28/afghanistan-awards-most-hajigak-iron-ore-mining-rights-to-indian-group>

⁴⁴ C. Christine Fair, 189

⁴⁵ Amrisha Dhaka, "Factoring Central Asia into China's Afghanistan Policy," *Hanyang University* (2013): 98-104 <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1879366513000286>

The Grand Strategy of peaceful rise is the core idea of non-traditional security theory when state raise power capacity more economically than politically. Buzan's theory says states increase more soft power than hard power and their attempt is to maintain the power between neighbors. It is hegemony of the region. Moreover, the grand policy contains three areas of economic, security and political influence to minimize weakness and increase economic and political achievement.⁴⁶ This strategy defines the balance between external and internal elements in international system.⁴⁷

Furthermore, China's foreign policy from mid 1990 shifted more towards cooperation and integration with the regional states specifically post-Soviet states. Its policy shifted because new independent states of Central Asia are a good market for Chinese goods and apt energy provider for China's demand. Therefore, China's diplomatic endeavor is to establish close relations with neighborhood states to apply its economic growth plan.⁴⁸ The basis of China's policy shift was independency of post-Soviet states and extension of multiple regional relationships to diversify economy as well as to balance power against the perceived threat of the United States predominance in the region. Moreover, China is very sensitive about security of its neighborhood. For instance in 1979 when Soviet Union invaded to Afghanistan, China criticized Soviet invasion and asked it to withdraw from Afghanistan immediately in order to extend its influence over Southeast Asia.⁴⁹ Accordingly, China's policy makers came up with a comprehensive "Grand Strategy". As a result, China has planned to apply this policy in the

⁴⁶ Reeves PhD, "Does China's Afghan Foreign Policy Constitute a Grand Strategy?"

⁴⁷ Zhao Hong, "China's Afghan Policy: The Forming of the "March West" strategy?", *Institute for National Security Strategy* (2013): 3-15.

⁴⁸ Michael Clarke, "China's Strategy in "Greater Central Asia": Is Afghanistan the Missing Link?", *Asian Affairs: An American Review*, (2013): 4- 5.

⁴⁹ A.z. Hilali, China's response to the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan, *Central Asian Survey*, 20 .3 (2001): 320-30.

region through Afghanistan. Therefore, security and progress in Afghanistan is matter for China's policy. Likewise, China is only able to apply its policy fully in entire of the region if Afghanistan gains security.

China's benefit in Afghanistan is guaranteed because Ashraf Ghani has selected it as the first country for investment through Ghani's policy with India is not clear yet. Moreover, China's peripheral diplomacy towards its neighbor relies on moral aspect of soft power and investment as influential instrument to secure its diplomatic gains. Hence, China took responsibility of hosting fourth meeting of Istanbul process on Afghanistan in 2014 in Tianjin.⁵⁰ Moreover, Ghani's policy is in interest of Pakistan and China two India's competitors. Accordingly, China gained the key role in the peace process and economic development of Afghanistan. Due to that, Kabul expects China to use its relations with Pakistan impose pressure on Pakistan so that Pakistan can push Taliban for peace negotiation.

Comparison of India and China's Goals

India and China have similar interests toward Afghanistan and the region. They both perceived themselves as potential hegemony and perform a military exercise of the region. Similarly, their potential forces protect their territories and areas of interest as Buzan's security theory describes sensitivity of the state for self-protection and maintaining power. India raises its power and attempts to make its role more visible and more proactive in its extended neighborhood, foreign economic, military and institutional bindings which Buzan describes in security theory as when a state raises its power it attempts to maintain it between neighbors.

⁵⁰ Thomas Zimmerman, "As Afghanistan Transitions, China Reconsiders its Stake," Center on International Cooperation," *Center on International Cooperation* (April 2014). <http://cic.nyu.edu/blog/global-development/afghanistan-transitions-china-reconsiders-its-stake>

Similarly, China's ambition is to expand its influence in all the regional countries as a dominant economic power from Southeast to Central Asia. This strategy obliged Beijing to make a comprehensive vigorous relations with the post-Soviet states and focus on securing frontiers, settling borders disputes, cooperating against spread of radical Islamism and developing Sino-Central Asian economic, infrastructure and trade links.⁵¹ China is more likely to have free foreign policy within investment multiplier in the peaceful world to keep manipulation power. Similar to India China also uses of economic power to dominate the region. Thus, it attempts to prevent U.S. and Soviet hegemony in the region similar to India's concerns about Islamabad and Beijing.⁵² Beijing endeavors to seize India's potential capabilities that shift the focus of equilibrium. Moreover, China's strong regional desire is access to Indian Ocean. It is the key path for Chinese investment in the region and access to harbors in Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Pakistan, and the Maldives by use of military powers. Hence China has been constructing submarine supplies around the Indian Ocean basin.⁵³ They are three areas of short and long term goals of India and China in the region that Afghanistan is part of it. This range of interests in two main areas of economic and security made Afghanistan unique for these two states. They both think of the regional advantages and diversification of Silk Road throughout Asia mainly access to Central Asian energy resources. They both essentially demand energy resources for their industrial development. They use Afghanistan as an open-door between Northern east and Central Asia. Their ambitions are being regional power and hegemony of the region and to be key regional player in international system. India uses Afghanistan as key component of its

⁵¹ Ibid. Clarke, "China's Strategy in "Greater Central Asia": Is Afghanistan the Missing Link?," 1-4

⁵² Ibid. 8-12

⁵³ Jack Detsch, "China Boosts Submarine Fleets for Indian Ocean Allies", *THE DIPLOMAT*, Knowi the Asia-Pacific (February 13, 2015). <http://thediplomat.com/2015/02/china-boosts-submarine-fleets-for-indian-ocean-allies/>

policy because of Pakistan. Finally, both want to keep good relations with neighborhood states for self-protection by using of soft power. The only outstanding difference of these two policies is Beijing focus is only economic domination but New Delhi prefers to expand economic influence through political engagement like support of Northern Alliance of Afghanistan's Abdullah Abdullah.

Chapter II

Economic and Security Goals of India and China

India and China framed their policies according to Afghanistan's strategic geopolitical location for trade and advantage of natural resources that it possessed. It allows them to achieve economic interests and strengthen their securities. All these goals are possible in secure environment of Afghanistan. This is the main obstacle for the two regional powers to overcome on security challenges through investment and diversification of trade.

India's Economic Interest

India's multi-perspective sees Afghanistan as an emblem of the ambitious course it is charting in its foreign policy.⁵⁴ Hence, India is interested in achieving series of benefits and extension of diplomatic energy in Afghanistan. It has high-profile construction of infrastructure of Afghanistan. India has planned to help land locked Afghanistan become more independent from Pakistan by accomplishing different construction projects that have benefited Afghanistan especially in area of transit roads. It built Zaranj-Delaram road project in 2008 to facilitate mutual trade with Afghanistan. This road links Afghanistan to the sea through Iran which is a short and more convenient road for transit of goods.⁵⁵ India's interest in reconstruction has focused on Afghanistan's geopolitical position as the hub of energy transit between Central Asia and South Asia. The transit hub is suitable place for pipelines, oil and gas to transfer from Caspian basin across Central Asia and through Afghanistan to India, Iran and Pakistan's ports

⁵⁴ Harsh V. Pant, "India in Afghanistan: a test case for a rising power", *King's college London, UK* Routledge: Vol.18. No. 2 (June 2010): 135-6.
<http://ldb.auca.kg:2684/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=8&sid=3b900ea8-f7bf-430d-b253-3d8a5f064707%40sessionmgr198&hid=113>

⁵⁵ Harsh V.Pant, 5.

then from Pakistan's port transport oil and gas to market of Southeast Asia.⁵⁶ In effect, Afghanistan gains more revenue by relying on trade and tariffs.⁵⁷ Moreover, India has planned to make Afghanistan center of transit and diverse trade which brings cooperation between regional states to root out terrorism and control of extremism which improves prosperity and peace of the region.⁵⁸

India's next project after Zaranj-Delaram is to use Iran's port Chabahar which is located in southern Sistan and Balochistan province of Iran. The Chabahar port links Afghanistan to a new transit path. India will implement this project in opposition to China's construction of deep-water port in Gwadar in Pakistan because Gwadar is a doorway to global markets for Central Asian resources.⁵⁹ However, China is suspicious towards Indian plans that build a road and link Afghanistan with Central Asia. Consequently, rivalry of the neighbors makes Afghanistan's situation unsecure on the other hand it gives benefits such as building ports and connecting Afghanistan with neighboring countries. Afghanistan's geopolitical position gave it diverse choice for trade to transit goods, energy, oil and gas with all neighbors such as India, China, Pakistan, Iran, and CA states.⁶⁰ Hence, Afghanistan's economic growth makes it less dependent on Pakistan's Karachi harbor as a major transit destination which is credit for India. The advantage of Indian competition with Pakistan and China is more trade options to Afghanistan

⁵⁶ Vikash Yadan. Conrad Barwa. "Relational Control: India's Grand Strategy in Afghanistan and Pakistan". 19

⁵⁷ Vikash Yadan. Conrad Barwa. 17

⁵⁸ Sadake Hameed, "Prospects for Indian-Pakistani Cooperation in Afghanistan," *Central for Strategic & International Studies*: (2012):10.
http://csis.org/files/publication/120821_Hameed_ProspectsIndianPakistan_Web.pdf

⁵⁹ Sadaka Hameed, "Prospects for Indian-Pakistani Cooperation in Afghanistan," 148

⁶⁰ Abu Dhabi Process, "Afghanistan Reconnected Regional Economic Security Beyond 2014," *Report on the Abu Dhabi Process Consultations*: (May2014):22.
<http://www.ewi.info/sites/default/files/adp%20%282%29.pdf>

because Pakistan does not easily grant transit rights to India that requires airlift.⁶¹ India believes trade diversification has basic role in Afghanistan's economic growth. Therefore, it is looking for investment opportunities in Afghanistan on several sectors such as infrastructure, telecommunications, industry, education and health sectors.⁶² Moreover, India and China both have offered bid for Hajigak mining extraction that India has succeeded to win bidding for the Hajigak consortium exploration in the amount of \$ 6.6 billion. India is still waiting for security support of Afghan government to start Hajigak exploitation. These investments are great opportunities for Afghanistan's weak economy. Approximately 100 Indian companies have invested in Afghanistan since 2001.⁶³ Afghanistan is a favorable hub to transport energy, pipelines and could send oil and gas from the Caspian basin across Central Asia to India .India has interest in the Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) gas pipeline which has precondition upon Afghanistan stability and security.

India's Security Interests

Similar to the economic interests India has huge security interests in Afghanistan because it has planned to limit Pakistan through a strategic location Afghanistan. It has planned to develop an adequate diplomatic and intelligence network within the country to provide facilities for monitoring Pakistan's activities through Afghanistan. It raises power for self-protection and keeps control over movements of other regional states that have started expanding their own influence in Afghanistan such as Iran, Pakistan, Russia, China and the U.S. Buzan's theory of

⁶¹ Ibid. Hemid,10

⁶² Gareth Price, *India's Policy toward Afghanistan*, (Chathamhouse.org: (August 2013): 5

⁶³ Gareth Price, 7

security explains relations and behavior of each state and its stress on the issues of security, power balance, and arms races. According to the security theory and Indian Relational Policy a state's reaction depends on other actions. Likewise, India's historical rivalry with Pakistan made Afghanistan's position significant for India. Therefore, keeping Afghanistan became a dilemma for India and Pakistan similar to Kashmir border issue. Accordingly, hostility of the neighbors is additional security threat on Afghanistan. Nonetheless, India has serious concerns about the reemergence of Taliban in Afghanistan because it poses direct threat to India. India has bitter experience of Taliban and terrorist groups regarding event of hijacking in Indian Airline in 1998.⁶⁴ Hence, India's attempt is to play an active-role in Afghanistan to grow itself in regional affairs specifically in areas of economic and military profile. Its enterprises promote stability in Afghanistan to enhance New Delhi's ability and control Islamic terrorism both in South Asia and Central Asia. Likewise, it controls overland routes and maritime ports for Central Asian resources by rejecting China and Pakistan that are two objective threats for Indian assets in the region. Its goal is extension of actions outside of powers.⁶⁵ Accordingly, Afghanistan is a suitable instrument to balance India's predominance in South Asia. India's historical friendly relations facilitated situation for it to have influence in Afghanistan and use it as an open-door and apt tool to achieve its short and long terms goals.⁶⁶ India's presence and achievement was successful until end of Karzai's period. Its ambition is being in the list of considerable powers in the international community in term of strategic capacity to deal with the instability in its own region.⁶⁷ On the

⁶⁴ C. Christine Fair, 7-9

⁶⁵ Gareth Price, 4-7

⁶⁶ Harsh V. Pant, 138

⁶⁷ Ibid. 148

other hand, India has rivalry with China in the region as both perceived themselves as regional hegemony and maneuver their potential forces to protect their territories and areas of interest.

China's Economic Interests

Similarly, Chinese incentives observe Afghanistan as the bridge between Southwest and Southeast Asia. It is a appropriate gateway across Indian Ocean as the key area for economic expansion. This is a big range of interests that China estimated to achieve through stable Afghanistan.⁶⁸ Next, China has realized Afghanistan is a geo-economics tracking to Central Asia with hot destination for investment opportunities. Beijing uses economic capabilities to create an infrastructure which links Northern Afghanistan with Central Asia and itself. These economic linkages are sufficient to divert the TAPI gas project from Mazar-i-Sharif to Kunduz province and further in Wakhan corridor. It is a suitable gateway to China's development plans in Xinjiang which expand its economic power in neighboring counties.⁶⁹ Further, Chinese multi-dimension goals are gaining access to the relatively unutilized mineral resources for economic prosperity. This is related to China's Grand Strategy and Buzan's security theory that says state is looking to raise its soft power among its neighbors to maintain security and influence. Hence, China has made a broad strategy towards Central Asia through Afghanistan. This is a mutual benefit strategy for weak economy of Afghanistan and diversification of trade in entire of the region. Accordingly, China is going to make Xinjiang province a pillar industry within the government's strategy in the region with the goal of establishing Xinjiang as a transit hub for Central Asian resources.⁷⁰ Chinese oil and gas pipelines will build from Iran to Xinjiang through

⁶⁸ Sumit Ganguly and Nicholas Howenstein, "India-Pakistan Rivalry in Afghanistan," 128-31

⁶⁹ Jeff Reeves, PHD, "Does China's Afghan Foreign Policy Constitute a Grand Strategy". 24

⁷⁰ Harsh V. Pant, 8

Afghanistan. This project has triangle sides for China first is diversification of trade with Central Asian states, Iran and Afghanistan next; it provides security of Xingjian and makes it energy transit. Additionally, it imposes leverage to Afghanistan's situation to increase influence in East and South Asian region.⁷¹ Thus, Afghanistan's position provides many trade opportunities for China to refurbish its good neighbor policy with aims that go well beyond peripheral interests.

Despite the fact that China has low profile political activity in Afghanistan, it has bigger economic investment compared with other investors such as Mes Aynak investment in Logar province of Afghanistan. In 2007 China's Metallurgical Group Corp made an agreement of \$ 3 billion to the Afghanistan Ministry of Mines for excavating of minerals.⁷² Further, China won exploiting oil and natural gas reserves project which is huge in Sari Pul and Faryab provinces of Afghanistan in 2011.⁷³ The China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) undertook to build a refinery within three years and pay 70 percent from sale profits to Afghan government.⁷⁴

Although, China is interested in abundant natural resources of Afghanistan the security matter is more priority for it. The Mes Aynak project is stalled because of Taliban's threat to Chinese mining camps which made unsecure environment for Chinese workers. If insecurity continues

⁷¹ Ambrish Dhaka, "Factoring Central Asia into China's Afghanistan policy". 98

⁷² Kathleen Caulderwood, "China and Afghanistan's Minerals: Archaeologists still Scrambling to Save MesAynak", *International Business Times* August, 2014, Accessed: 17.Nov.2014 <http://www.ibtimes.com/china-afghanistans-minerals-archaeologists-still-scrambling-save-mes-aynak-1668808>

⁷³ Zhao Huasheng, 6

⁷⁴ Ibid. 6

Afghanistan probably loses investments opportunities which are huge economic loses for weak and poor country.⁷⁵

Aftermath, Ashraf Ghani gave priority relations to China for economic growth of Afghanistan in his first visit to China.⁷⁶ Ghani's effort is to improve weak economic condition of Afghanistan through Chinese investments but it needs precondition of secure environment and strong government. This is the main demand of internal and external investors from Afghan government.⁷⁷ Ongoing situation of Afghanistan proof inability of Afghan government to provide security since NATO pulled out. Because Afghanistan even is not able to pay its police salaries those are responsible to keep security of the state.⁷⁸ Hence, economic and security challenges are core concern of India and China toward Afghanistan.

China's Security Interests

China sees India as its competitor. This is one of the reasons for China to choose Pakistan as close partner to prevent influence of India in Southeast Asia.⁷⁹ China's security objectives in the region are controlling separatism in Xinjiang to link southern Central Asia and Northern

⁷⁵ Lynne O'Donnell, "China's MCC turns back on US\$3b Mes Aynak Afghanistan mine deal," *South China Morning Post* (March 20, 2014). <http://www.scmp.com/news/world/article/1453375/chinas-mcc-turns-back-us3b-mes-aynak-afghanistan-mine-deal>

⁷⁶ Zalmay Khalilzad, "Why Afghanistan Courts China", *The New York Times* (3 November, 2014). <http://mobile.nytimes.com/2014/11/04/opinion/why-afghanistan-courts-china.html?smid=tw-share&r=5&referrer>

⁷⁷ Tom Kutsch, "As Afghanistan looks for investment, China eyes stability," *Aljazeera America*, October 29, 2014, <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2014/10/29/as-afghan-looks-forinvestmentchinaeyesbusinessstability.html>

⁷⁸ Missy Ryan, "Watchdog: Afghanistan unable to properly track, pay police," *The Washington Post* (January 12, 2015). <http://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2015/01/12/watchdog-afghanistan-unable-to-properly-track-pay-police/>

⁷⁹ Jonathan Z Ludwig, 396

Afghanistan mineral resources.⁸⁰ Chinese concern to internal security has two dimensions. First is Xinjiang province where Muslim population and Uyghur separatists are settled and second is shared border with Pakistan because Uyghur's radicals are trained in Pakistani tribal belt.⁸¹ It is a serious threat for China because both neighbors have political instability and Islamic radical groups who are active there. Consequently, small chaos can provoke Islamic separatism of Xinjiang province against government.⁸²

Furthermore, Ghani undertaken to secure Wakhan corridor, he granted Afghanistan will not support Uyghur separatism because China is worried about security of this place. Following, Afghanistan recent news announced that they arrested fifteen Uyghur in Kabul and Kunar provinces of Afghanistan. They were trained by Taliban and had aim to attack on China. This event warned China to have serious concerns about terrorism and radical groups in its frontiers as well as security of Afghanistan.⁸³ Beijing's concern is to secure shared frontiers with Central Asian states through trade development and infrastructure. Hence, China can achieve cooperation of Central Asian states regarding radical groups which strengthens Sino-Central Asian economics trade.⁸⁴ Therefore, China encourages Afghanistan to participate in regional Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) that is useful for future expansion of Afghanistan through bilateral "strategic

⁸⁰ Ambrish Dhaka, "Factoring Central Asia into China's Afghanistan policy.98

⁸¹ Gerald Segal, "China and Afghanistan" China's Interests, Stances and Perspectives", *University of California Press* (1981), 5-20. http://csis.org/files/publication/120322_Zhao_ChinaAfghan_web.pdf

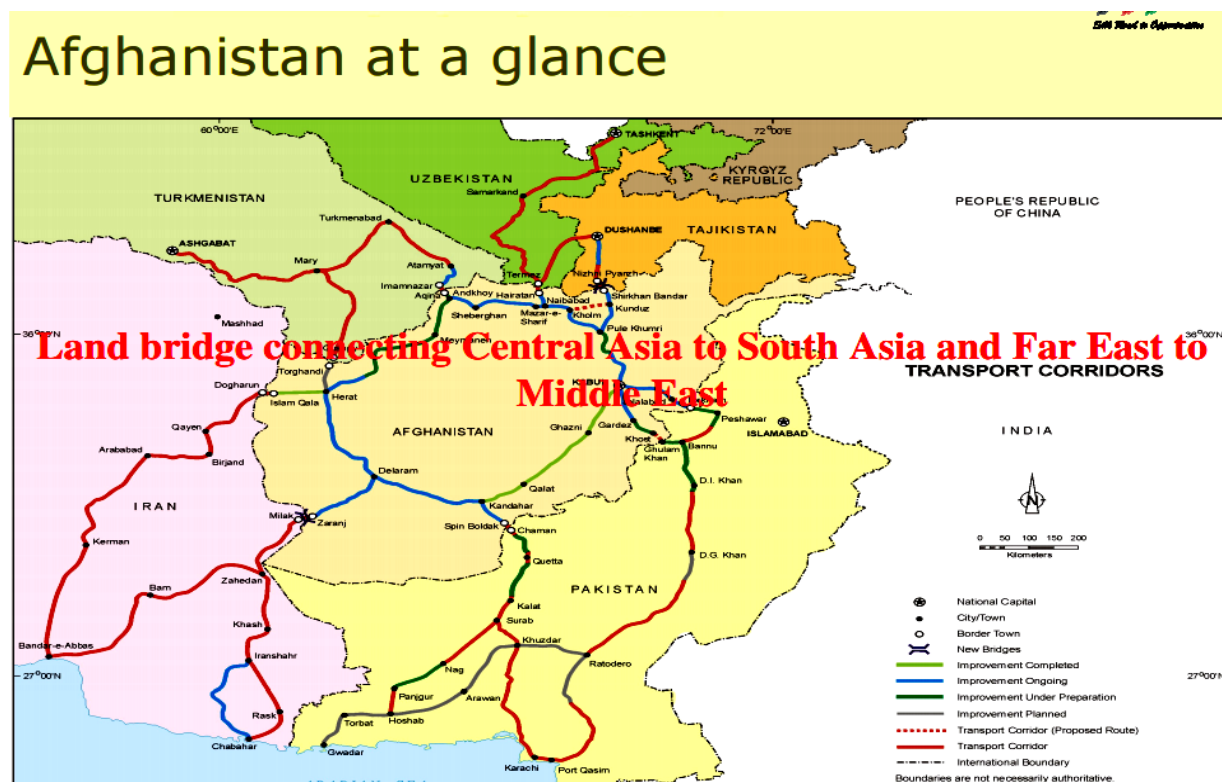
⁸² Edeard Wong, "Exploring a New Role: Peacemaker in Afghanistan." *New York Times* (2015), *Asia Pacific/ Memo from China*, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/01/14/world/asia/exploring-a-new-role-peacemaker-in-afghanistan.html>

⁸³ Raffaello Pantucci, "WILL CHINA BRING PEACE TO AFGHNAISTAN," *RUSI News Brief*, (February 27, 2015). <http://chinaincentralasia.com/2015/03/08/will-china-bring-peace-to-afghanistan/>

⁸⁴ Michael Clarke, "China's Strategy in "Greater Central Asia": Is Afghanistan the Missing Link?," *Asian Affairs: An American Review* Routledge. print/ 1940-1990,(2013): 3
<http://ldb.auca.kg:2686/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=7&sid=3f06ff94-4ceb-41bb-a332-156409e4d3f3%40sessionmgr4002&hid=4202>

partnership” in 2012.⁸⁵ Because of China’s encouragement, Afghanistan is an official observer in the SCO.

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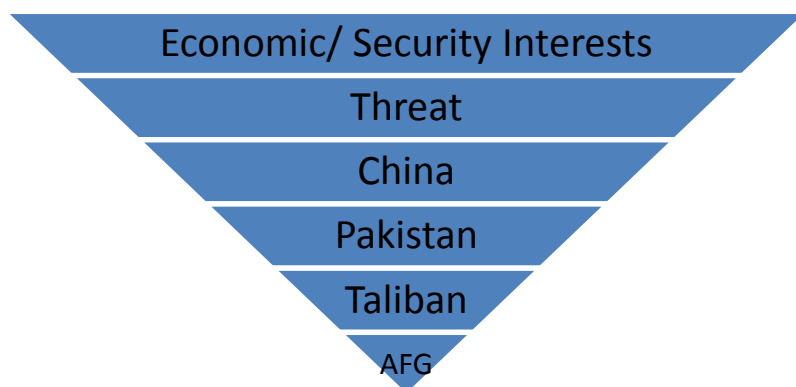
⁸⁵ Zhao Hong, 15-30

⁸⁶ “Band,” *Afghanistan at a Glance*. (Kabul, Afghanistan, Afghan Investment Support Agency, NA). Accessed: 12. April 2015 <http://www.aisa.org.af/presentations/InvestingOpportunitiesAfganistan.pdf>

Chapter III

India and China's Approaches to Pakistan

India and China's attempt for security building in Afghanistan is not sufficient, if Pakistan does not contribute in the process. Both New Delhi and Beijing know their policies are applicable when Afghanistan is secure and security of Afghanistan is security of the region. Secondly, they know the only threat to Afghanistan is Taliban which has haven in Pakistan since 1994 up to the present. Third, they are aware that weak government of Afghanistan is not overcome on security challenges because of weak economy and weak economy brings low security. Consequently, the key country to provide security in Afghanistan is Pakistan. On the other hand, Pakistan has enmity with India and Taliban is a threat for India which advances Pakistan. Accordingly, China is the second key that has long close ties with Pakistan. It can use of its close relations to convinces Pakistan to support peace process. Hence, Pakistan imposes pressure on Taliban to start peace negotiation which benefits all. The below triangle shows inter relations of elements in the security issue.



Afghanistan will not grow, if it does not gain security first. Answer to the security dilemma is Pakistan. Beijing and New Delhi approaches are Pakistan's role in security building of

Afghanistan which guarantees security in the region. Pakistan is well aware of its vital role in the peace building process of Afghanistan. This advantage made Pakistan to play double game to take benefit. Pakistan perceives rivalry with India which calls it “strategic depth” against India.⁸⁷ The simplification of concept is India’s ability for long term relations with Afghanistan concluded Pakistani aided and encouraged Taliban triumphs in 1996. Hence, Taliban’s victory gave chance to Pakistan to establish politico military for long period goals against India through Afghanistan. Further, it has requested precondition for its contribution in security building that Kabul should deny India over Pakistan. It has ambition to gain influence in foreign policy of Afghanistan especially regarding India. It uses the Taliban as a strategic instrument for its political purpose to impose threat over India and uses Afghanistan as ground of the game. This feature made it a big regional player.⁸⁸ Accordingly, the Taliban fighters and other terrorist groups receive support from Pakistan to increase activities in Afghanistan since 2004.⁸⁹ Likewise, Taliban also receive training in Pakistani camps and Inter-Services Intelligent (ISI) provides financial, military and logistics support to cover operations in Afghanistan.⁹⁰ Consequently, return of the Taliban after 2014 is a probability that imposes a serious threat to Afghanistan and the rest of regional states.⁹¹ Therefore, Pakistan’s honest engagement is essential to build security of Afghanistan, Southeast Asia and Central Asia. Accordingly, India and China need Pakistan to make a security triangle. However, unstable nature of politics makes it difficult to predict whether Pakistan is willing to participate in security building process in Afghanistan with presence of India or not.

⁸⁷ Ibid. Sumit, Ganguly & Nicholas 2

⁸⁸ Ibid. Harsh V. Pant. P 4

⁸⁹ Ibid. C. Christine Fair. 3

⁹⁰ Harsh V. Pant, 5

On the other hand, Afghan's officials blame Pakistan as the main source of threat and explosions.⁹² In response, Pakistan condemns Afghanistan for inability to protect its border and prevent terrorist entrance across boundary. There is an interview with Pervez Musharraf, the former Pakistani military ruler, published by Guardian News.

Musharraf said, "I admitted that when we were in the power, Pakistan sought to undermine the government of former Afghan president Hamid Karzai because Karzai had helped India stab Pakistan in the back."⁹³ We were supporting Taliban as a strategic apparatus against India because president Karzai preferred India to Pakistan."⁹⁴

Buzan's security theory proves it, because state is self-interest and autonomous to act differently because of its self-protection.⁹⁵ This theory indicates each state considers its security above all other things. However, according to the current issues and previous experiences that Afghanistan had with Pakistan it is hard to believe Pakistan honestly contributes to peace process faithfully. The ongoing political events confirm deep hostility of Pakistan and India as another big challenge for Afghanistan that neither it can solve nor it can escape of this plight.

Pakistan's unwillingness to participate in peace process leads one to believe it is the only country that receives benefit from insecure Afghanistan. First, Pakistan knows stability in Afghanistan

⁹² "Afghan official blames Pakistan for insecurity", *Gulf News*, (19 April, 2015). Accessed Date: 19, April, 2015 <http://gulfnews.com/news/asia/afghanistan/afghan-official-blames-pakistan-for-insecurity-1.250420>

⁹³ Jon Boone, "Musharraf: Pakistan and India's backing for proxies in Afghanistan" *The Guardian*. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/feb/13/pervez-musharraf-pakistan-india-proxies-afghanistan-ghani-taliban>

⁹⁴ Jon Boone, "Musharraf: Pakistan and India's backing for proxies in Afghanistan", *The Guardian*, (13, February 2015). <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/feb/13/pervez-musharraf-pakistan-india-proxies-afghanistan-ghani-taliban>

⁹⁵ Ibid. Jon Boone

secure India's border which is not pleasant for Pakistan to see its historical enemy secure. Second, the Taliban emerged from Pakistan and still it is growing there which means it is strategic instrument of Pakistan. Third, If Pakistan is not able to destroy the Taliban it should demand support of international communities.

Beijing has taken active role for security building in Afghanistan after NATO pulled out in the beginning of 2015. Afghanistan's president Ashraf Ghani chose China as the best and the first country for Afghanistan's economic development in his first visit to China. The purpose of his trip was diplomatic relationship with his counterpart on 28 October 2014.⁹⁶ Accordingly, on 9 February 2015, China's assistant foreign minister, Mr. Liu Jianchao joined his counterparts in Pakistan and Afghanistan in Kabul for the first round of a new trilateral strategic dialogue. The participants of dialogue were among high range of officials Mr. Liu, Pakistani Foreign Secretary Aziz Ahmad Chaudhury and Afghan Deputy Foreign Minister Hekmat Khalil Karzai presented a brief expectation of trilateral cooperation between these countries could apply for Afghan stability. In this meeting all the attendees once more "reaffirmed the commitment to peace and stability of Afghanistan and the region". Although the main goal of the dialogue was on security issues but most focused on the economic sphere which China is more comfortable with. In this dialogue China promised to build a hydro-electric dam on Kunar River of Afghanistan and it will construct a new road and railroad. The Kunar dam will be constructed in Afghanistan which is close to Pakistan's border. It connects Afghanistan and Pakistan and the advantage of Kunar dam is providing electricity for both countries. China took mediator's role in the meeting to strengthen Afghanistan and Pakistan's relations. Moreover, Kabul expects China's uses of its bilateral relations with Pakistan to convince Pakistan towards security building by persuading the Taliban

⁹⁶ Ibid. Jon Boone

for negotiation and unity with Afghan government. Similarly, last year Beijing invited representative of the Taliban for negotiations and this year China will host” the Heart of Asia Istanbul Conference” on October 31. Furthermore, all the regional countries will discuss the promotion of Afghan national settlement and diplomatic reconstruction.⁹⁷ The result of the meeting was promoting security, increasing economic investments dialogue and deal with terrorism and jihadist groups.⁹⁸ China attempts to impose pressure on Pakistan and Pakistan forces the Taliban for having a peaceful reconciliation. Surprisingly, after long term neutral diplomatic relationships, China felt its vital position in peace process after NATO withdrawal in 2014 from Afghanistan in the agenda issues. Beijing predicts gap may bring insecurity in the region which will provoke Uighur separatism to act against government. China finally decided to take role in future of Afghanistan despite Chinese noninterference policy.⁹⁹ Additionally, Ghani’s visit from Pakistan and Saudi Arabia made the situation favorable for Pakistan and China which are two allies of Pakistan. Ghani’s trip gave credit to Pakistan and isolates India as one of the major donor in Afghanistan since 2001. China’s main intent is to improve relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan to gain more leverage on India. India and Afghanistan’ close relations speed up the peace process. China’s new policy approach is undertaking role of peacemaker through influence in Pakistan and encourage Pakistan to help Afghanistan in peace process.¹⁰⁰ China strengthens its relations with Pakistan as its strong ties because China and Pakistan have

⁹⁷ Ayaz Gul, “Afghanistan’s Ghani Visits China in First Official Trip” *Voice of America* (October 28, 2014), Accessed: 6 December 2014 <http://www.voanews.com/content/afghanistan-ghani-visits-china-first-official-trip/2498852.html>

⁹⁸ Shannon Tiezzi, “The China-Pakistan Alliance: The Key to Afghan Stability?,” *The Diplomat*, (Feb 11, 2015). <http://thediplomat.com/2015/02/the-china-pakistan-alliance-the-key-to-afghan-stability/>

⁹⁹ Raffaello Pantucci, “WILL CHINA BRING PEACE TO AFGHANISTAN,” *RUSI News brief*, (Feb 27, 2015). <http://chinaincentralasia.com/2015/03/08/will-china-bring-peace-to-afghanistan/>

¹⁰⁰ Harsh V. Pant, “India in Afghanistan: a test case for a rising power,” *Contemporary South Asia*,” (Vol.18.No.2(2010,). 135. <http://www.meforum.org/2895/india-afghanistan>

shared six nuclear power projects in Pakistan.¹⁰¹ It indicates their common goals and long term bilateral relationships.

India's policy approaches after 2014 remained unclear because India's big humanitarian assistance, construction projects and investment in Afghanistan were ignored by Ghani's pro-Pakistan policy. Ghani had trip to China, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia but not yet to India. India's position is now more vulnerable because two shared border neighbors Pakistan and China are against India and new Afghan government chose these two countries for economic development and security building.¹⁰²

Ghani's renewing ties with Pakistan locked Indian influence in Afghanistan which is unexpected situation for India. Afghanistan's chief executive Abdullah Abdullah from Northern Alliance had private visit with New Delhi on March 15 with the goal of ensuring India that increase of diplomatic relations with Pakistan will not harm India and Afghanistan's long term friendly relations. He added, Afghan government is looking for a stable peace process with Pakistan.¹⁰³ Likewise, Sonapat reported; India is preparing to host Afghanistan's president Ghani in his first trip to the India in the month of April.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ Roshan Joshi, "China, Pakistan, and Nuclear Non-Proliferation," *The Diplomat* (Feb 16, 2015). <http://thediplomat.com/2015/02/china-pakistan-and-nuclear-non-proliferation/>

¹⁰² Bengali," Shashnak Afghan President Ashraf Ghani in Pakistan to repair ties," *Los Angeles Times*. Nov14, 2014. <http://touch.latimes.com/#section/-1/article/p2p-81971976/>

¹⁰³ Roen Rahnosh, "Increase of Relations with Pakistan will not harm relations with India," *KHAAMA Press*. (15 March, 2015). <http://www.khaama.com/persian/archives/24288>

¹⁰⁴ Elizabeth Roche, "New Delhi to host Afghanistan President Ashraf Ghani in April," *Live mint* (16 March, 2015). <http://www.livemint.com/Politics/bo05Wv1dEOAvNzGyjeWE2L/New-Delhi-to-host-Afghanistan-President-Ashraf-Ghani-in-April.html>

Overall, security of Afghanistan is the main aim of India and China as a common goal. It calls their regional cooperation. These two states more than all the regional states will benefit from a strong Afghanistan rather than a fragile one.

New Delhi and Beijing Policies toward Afghanistan post-2014

Beijing has taken active role for security building in Afghanistan after NATO pulled out in the beginning of 2015. Afghanistan's new president Ashraf Ghani choice China for Afghanistan's economic development in his first visit. The purpose of his trip was diplomatic relationship with his counterpart on 28, October, 2014.¹⁰⁵ Accordingly, on 9 February 2015, China's assistant foreign minister, Mr. Liu Jianchao joined to his counterparts Pakistan and Afghanistan in Kabul for the first round of a new trilateral strategic dialogue. The participants of dialogue were among high range of officials Mr. Liu, Pakistani Foreign Secretary Aziz Ahmad Chaudhury and Afghan Deputy Foreign Minister Hekmat Khalil Karzai presented a brief expectation of what trilateral cooperation between these countries could apply for Afghanistan stability. The participants "reaffirmed the commitment to peace and stability of Afghanistan and the region". Although the purpose of the dialogue was on security reason but most focused on the economic sphere which China is more comfortable with. China promised to build a hydro-electric dam on Kunar River of Afghanistan and it will construct a new road and railroad. The Kunar dam will be constructed in Afghanistan which is close to Pakistan's border. It connects Afghanistan and Pakistan and the advantage of Kunar dam is providing electricity for both countries. China took mediator's role in the meeting to strengthen Afghanistan and Pakistan's relations. Further, Kabul expects China uses of its bilateral relations with Pakistan and convinces

¹⁰⁵ Jon Boone, "Musharraf: Pakistan and India's backing for proxies in Afghanistan," *The Guardian* (13, February 2015). <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/feb/13/pervez-musharraf-pakistan-india-proxies-afghanistan-ghani-taliban>

Pakistan towards security building by persuading the Taliban for negotiation and unity with Afghan government. Similarly, last year Beijing invited representative of the Taliban for negotiations and this year China host the "Heart of Asia Istanbul Conference" on October 31. Hence, China already started its effort toward peace process. The result of the meeting was promoting security, increasing economic investments dialogue and deal with terrorism and jihadist groups.¹⁰⁶ China attempts to impose pressure on Pakistan and Pakistan forces the Taliban for having a peaceful reconciliation. After long term neutrality diplomatic relationships, China felt its major position in peace process after NATO withdrawal in 2014 in the agenda issues. Beijing fears gap may bring insecurity in the region which will provoke Uighur separatism to act against its government.

It is surprising that China finally decided to take role in future of Afghanistan despite of Chinese noninterference policy.¹⁰⁷ It happens because China feels increasingly responsible as regional actor to undertake security provider. Accordingly, China's president with his Pakistani ties made an agreement to support peace process in Afghanistan.¹⁰⁸ Mr. Xi Jinping in order to grantee support of Pakistan in the peace process; he promised \$28 billion investments in Pakistan which oblige Pakistan to concern about China's effort in security of its frontiers and the region.¹⁰⁹ It sees Afghanistan situation did not improved on the other side terrorist groups increased in the

¹⁰⁶ Shannon Tiezzi, "The China-Pakistan Alliance: The Key to Afghan Stability?," *The Diplomat*. (Feb 11, 2015). <http://thediplomat.com/2015/02/the-china-pakistan-alliance-the-key-to-afghan-stability/>

¹⁰⁷ Raffaello Pantucci, "WILL CHINA BRING PEACE TO AFGHANISTAN," *RUSI News brief*, (Feb 27, 2015). <http://chinaincentralasia.com/2015/03/08/will-china-bring-peace-to-afghanistan/>

¹⁰⁸ Shakeela Ibrahimkhail, "China, Pakistan Reaffirm Support for Afghan Peace Process," *TOLO NEWS*, 22.April.2015 <http://www.tolonews.com/en/afghanistan/19169-china-pakistan-reaffirm-support-for-afghan-peace-process>

¹⁰⁹ Shannon Tiezzi, "Can China's Investments Bring Peace in Pakistan," *The Diplomat*, 21. Apr.2015 <http://thediplomat.com/2015/04/can-chinas-investments-bring-peace-to-pakistan/>

Middle East. According to security theory by Buzan state must be careful and act according to situation and other actors actions to maintain its security.

Moreover, Ghani's visit from Pakistan and Saudi Arabia made the situation favorable for Pakistan and China. China and Saudi Arabia are two allies of Pakistan. Ghani's trip gave credit to Pakistan and isolates India as one of the major donor of Afghanistan since 2001. China's main intent is to get close Pakistan and Afghanistan that is leverage on India. China's new policy approaches is undertaking role of peacemaker through influence in Pakistan and encouraging Pakistan to help Afghanistan in peace process building. China's national goals are achievable in secure and stable Afghanistan which provokes it to be more proactive.¹¹⁰ China strengthens its relations with Pakistan as its strong ties because China and Pakistan have shared six nuclear power projects in Pakistan.¹¹¹ It is example of their common goals and long term bilateral relationships.

In contrast, India's policy approaches after 2014 left closed because India's multi-construction projects and investments in Afghanistan ignored by Ghani's pro-Pakistan policy. Ghani has choice Pakistan as the key security player in Afghanistan. He had trip to China, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia but not to India yet. India's position is now more vulnerable because two shared border neighbors Pakistan and China are against India and new Afghan government choice these two countries for economic development and security building. The only credit of India is that

¹¹⁰ Harsh V. Pant, "India in Afghanistan: a test case for a rising power?," *Contemporary South Asia: Vol.18.No.2*(2010) 135. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09584931003674984#.VTZRF9Kqqko>

¹¹¹ Roshan Joshi, "China, Pakistan, and Nuclear Non-Proliferation," *The Diplomat* (Feb 16, 2015). <http://thediplomat.com/2015/02/china-pakistan-and-nuclear-non-proliferation/>

Afghan citizens have positive image of India and distrustful attitude toward Pakistan.¹¹² Accordingly, India's policy after 2014 is not much dynamic as China and Pakistan. New Delhi now thinks how to solve the puzzle and get rid of Pakistan enmity. Despite Afghanistan's chief executive Abdullah Abdullah from Northern Alliance had private visit from Delhi on 15 of March. His goal was to ensure India that increase of diplomatic relations with Pakistan will not harm to India and Afghanistan's long term friendly relations. He added, Afghan government is looking for a stable peace process with Pakistan.¹¹³

Overall, security of Afghanistan is the common goal of India and China. Security dilemma of Afghanistan requires regional participation of all states. Consequently, all the regional states receive benefit of strong Afghanistan rather than fragile and unsecure.

¹¹² Shashnak Bengali, "Afghan President Ashraf Ghani in Pakistan to repair ties," *Los Angeles Times*, (Nov 14, 2014). <http://touch.latimes.com/#section/-1/article/p2p-81971976/>

¹¹³ Roeeen Rahnosh, "Increase of Relations with Pakistan will not harm relations with India," *Khama Press* (15 March, 2015). <http://www.khaama.com/persian/archives/24288>

Conclusion

Generally, India and China's foreign policies toward Afghanistan are according to their main relational and grand strategy policies. In fact, their incentives toward Afghanistan are according to their main policies that have focus on economic and security spheres. Importantly, policies of both countries maximize freedom of action and expand accessible options for states to achieve their desires. These policies maximize economic growth and allow the state to extend influence in neighborhood for security matter and hegemony in the region. Both states prefer to use of soft power which is more effectual and influential. However, often economic and security interests force states to get engage in political and military spheres despite its main doctrine like China did toward Afghanistan in the 2015. Likewise, security of the state has priority above other things as Buzan describes in his book about security theory. The focuses of their policies are making balance between internal and external powers in the two areas of economics and security. Therefore, states minimize weakness and increases economic and political achievements to be in the list of powerful states in international system.

Furthermore, in response to the question whether economic and security interests of India and China have positive effect on Afghanistan's situation, this research has proved that both economic an security interests of these two states have a positive effect on Afghanistan's situation. As India and China have planned to improve Afghanistan's economy through diversification of trade and making it a transit hub in Southeast Asia. Afghanistan is a suitable place for trade and transit of energy. Accordingly, they have initiated several investments projects such as Hajigak mining project in Bamyan and Mes Aynak in Logar provinces, but the main obstacle is insecurity that interrupts implementing of the projects. India has many active companies in Afghanistan with good achievements for instance Delaram-Zaranj project

connected eastern part of Afghanistan to the sea through Iran which is more convenient-trade route for India and Afghanistan than trade through Karachi in Pakistan. The second project of India is Iran's Chabahar port, which links Afghanistan to India that facilitates India-Afghanistan's trade. This project will be constructed in competition with China's deep water-port in Gwadar. Gwadar is an open door to the world market and Central Asian resources.

Regarding to the security sphere India controls movement of regional actors, those are interested in Afghanistan. Therefore, it endeavors to monitor land routes and maritime ports to keep its security between competitors. Moreover, its goals are to be regional actor and play active role in providing security in the region. Likewise, China's aims are to be economic dominant and power influence in the region. China's policy is establishing good relations with its neighbors to diversify economic growth and maintain security of the state. China seriously concerns to prevent the West not influence in the region and it needs Indian Ocean for trade in region.

Further, President Ghani nominated China as the first and the biggest economic investor in Afghanistan. Obviously, China's aim is strengthening its security to keep control over Uyghur separatism and extremism population in Xinjiang province and near Karakoram Pass, where China shared lengthy border with Pakistan. These are very sensitive areas for separatist and terrorists groups. Thus, security theory explains state is so conscious towards maintaining its security.

Finally, there is a question which of the two countries has the best position to play the role of security and economic benefactor in Afghanistan after NATO withdrawal; in response both countries have approached Pakistan to build security in Afghanistan because of the Taliban. Since Pakistan has historical rivalry with India and close ties with China therefore, China is the

main actor along with Pakistan to provide security of Afghanistan. Secondly, Ghani called upon Pakistan as the key country that can play a major role in security building of Afghanistan. He expects China to persuade Pakistan in peace building process of Afghanistan. China and Pakistan are the two competitors of India that received the significant role in peace negotiation of Afghanistan by Ghani's policy.

Moreover, India and China realized that more investments are ineffective without security in Afghanistan. However, China from early 2015 after NATO pulled out has been playing active role in Afghanistan's peace process despite of non-military intervene doctrine, but it is not sufficient if Pakistan does not collaborate in the process. On the other side, Pakistan as usual promised to contribute in the peace building but it did not take any action to fulfill its promises yet. China and India see their economics and security benefits through strong and stable Afghanistan.

Lastly, both India and China endeavor to achieve goals of their main policies relational and grand strategy, which encompass a series of economic and geopolitical interests with securing Afghanistan. Therefore, both countries attempt to invest in Afghanistan, which improves Afghanistan's economy; thus, strong economy makes Afghan government able to spend on security forces. This provides security and diversification of the region.

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