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編輯報告

特刊第三十四期《中亞區域安全》延續特刊第十八期《中國西進》 的主題,共收錄六篇文章,探討烏克蘭戰爭爆發後,強權此消彼長的競 逐遞嬗,以及分析中亞區域安全個別相關議題。

前三篇文章以較寬廣宏觀的角度,分別討論烏克蘭戰爭爆發後,中亞地緣政經局勢的變遷,以及俄羅斯與中國現在對中亞的政策走勢。首先,李哲全的〈俄烏戰爭爆發以來的中亞地緣政治情勢〉介紹俄羅斯陷入烏克蘭戰爭後,中亞國家以「再出口」方式暗助遭到制裁的俄羅斯,並且中國藉機向西擴張的情勢發展。劉蕭翔的〈俄羅斯中亞政策展望〉則緊盯俄羅斯當前對中亞的政策,描述西方國家沒有能夠透過經濟制裁將中亞國家拉離俄羅斯,反而使中亞經濟意外受惠於烏克蘭戰爭。曾怡碩〈中國對中亞政經社會影響力〉討論中國當前在中亞地區擴張影響力,從經濟投資作為起點,並嘗試向社會草根往下擴張,鯨吞蠶食的情勢。

後三篇文章則深入檢討個別議題,彰顯這個地區的多樣複雜性。沈明室〈美國撤軍行動後中國與阿富汗塔利班政府的關係〉一文認爲,中國現在與阿富汗的關係主要爲求填補美國撤軍後的中亞地區權力真空,但是由於阿富汗境內不確定變數太多,中國投資與介入意願仍然不清。 Chukubayev Yermek 與 Kuzembayeva Assiya 兩位哈薩克學者討論〈哈薩克外交與安全政策演變因素〉,強調哈薩克在外交與國家安全政策上非常務實與彈性,同時分析無法切斷與俄羅斯軍事合作的背景,以及當前中國投資帶來的另一種不平等關係。侍建宇則扣緊〈新疆自由貿易試驗區是「再教育營 2.0」?一設立目的與對中亞經濟安全的影響〉,認爲新疆生產建設兵團現在是中國「同化」新疆突厥裔民族的基礎,並逐漸轉化成加工出口與自貿區的城鎮,伺機向中亞攫取市場與資源。

可能諱於以色列與哈瑪斯的戰爭,美國原來重返中亞的計畫現在被 干擾中斷。未來希望能進一步探討美國、歐盟與其他世界強權在中亞區 域的角色演變,甚至如何可能牽動台灣外交與安全相關的議題。

俄烏戰爭爆發以來的中亞地緣政治情勢

李哲全

國家安全研究所

壹、前言

俄烏戰爭爆發後,莫斯科未能迅速攻下基輔,反而陷入戰爭的泥淖。 北京並未公開支持莫斯科,而是採取相對低調的「親俄中立」立場。中 亞五國的地緣政治情勢,似乎也出現微妙的變化。本文將從俄烏戰爭爆 發後,「上海合作組織」的發展、中亞五國對俄羅斯與周邊國家的態度, 以及中國在中亞地區的影響力擴張等角度切入,簡要分析俄烏戰爭爆發 以來,中亞地緣政治情勢的變化。

貳、上海合作組織近期發展

俄羅斯入侵烏克蘭後,受到美歐強力經濟制裁。中國、印度、伊朗 等國家,被視爲俄羅斯因應西方壓力的關鍵夥伴。「上海合作組織」(以 下稱上合組織)作爲涵蓋中、俄、中亞四國及印度、巴基斯坦、伊朗(今 年加入)的國際組織,其發展情勢至少有以下幾點值得關注。

一、成員國與對話夥伴國擴增

俄烏戰爭爆發後,上合組織的成員出現了若干變化。包括 2022 年 9 月,上合組織峰會同意接受伊朗爲成員國,並啓動白俄羅斯加入程序。今年 7 月,伊朗正式成爲新成員,白俄羅斯則預計於 2024 年正式成爲會員國。此外,在中國斡旋下,斷交七年的伊朗與沙鳥地阿拉伯於今年 3 月 10 日宣布恢復邦交。3 月底,沙國國王批准沙國加入上合組織成爲對話夥伴國,並在 5 月獲得對話夥伴國地位。

伊朗成爲上合組織成員國,被視爲該國與中國及俄羅斯強化關係, 走出國際孤立的一步。親俄的白俄羅斯若加入上合組織,可能也將加強 中、俄、伊朗集團的力量。但對話夥伴國中的沙鳥地阿拉伯、卡達、埃及,都與美國有密切的軍事聯繫。因此,上合組織成員國的擴增,是否將提升中俄在該組織的主導力量,甚至使其成爲更具凝聚力的國際組織,仍須進一步觀察。¹

二、提升本國貨幣跨境結算

近年來,由於美中競爭激化、美歐制裁俄國,以及許多國家對美國 升降息週期嚴重衝擊資產的疑慮,有愈來愈多國家採取行動降低對美元 的依賴,並形成國際間「去美元化」的趨勢。²

俄羅斯、伊朗因為遭到美國制裁,先後被迫退出 SWIFT 國際資金清算系統(Society for Worldwide Interbank Financial Tele-communication,中文譯為「環球銀行金融電信協會」)。為此,俄、伊兩國已將其金融清算系統對接(俄國系統為 Financial Messaging System of the Bank of Russia, SPFS;伊朗系統為 System for Electronic Payments Messaging, SEPAM),並以其國家貨幣進行交易。今年 5 月,俄羅斯副總理諾瓦克(Alexander Novak)稱兩國間貿易「大約 80% 的雙邊結算,是以國家貨幣里亞爾和盧布進行」。同樣地,俄烏戰爭爆發後,俄羅斯與中國的貿易以人民幣結算的比例也明顯增加。根據俄羅斯官方統計,人民幣在俄國外匯交易總量中所占比例已達到將近 40%。在俄烏戰前,人民幣只占 0.32%。3

^{1.}目前上合組織除了9個會員國外,還有白俄羅斯、阿富汗、蒙古等3個觀察員國,以及亞塞拜然、亞 美尼亞、柬埔寨、尼泊爾、斯里蘭卡、土耳其、埃及、沙鳥地阿拉伯、卡達、巴林、馬爾地夫、阿拉 伯聯合大公國、科威特、緬甸等14國對話夥伴國。

^{2.} 近期「去美元化」的行動或倡議頗多,但能否形成氣候撼動美元主導地位仍需觀察。例如,2022 年 11 月,印尼、馬來西亞、新加坡、菲律賓、泰國達成「東協跨境數位支付系統」合作協議。這套系統 於今年7月啓用,預計將擴大到東協十國。今年6月中旬,「亞洲清算聯盟」(Asia Clearing Union, ACU)宣布將使用伊朗的 SEPAM 來取代國際間主流的 SWIFT 系統,進行跨境結算,並規畫在未來 開發完成其專用的跨境結算系統。金磚國家則傳出發行共同貨幣的構想。另外,非洲和中南美洲多國、 歐亞經濟聯盟(EAEU)也都有去美元的行動。

^{3. 〈}中國跨境交易中人民幣使用率首次超過美元 離挑戰「美元霸權」有多遠?〉,《BBC 中文網》, 2023 年 4 月 28 日,https://reurl.cc/OjL27v。

今年7月,俄羅斯總統蒲亭(Vladimir Putin)在上合組織峰會演説中表示,中俄之間有超過80%的貿易以盧布和人民幣結算,並敦促其他上合組織成員國遵循同樣的進程。在上合組織峰會上,習近平和蒲亭都主張推動轉向能以本地貨幣結算外貿的體系,以減低對美元的依賴。上合組織峰會後發表的《新德里宣言》,也支持成員國落實擴大本幣結算比例。4

參、地緣政治與中亞五國

傳統上,中亞地區被視為是俄羅斯的「後院」。但俄烏戰爭爆發後, 俄國整體實力因美歐聯手制裁及戰場推進受阻而遭大幅削弱。俄羅斯在 對外貿易上,對中國的依賴明顯升高;在許多方面,也需要中亞五國的 支持。此一地緣政治變化,也為中亞五國帶來了戰略機遇。

一、經濟上暗助遭制裁的俄羅斯

入侵烏克蘭後,俄羅斯對歐洲的天然氣出口大幅減少。因此,要拓展新客户,勢必要與哈薩克及烏茲別克合作,借道兩國才能出口更多天然氣。俄羅斯也需要依靠途經哈薩克的石油管道,出口石油到中國。爲此,2022年12月,哈薩克與俄羅斯續約,允許俄羅斯繼續透過中哈石油管道,向中國出口石油(每年出口至多1,000萬噸),5有效期限至2034年。

^{4.} 近年已有多國與中國達成協議,同意在雙邊貿易中採用本國貨幣進行結算。中國官方統計顯示,今年4至6月,人民幣的跨境結算額已達1.51兆美元,同比增長11%;以美元結算的金額則為1.4兆美元,同比減少14%。人民幣的跨境結算額首度超過美元。但從全球金融體系來看,人民幣的國際化程度仍低。目前人民幣仍是全球第五大支付貨幣,也是第五大國際儲備貨幣。根據SWIFT的統計,截至2023年6月,在全球結算額份額中,美元以42.02%排在首位,人民幣以2.77%排在歐元、英鎊和日元之後。不過這與5年前的1.81%相比,已有相當提升。根據國際貨幣基金(IMF)統計,截至2022年底,美元在全球外匯儲備之占比為58%,之後是歐元(20%)、日元(5.5%)、英鎊(4.9%),人民幣占2.7%,排名第五。

^{5.2021}年,俄羅斯向中國出口了7,964萬噸石油。中國海關數據顯示,2022年中國從俄羅斯進口的原油 同比增長8%,達到8,625萬噸。

另一個觀察指標是俄烏戰爭開始後,2022年歐盟對俄出口較2021年減少47%,但對俄羅斯鄰國的貿易則增加48%;歐盟對俄羅斯出口受制裁商品數額減少72%,但對其鄰國出口同類商品卻增長95%。62022年俄羅斯從中亞國家進口的額度也出現大量增長,包括軍工設備及民生家用電子產品。《自由歐洲電台》的調查也發現,哈薩克、吉爾吉斯、烏茲別克將從第三國進口的商品「再出口」到俄羅斯,讓莫斯科得以繞過西方國家的部分制裁。

二、跨裏海國際運輸走廊崛起?

俄羅斯遭到美歐制裁後,經俄入歐的中蒙俄經濟走廊和新亞歐大陸 橋經濟走廊陷入「半癱瘓」狀態。起初,俄國希望透過其長期經營的「國 際南北運輸走廊」(International North-South Transport Corridor)(從 俄羅斯經亞塞拜然到伊朗),讓貨物正常運向麻六甲海峽、蘇伊士運河、 波斯灣,但因國際制裁伊朗,多數船隻無法進入伊朗的阿巴斯港,而無 法如願。

在此情勢下,2017年開發且使用量不高的「跨裏海國際運輸走廊」 (Trans-Caspian International Transport Corridor,或稱中間走廊)便成 爲中亞地區的首選運輸線。這條以哈薩克爲起點,橫跨裏海、黑海及波 羅的海三大海域,連結 9 個國家(中國、哈薩克、亞塞拜然、喬治亞、 土耳其、羅馬尼亞、烏克蘭、波蘭、芬蘭)的「L」型多國多式海陸聯運 (海路、鐵路、公路)機制,因不須經過俄羅斯,不受制裁影響,雖然

^{6.《}自由歐洲電台》吉爾吉斯分部 Azattyk 的調查,引述多個研究來源指出,2022 年 1 至 8 月,從哈薩克出口到俄羅斯的電視機、顯示器及投影機,暴增 312 倍,電腦則高達 215 倍,電話增長 88 倍。2022 年 1 至 9 月,烏茲別克向國外出口 13.6 萬部電視機,比去年增加 26.1%,其中有 7.3 萬出口到俄羅斯。2022 年 1 至 8 月,吉爾吉斯出口到俄羅斯的電子產品也大幅增加。請見 Vaidotas Zemlis-Balevi ius, "On EU Trade with Russia and Its Neighbours after Russian Invasion of Ukraine," vzemlys.github.io/ruimpeks, January 25, 2022, https://vzemlys.github.io/ruimpeks/eu_ru_trade. html:孫超群,〈去你的蘇聯夢?烏俄戰爭一年,中亞國家加速擺脱「俄勢力」〉,《聯合報》轉角國際,2023 年 2 月 21 日,https://reurl.cc/V4Q9LY。

運輸成本較高、港口老舊吃水不深,易受季節海象影響,但可讓區域國家在地緣政治、經濟上,與俄羅斯一定程度「脫鉤」,中國也可將其作爲通往歐亞大陸的運輸線。俄烏戰爭期間,這條運輸線的崛起,相當程度改變了中亞的地緣政治面貌。

三、哈薩克、烏茲別克對俄烏戰爭明確表態

俄烏戰爭爆發後,中亞五國當中,相對挺俄的是吉爾吉斯、塔吉克,但兩國仍避免談論戰爭。永久中立國土庫曼則未對戰爭表達立場。實力較強的哈薩克與烏茲別克,則對俄烏戰爭提出自己的看法。例如,2022年6月,哈薩克總統托卡耶夫(Kassym-Jomart Tokayev)在「聖彼得堡國際經濟論壇」上,直率表示哈國不會承認烏東兩國(盧甘斯克與頓內次克)。烏茲別克也要求俄羅斯立即停止在烏克蘭境內的敵對行動,並主張應通過政治、外交手段解決衝突。

四、與鄰近國家強化軍事安全合作

國力位居中亞五國之首的哈薩克,在俄烏戰爭爆發兩天之後,就與 土耳其簽署軍事合作計畫。2022年5月12日,哈國總統托卡耶夫訪土, 並與土國簽署多項軍事合作協定。5月11日,哈薩克下議院也批准哈國 與吉爾吉斯的軍事暨科技援助協定,規定吉國只能在安全理由下,使用 哈國提供的軍事設備,不得轉送第三方。

在近年多場戰爭中大出風頭的無人機,也成爲中亞國家的追逐重點。 2022年5月,哈薩克與土耳其航空航天公司(TUSA)簽署協議,將在哈薩克聯合生產土國 ANKA 武裝無人機及相關後勤支援服務系統。吉爾吉斯先後向土耳其拜卡防務公司(Baykar Defense)購買「旗手」TB2無人機(Bayraktar TB2)以及續航時間更長、酬載能力更強的「輕騎兵」(Akinci)雙引擎攻擊型無人機。塔吉克也在 2022年5月讓伊朗在塔國境內設廠生產伊朗的 Ababil-2 武裝無人機。

肆、中國在中亞的影響力擴張

中亞五國的地理位置,對中國西進而言非常重要。中國與歐洲的商品貿易、中東石油輸往中國,都必須依賴途經中亞的貿易通道。隨著美中對立激化、中俄實質結盟及莫斯科對中國的依賴升高,俄羅斯已默許「中吉烏鐵路」開工,中國也伺機強化與中亞國家的交往,並在今年5月首度召開「中國+中亞五國」領袖峰會。

一、俄羅斯對中國依賴加深

根據美國華府「自由俄羅斯基金」(Free Russia Foundation)報告,俄烏開戰不到半年,中國已成爲俄國最重要的貿易夥伴。俄羅斯有 36% 進口來自中國,其中有不少是受制裁產品,例如半導體、微型晶片等等。中國海關總署統計也顯示,2022 年俄中貿易總額達到創紀錄的 1,902.71 億美元。2023 年前三季兩國貿易額爲 1,764 億美元,較去年同期成長 29.5%(俄國自中國進口 814 億美元,成長 56.9%;出口至中國 949 億美元,成長 12.7%)。原本預計在 2024 年達到雙邊貿易額 2,000 億美元的目標,將可在 2023 年底提前實現。7

《彭博社》也揭露,2022年夏天,俄羅斯數位發展、電信暨大眾傳播部一份內部報告指出,因俄羅斯通訊技術不夠先進,華爲等中國公司可能會攻佔俄羅斯市場,其晶片、網絡設備和電子產品可能對俄羅斯的資訊安全和網絡構成風險。美國中情局局長伯恩斯(William Burns)也公開警告,由於俄羅斯越來越依賴對中國的能源與原物料出口,「從某些角度來看,長遠來說,俄羅斯可能有變成中國經濟殖民地的風險」。8

^{7. 〈}俄中本 (2023) 年前 3 季雙邊貿易額持續成長〉,《經濟部國際貿易署》,2023 年 10 月 13 日, https://reurl.cc/0ZlAyb。

^{8.} Alberto Nardelli, "Russian Memo Said War Leaves Moscow Too Reliant on Chinese Tech," *Bloomberg*, April 18, 2023, https://reurl.cc/NyLkj9; "CIA's Burns Says Russia Risks Becoming 'Rconomic Colony' of China," *Reuters*, April 12, 2023, https://reurl.cc/v64lk1.

二、中國召開 C5+1 高峰會與第三屆「一帶一路高峰論壇」

過去中國在中亞建有「四國機制」(中國、阿富汗、巴基斯坦、塔吉克四國的反恐合作機制)、「五加一外長會議」兩個排除俄羅斯參與的區域多邊機制。為表示對中亞的重視並擴大交往,習近平在 2022 年 9 月訪問哈薩克。這是自 2020 年新冠肺炎疫情爆發以來,習近平首次出國訪問。

今年5月18至19日,中國在西安(古代絲綢之路的起點)舉行與中亞五國領導人(C5+1)的首度峰會。習近平親自主持峰會,中亞五國元首全數到齊,並表示對「一帶一路」的支持、力挺習近平的「全球發展倡議」、「全球安全倡議」、「全球文明倡議」、支持拓展中國一中亞機制。六國元首簽署了《中國一中亞峰會西安宣言》,並通過《中國一中亞峰會成果清單》,中國與中亞五國共簽署100多份各領域合作協議。

10月17至18日,北京舉行第三屆「一帶一路國際合作高峰論壇」。習近平先後會見出席論壇的哈薩克總統托卡耶夫、烏茲別克總統米爾濟約耶夫(Shavkat Mirziyoyev),以及土庫曼斯坦民族領袖、人民委員會主席別爾德穆哈梅多夫(Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedow)。因爲侵烏而遭國際刑事法庭通緝的蒲亭,也出席了「一帶一路」峰會。他不僅參加開幕典禮發表演說,並與習近平進行長達3小時的會談,企圖藉此展現出他在西方圍堵下仍能與中國、亞洲、南美洲等新興國家領導人會晤,並攜手中國展現其全球影響力。

三、經營中亞確保中國邊境、能源與糧食安全

中亞五國中,哈薩克、吉爾吉斯、塔吉克三國與中國接壤。吉、塔兩國情勢較不穩定,對中國的邊境安全構成隱患。因此,中國對吉、塔兩國的軍援比例遠高於他國。中亞對中國另一地緣戰略價值,是近期以中國問題專家鄧聿文爲代表的「能源與糧食安全線」的觀點。鄧聿文從「西進戰略」的角度指出,若中國能鞏固經由中亞到中東,再連通歐洲

的陸路通道,將可破解美國對中國的海上圍堵。未來若台海爆發戰事,即使海上運輸受到美國封阻,只要中國能確保中東石油和非洲礦產持續運往中國,加上俄羅斯的石油與糧食,就無須擔心糧食與能源問題。9

此外,過去二十多年中國積極倡議,但遭俄羅斯、哈薩克反對(兩國認為這條鐵路一旦建成,貨品運輸將繞開俄、哈,並將使中亞門户大開,提供中國兵力長驅直入中亞的可能性)的「中國一吉爾吉斯—烏茲別克」鐵路線,已出現重大進展。俄烏戰爭開打後,或許爲了換取中國的支持及奧援,2022年5月,吉爾吉斯總統稱,莫斯科已不再對「中吉烏鐵路」持反對立場。2022年9月,中、吉、烏三方代表在上合組織峰會簽署「中吉烏鐵路」(China-Kyrgyzstan-Uzbekistan Railway,CKU)協議,預計於2023年下半年開工。

今年5月19日,在C5+1會議期間,三國宣布簽署《關於就中吉烏鐵路建設項目(吉境內段)可行性研究三方聯合評審達成共識的諒解備忘錄》,顯示中國境內及烏茲別克境內兩路段的可行性研究仍待評估。9月25日首度召開的「中國—中亞交通部長會議」(在北京召開)中,也繼續探討「中吉烏鐵路」問題。

伍、結語

中亞的地緣情勢正在出現變化。俄羅斯的力量遭到削弱,對中國的依賴加深,可能使俄中關係出現結構性改變。中亞五國在經貿上,以「再出口」的方式提供俄羅斯相當援助,但國力較強的哈薩克與烏茲別克已開始嘗試走自己的道路,中國也正在深化與中亞五國的合作。

美國當然看到了這一地緣情勢的變化。2022年5月,美國跨部會訪園出訪中亞四國(土庫曼除外)。今年2月底,國務卿布林肯(Antony Blinken)訪問中亞五國,並與五國外長會談。布林肯宣布在2022年

^{9.} 鄧聿文, 〈中國爲什麼重視中亞?〉, 《FT 中文網》, 2023 年 5 月 29 日, https://reurl.cc/1GqgvG。

美國承諾的 2,500 萬美元基礎上,再向中亞提供 2,000 萬美元,以強化 美國提出的「中亞經濟韌性倡議」(Economic Resilience Initiative in Central Asia, ERICEN),另提供 500 萬美元用於促進經濟貿易連結及 能源相關項目。9月 20日,美國總統拜登(Joe Biden)也在紐約聯合國 大會場邊首度與中亞五國領袖會談。但一般認爲,美國對中亞投入的經 濟資源與支持力度均有不足,短期內亦難以強化與中亞的軍事安全合作。

未來中國能否在不激怒俄羅斯下,逐漸取代俄羅斯在中亞的主導地位,成爲中亞最重要的外部力量,已成爲各國關切的焦點。中亞地緣政治情勢的變化,可能牽動大國競爭的格局,並影響中國的對外擴張野心,其未來發展值得我國持續關注。

本文作者李哲全爲美國南卡羅萊納大學國際關係博士,現爲財團法人國防安全研究院 國家安全研究所研究員。主要研究領域爲:美中台關係、兩岸關係、區域安全與國家 安全。

Geopolitical Situation in Central Asia since the Outbreak of the Russian-Ukrainian War

Che-Chuan Lee

Division of National Security Research

Abstract

After the outbreak of the Russian-Ukrainian war, and Moscow's fall into a quagmire, the geopolitical situation in Central Asia has changed significantly. It will be interesting to see the impact of the change in membership of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, which has added Iran as a full member this year, has Saudi Arabia, which has just resumed diplomatic relations with Iran, as a dialogue partner, and will welcome pro-Russian Belarus next year. It remains to be seen whether the cross-border settlement of national currencies promoted by the SCO will converge with similar initiatives by the ASEAN, the BRICS, African, and Central and South American countries, and thereby shake the dominance of the US dollar.

On the other hand, the geopolitical landscape of Central Asia has changed from the perspectives of secret aid through re-exports from Central Asian states to Russia, the increased importance of the "Trans-Caspian International Transport Corridor" that spans nine countries from east to west, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan's public statements on the Russian-Ukrainian war; and Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan's efforts trying to strengthen military and security cooperation with neighboring countries. At the same time, China's geopolitical influence in Central Asia is also expanding; it can be seen from Russia's growing economic dependence on China, the first leaders' summit between China and the five Central Asian countries, and the implementation of the China-Kyrgyzstan-Uzbekistan railway initiative, which has been proposed for decades. In the future, China's possible advance in Central Asia, and even

geographically, from Central Asia to the Middle East and Europe, deserves our continued attention.

Keywords: Geopolitics, Westbound Strategy, Central Asian situation

俄羅斯中亞政策展望

劉蕭翔

國家安全研究所

壹、前言

冷戰(Cold War)後中亞地緣政治出現權力真空,引起域外強權期 舰,然而中亞乃俄羅斯重大利益之所在,亦爲他日再起的重要憑藉,故 俄羅斯仍視之爲後院,除不欲他人染指外,更極力鞏固其於此間殘存的 影響力。中亞五國雖未能真正團結一致,卻也不願全然對俄羅斯就範, 更不時伺機確保自身的獨立自主。

惟俄羅斯與中亞的特殊歷史關係,復以地緣的鄰近,除讓中亞難以 擺脱俄羅斯外,俄羅斯亦不會輕言退出,將中亞地區拱手讓人。故本文 擬探究俄羅斯中亞政策近年面對的挑戰,並展望其未來。

貳、俄羅斯與中亞

冷戰後中亞「大博弈」(Great Game)再起,不同的是,美國取代此前英國的角色,而中亞國家雖已脫離蘇聯(Soviet Union)獨立逾三十年,作爲蘇聯繼承國的俄羅斯,卻仍認定中亞爲其後院與勢力範圍。儘管如此,蘇聯統治的遺產也未必一無是處,俄羅斯與中亞在許多領域因而有發展爲共同空間的潛力,端視俄羅斯如何消弭中亞國家的「恐俄症」(Russophobia)。地緣的鄰近在某種程度上讓俄羅斯與中亞成爲所謂的「命運共同體」,但中亞國家別無選擇的成分恐怕居多。

在經濟上,對中亞國家而言,俄羅斯是重要的過境空間,也是關鍵的貿易夥伴與投資者,更爲數以百萬計的中亞勞工提供就業機會。對俄羅斯而言,中亞既是俄國重要的市場,也是重要勞動力來源,更有尚待開發的過境轉運潛力。1 易言之,俄羅斯與中亞在經濟領域均爲對方不可或缺的重要夥伴。

在軍事上,中亞則是俄羅斯南疆的重要戰略防線。蓋俄國南疆與中亞邊界長達7,500公里,國內有12個地區與中亞接壤,又有西伯利亞大鐵路——此一重要交通動脈穿越俄國南部腹地。故減少第三國在中亞的軍事存在,乃俄羅斯於此間的政策重點,並藉由「集體安全條約組織」(Collective Security Treaty Organization, CSTO)鞏固俄國在中亞安全領域的影響力。2022年初「集體安全條約組織」在哈薩克的維和行動,即已證明自身實力,運用與否則端視俄國意願而定。2

在俄國官方定義裡,中亞乃前蘇聯加盟共和國——近鄰(near abroad)地區的一部分,故俄羅斯的中亞政策基本上從屬於其近鄰政策,旨在避免外來勢力分化區域成員與俄羅斯的關係,確保俄羅斯於此間安全的關鍵角色,以及推動歐亞政經一體化,從而鞏固俄羅斯作爲全球發展與文明有影響力的主權中心地位。隨著俄羅斯不被西方接納與關係生變,近鄰的地位也愈發重要,俄羅斯與中亞地區之間的合作機制亦在2023年3月新版《俄羅斯對外政策概念》(Russia's Foreign Policy Concept)文件裡被特別提及。惟其間視近鄰爲勢力範圍的心態仍展露無遺,作爲近鄰之一部的中亞亦擺脫不了後院的地位。3

俄羅斯視中亞爲其後院的心態,與地緣政治考量有關。中亞必須是 俄羅斯可恃的緩衝區,若不在其掌控下,俄國廣袤的南部腹地則猶如不 設防狀態,對俄人的心理壓力難以言喻。惟此亦僅是俄國單方面的考量, 未必能被中亞國家接受。強鄰在側,復以蘇聯統治陰霾猶未遠矣,如何

^{1.} 以國際南北運輸走廊(International North—South Transport Corridor, INSTC)為例,其不僅途經亞塞
拜然,未來還有可能延伸至土庫曼與哈薩克。此外,從中國到俄羅斯的貨物運輸已開始取道中哈鐵路,
這將有助於減輕西伯利亞大鐵路的負擔。哈薩克亦能運用鐵路將俄國的金屬和煤炭轉運出口至中國。參
見 Марсель Салихов, "Экономические связи Центральной Азии и России в эпоху глобальных перемен,"
Валдай Международный дискуссионный клуб, 23 мая 2023, https://ru.valdaiclub.com/a/highlights/ekonomicheskie-svyazi-tsentralnoy-azii-i-rossii/?ysclid=lkl30awa.

^{2.} Эрдэнэцогт Доржпалам, "Россия, Центральная Азия и ОДКБ," *Валдай Международный дискуссионный клуб*, 17 мая 2023, https://ru.valdaiclub.com/a/highlights/rossiya-tsentralnaya-aziya-i-odkb/.

^{3. &}quot;Указ об утверждении Концепции внешней политики Российской Федерации," *Президент России*, 31 марта 2023, http://kremlin.ru/events/president/news/70811.

確保自身的安全與發展一直是中亞國家重要的挑戰。適逢蘇聯解體後, 俄羅斯政經動盪國力下滑,域外強權趁機進入中亞,惟大國於此間的博 弈,對中亞國家卻不啻爲平衡俄國影響的助力。

參、俄鳥戰爭的衝擊

俄烏戰爭迄今已逾年半,不僅未見曙光,更演變爲消耗戰。期間, 以美國爲首的西方國家不僅軍援烏克蘭,還對俄羅斯祭出前所未見的經 濟制裁,欲使俄羅斯無力再戰,而讓戰爭儘早落幕。與俄羅斯有密切經 濟聯繫的中亞,也不意外地受到影響。

一、穩定中亞乃俄羅斯當務之急

在俄烏戰爭戰事未如預期後,俄羅斯總統普欽(Vladimir Putin)先於 2022 年 6 月出席裡海高峰會(Caspian Summit),並訪問土庫曼與塔吉克,後又於 9 月訪問烏茲別克與出席上海合作組織元首高峰會,10 月再出訪哈薩克,12 月時則訪問吉爾吉斯並出席歐亞經濟聯盟(Eurasian Economic Union, EAEU)高峰會。

2022年10月14日,莫斯科於俄羅斯與中亞五國建交30周年之際,在哈薩克首都阿斯塔納發起首屆俄羅斯—中亞領導人高峰會。普欽表示「俄羅斯與中亞」模式係對「集體安全條約組織」、「歐亞經濟聯盟與獨立國協」(Commonwealth of Independent States, CIS)等既有模式的補充。正因俄羅斯與中亞的關係受到外界干擾,才促使我們啓動所有的互動機制。俄羅斯願與中亞國家擴大多邊合作,建立新供應鏈,協助當地恢復統一電力系統,並建設新跨歐亞運輸走廊。4普欽近年來首次訪問所有中亞國家,以及舉辦領導人會晤機制之舉,已反映其穩固中亞的戰略考量。

^{4. &}quot;First Summit of the Central Asian Countries and Russia Held in Astana," *News Central Asia*, October 16, 2022, https://www.newscentralasia.net/2022/10/16/first-summit-of-the-central-asian-countries-and-russia-held-in-astana/.

由於經濟制裁之故,許多西方企業或國際大廠紛紛暫停或結束在俄羅斯的營業。爲了化解國內商品與生產料件短缺的困境,俄羅斯遂於2022年6月實施「平行進口」合法化政策,允許零售商在未經商標所有者許可的情況下從國外進口產品。在西方對俄嚴厲經濟制裁下,與俄羅斯經濟關係緊密的中亞國家不僅未遭池魚之殃,此時反倒得以轉售俄國亟需的商品而意外獲益。據統計,2022年哈薩克的對俄出口即增長25%,而2023年前兩個月的年增長率則達到32%。2022年哈俄貿易同比增長更超過60%。5在長期制裁壓力下,平行進口可望替代高達40%因制裁而中斷的傳統國際供應,與之配套的物流與清關服務亦應運而生。6再者,若干企業撤離俄羅斯後轉而遷徙至中亞重啓爐灶,畢竟俄國市場仍有相當的吸引力。俄國富人爲避免被徵召亦湧入中亞,此亦爲中亞國家帶來額外金流。2022年,爲茲別克境外匯款即達169億美元,同比增長1.1倍,創歷史新高,其中85%約145億美元的匯款即來自俄國。7

爲因應西方的金融制裁,俄國副總理奧弗丘克(Alexei Overchuk) 早於 2022 年 5 月「歐亞經濟論壇」,便呼籲規劃至 2035 年前的歐亞經 濟聯盟戰略,並強調促進聯盟的區域化合作與物流鏈,與創建獨立支付 系統和以本國貨幣支付的公共空間,從而促進聯盟內部的互聯互通。總 理米舒斯京(Mikhail Mishustin)亦於 2023 年 2 月「數位阿拉木圖國 際論壇」,呼籲歐亞經濟聯盟成員爲技術主權合作,因爲各國內部並無 足夠的市場支持先進技術的創造發展,而唯有合作方能實現目標。8

^{5.} Марсель Салихов, "Экономические связи Центральной Азии и России в эпоху глобальных перемен," Валдай Международный дискуссионный клуб, 23 мая 2023, https://ru.valdaiclub.com/a/highlights/ekonomicheskie-svyazi-tsentralnoy-azii-i-rossii/?ysclid=lkl30awa.

^{6.} Алексей Дуэль, "Компании смогут заработать на параллельном импорте," *Аргументы и Факты*, 6 мая 2022, https://aif.ru/money/economy/kompanii_smogut_zarabotat_na_parallelnom_importe.

^{7. 〈2022} 年烏茲別克斯坦境外匯款總額達 169 億美元〉,《中華人民共和國駐烏茲別克斯坦共和國大使 館經濟商務處》,2023 年 1 月 31 日, http://uz.mofcom.gov.cn/article/jmxw/202301/20230103381304. shtml。

^{8. &}quot;Алексей Оверчук: Пришло время создавать стратегию ЕАЭС до 2035 года," *Правительство России*, 26 мая 2022, http://government.ru/news/45519/; "Мишустин призвал ЕАЭС к кооперации ради технологического суверенитета," *РИА Новости*, 3 февраля 2023, https://ria.ru/20230203/suverenitet-1849427694.html.

從俄羅斯應處俄烏戰爭長期化與西方相關制裁舉措觀之,中亞顯然 不僅成爲俄羅斯迴避與化解西方經濟制裁的巧門,更是俄羅斯必須穩固 的近鄰地區。

二、西方策反與中亞國家態度的轉折

俄烏戰爭的爆發與「恐俄症」的陰影,讓中亞國家一度擔憂自己是否會成爲下一個烏克蘭,因而與俄羅斯保持適度距離。例如 2022 年 5 月於莫斯科召開的集體安全組織高峰會,儘管與會者肯定集體安全組織在中亞的作用,但哈薩克、吉爾吉斯與塔吉克卻刻意迴避俄烏戰爭議題。同年 6 月的聖彼得堡國際經濟論壇,普欽再度拋出俄烏戰爭議題,盼能爭取與會元首支持。哈薩克總統托卡耶夫(Kassym-Jomart Tokayev)卻託辭「國家完整」與「民族自決」原則的矛盾性,表示不承認科索沃、南奧塞梯亞或阿布哈茲的國家地位,故對烏東地區的頓內茨克和盧甘斯克兩個共和國的態度亦然。惟托卡耶夫仍呼籲強化歐亞經濟聯盟潛力與制定聯盟新貿易戰略,並支持俄國「大歐亞夥伴關係」(Greater Eurasian Partnership)倡議。9

中亞國家的反應也為近年淡出中亞的美國重啓機會之窗,2022年4月以來,美國副國務卿澤雅(Uzra Zeya)、助理國務卿盧(Donald Lu),乃至於中央司令部庫里拉(Michael Kurilla)上將等高層官員,短短數個月內即頻繁造訪中亞各國,試圖重獲對中亞的影響力。就中亞成爲對俄經濟制裁漏洞的現象,西方國家亦未視而不見。西方官員除了向中亞高層要求停止對俄羅斯貨運輸送外,中亞當地傳媒亦在美國資助下展開宣傳,說服民眾停止貨物流通。惟諸般努力仍遭到中亞國家以各種方式化解,例如官員告病推辭、延遲談判,或提出明顯不可能實現的要求作爲交換條件。儘管如此,西方的遊說或相關掣肘作爲仍構成一定

^{9. &}quot;Пленарное заседание Петербургского международного экономического форума," *Президент России*, 17 июня 2022, http://kremlin.ru/events/president/news/68669.

壓力,然而中亞國家當局亦有因應之道,例如公開聲稱遵守西方的制裁要求,當地傳媒或網路社群也出現大勢已去的聲音,但平行進口的貨物實際上仍舊繼續運往俄羅斯。¹⁰

西方國家策反未遂,除了中亞國家務實趨利的傾向外,亦與其未能提出具體且能立即兑現的政策有關。美國及其盟友泰半僅是提出模糊的建議,構想新的經濟合作計畫,作爲替代中亞與俄羅斯合作的方案與誘因,惟此僅是對新投資項目的承諾,而目的則是試圖將對俄經濟制裁波及中亞國家的影響降至最低,¹¹然而昔日美國「新絲綢之路計畫」(New Silk Road Initiative)若干意圖降低俄羅斯與中國影響力的重點專案,其半途而廢或退出之例仍殷鑑不遠。西方要取信中亞國家並在當地扎穩根基顯非易事,亦非一蹴可幾之事。

中亞國家當前雖然採取不選邊站,亦不得罪俄羅斯或西方的模糊立場,惟持續與否卻仍待觀察,而俄烏戰爭的戰況無疑將是一大變數。在刻板印象與宣傳影響下,中亞國家精英階層對俄羅斯在這場戰爭的前景原本並不看好,然而近期卻開始轉爲正面。此一轉變與烏克蘭在 2023 年中後的反攻未如預期、華盛頓與莫斯科進行幕後談判的嘗試,以及俄國經濟數據穩定的現象不無關聯。在 2023 年 8 至 9 月間,中亞國家甚至開始意識到,西方這一年半以來對烏克蘭的軍援顯然未能擊敗俄羅斯,甚至很可能永遠不會有所幫助。12 在戰爭轉爲消耗戰下,俄烏戰事延續至2024 年的可能性大增,戰況後續發展與對誰有利,則將明顯左右中亞國家後續的態度。

^{10.} Григорий Михайлов, "Центральная Азия: конкуренция или сотрудничество?" Валдай Международный дискуссионный клуб, 13 октября 2023, https://ru.valdaiclub.com/a/highlights/tsentralnaya-aziya-konkurentsiya-ili-sotrudnichestvo/.

^{11.} Станислав Притчин, "Россия и Центральная Азия: поиски форматов взаимодействия в новых геополитических условиях," *Валдай Международный дискуссионный клуб*, 1 июня 2022, https://ru.valdaiclub.com/a/highlights/rossiya-i-tsentralnaya-aziya-poiski-formatov-vzaimodeystviya/.

^{12.} Михайлов, "Центральная Азия: конкуренция или сотрудничество?".

肆、俄羅斯中亞政策的挑戰

2014年「烏克蘭危機」(Ukraine crisis)讓俄羅斯陷入外交困境後,從大歐洲轉向大歐亞的大戰略——「大歐亞夥伴關係」遂於2016年6月浮上檯面,最終目的則是建構從大西洋到太平洋,包含所有歐亞大陸國家的廣泛共同體。¹³惟在俄烏戰爭影響下,「大歐亞」的構想恐怕僅剩亞洲部分尚可遂行,而包含中亞國家在內的近鄰地區將是俄國外交的基石,然而期間中亞的區域自主性卻愈發強烈,復以域外強權仍伺機而動,凡此皆爲俄羅斯中亞政策的挑戰。

一、中亞區域自主性提升

中亞國家並不樂見當地成爲大國博弈之地,況且中亞五國也各有國家利益,也正因如此,中亞地區的整合從非易事。1990年代中亞國家雖曾有過整合的努力,但烏茲別克與哈薩克對中亞領導權的競爭卻讓整合功敗垂成。儘管如此,中亞國家仍未放棄確保自身獨立自主的可能機會。

2014年「烏克蘭危機」使中亞國家對俄羅斯的警惕升高,中亞國家亦逐漸意識到團結是應對外來勢力與提升自我份量的最佳方式。上合組織前秘書長阿利莫夫(Rashid Alimov)即指出,中亞國家已懂得開始運用國際平臺集體對外發聲,例如從2021年起,中亞在上合組織的官方文件裡便開始被指定爲組織核心。近年中亞國家在聯合國大會亦提出了超過二十項涵蓋人類面臨最迫切問題的決議案:從核不擴散機制到青年問題,再到保護冰川。2022年7月28日,在中亞五國的倡議下,聯合國大會更通過了一項特別決議宣布中亞爲和平、信任和合作區域。14是項

^{13.} Сергей Лавров, "Мир на перепутье и система международных отношений в будущем," *Россия в глобальной политике*, No. 5 (30 октября 2019), https://globalaffairs.ru/articles/mir-na-perepute-i-sistema-mezhdunarodnyh-otnoshenij-v-budushhem/.

^{14.} Рашид Алимов, "Центральная Азия: к новому качеству отношений в регионе," *Валдай Международный дискуссионный клуб*, 13 сентября 2023, https://ru.valdaiclub.com/a/highlights/tsentralnaya-aziya-k-novomu-kachestvu-otnosheniy/.

決議在俄烏戰爭當下自是意味深遠,透過集體發聲顯然是最佳方式,除能避免單一國家側重自身利益之虞,又能避免域外強權的分化,並能貫徹此前不偏不倚的立場。

另一方面,此前中斷的整合亦於 2018 年重啓,是年 3 月中亞哈烏吉塔四國元首與土庫曼議長於阿斯塔納會晤。此乃 20 年來中亞領導人的首次單獨聚會,並再度重啓中亞整合進程。翌年起更由五國總統參加,成爲名符其實的中亞高峰會。¹⁵ 中亞區域自主性的提升對俄羅斯絕非佳音,代表中亞有朝一日將不再是俄羅斯認知中的後院,亦不能再以過往上對下的態度對待中亞。在俄烏戰爭當下,俄羅斯僅剩「轉向東方」(pivot to East)一途,如何將外交政策的中亞焦點,納入更全球面向的東方向量,將是俄羅斯中亞政策未來必須面對的考驗。

二、域外強權的覬覦與轉機

大國在中亞地區有利益的分歧,對中亞國家無異是利多狀態,蓋大國之間若互相制衡,除有利於中亞國家外,亦能避免受單一大國主導,也能爲中亞國家開拓更大的活動空間。俄羅斯在中亞地區影響力的逐漸下滑與其他大國的進入即能印證。

大國進入中亞的模式,不外雙邊與多邊兩種。上述的美俄中大國由 於關切面向不一,故較爲重視雙邊對話。反觀與中亞利害關係不大的國

^{15.} 趙華勝,〈西北望|變化中的中亞之一: 走向新「中亞模式」?〉,《澎拜研究所》,2023年5月11日, https://www.thepaper.cn/newsDetail_forward_23042602。

家,例如日本與韓國則偏好將中亞作為整體對待交往,因而也出現所謂的「五加一」模式。之後大國也在 2010 年代啓動與中亞的「五加一」模式,並從部長級提升至元首級。¹⁶ 此對亟欲提升區域自主性的中亞國家自然是助益,然而不同的聲音也同樣存在。塔吉克學者哈伊達羅夫(Rustam Khaydarov)即提出警告,中亞雖然自視爲國際秩序的積極主體,但「五加一」模式卻可能讓中亞淪爲大國與區域參與者的附庸客體,蓋西方仍堅持將中亞捲入其與俄羅斯的對抗,並要求中亞國家從中做出抉擇。對西方而言,中亞僅是對抗俄羅斯與中國的跳板,卻無法提供俄中兩國在中亞的安全與經濟的替代方案。¹⁷ 此顯示當中亞作爲單一整體時,固然能反映集體利益,然而個別國家仍有自身考量,如何求同存異則是一大考驗。

2022年10月, 塔吉克總統拉赫蒙 (Emomali Rahmon) 在首屆「俄羅斯—中亞領導人高峰會」上對普欽不遜的語氣與抱怨,常被外界視爲俄羅斯因爲身陷戰爭泥淖而在中亞影響力下降的例證。然而, 拉赫蒙真正的意圖卻因爲出言不遜而被多數人忽略, 正因其認爲俄羅斯忽略與中亞國家的戰略夥伴關係, 所以才表達抗議並公開要求俄羅斯重視與增加對中亞的投資。主權與獨立是中亞國家論及外交時常見的言辭, 然而更重要卻未公開表露的外交立場: 國內威權穩定的優先考量才是重點。中亞與俄羅斯之間的威權連結, 在過去十年頗有助於中亞政權的穩定。故中亞國家與各方保持距離自有其用意,此既不會疏遠威權支持的重要助力,也不會遭遇西方可能的破壞性批評。18 與中亞國家間的威權連結此際 反倒成爲俄羅斯甚於其他域外強權的優勢之一, 至少該威權利基在短期

^{16.} 趙華勝, 〈西北望|變化中的中亞之一:走向新「中亞模式」?〉。

^{17.} Рустам Хайдаров, "Перспективы сотрудничества России и Центральной Азии в условиях нового миропорядка," *Валдай Международный дискуссионный клуб*, 22 мая 2023, https://ru.valdaiclub.com/a/highlights/perspektivy-sotrudnichestva-rossii-i-tsentralnoy-azii/.

^{18.} Luca Anceschi, "The Right Distance: Russia-Central Asia Relations in the Aftermath of the Invasion of Ukraine," *Russian Analytical Digest*, No. 289, November 30, 2022, pp. 2-3.

内並不易消逝。如何運用此一優勢穩固中亞,並團結中亞國家的向心力, 進而消弭此間的「恐俄症」亦是俄羅斯必須面對的課題。

伍、結語

俄羅斯於冷戰後在中亞影響力的下降是不爭的事實,然而蘇聯時期 的政經遺緒與地緣的鄰近,卻讓俄羅斯在此仍有一席之地。俄烏戰爭並 未強化中亞國家對俄羅斯的離心傾向,反而讓中亞國家意外受惠,而西 方於其間的策反亦未獲得預期成效。在俄烏戰爭進入消耗戰與長期化下, 抱持觀望態度的中亞國家,短期內料將持續目前的多邊平衡政策,並在 各方間保持模糊中立立場,而此反倒有助於俄羅斯與中亞國家關係的穩 固。

獨立與自主向來是中亞國家追求的目標,近年中亞區域自主性亦不斷提升中,此對俄羅斯絕非佳音,代表中亞有朝一日將不再是俄羅斯所認知的後院。惟在俄烏戰爭當下,俄羅斯僅能「轉向東方」,而包含中亞在內的近鄰地區更是俄國外交未來的基石。如何將中亞納入更全球面向的東方向量,將是俄羅斯中亞政策必須面對的考驗。域外強權向來是俄羅斯在中亞的挑戰,儘管尚未能動搖俄羅斯於此間的根基,但大國未來於中亞的博弈將是能預見之事。與中亞國家間的威權連結仍是俄羅斯的優勢之一,如何藉此穩固中亞,進而消弭此間的「恐俄症」則是俄羅斯必須面對的嚴肅課題。

本文作者劉蕭翔爲國立政治大學外交學系國際關係學博士,現爲財團法人國防安全研究院國家安全研究所副研究員。主要研究領域爲:安全研究、俄羅斯暨歐亞區域研究、 北極地緣政治、中國「一帶一路」。

Prospects for Russia's Central Asia Policy

Shiau-Shyang Liou

Division of National Security Research

Abstract

Due to the political and economic legacy of the Soviet era and its geographical proximity, Russia continues to maintain a significant presence in Central Asia even long after the end of the Cold War. The current Russo-Ukrainian War has not strengthened the Central Asian countries' centrifugal tendencies toward Russia. Instead, these countries have unexpectedly benefited, and the West attempts to counteract Central Asian countries have not yielded the expected results. In the prolonged Russo-Ukrainian War, Central Asian countries, which are adopting a wait-and-see attitude at present, are likely to continue their current policy of multilateral balance in the short term. However, pursuing independence and autonomy remains their consistent goal.

The recent enhancement of autonomy in Central Asia suggests that one day the region may no longer be perceived by Russia as its backyard. Due to the Russo-Ukrainian War and deteriorating relations with the West, Russia has been forced to adopt the "pivot to the East" policy, with the "near abroad", including Central Asia, forming the cornerstone of Russia's foreign policy. A "New Great Game" in Central Asia is on the horizon, and Russia's advantage lies in its authoritarian connections with Central Asian countries. However, incorporating Central Asia into a more globally oriented Eastern vector and dispelling the "Russophobia" in the region poses challenges that Russia's Central Asian policy must overcome.

Keywords: Russia, Central Asia, Russo-Ukrainian War, Great Game, Russophobia

中國對中亞政經社會影響力

曾怡碩

網路安全與決策推演研究所

壹、前言

過去論點認爲俄羅斯與中國在中亞施展各自影響力並相安無事,是 因爲俄羅斯重心在安全層面,而中國則著重經濟影響。俄烏戰爭爆發後, 俄羅斯很可能自顧不暇,中亞國家在安全議題上也未必仍緊隨俄羅斯, 外界開始關注中國是否趁機擴張其在中亞安全層面的影響力。但對於中 國如何操作在中亞政經社會影響力,卻較少見分析。有鑒於此,本文將 探究中國如何操作其對中亞影響力,著眼於中國對中亞輸出網通基礎設 施推動 5G、智慧城市、網路監控之餘,是否進一步操弄媒體訊息,並藉 機擴張其軟實力影響,同時透過滲透收買政治菁英,擴張其對中亞各國 之影響力。

接續首先盤點中國在中亞之影響力,主要檢視當前俄烏戰爭地緣政治影響下,中共在中亞影響力的進展與侷限。其次,進一步檢視中國對中亞在數位建設、經濟依賴、媒體操作、政商收買以及其他在教育、文化、旅遊等軟實力領域所積累的影響力。最後,總結研究發現並析論中國現階段於中亞發揮影響力樣態之延續與改變。

貳、中國在俄羅斯勢力下發展對中亞影響力

過去普遍認為,中國對於中亞的經營與影響背後並無一套大戰略, 但經過長期經營與滲透擴張,中國在中亞成為一個「不經意創造的帝國」。¹北京對中亞的大國感興趣是著眼於這區域的資源,更重要的是結

^{1.} Bernardo Mariani, "China's Role and Interest in Central Asia," *Saferworld Briefing*, October 2013, https://www.saferworld.org.uk/resources/publications/770-shifting-geopolitics-in-central-asia/.

合這些威權政府鎮壓維吾爾少數民族,²中國公安部出資在塔吉克建立了 一個新的軍事基地,以應對來自阿富汗的威脅,並支持中國在該地區的 「帶路倡議」。³

俄烏戰爭後,俄羅斯兵力、資源投注在烏克蘭戰場,其在中亞維持安全的角色雖呈消滅之勢,中國在中亞安全方面會否擴張並取而代之,一時之間引發熱議。4一般認爲,俄羅斯領導的「集體安全條約組織」(Collective Security Treaty Organization, CSTO)仍最具影響力,且哈薩克斯坦、吉爾吉斯和烏茲別克都仿效俄羅斯禁止 LGBT 宣傳,並加強對獨立媒體、親西方非政府組織的控制。然而中國其實無意取代俄羅斯在中亞的安全角色,並不準備充當該地區的擴張主義大國。5不同於俄羅斯在中亞動員或部署大量軍隊,中國在應對安全威脅方面的措施是引入新的安全理念,例如管理和監視異議人士與抗議活動。隨著中國向中亞輸出這些規範,過去在中亞擁有最佳市民社會典範的吉爾吉斯,其市民社會空間正在迅速縮小。6

俄羅斯在中亞的影響力雖見消退,但中亞國家仍有眾多移民在俄羅斯, 光是 2022 年就有超過 1,000 萬中亞勞務移民抵達俄羅斯, 比 2021 年增加 200 萬人。7俄語系的教育及媒體傳播對中亞的影響深遠,並非一時半刻就會瓦解。8 另一方面,中亞國家展現相對自主性,在俄烏戰爭前

^{2.} 侍建宇,〈《中國斯坦:不經意創造的中亞帝國》導讀〉,《報導者》,2023 年 10 月 15 日, https://www.twreporter.org/a/bookreview-sinostan-china-s-inadvertent-empire。

Asel Doolotkeldieva and Erica Marat, "Why Russia and China Aren't Intervening in Central Asia," Foreign Policy, October 4, 2022, https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/10/04/tajikistan-kyrgyzstan-russia-china-intervention-central-asia/.

Maria Blackwood, Ricardo Barrios, Rebecca Nelson, and Michael Sutherland, "Central Asia: Implications of Russia's War in Ukraine," Congressional Research Service Report R47591, June 9, 2023

^{5.} 蔡先靖,〈中俄正在爭奪中亞〉,《鋭報導》,2023年7月2日,https://vigormedia.tw/中俄正在爭奪中亞/。

^{6.} William Yang, "What is China's Strategy for Central Asia?" *DW*, May 16, 2023, https://www.dw.com/en/what-is-chinas-strategy-for-central-asia/a-65637703.

^{7.} 蔡先靖,〈中俄正在爭奪中亞〉。

^{8.} Asel Doolotkeldieva and Erica Marat, "Why Russia and China Aren't Intervening in Central Asia".

就積極進行「去俄羅斯化」以擺脱俄羅斯束縛,9哈薩克,烏茲別克和土庫曼都已決定放棄使用俄文字母,吉爾吉斯、塔吉克也開始討論此一議題。10俄羅斯入侵烏克蘭後,中亞五國一開始也沒有全然表態支持。即使如此,中亞國家也未必倒向中國。11根據兩年一次的《中亞晴雨表》(Central Asia Barometer Survey),儘管中國官媒在中亞積極宣揚中國官方敘事,但中亞社群對中國的觀感越來越趨負面。這種負面輿論的轉變可歸因於中國對少數民族的鎮壓、「帶路倡議」衍生的大量腐敗醜聞以及中亞國家民族主義情緒的上升。12

參、互取所需:中國在中亞的經貿投資

印度「觀察家基金會」有研究指出,習近平對中亞的經營戰略,或以「帶路倡議」帶來的基礎建設及其經貿投資,平息中亞國家對中國鎮壓維吾爾族的不滿。¹³ 過去 31 年中國同中亞五國貿易額增長 100 多倍,連續多年位居中亞國家第一大或主要交易夥伴。¹⁴ 2022 年,雙方貿易額達到創歷史新高的 702 億美元,中國民營企業對中亞五國進出口 1,108.8 億人民幣,增長 64.6%,占中國與中亞五國進出口總值的 64.1%。¹⁵ 據

^{9.} 孫超群,〈去你的蘇聯夢?鳥俄戰爭一年,中亞國家加速擺脱「俄勢力」〉,《轉角國際》,2023 年 2 月 21 日, https://global.udn.com/global_vision/story/8663/6985643。

^{10.} 白樺, 〈鳥克蘭東歐國家之後 中亞國家也加緊去蘇俄化〉, 《美國之音中文網》, 2021年11月12日, https://www.voacantonese.com/a/Central-Asian-region-steps-up-De-Russification-and-De-Sovietization-20211111/6310598.html。

^{11.} Evan Gershkovich,〈普丁意想不到的挑戰:來自中亞盟友的冷落〉,《華爾街日報中文網》,2022年7月25日,https://cn.wsj.com/articles/普丁意想不到的挑戰-來自中亞盟友的冷落-121658736313。

^{12.} Elizabeth Woods and Thomas Baker, "Public Opinion on China Waning in Central Asia," *The Diplomat*, May 5, 2022, https://thediplomat.com/2022/05/public-opinion-on-china-waning-incentral-asia/.

^{13.} Ayjaz Wani, "Growing Chinese Influence Over Central Asia," *Observer Research Foundation Raisina Debate*, November 10, 2022, https://www.orfonline.org/expert-speak/growing-chinese-influence-over-central-asia/.

^{14. 〈}中國同中亞國家共建「一帶一路」碩果累累〉,《中國外交部》,2023年5月16日, https://www.mfa.gov.cn/web/ziliao_674904/zt_674979/dnzt_674981/zgzyfh/bjzl/202305/ t20230516_11078286.shtml。

^{15.} 黄齊元,〈從一帶一路看中國的新格局〉,《工商時報》, 2023 年 11 月 15 日,https://reurl.cc/m0Oog7。

中國海關總署統計,2023年前4個月中國與中亞五國進出口1,730.5億人民幣,較去年同期增長37.3%。其中,2023年4月中國與中亞五國單月進出口規模首次突破500億人民幣,達到502.7億人民幣。¹⁶

中國對中亞主要進口能源產品、礦產品,中亞小麥、大豆、乾果、水果、牛羊肉等農產品對中國出口也漸增加。¹⁷中國海關總署統計,2023年前4個月中國自中亞五國進口能源產品達324.5億人民幣,占同期自中亞進口總值55%;進口農產品25.8億人民幣,增長42.9%。中國對中亞五國出口主要集中在機電、勞動密集型產品,2023年前4個月中國對中亞五國出口機電產品達515.8億人民幣,占同期對中亞出口總值45.2%。¹⁸

中國對中亞國家多享有貿易順差優勢,2023年前4個月中國對中亞出口額1,140億人民幣,進口額590億人民幣,順差達550億人民幣, 且進口額也以能源爲大宗。以吉爾吉斯爲例,2023年第一季自中國進口額爲9.59億美元,對中國出口額爲890萬美元,中國爲吉爾吉斯第一大交易夥伴和第一大進口來源國。19雖然龐大的貿易順差是否因俄羅斯侵爲受制裁而改由中亞轉售,但就中國進口額以能源礦產爲大宗而言,中國從中亞進口的天然氣是從俄羅斯進口的2.5倍,2022年中亞供應中國天然氣進口達三分之二以上,20這也意味中國對中亞國家在貿易上具有相當依存度。

^{16. 〈}貿易發展量質齊升 我國與中亞五國月度進出口規模突破 500 億元〉,《人民網》,2023 年 5 月 18 日, http://finance.people.com.cn/BIG5/n1/2023/0518/c1004-32689181.html:〈中國一中亞峰會|專家:中國中亞關係將開啓新篇章〉,《新華網》,2023 年 5 月 13 日, http://www.news.cn/world/2023-05/13/c 1129611940.htm。

^{17.} 白舒婕, 〈中企對中亞貿易投資將掀新高潮〉, 《走出去導航網》, 2023 年 5 月 23 日, https://www.investgo.cn/article/yw/tzyj/202305/669634.html。

^{18.} 宋博,〈圖表: 我國與中亞五國月度進出口規模首破 500 億元〉,《新華社》,2023 年 5 月 18 日, https://www.gov.cn/govweb/zhengce/jiedu/tujie/202305/content_6874786.htm。

^{19. 〈}吉統計委: 2023 年一季度吉爾吉斯共和國自中國進口大幅增長〉,《走出去導航》,2023 年 5 月 19 日, https://www.investgo.cn/article/gb/tjsj/202305/669120.html。

^{20.} 莊瑞萌,〈中國加強與中亞合作 專家:各取所需〉,《台灣醒報》,2023 年 5 月 17 日, https://anntw.com/articles/20230517-A0Sm。

對於中亞國家而言,中國與中亞雙方可謂互取所需。按照哈薩克所提出的「多向量」外交平衡概念,中國的重要性不僅在於中國是投資、工程承包與基礎建設的技術與融資主要來源,在 2023 年 5 月更是美歐之外技術與融資來源,兼爲俄羅斯之外的地緣政治可靠選項。²¹ 截至 2023 年 3 月底,中國對中亞五國直接投資存量超過 150 億美元。²² 投資合作項目包含與中亞各國的經貿園區,而近期新疆自貿試驗區的建立,對於新疆維穩與中國「帶路倡議」地緣戰略,都具有重要意義。²³ 中國的基礎建設投資除石油天然氣管線,鐵公路港口等運輸設施外,也展開與中亞國家合建多條跨境光纖纜線,讓中亞成爲中國通往歐洲的重要陸上資訊通道。²⁴

建、近期中國對中亞的影響力樣態變化

一、菁英攏絡方式逐漸轉變

中亞五國均爲威權統治體制,貪汙腐敗層出不窮,這卻是中國所熟悉的影響方式,自然而然地從統治階層下手,但「帶路倡議」基礎建設與承包工程項目金額龐大,時因腐敗醜聞而招致反對陣營大做文章,導

^{21.} Micha Bogusz and Marcin Pop awski, "The China–Central Asia Summit. Beijing Is Still Forced to Cooperate with Moscow," *Centre for Eastern Studies (OSW)*, May 22, 2023, https://www.osw.waw.pl/en/publikacje/analyses/2023-05-22/china-central-asia-summit-beijing-still-forced-to-cooperate-moscow; Carla Freeman, Gavin Helf, Alison McFarland, "China Looks to Fill a Void in Central Asia," *United States Institute of Peace*, May 25, 2023, https://www.usip. org/publications/2023/05/china-looks-fill-void-central-asia; Raffaello Pantucci and Alessandro Arduino, "The Stans Can't Play Both Sides Anymore," *Foreign Policy*, May 31, 2023, https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/05/31/central-asia-russia-china-kazakhstan-kyrgyzstan-sco-play-both-sides/; Emil Avdaliani, "Chinas Charm Offensive Highlights Central Asias Rising Profile," *World Politics Review Briefing*, June 8, 2023, https://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/central-asia-countries-economy-china-xi-jinping-kazakhstan/?one-time-read-code=216328169886439795254.

^{22.} 中國商務部,〈"中國 - 中亞五國"經貿部長首次會議召開〉,《走出去導航》,2023 年 4 月 19 日, https://www.investgo.cn/article/yw/zctz/202304/664765.html。

^{23.} 黄齊元, 〈從一帶一路看中國的新格局〉。

^{24. 〈}中國同中亞國家共建"一帶一路"碩果累累〉,《中國外交部》。

致「帶路倡議」聲名不佳。25

習近平藉 2023 年「中國—中亞峰會」宣布中國國家開發銀行及中國進出口銀行將各設立 3,500 億元人民幣 (478 億美元)的融資窗口,終路基金也將新增資金 800 億元人民幣,雖說是由中國統籌投入共建「帶路倡議」之中具標竿性質、小而美的民生項目,²⁶ 但中國本身對於帶路項目資金運用也欠缺透明度,²⁷ 為攏絡統治菁英以利推動工程與帶路項目,可預見難以避免衍生腐敗醜聞。值得注意的是,中亞國家中缺乏資源而對中國依賴度高的塔吉克與吉爾吉斯,成為中國藉收編菁英而干預政局的目標,中國在吉爾吉斯透過商團在 2020 年支持親中政客罷黜總統並取得政權,²⁸ 而塔吉克政治菁英藉帶路項目掠取個人私利更早已是惡名昭彰,甚至出現仲介賄賂的買賣,²⁹ 未來恐重現收編塔吉克政客成立親中政權的景況。³⁰

二、軟實力影響方式變化

中國在中亞日益增強的影響力作為在精英和民眾之間存在不同觀感,中亞政治菁英對於中國的熱絡與民間對中國的冷漠猜疑,形成對中國「政熱民冷」的強烈對比。中亞民間對於中國的冷漠及猜忌,有一部分來自中國政府對於新疆維吾爾族的鎮壓,但或許因為中亞各國政府致力壓制

^{25.} Temur Umarov, "Dangerous Liaisons: How China Is Taming Central Asia's Elites," *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, January 29, 2021, https://carnegiemoscow.org/commentary/83756.

^{26.} 莊志偉,〈觀察:中國經濟實力恐支撐「一帶一路」投資明顯縮水〉,《美國之音中文網》, 2023 年 10 月 20 日, https://www.voacantonese.com/a/china-s-bri-investment-shrunksharply-20231019/7317850.html。

^{27. &}quot;China Corrosive Capital in Tajikistan," *Civic Idea*, December 13, 2022, https://civicidea.ge/en/china-corrosive-capital-in-tajikistan/blog-en/.

^{28.} Temur Umarov, "Dangerous Liaisons: How China Is Taming Central Asia's Elites".

^{29. &}quot;China Corrosive Capital in Tajikistan," Civic Idea.

^{30.} Niva Yau, "How Dependent Is Too Dependent on China? Central Asia May Soon Find out," *New Atlanticist*, May 20, 2023, https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/how-dependent-istoo-dependent-on-china-central-asia-may-soon-find-out/.

反中情緒,迄今尚未因此出現對中國管制新疆的批評與抗議活動。³¹ 此外,中亞一般民眾似乎不相信中國能改變中亞國家的經濟前景,《中亞晴雨表》的研究結果顯示,2017年到2021年哈薩克和烏茲別克對中國的負面看法不斷增加。³² 甚至在對中國依賴度高的吉爾吉斯,還因帶路投資暴露的文化差異招致中國不信任感與反中之民族主義情緒。³³ 雖未形成大規模抗議活動,但對此變化,中國在當地的商人感受相當明顯。³⁴

從習近平在 2023 年「中國—中亞峰會」西安宣言,可看出中國在中亞的軟實力戰略清晰輪廓。中國在中亞地區除加強大外宣與媒體交流,還推動旅遊簽證通關便利措施、公衛疫苗外交、擴大獎學金計畫、教育交流計畫和設置漢語學校等。35 在媒體部分,中國過去研究就指出中亞地區深受俄語電視及廣播影響,36 即使如此,中亞民眾對於轉譯爲俄語的中國大外宣並不感興趣。基於整個軟實力考量,中國除持續與中亞媒體交流並安排招待赴中參訪,37 還推出以下因應方式:其一是轉向針對漢

^{31.} Kemel Toktomushev, "China and Central Asia: Warm Politics, Cold Public," *Central Asia Program*, September 7, 2021, https://centralasiaprogram.org/china-central-asia-warm-politics-cold-public/.

^{32.} Samar Kanatov, "Perception of China in Central Asia: Problems and Perspective," *IWPR Central Asian Bureau for Analytical Reporting*, July 19, 2022, https://cabar.asia/en/perception-of-china-incentral-asia-problems-and-perspectives.

^{33.} Kemel Toktomushev, "China and Central Asia: Warm Politics, Cold Public"; Temur Umarov, "Dangerous Liaisons: How China Is Taming Central Asia's Elites".

^{34.} Samar Kanatov, "Perception of China in Central Asia: Problems and Perspective".

^{35. 〈}中國—中亞峰會西安宣言〉,《人民網—人民日報》,2023年5月20日,http://cpc.people.com. cn/BIG5/n1/2023/0520/c64094-32690649.html。

^{36.} 景德明、王友文,〈新疆面向中亞國家傳播的特點與契機—以共建絲綢之路經濟帶爲視角〉,《 新 聞戰線 》(2017 年第 2 期),http://paper.people.com.cn/xwzx/html/2017-02/01/content_1768066. htm。

^{37.} Paolo Sorbello, "Cultural Diplomacy as a Key Instrument of China-Central Asia Cooperation," *The Diplomat*, June 14, 2023, https://thediplomat.com/2023/06/cultural-diplomacy-as-a-key-instrument-of-china-central-asia-cooperation/;〈媒體承諾爲建構中國 - 中亞命運共同體做出貢獻〉,《新華社》,2023 年 5 月 24 日,https://english.news.cn/20230524/ea435b67b4274c049137e0224 6a4eca5/c.html;〈中亞主流媒體負責人:希望與中國媒體搭建長期合作平臺〉,《中國新聞網》,2023 年 8 月 28 日,https://www.chinanews.com.cn/sh/shipin/cns/2023/08-28/news968682.shtml;〈中國媒體試圖主導中亞輿論〉,《美國之音中文網》,2023 年 9 月 8 日,https://www.voachinese.com/a/china-actively-cultivating-xinjiang-s-image-in-central-asian-media-tour-20230907/7258826.html。

語閱聽眾,³⁸但這一社群實爲小眾。其次,中國在文化認同與意識形態上,還必須與中亞境內部分西方美式教育體系競爭。³⁹因此,中國近期在社群媒體加強宣傳內容影音圖像運用。⁴⁰最後,中國體認要在中亞發揮軟實力,必須超前部署及早布局,從教育交流紮根,除了提供獎學金吸引中亞優秀學子赴中學習先進科技,也推展職業教育類型的「魯班工坊」,讓這些種子返回中亞後藉其親身經歷「說好中國故事」。⁴¹然而,研究中國在中亞影響力的學者 Temur Umarov 認爲無需誇大中國在中亞推展軟實力的效果,畢竟與西方國家相較之下,中國無論外宣品質、還是文化素質都還有相當進步空間。⁴²

三、藉數位基建輸出數位威權

2023年「中國—中亞峰會」西安宣言將數位經濟合作列爲對中亞帶路合作項目之首位,持續擴展中國在帶路沿線國家的數位通訊基礎設施與智慧城市建設。近年來,哈薩克、吉爾吉斯、塔吉克、土庫曼、烏茲別克均熱衷於建設智慧城市,吉爾吉斯甚至推動在城市中構築智慧化「城中城」。然而,近期經分析報導披露,中亞多個智慧城市並無妥適規劃住民活動與生活圈,形同鬼城一般。43

在此同時,中國正在向中亞輸出其安全管治模式,相對西方民主, 更能順應中亞威權治理方式。鎮壓民間社會、拘留或驅逐記者以及在示

^{38.} Samar Kanatov, "Perception of China in Central Asia: Problems and Perspective".

^{39.} 陸鋼, 〈《中評智庫》中國西部周邊戰略態勢與中亞戰略〉, 《中時新聞網》, 2023 年 6 月 12 日, https://www.chinatimes.com/opinion/20230612002627-262110?chdtv。

^{40.} Paolo Sorbello, "Cultural Diplomacy as a Key Instrument of China-Central Asia Cooperation";〈中 亞: 中國擴大圖像製作計劃〉,《歐亞網》,2023 年 10 月 13 日,https://eurasianet.org/central-asia-china-expands-image-crafting-initiative。

^{41.} Paolo Sorbello, "Cultural Diplomacy as a Key Instrument of China-Central Asia Cooperation".

^{42.} Marat Mamadshoev, "Temur Umarov: I Would Not Exaggerate the Scale of China's Soft Power Effect," *IWPR Central Asian Bureau for Analytical Reporting*, June 15, 2023, https://cabar.asia/en/temur-umarov-i-would-not-exaggerate-the-scale-of-china-s-soft-power-effect.

^{43. &}quot;The New Cities of Central Asia," *Eueasianet*, July 13, 2023, https://eurasianet.org/the-new-cities-of-central-asia.

威前後逮捕抗議領導人,故中亞各國政府偏好中國數位監控治理方式。44 數位連結與監控的作用經過新冠疫情的衝擊洗禮而更受中亞各國領導人 的青睞,而中國在新疆驗證過的數位監控,在智慧城市覆蓋下更能蒐集 輿情及無縫監控特定對象數位蹤跡。中亞各國在引進中國數位威權的同 時,也可能讓中國藉後門傳輸獲取中亞各國資料。中國尤其有興趣的是 中亞各國與新疆維吾爾族的通聯模態及內容,藉雲端邊緣運算後、輔以 人工智慧監控,預計將能更即時掌握新疆維族在中亞之動態。中亞國家 在數位監控方面,仍停留在人力監控,尚未進展到如中國運用人工智慧 輔助之自動辨識與監控。另一方面,對於中國藉數位基建取得中亞資料, 再以後門傳輸回中國,中亞國家雖有疑慮,但相較於其對於歐美及俄羅 斯系統更加不信任,中國的數位監控體系與智慧城市在中亞仍能佔有一 席之地。45

伍、結語

中國在中亞發揮影響力最大的室礙,不盡然是語言鴻溝問題,而是在於對中亞各國民情文化的掌握不夠深入、且難以與時俱進。中國未來若藉由教育交流,或能培育出一批在地親中人士,以其母語講好中國敘事。然而,這將是長期布局,中國要打的是持久戰的盤算。

除此之外,中國尚能經由數位城市與數位基礎建設,加上在中亞複 製擴散其在自家之社會管理安全監控模式,可望藉機獲取大量資料,用 以充實資料庫、訓練機器學習與改進演算法,按理如此長久下來將對了

^{44.} Niva Yau, "How Dependent Is Too Dependent on China? Central Asia May Soon Find out"; Niva Yau, "Chinese Governance Export in Central Asia," *Security and Human Rights*, 2022, pp. 1-13. Farrukh Irnazarov and Marina Kayumova, "Toward Smart City Development in Central Asia: A Comparative Assessment," *Central Asian Affairs*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 2017, pp. 51-82.

^{45. &}quot;Bridling Digital Autocracy Surge in Central Asia: A Conversation with Ildar Daminov," *IWPR Central Asian Bureau for Analytical Reporting*, May 16, 2023, https://cabar.asia/en/how-to-counter-digital-authoritarianism-in-central-asia?pdf=58804.

解中亞社會脈動有很大助益。然而,中國是否有此意願投入具相關技術人力與時間金錢,端視北京在面對中亞經濟利益、籠絡政治菁英與因應新疆維族與中亞勾結威脅外,是否認真爭取中亞民間好感。

本文作者曾怡碩爲美國喬治·華盛頓大學政治學系博士,現爲財團法人國防安全研究院 網路安全與決策推演研究所副研究員。主要研究領域爲:軍隊與網路安全、網電作戰、 認知作戰、中國數位監控。

How China Exercises Influence over Central Asian Political Economy and Society

Yisuo Tzeng

Division of Cyber Security and Decision-Making Simulation

Abstract

China's economic and trade activities in Central Asia and the construction of the Belt and Road are often breeding grounds for corruption amongst elites, which in turn has a negative impact on China's social influence in Central Asia, and causes Central Asian people to be indifferent to and distrustful of China. Partly, the suspicion of Central Asia towards China stems from the Chinese government's repression of the Uyghurs in Xinjiang. In addition to providing scholarships to attract outstanding students from Central Asia to study advanced science and technology, China also promotes vocational education through the Luban Workshop to sow the seeds that "tell the good story of China" through the personal experience of students after returning to Central Asia.

China's primary goal in Central Asia remains keeping the Uighurs in Xinjiang in check. China's verified digital surveillance in Xinjiang is able to collect public opinion and seamlessly monitor the digital trail of specific objects under the Central Asia Smart City Initiative. In exporting China's digital authority to Central Asian countries, and also transmitting information about Central Asian countries through the backdoor of digital infrastructure construction, China is particularly interested in the mode and content of communication between Central Asian countries and the Uyghur people in Xinjiang; it will be of great help in terms of understanding the pulse of Central Asian societies in the long-term. However, China willingness to invest the relevant technical manpower, time and money depends on whether Beijing is serious about winning the hearts and minds of the Central Asian people.

Keywords: Chinese Influence, China in Central Asia, Cultural Diplomacy

美國撤軍行動後中國 與阿富汗塔利班政府的關係

沈明室

國家安全研究所

壹、前言

2021年美國撤出阿富汗,因爲倉皇撤出,阿富汗政府軍毫無抵抗能力,遂讓塔利班(Taliban)很快攻陷阿富汗全境,讓塔利班重新掌控阿富汗政權。撤出阿富汗不僅讓美國在國際盟友面前聲譽受損,在中亞所遺留的權力真空(power vacuum),成爲區域國家覬覦填補的目標。如鄰近的巴基斯坦,深怕巴基斯坦的塔利班組織——巴基斯坦塔利班運動(Tehrik-e Taliban Pakistan, TTP)獲得阿富汗塔利班的資助,在壯大勢力後,對巴基斯坦政權造成威脅。印度基於地緣戰略利益的思考,也在思考如何拉攏塔利班或阿富汗在野人士防範巴基斯坦,降低巴基斯坦恐怖組織對印度攻擊的威脅。

除此之外,從阿富汗逃出的難民對巴基斯坦及印度的治理也造成壓力,但若驅趕回阿富汗又怕這些人被塔利班政權報復,也成爲中亞區域複雜的政治、經濟與社會問題。美國基於人道立場,以及在阿富汗綏靖期間對阿富汗的援助,也必須協助阿富汗的難民至其他國家或是到美國安居落户。由阿富汗撤軍在區域衍生的各項問題,仍未完全解決。

而在阿富汗情勢變化過程中,中國態度與政策也受到關注。因爲從 2001年911事件開始,中國與美國合作反恐,因爲中國必須面對新疆 東突厥斯坦伊斯蘭運動(East Turkestan Islamic Movement, ETIM,以 下簡稱東伊運)份子威脅,¹和中亞四國及俄羅斯共同創立上海合作組

^{1.} 中國認為由維吾爾族宗教人士馬蘇姆(Hasan Mahsum)於 1997 年在巴基斯坦創立的東突厥斯坦伊斯 蘭運動對其安全構成威脅。爾後改名爲突厥斯坦伊斯蘭黨(Turkestan Islamic Party ,TIP)。美國在 2020 年從其恐怖名單中刪除。

織(Shanghai Cooperation Organization, SCO),並定期舉行和平使命(Peace Mission)演習,就是以反恐爲主要的目的。中國基於本身的反恐需求,對國際恐怖組織的態度是非常鮮明的。在反恐的軍事戰役結束後,美國及北約持續進行阿富汗的綏靖治理,但因爲阿富汗政府軍閥與派系分立,塔利班難以肅清,讓美國及北約陷入困境。

塔利班第一次失去政權時,中國即開始與阿富汗政府交往,並簽訂 礦產投資與開發計畫。但是已經同時與塔利班互動,企圖雙手下注,保 住投資權益。塔利班是美國主要敵人,中國基於牽制美國的目的,持續 與塔利班交往,但顧忌美國因素而不敢公開。但是在美國撤出阿富汗後, 對積極想要擴大戰略影響力的中國而言,基於肅清分離份子,穩定後院 的目標,讓中國開始公開支持阿富汗塔利班政權,以維持中亞的穩定。

貳、中國地緣思考與阿富汗塔利班的影響

平心而論,中國共產黨政權屬於無神論者,並未傾向任何宗教,而在新疆伊斯蘭教自治區中,因中國實施宗教中國化政策,設置再教育營,企圖轉化維吾爾人的信仰,至少關押超過一萬人,備受國際社會批評,使其他伊斯蘭國家反應強烈。這些被關押的新疆維吾爾人,有的加入東突厥斯坦運動,反抗中國,並進入阿富汗尋求隱蔽。而塔利班是伊斯蘭教宗派中最爲激進者,與中國本來並無任何利益共識或交集。美國撤出之後,中國繼續留在阿富汗,著眼的就是投資利益與地緣政治利益的保護。

中國對阿富汗的地緣戰略思考,其實在希望與阿富汗塔利班政府交好之後,在中亞地區建立強大影響力,提升中國在地緣政治的利益。阿富汗東向依靠中亞,連結新疆;西可進入伊朗,南則面向巴基斯坦,鏈接絲綢之路經濟帶與中巴經濟走廊的發展。除了地緣因素外,如何避免國際恐怖主義的威脅,強化與塔利班政府的關係,取代美國在阿富汗的地位也是重要的考量之一。

根據聯合國安理會 2020 年的一份報告,大約有數百名的維吾爾武裝份子隱藏在阿富汗,這些游擊隊從 1990 年代就進入阿富汗。爲了清除隱患,中國與阿富汗談判如何處理這些恐怖分子,阿富汗塔利班也將這群人撤離中國邊境地區。2 當各國選擇從阿富汗撤退,中國不僅沒有撤退,反而新派一位大使到阿富汗,趁機卡位,維護中國利益,攫奪美國遺留下的權力真空的企圖非常明顯。3

對塔利班而言,因為執政時期採取各種禁絕及打壓人權措施而惡名 昭彰,讓許多國家不願意與塔利班建交,在阿富汗也沒有直接的經濟資 源利益,也無外交的價值,也不願意立即承認塔利班政府。阿富汗位於 窮山惡水,難以發展經濟,在缺乏各國承認及外資挹注下,自然希望中 國能夠協助開發基礎建設,或是投資阿富汗帶動經濟發展。阿富汗強調 中國是阿富汗的「受歡迎朋友」,並表明不會干涉中國內政,也就是新 疆及台灣問題;同時承諾塔利班控制下的領土不會被用來對付其他國家, 就是在對中國政府強烈表達好意,甚至讓東伊運份子擔心塔利班將被送 回中國。4對中國而言,這些承諾非常受惠,更可以強化中國在中亞的影 響力,何樂而不爲。

參、中國與阿富汗塔利班政府的互動

從 2001 年底,美國入侵阿富汗後,因爲塔利班領導人逃避至巴基斯坦,基於巴基斯坦與中國是全天候戰略夥伴的關係,使塔利班也開始建立與中國的互動關係。而且從 2014 年開始,塔利班代表團開始公開和定

^{2.} RFE/RL's Tajik Service, Reid Standish, "Taliban 'Removing' Uyghur Militants from Afghanistan's Border with China," *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, October 5, 2021 https://www.rferl.org/a/afghanistan-taliban-uyghurs-china/31494226.html.

^{3.} VOA Afghan Service, "Appointment of Ambassador Signals China's Ambition in Afghanistan, Experts Say," *VOA*, September 29, 2023 https://www.voanews.com/a/appointment-of-ambassador-signals-china-s-ambition-in-afghanistan-experts-say-/7290869.html

^{4.} Sui-Lee Wee and Muyi Xiao, "Afghan Uyghurs Fear Deportation as Taliban Cozy Up to China," *The New York Times*, September 23, 2021, https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/23/world/asia/afghanistan-uyghurs-china-taliban.html.

期訪問中國。中國爲穩定阿富汗情勢,還促成阿富汗政府與塔利班在新疆烏魯木齊進行秘密會談。5 這也顯示中國與塔利班政權的多年交往,已經建立穩定的關係。就如同前蘇聯佔領阿富汗時期,美國支援阿富汗反抗軍最後拖垮前蘇聯一樣,中國與塔利班建立互動關係,很難不讓人聯想中國是否對塔利班的暗中支持,除了維護自己的利益之外,企圖拖垮美國在阿富汗的行動。

在美國撤軍後,許多國家連同美國一起撤出領事人員,唯獨中國選擇留下來時,成爲塔利班掌權以來第一個任命大使的國家,並投資採礦計畫,就已經顯示中國與塔利班的關係穩定,甚至想要主導美國撤出後的中亞情勢與發展。更重要的是,中國一帶一路倡議,從新疆向西延伸後,直接面對中亞及西亞國家,這個區域內過去是前蘇聯的勢力,至今仍受到俄羅斯的影響。如果中國擴大對中亞國家的影響力,將與俄羅斯形成地緣政治的競爭態勢。

但如果能藉巴基斯坦的關係,擴大向西延伸,可以將中巴經濟走廊 與中亞國家的發展連成一氣,自然能夠擴大經濟力以及影響力。因爲從 整個中亞地緣來看,阿富汗位居中亞五國南部,西側接伊朗,南方鄰接 巴基斯坦,都是中國重要的戰略夥伴,當然希望能夠連接在一起,成爲 牽制印度及美國在中亞及西亞的重要國家。

中國在 2023 年的一帶一路十周年的論壇中,特意邀請塔利班參加,就是在強調兩個國家關係密切。雖然中國尚未正式承認這個塔利班政府,但能夠參與許多國家參與的國際會議,給足了塔利班的面子與機會。塔利班參加這個會議不是只要面子而已,塔利班政權更希望透過此次會議,能夠邀請大型投資者到阿富汗。因爲參加論壇不僅讓塔利班官員有機會與中國官員接觸,也讓其他國家官員有機會接觸。中國希望爲塔利班提

^{5.} Edward Wong and Mujib Mashal, "Taliban and Afghan Peace Officials Have Secret Talks in China," *The New York Times*, May 25, 2015, https://www.nytimes.com/2015/05/26/world/asia/taliban-and-afghan-peace-officials-have-secret-talks-in-china.html.

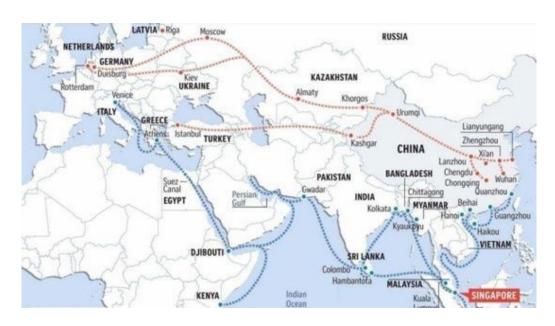


圖 1、一帶一路倡議與阿富汗

資料來源:〈中國一帶一路峰會敲定會期〉,《法廣》,2023 年 10 月 11 日,https://www.rfi.fr/tw/%E4%B8%AD%E5%9C%8B/20231011-%E4%B8%AD%E5%9C%8B%E4%B8%80%E5%B8%B6%E4%B8%80%E8%B7%AF%E5%B3%B0%E6%9C%83%E6%95%B2%E5%AE%9A%E6%9C%83%E6%9C%9F。

供一個與其他國家談判的平臺。6

而投資方面,阿富汗能夠吸引人的地方,大概只有價值一兆到三兆 美元的黃金、銅礦及鋰礦。至於中國的一帶一路倡議,對阿富汗也極具 吸引力,因爲阿富汗希望與中國討論修建穿越阿富汗北部薄山地帶瓦罕 走廊(Wakhan Corridor)的公路,以直接通往中國。另外,希望「一帶 一路」將阿富汗包括在內,2021年中國與巴基斯坦已經宣布將中巴經濟 走廊越過邊境延伸到阿富汗,使阿富汗能雨露均霑一帶一路的利益,並 能兼顧反恐行動。7

Joe Cash, "Taliban Representative Arrives in Beijing to Attend Belt and Road Forum," Reuters,
October 17, 2023, https://www.reuters.com/world/taliban-representative-arrives-beijing-attend-belt-road-forum-2023-10-17/.

^{7.} PTI, "Pakistan, China Agree to Extend CPEC to Afghanistan; Stress on Combating Terrorism," *The Economic Times*, May 9, 2023, https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/international/world-news/pakistan-china-agree-to-extend-cpec-to-afghanistan-stress-on-combating-terrorism/articleshow/100105596.cms?utm_source=contentofinterest&utm_medium=text&utm_campaign=cppst.

如果阿富汗極具投資與開發價值,世界各國企業應該早已風聞而至, 就是因爲阿富汗經濟落後,而且在塔利班激進伊斯蘭教教規統治下,教 育落後,民風保守,爲了避免經濟持續惡化,塔利班必須尋求大型投資 者,這讓世界第二經濟體,而且是反美的中國,成爲塔利班的首選。因此, 塔利班與中國壓迫新疆維吾爾人的關係,不會成爲重大阻礙,阿富汗塔 利班急需資金,改善財政與國家發展才是首要之務,穆斯林兄弟之情變 成次要考量。

而對中國而言,因爲一帶一路倡議計畫龐大,阿富汗並非直接沿線發展國家,國家貧窮也難以獲得相對投資效益,也非中國投資的首選。但是就因爲阿富汗塔利班政權反美,中國爲了拉攏阿富汗,擴大在中亞的影響力,自然要對阿富汗多加投資。這種投資,除了經濟和安全的思考外,更大的理由是與美國在中亞地緣上的競爭。當美國希望世界各國孤立塔利班時,中國偏偏與塔利班關係密切,雖然沒有正式承認,但是刻意拉攏與協助建設,至少讓塔利班將中國視爲困境中伸出援手的好朋友。畢竟中國是有錢有勢的大國。

從美國撤軍以來,中國不斷批評美國不應該凍結阿富汗在國外的資產,因爲凍結資產阻礙阿富汗人道問題,如難民問題的處理。8但是美國及西方國家認爲這些錢屬於所有阿富汗人民的,不應該被塔利班拿去從事迫害人民基本權利的資本。中國沒有能力從西方國家要回這些錢,但是中國略施口惠一本萬利。而當阿富汗希望中國投資阿富汗時,中國就必須慎重的考慮整個計劃的區域優先順序。

塔利班政府 2023 年獲邀參加一帶一路論壇,中國邀請塔利班參加一帶一路論壇可以塑造中國撐起大國的場面。但是在中國經濟遲緩,資金短缺情況下,原有的一帶一路投資計畫,已經開始精簡計畫。甚至在東

^{8.} Jiayi Zhou, Fei Su and Jingdong Yuan, "Treading Lightly: China's Footprint in a Taliban-Led Afghanistan," *SIPRI Insights on Peace and Security*, No. 2022/08, November 2022, https://www.sipri.org/sites/default/files/2022-11/sipriinsights_2208_china_and_afghanistan_2.pdf.

歐及南亞國家已經有國家退出,或者因爲債務陷阱而打退堂鼓。沒有重大投資效益的阿富汗,自然不會列爲優先投資的國家。以中巴經濟走廊延伸到阿富汗爲例,如果能夠互聯互通當然可以促進中國—巴基斯坦及阿富汗的合作,或促進塔利班政權的合法化。但是該計畫在區域連通性方面存在障礙,可能讓計畫難以成功或是整個納入阿富汗的計畫停滯下來。

肆、未來發展

中國與阿富汗關係的現實是,因爲阿富汗戰後政治尚未穩定,導致缺乏各國的投資。過去中國承諾在阿富汗的投資計畫,如銅礦及石油開採等,都是在初步階段,而且歷經戰亂,受到政治影響,目前尚未出現重大收益。而且塔利班政權仍然與其他恐怖組織,如蓋達(Al Qaeda)組織等有聯繫,這些組織在複雜的國際恐怖組織網絡中,很難釐清其真正敵國及意圖。塔利班政權雖然承諾不會允許其他恐怖組織利用阿富汗領土,但是在巴基斯坦地區仍有恐怖組織攻擊中國工人情況下,很難解決中國企業在阿富汗及巴基斯坦的安全。9中巴經濟走廊延伸到阿富汗的計畫,至今仍未完成,安全因素也是主要原因。

中國有興趣投資阿富汗的自然資源,但塔利班並沒有被任何國家承認為阿富汗的合法政府。連中國也不願意首先承認。這種先求自己經濟利益,但對阿富汗投資及正式承認採取猶豫的態度,很難堅定維持中國與塔利班政府的關係。以塡補美國中亞地區權力眞空的戰略競爭意圖,是否能夠為中亞地區帶來和平與穩定,仍難預料。中國與阿富汗的交往都是基於各自的利益考量,這樣的關係能否經得起外在環境的考驗,雙方都將對方視為達到目的的手段,對彼此持懷疑態度。如中國經濟衰退

^{9.} Asfandiyar, "Another Attack on Chinese Nationals in Pakistan Puts CPEC Back Under Scrutiny," *The Diplomat*, August 15, 2023, https://thediplomat.com/2023/08/another-attack-on-chinese-nationals-in-pakistan-puts-cpec-back-under-scrutiny/.

減少對阿富汗投資,或者阿富汗塔利班政府因爲國際孤立,缺乏外資導致更加貧窮走上更極端道路,恐怕再度引起內戰。這也會讓中國考慮一旦情勢惡化,不論是對阿富汗的礦產投資或是一帶一路的延伸計畫,都將面臨更大的地緣風險。

本文作者沈明室爲國防大學政治研究所博士,現爲財團法人國防安全研究院國家安全研究所研究員兼所長。主要研究領域爲:國家安全研究、中共軍事、戰略理論、國防組織研究、武裝衝突法、中共黨政。

China's Relationship with the Afghan Taliban Government after the US Withdrawal

Ming-Shih Shen

Division of National Security Research

Abstract

China continued to interact with the Taliban for the purpose of containing the

United States, but it dared not make it public due to concerns about that country.

However, after the United States withdrew from Afghanistan, China, which actively

wanted to expand its strategic influence, began to openly support the Afghan

Taliban regime to maintain stability in Central Asia based on the goal of eliminating

separatists and stabilizing its backyard. China pursued its own economic interests

first, but its hesitant attitude towards investment and formal recognition has made it

difficult to maintain a solid relationship with the Taliban government.

Whether the United States' strategic competition intention to fill the power

vacuum in Central Asia can actually bring peace and stability to Central Asia

in the future is still difficult to predict. With the exchanges between China and

Afghanistan based on their mutual interests and both sides regarding the other as

a means to an end and skeptical of each other, it remains to be seen whether such

their relationship can withstand the test of the external environment. If China's

economic recession reduces its investment in Afghanistan, or if the Afghan Taliban

government becomes even more economically challenged and takes a more

extreme path due to international isolation and lack of foreign investment, another

domestic conflict may be triggered.

Keywords: Afghanistan, Taliban, Central Asia, Power Vacuum, Belt and Road

Initiative

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Evolution of and Factors in the Making of Kazakhstan Foreign and Security Policy

Chukubayev Yerme and Kuzembayeva Assiya

哈薩克國立大學國際關係與世界經濟系

I. Introduction

Over the years of its independence, the Republic of Kazakhstan has made significant efforts to establish a robust system for securing the nation's well-being. Kazakhstan's security framework has been shaped by its historical and geopolitical backdrop. The nation's leadership has strived to craft a foreign policy that harmonizes the concerns of its neighboring states, effectively handles its abundant natural resources, and fosters partnerships on both regional and global actors. Kazakhstan's security doctrine encompasses components involving multi-vector foreign policy, economic progress, and defense capabilities. These elements form the core of Kazakhstan's security strategy.

The ongoing and protracted conflict between Russia and Ukraine, along with the complex situation in Afghanistan, serve as just a few examples of the myriad factors that exert substantial influence on Kazakhstan's national security landscape. These external dynamics have created a web of challenges and considerations for the Kazakh government and its policymakers. Apart from these, a range of other regional and global concerns, such as economic uncertainties and issues related to water and energy resources, all add to the intricate web of challenges that Kazakhstan needs to manage in order to protect its national security. In accordance with the President K.-J.Tokayev's observations, the escalation of geopolitical tensions, an unparalleled confrontation involving sanctions, and the proliferation of hybrid conflicts are generating entirely fresh complexities in the realm of national security. In his view, the rapid process of globalization and a sweeping technological revolution have resulted in an environment where national

borders are progressively losing their opacity and becoming more accessible. This heightened interconnectivity among states is expanding, and as a result, the external impact on Kazakhstan's information and sociocultural sphere is on the ascent.

The purpose of this article is to analyse factors and developments that have influenced the establishment and evolution of international dimension of Kazakhstan's national security system and it also seeks to examine President K. Tokayev's approach to national security issues.

II. Theoretical and methodological starting points

It is essential to have a clear understanding of Kazakhstan's sovereign status and how it is perceived on the global stage. It's evident that Kazakhstan cannot engage in power politics or exert significant influence on the international relations, especially at a geopolitical level. Unlike nations such as Russia or China, which can incorporate notions like a "geopolitical sphere of influence" into their foreign policy strategies and build complex networks within this realm. Kazakhstan can be categorized as a minor actor in global affairs. As a result, its foreign policy should adopt a pragmatic orientation, with a primary focus on addressing and contributing to domestic, economic, and security policy matters.

In this research, neoclassical realism serves as the principal theoretical framework for analyzing the evolution of Kazakhstan's external security policy priorities.

One fundamental aspect of neoclassical realism is its premise that foreign policy is shaped not only by the international relations structure but also by the internal attributes of the state. Consequently, states, because of these internal factors that modify the impact of the international relations structure, formulate

^{1. &}quot;Глава государства принял участие в торжественном собрании по случаю 30-летия Комитета национальной безопасности," года, 13 июля 2022, https://www.akorda.kz/ru/glava-gosudarstva-prinyal-uchastie-v-torzhestvennom-sobranii-po-sluchayu-30-letiya-komiteta-nacionalnoy-bezopasnosti-1361350.

their engagements with other actors in diverse ways.² According to neoclassical neorealism, elites' interpretation of the international relations structure significantly contributes to foreign policy formation. State leaders with their perspectives on global politics, play a decisive role in the decision-making process. Political elites can interpret certain challenges to a national security in varying ways, sometimes overemphasizing or downplaying the importance of certain threats. As a consequence of this notion, it can be deduced that states with similar capabilities may exhibit distinct behaviors in international relations. Furthermore, the element of how government leaders perceive the significance of a specific phenomenon can undergo alterations, ultimately influencing the progression of foreign policy. Government leaders play a direct role in the delineation of national interests. It can also be deduced that strategic objectives, including the way international relations are perceived, have the potential to shift and develop over time.

Finally, the ultimate pivotal variable impacting the alteration of the impact stemming from the structure of international relations is the political apparatus of the state, within which each governmental entity assumes an allocated function. This particular variable configures the foreign policy decision-making process and may impose constraints on the selection of foreign and security policy trajectories.

Thus, neoclassical realism enables us to examine an actor's foreign and security policy comprehensively, not excluding the importance of the international relations structure's influence.

III. Kazakhstan national security: Eurasian dimension

In the initial years of its independence, Kazakhstan's authorities devised a regional strategy predicated on the dual objectives of ensuring national security and protecting national interests, while concurrently seeking to assume a leading

^{2.} Gideon Rose, "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy," *World Politics*, Vol. 51, No. 1, October 1998, p. 146.

role within the Central Asian region. Recognizing that the country could not independently ensure its own national security in the near term, the leadership adopted a forward-looking multi-vector foreign policy approach as a solution. Nazarbayev found it increasingly difficult to separate his domestic and foreign policies.³ This perspective is enshrined within the "Strategy for the Establishment and Advancement of Kazakhstan as an Independent Nation" of 1992, which clearly delineated Kazakhstan's commitment to an exclusively defensive foreign policy doctrine and refraining from asserting territorial, economic, or political demands upon its neighboring nations. Particularly, the leadership of Kazakhstan delineated the central tenets for the preservation of national security, which encompassed:

- cultivating unique relations with Russia;
- aiming to establish a coalition of Central Asian states;
- promoting comprehensive collective security pact within the CIS.⁴

Upon relinquishing its nuclear arsenal, Kazakhstan garnered substantial assurances from nuclear-capable states regarding territorial integrity and the respect for its sovereignty. This strategic shift facilitated the attainment of strategic advantages in various domains of international cooperation. The leadership of Kazakhstan demonstrated an acute awareness of the potential ramifications of political, economic, and military shifts in neighboring countries on the security and stability of Kazakhstan. As a result, Kazakhstan proactively involved itself in a range of regional and international agreements pertaining to matters of security and politics. This proactive approach was rooted in the understanding that isolation from regional developments was neither feasible nor advisable. In this

^{3.} Sally N. Cummings, "Eurasian Bridge or Murky Waters between East and West? Ideas, Identity and Output in Kazakhstan's Foreign Policy," *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Vol. 19, No. 3, 2003, p. 155.

^{4.} Лаумулин Мурат, "Казахстан: гражданский фактор в формировании политики национальной безопасности," Р. Домисевич, Ю. Назаркина под ред., Домисевич Гражданский контроль национальной политики безопасности: Опыт стран СНГ (Москва: DCAF, 2004), р. 175.

context, through participation in regional coalitions, small states like Kazakhstan could assume a prominent role in international relations, both regionally and on the global stage. And this was reasonable, as contemporary security challenges disproportionately affect small nations, rendering them structurally disadvantaged players, their membership in the new institutions enables them to have an impact on decision-making processes within the international relations system. Kazakhstan actively participated in establishing a legal framework for militarypolitical cooperation within the CIS, including agreements such as the 1992 Collective Security Agreement and the 1993 Memorandum of Cooperation on Border Defense. Kazakhstan not only supported integration processes, but also fostered bilateral relations with neighboring states. Kazakhstan's regional policies are grounded in the belief that cooperation based on legal principles will help it retain a leading role and protect its interests at the regional level. Astana actively promoted this strategy by initiating the establishment of regional and sub-regional organizations like the Eurasian Economic Community, CSTO, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), and others. These organizations constitute a complex network of integrative initiatives connecting post-Soviet countries. In February 2005, President Nazarbayev introduced the idea of forming a Union of Central Asian States to ensure the stable development, security, and strengthening of stability in the region's states.

The geopolitical positioning of Kazakhstan requires the importance of collaborating on security matters, and as a result, it assigns significant emphasis to bilateral relations with key players, namely Russia and China, in its strategic documents.

(I)Russia

Essentially, Kazakhstan and Russia are partners and allies within integration frameworks like EAEU and CSTO. Kazakhstan's enduring interests in its

relationship with Russia are rooted in such fundamental and long-term factors like geography and history, Russia's substantial political, economic and cultural influence and considerable military-technical capabilities.

Sustaining a robust alliance with Russia is imperative for Kazakhstan due to its status as a landlocked nation and rendering access to global markets is of paramount importance for its economy. The border, extending for more than 7,500 kilometers, promotes cross-border connections not just between the two nations but also acts as a link between the European sector of the CIS and the Central Asian region. Personal interactions between Presidents N. Nazarbayev and V. Putin played a pivotal role in reinforcing the longstanding and strong partnership between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation.

The adaptable approach of simultaneously pursuing a multi-vector foreign policy while nurturing unique ties with Russia seems to have yielded positive results. This flexible foreign policy approach has attracted various foreign economic partners, and the special relationship with Russia has firmly positioned Kazakhstan within a Russian security framework.

Between 1992 and 2000, more than 300 agreements were signed. These agreements covered a range of areas, including the parties' dedication to coordinating their foreign and defense policies and offering assistance to each other in the case of an aggression.⁵ These agreements also comprised commitments to prevent the use of their territories for activities that could threaten the security or stability of neighboring states. Additionally, they expressed a mutual aspiration for integration in economic and cultural realms, along with the alignment of their legal frameworks.

In the 2000s, the changing political landscape continued to foster the

^{5.} Губайдуллина М.Ш., Конуспаев Е.Б., "Становление и развитие концепции внешней политики РК. Особенности принятия решений: РК – Россия – СНГ," *Вестник КазНУ. Серия международные отношения и международное право*, Vol. 96, No. 4, 2021, pp. 4-7.

advancement of Kazakhstan-Russian relations. A pivotal element contributing to this increased focus on Kazakhstan was the growing influence of various global and regional powers in the post-Soviet region, a region considered by Russia as falling within its sphere of "privileged interests." Moreover, Kazakhstan actively contributed to the establishment of entities like the EurAsEC and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, which gained greater political significance as the CIS faced a decline and internal disagreements among its members became more apparent.

However, the dynamics of Kazakhstani- Russian cooperation encountered significant challenges after Crimean crisis. These challenges predominantly stemmed from apprehensions about the prospect of Russia employing a similar approach towards northern territories of Kazakhstan. They gained traction due to certain statements made by Russian political figures.⁶ These statements exacerbated an already complex landscape of Russian-Kazakh relations.

During this period, Russia extended the lease of the Baikonur complex until 2050. Concurrently, bilateral intergovernmental agreements from 2004 and 2005 laid the groundwork for the establishment of the Kazakh space rocket complex, Baiterek, at the Baikonur Cosmodrome. Furthermore, in 2013, the presidents of Russia and Kazakhstan signed the Agreement on Military-Technical Cooperation in Moscow. As part of this cooperation, Russia leased four military testing grounds located within Kazakhstan's territory, and Kazakh military personnel received training in Russian military educational institutions.

Broadly speaking, the mutual desire of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kazakhstan to advance their relations is primarily influenced by military-political and economic considerations. According to the current foreign

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^{6.} Almaz Kumenov, "Russian Nationalists Again Rile Kazakhstan by Questioning Its Nationhood," Eurasianet, December 15, 2020, https://eurasianet.org/russian-nationalists-again-rile-kazakhstan-by-questioning-its-nationhood.

policy doctrine of the Russian Federation,⁷ the top priority is to ensure that cooperation with CIS states, both multilateral and bilateral, aligns with the state's national security objectives. This is particularly noteworthy for Kazakhstan, the only Central Asian state with a border shared with Russia, as it has consistently maintained its role as a reliable strategic partner.

(II)China

Several factors have played a crucial role in elevating the relationship between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the People's Republic of China to a strategic level. These factors include their geographical proximity, common border over 1,782 kilometers, Kazakhstan's natural resources, China's substantial trade, economic, and technological capabilities, Kazakh diaspora in China, Kazakhstan's location with significant transport and communication potential. Furthermore, the role of personal relationships between the leaders of Kazakhstan and China has played a significant part in improving mutual understanding and aligning the positions of the two countries on a wide range of regional and international issues. The personal connections among high-ranking officials have cultivated an atmosphere of trust, especially in security area. China stands as one of the nations entrusted with ensuring the nuclear safety of Kazakhstan.

In the early 1990s, China's foremost objective was to achieve demilitarization along its borders, finalize demarcation agreements, and containing Uighur separatism. Kazakhstan and other Central Asian states have demonstrated their willingness to collaborate in security sector by signing bilateral declarations related to combating separatism.

^{7. &}quot;Концепция внешней политики Российской Федерации (утверждена Президентом Российской Федерации В.В.Путиным 31 марта 2023 г.)," *Министерство иностранных дел Российской Федерации*, March 31, 2023, https://www.mid.ru/ru/detail-material-page/1860586/.

Collaboration with China stands as the central pillar of Kazakhstan's foreign policy, primarily aimed at securing its independence, national security, and preserving regional stability. Addressing issues related to ethnic separatism and religious extremism plays a significant role in their bilateral relationship. Agreements between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the People's Republic of China on combating separatism are codified in their bilateral agreements. Notably, within the framework of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) in June 2001, they adopted the Convention on Combating Terrorism, Separatism, and Extremism, which includes provisions for establishing a joint anti-terrorist center.

Kazakhstan and China gradually progressed toward the formulation of their most significant strategic agreements. In July 2005, they formalized a "long-term strategic partnership" through a joint Declaration. In 2006, they established the "Strategy of Cooperation in the 21st Century," which was complemented by the "Concept for the Development of Economic Cooperation." This framework, as emphasized by Hu Jintao, further solidified the pragmatic aspect of their relationship. In 2011, the Joint Declaration of the Heads of State of Kazakhstan and the People's Republic of China established a trajectory towards a Comprehensive Strategic Partnership. Finally, in 2015, they officially declared their relationship as a "Comprehensive Strategic Partnership."

Kazakhstan's involvement in the Belt and Road Initiative offers promising opportunities, including the potential to fully utilize its transit capabilities and modernize its transportation and logistical infrastructure. Various potential transportation routes passing through the region would make use of Kazakhstan as a central transit and logistical hub, leading to significant economic benefits. This involvement would enhance the nation's transit potential, boost trade volume, enhance transportation and logistics infrastructure, and attract increased investment. The enhanced partnership between both countries through the Belt and Road Initiative has exacerbated existing disparities in power dynamics and instilled a

reluctance to address delicate issues as cross-border water problems.8

(III)Central Asia

The Central Asian dimension of Kazakhstan's foreign policy is still a prominent part of its agenda, but it has yet to fully realize its potential. Central Asian states face challenges in terms of economic and military self-sufficiency, making them susceptible to external security threats due to their military vulnerabilities. Consequently, external powers often play a role as security guarantors. Moreover, the diverse external priorities of Central Asian countries present a substantial challenge. A key objective is to identify and implement effective forms of cooperation among these states that align their national interests with the requirements of regional integration.

These nations are situated in a region marked by various security challenges, with border disputes taking on particular significance. The precarious regional environment, where any shift in the power dynamics can escalate into a significant conflict, combined with their constrained military capabilities, compels these states to seek any form of regional cooperation. Kazakhstan views a collective approach by regional states as the only viable solution to the challenges they confront. Consequently, Kazakhstan supports collaboration with various organizations that address the multiple security threats in the region.

Bilateral relations with Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, and Tajikistan, to varying degrees, align with this regional strategy, although Kazakhstan encountered certain inconsistencies in its relationship with Uzbekistan during the Karimov's period. The perceived competition for regional leadership between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan can be attributed to their comparable strategic capabilities, economic potential, and their roles on the international stage.

^{8.} Brassetta J., Akmadi M., Sternber T., "Seeing beyond Negotiations: the Impacts of the Belt and Road on Sino-Kazakh Transboundary Water Management," *International Journal of Water Resources Development*, Vol. 39, No. 3, 2023, pp. 361-381 https://doi.org/10.1080/07900627.2022.2090905

Since the early 1990s, water-related issues have emerged as significant factors in regional security. The existing mechanism for managing transboundary water resources in Central Asia is fraught with considerable conflict potential, with water problems ranking high in the hierarchy of regional challenges. Consequently, water-related issues in Central Asia carry substantial potential for conflict and necessitate continuous monitoring. Despite numerous discussions and efforts to resolve these problems, the involved parties have not yet reached a consensus. Additionally, the involvement of external nations and international organizations in addressing the water issue has yielded limited success.

The 1992 Agreement on the Sharing of Water Resources and the 1998 Framework Agreement on the Use of Water and Energy Resources in the Syr Darya Basin are characterized by a limited level of legal sophistication and lack effective monitoring mechanisms. Consequently, the primary means of water and energy exchange today involve bilateral and trilateral annual agreements established under the Water Coordination Commission's auspices. Although these agreements have become a regular and well-organized practice, they do not rest on a framework of general obligations. Instead, they imply a constant need for aligning interests, demanding substantial diplomatic efforts from the "lower" states, including Kazakhstan. The consensus achieved through these agreements appears to be precarious.

Presently, the region is experiencing improved relations and the formulation of a collaborative agenda for Central Asia's development following the assumption of office by the new President of the Republic of Uzbekistan, which could also impact the dynamics surrounding water and energy resources.

The period from 2020 to 2021 witnessed an intensification of developments around the Central Asian region and within it. Notably, the situation in Afghanistan, including the ascent of the Taliban movement, emerged as a primary security concern for Kazakhstan and the wider region. Kazakhstan places significant

emphasis on addressing issues such as international terrorism, extremism, the illicit trade of drugs and weapons, and illegal migration, as President Tokayev underscored during the CSTO anniversary summit in 2022.

IV. Tokayev's new Kazakhstan

The start of 2022 witnessed the gas revolt in Western Kazakhstan, which were followed by turmoil also known as "Tragic January." The deployment of the CSTO peacekeeping forces not only drew substantial criticism from Western partners and sparked protests but also underscored the necessity for social, political, and economic reforms within the country. This policy was subsequently labeled as "New Kazakhstan."

In the aftermath of suppressing the rebellion, Kazakhstan's leadership endeavored to advance the course established during the transition of power by pursuing systematic changes that encompassed extensive economic and sociopolitical reforms. These reforms were implemented with the aim of forging a new model of public governance and establishing mechanisms to foster dialogue between the government and society, all within the framework of the "Hearing State" concept.

Subsequently, through a republican referendum held on June 5, 2022, constitutional modifications were enacted, resulting in the limitation of the president's authority, a reduction of the presidential term to seven years, and an alteration in the regulations governing parliamentary elections. This marked the initiation of a process aimed at reevaluating Nursultan Nazarbayev's legacy. Notably, he was relieved of all governmental roles, and references to him as the first president were expunged from the Constitution.

^{9. &}quot;Выступление Главы государства Касым-Жомарта Токаева на внеочередной сессии Совета коллективной безопасности," *ОДКБ*, https://akorda.kz/ru/vystuplenie-glavy-gosudarstva-kasym-zhomarta-kemelevicha-na-vneocherednoy-sessii-soveta-kollektivnoy-bezopasnosti-odkb-1002245.

Additionally, a law adopted on June 29, 2023, during a Senate plenary session, revoked Nazarbayev's position as the head of the Supreme Council for the educational institutions, university, and foundation named after him.

Re-election of Tokayev in 2022 afforded him the mandate to initiate a series of reform initiatives designed to chart a sustained course for the country's sociopolitical and economic development. The impetus behind the transformation of Kazakhstan's political system in the aftermath of the January uprising was grounded in the aspiration to establish a novel political ethos, thereby facilitating the emergence of avenues for progressive innovations, especially in the sphere of foreign policy. Within this complex framework, the positioning of Russia was significantly shaped by the rapid shifts and complexities inherent to the evolving geopolitical landscape.

President Kassym-Jomart Tokayev endorsed the Republic of Kazakhstan's new Foreign Policy Concept for the years 2020 to 2030. This document outlines the nation's foreign policy objectives for the coming decade. Notably, the concept assigns a significant and unique status to the country's relationship with the Russian Federation. A noteworthy aspect of this new foreign policy concept is that it explicitly underscores the importance of advancing "allied relations with the Russian Federation."

In the expert community, there is a near-consensus that the CSTO's presence, albeit a temporary one, signifies the end of Kazakhstan's multi-vector foreign policy approach. The main argument revolves around a demonstration of authoritarian unity led by President Putin. The CSTO's operation in Kazakhstan

^{10. &}quot;О Концепции внешней политики Республики Казахстан на 2020 – 2030," *Official website of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan*, 9 марта 2020, https://www.akorda.kz/ru/legal_acts/decrees/o-koncepcii-vneshnei-politiki-respubliki-kazahstan-na-2020-2030-gody.

^{11.} Kukeyeva F., "Eurasian Partners for Kazakhstan During Power Transition," in Baizakova K., Yann Alix, & Chabal P. ed., *The Completion of Eurasia?* Continental convergence or regional dissent in the context of 'historic turns' (Peter Lang, 2023), p. 101.

in January 2022 carried geopolitical significance for Russia. Moscow's primary motive was to ensure stability in Kazakhstan, given the extensive Russian-Kazakh border, which is inadequately equipped and, in some areas, not even demarcated.

Kazakhstan aligns with Russia in the security domain, while concurrently adopting a balanced approach in political matters, upholding its neutral stance. This foreign policy approach aligns with the concept of "hedging," a comprehensive strategy that employs a combination of both balancing and bandwagoning strategies to secure its interests and optimize advantages. The primary pillar of Kazakhstan's security hinges on having a non-aggressive Russia, and it's crucial, above all, to maintain a positive relationship between Kazakhstan and Russia. This may explain why Tokayev is hesitant to label any country as a potential threat, even if it means downplaying the fact that the more assertive Russia could indeed pose a real and potential threat to Kazakhstan.

When Georgia and Ukraine attempted to align themselves with the United States and Western nations, the Kremlin responded with a strong and forceful approach. The 2008 invasion of Georgia and military operation in Ukraine exemplify how Russia responds to what it views as threats to its fundamental interests. As a result, Kazakhstan is facing a dilemma where Russia's efforts to establish an exclusive sphere of influence are progressively becoming a concrete and undeniable reality. Tokayev even has opted to halt the progression towards adopting the Latin alphabet and maintain the current script, primarily in response to the growing concern raised by Russia regarding the language issue. During the summit in Astana in October 2022, Kassym-Jomart Tokayev engaged in discussions with Russian President Vladimir Putin about the notion of advancing

^{12.} Kuik, Cheng-Chwee, "The Essence of Hedging: Malaysia and Singapore's Response to a Rising China," *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 30, No. 2, August 2008, pp. 159-185; Roman a. Yuneman, "Kazakhstan's Multi-Vector Foreign Policy A Case Study of Voting on UNGA Resolutions," *Russia in Global Affairs*, April/June 2023, https://eng.globalaffairs.ru/articles/kazakhstan-multi-vector/.

the Russian language within the CIS and suggested the establishment of an international organization to encourage and bolster the use of the Russian language in post-Soviet nations.¹³

Kazakhstan's evolving geopolitical situation is increasingly influenced by Russian foreign policy, particularly in the context of Russia's military operation in Ukraine. The ongoing conflict in Ukraine introduces additional risks, particularly concerning secondary channels of foreign trade and foreign direct investment. The escalating geopolitical complexities and subsequent global economic uncertainty pose threats to reduced investment activity, the deterioration of foreign trade relationships, and business interactions, exacerbating factors that contribute to a weakening economic environment. Given Kazakhstan's status as an open economy deeply engaged in international trade and the production of goods with prices influenced by global markets, these risks have a significant impact.

Key geopolitical challenges for the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) since 2014 have included the Western sanctions imposed on Russia, which have affected the economies of all EAEU member countries. This impact includes a decrease in foreign investment inflows, potential increases in protectionist measures, and difficulties in accessing advanced technologies. Moreover, the trade tensions between China and the United States have had adverse consequences for the development of EAEU countries, given China's substantial role as an investor and trading partner with member states of the Union.

An indicator of the shared risks faced by EAEU member countries was the depreciation of the Russian ruble, which had a direct effect on the value of the Kazakhstani tenge.

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^{13. &}quot;Kazakhstan's President Proposes International Russian Language Organization at CIS Summit," *Daryo*, October 13, 2023, https://daryo.uz/en/2023/10/13/kazakhstans-president-proposes-international-russian-language-organization-at-cis-summit.

Another significant risk pertains to Russia's intention to transition economic relationships into more politically oriented ones within the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU). This was evident in 2020 during a routine meeting of the Supreme Eurasian Economic Council when President Tokayev made several statements concerning a strategy for the advancement of Eurasian integration. This strategy raised concerns, as it was perceived as potentially limiting the sovereign rights of governments and parliament, a move that could face resistance and rejection from the perspective of national public opinion.

Kazakhstan's participation in the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) carries certain risks, notably, the imposition of collective sanctions by Western countries against Russia. The policy of sanctions, which has evolved into a global phenomenon, not only impacts the immediate condition of the global economy and its future trends but also presents potential hazards for countries partnering with Russia. The entities imposing sanctions directly communicate to businesses in third countries that engagement with Russia-sanctioned enterprises is discouraged and may result in "secondary restrictions" being imposed upon them.

President Tokayev has unequivocally stated Kazakhstan's political neutrality, particularly in his declaration of non-recognition of any quasi-states, which includes the Luhansk People's Republic (LPR) and Donetsk People's Republic (DPR). ¹⁴ This underscores Kazakhstan's commitment to remaining impartial and not officially recognizing entities that are often considered self-declared or breakaway regions. Kazakhstan's membership in CSTO and its relationship with Russia play a crucial role in shaping the country's defense strategy, regional security efforts, and overall military posture and these issues were reflected in military doctrines adopted between 2007 and 2022. Even though Tokayev hasn't openly labeled

^{14.} Vusala Abbasova, "President Tokayev Says Kazakhstan Will Not Recognize Donetsk, Lugansk as Independent States," *Caspian News*, June 20, 2022, https://caspiannews.com/news-detail/president-tokayev-says-kazakhstan-will-not-recognize-donetsk-lugansk-as-independent-states-2022-6-20-0/.

Russia as a threat, he is inclined to contemplate additional measures to enhance his country's autonomy through its relations with China.

Kazakhstan appears to have aligned itself economically with China. The Chinese direction, which is a priority but also contentious, has been consistently maintained as a stable level of strategic partnership. On September 14, 2022, President Xi Jinping embarked on a notable visit to Kazakhstan, which held significance as his first overseas trip following an extended hiatus attributed to the pandemic. This choice of destination was influenced by several key factors. Primarily, the visit aimed to facilitate an in-depth exchange of information with President Tokayev, particularly concerning the events that transpired in January.

In September 2022, during his official trip to Kazakhstan, the Chinese leader conveyed a noteworthy message, emphasizing China's unwavering commitment to supporting Kazakhstan in safeguarding its independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, while strongly opposing any external interference in the nation's internal affairs. It is apparent that this message was intended for Russia. As a result, the potential divergence of interests between China and Russia highlights the increased adaptability of Kazakhstan's multivector foreign policy in the face of evolving global dynamics.

The Chinese leadership continues to emphasize the economic focus of Kazakhstan's agenda. Consequently, one of the central topics in the cooperation between the two nations is the execution of objectives within the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), as well as the Trans-Caspian international transport route. The significance of the latter has multiplied, particularly in light of the decreased Chinese transit to Europe via Russia.

An examination of the dynamics in the relationship between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the People's Republic of China reveals a discernible inclination towards the expansion of Chinese interests in Central Asia and Kazakhstan. This trend is exemplified by the elevation of the "Central Asia + China" framework

to the level of heads of state, the advancement of various Chinese initiatives and projects, as well as the bolstering of soft power efforts in Central Asian nations, among other factors. The Xi'an Declaration of the China-Central Asia Summit, ratified on May 19, 2023, solidified Kazakhstan's pivotal role (and that of Central Asia in its entirety) within the One Belt - One Road initiative.

Kazakhstan acknowledges the importance of collaboration on security matters, and as a result, places significant emphasis on bilateral partnerships and participation in multilateral frameworks within its strategic documents. Tokayev is actively advocating for the perception of Kazakhstan as a nation that plays a valuable role in the global community, with a specific emphasis on collective security and cooperation with neighboring states regarding specific security matters. During the 78th session of the UN General Assembly, Tokayev reaffirmed Kazakhstan's dedication to enhancing its diverse collaborations with Central Asian nations. He emphasized the potential for Central Asia to assume a more active and unified role within the global community, thus supporting worldwide development efforts. He stressed that the regional priorities should encompass Afghanistan, with the goal of transforming it into a stable, prosperous nation.

In the foreseeable future, we can expect the persistence of the trend that reinforces the cooperative ties between Kazakhstan and Turkey. Ankara is evolving into an influential regional player and an integral component within Kazakhstan's multifaceted external relations, primarily in light of Turkey's expanding military and geopolitical relevance. The connecting factors include shared historical, cultural, and linguistic ties. A mutual public interest in enhancing formal collaboration exists in both nations. Over an extended period, Turkish territory may conceivably play a pivotal role as a primary channel for facilitating the export of Kazakh goods to global markets.

V. Conclusion

The current global shifts are leading to alterations in the positions and functions of small states within the realm of world politics and international relations. These transformations are evident in the creation of fresh avenues for small states to attain their foreign policy objectives and carry out development strategies. Concurrently, the global transformations are reshaping the conception of state security. As a small state, Kazakhstan formulates its foreign policy towards regional powers and neighboring nations with consideration of its restricted geopolitical, economic, and other capacities. These limitations necessitate the adoption of distinctive behavioral approaches, distinct from those employed by larger, multi-regional states, to effectively pursue and safeguard its national interests. Due to the evolving political landscape in Central Asia, the increasing influence of China, the multi-vector policy undergone substantial transformations. Kazakhstan's foreign and security strategy encompasses the adoption of various approaches, including the balancing, bandwagoning, collective security strategy, and neutrality.

In pursuit of its security objectives, Kazakhstan endeavors to leverage all available state assets and international resources without resorting to military force. This approach encompasses harnessing the full spectrum of the nation's political, economic, scientific, technological, spiritual, cultural, informational, and humanitarian resources to facilitate its integration into the global community. This, in turn, fosters the development of robust relationships that enhance mutual trust and mitigate military confrontations that hinder the pursuit of power politics.

Driven by the conviction that the realization of national interests and security primarily relies on integration and the establishment of regional balance, Kazakhstan actively promoting regional partnerships. President K.-J.Tokayev is a forward-thinking leader with the ability to anticipate the advantages and feasibility of attaining objectives within the context of a versatile, yet practical, policy

framework.

本文作者 Chukubayev Yermek 爲哈薩克國立大學國際關係與世界經濟系副教授兼系主任。主要研究領域爲:中亞區域國際關係,尤其偏重區域傳統與非傳統安全相關議題。

本文作者 Kuzembayeva Assiya 爲哈薩克國立大學國際關係與世界經濟系副教授。主要研究領域爲:中亞地區安全議題、性別與國際政治的關係、歐盟和北約對中亞的政策。

Evolution of and Factors in the Making of Kazakhstan Foreign and Security Policy

Chukubayev Yerme and Kuzembayeva Assiya

Al-Farabi Kazakh National University

Abstract

Kazakhstan is not a global power. Being geopolitically located in Eurasia, it has to remain flexible in interacting with major powers and neighboring countries. The main strategy is to maintain the power balance in Central Asia by band wagoning with powerful countries or remaining neutral. Kazakhstan is pragmatic in diplomacy and national security, an attitude that is not only affected by the international structure, but also needs to take into account domestic development.

The article briefly reviews the development of the country's foreign policy since independence. Kazakhstan's sudden strained relationship with Russia mainly comes from Russia's annexation of eastern Ukraine, which has brought tension to the areas inhabited by Russian descendants in northern Kazakhstan. However, Russia has four military experimental sites and military bases in Kazakhstan, and most Kazakh military officers receive training in Russian military academies, making it impossible for the two countries to conduct military separation. As for relations with China, in the past they emphasized demilitarization of borders and preventing Xinjiang Uyghurs from using external forces to break away. Now, because of the Belt and Road Initiative, Kazakhstan has received huge Chinese investment, but this has made the relationship between the two countries very unequal. Kazakhstan's relations with other Central Asian countries are mainly troubled by water cooperation and border security issues. Now, due to Uzbekistan's change in attitude towards its neighbors, regional collective security cooperation is gradually becoming possible. The most likely threat at present is Islamism spreading from Afghanistan.

Kazakhstan's current foreign policy still aligns itself with Russia militarily, but maintains a neutral stance in international politics. The war in Ukraine brought economic sanctions against Russia, affecting the functioning of the Eurasian Economic Union. Moreover, the trade and geopolitical conflicts between China and the United States have also put Kazakhstan in an awkward situation. Kazakhstan is careful not to interfere in the internal affairs of the Russians, while at the same time strengthening its own national identity, such as changing the Kazakh written script. Now Kazakhstan is swinging between or relies on China and Russia. In return, for example, Xi Jinping's brief visit to Kazakhstan in 2022 symbolically showed China's support for Kazakhstan's territorial integrity.

Keywords: Kazakhstani Diplomacy, Central Asia Regional Security, Power Politics

新疆自由貿易試驗區是「再教育營2.0」? ——設立目的與對中亞經濟安全的影響

侍建宇

國家安全研究所

壹、前言

中國國務院 2023 年 11 月 1 日印發《中國(新疆)自由貿易試驗區總體方案》(簡稱《新疆自貿試驗方案》),¹宣稱將透過新疆推進「擴大人民幣跨境使用」,更要「建構聯通歐亞的綜合物流樞紐」。² 新疆自貿區是中國西北沿邊地區首個自由貿易試驗區,根據官方說法,將進行129 個實驗項目,打造中國向中亞、向西開放的橋頭堡。新疆自貿試驗區分成「三片」,分別是烏魯木齊、喀什、霍爾果斯,每一個片區都涵蓋有「綜合保稅區」,以及當地的「新疆生產建設兵團」。狀似中國「一帶一路倡議」的衍生產物。

如果 2013 年在提出「一帶一路倡議」一方面開始向西發展,另一方面並在上海設立中國第一個自貿區,向東也提出防衛措施,尋求突破美國當時籌組「跨太平洋夥伴全面進步協定(TPP)」的威脅。那麼現在新疆跟隨上海,以及之後設立的其他 21 個自貿區的路徑與經驗,設立自貿試驗區完全不令人訝異,當然也有著超越自由貿易其他的目的。本文嘗試分析中國在新疆設立自由貿易試驗區的目的,以及對中亞經濟安全可能帶來的各種影響。

^{1. 〈}中國國務院關於印發《中國(新疆)自由貿易試驗區總體方案》的通知〉,《人民網》,2023年11月1日,http://xj.people.com.cn/BIG5/n2/2023/1101/c186332-40624673.html。新疆自貿試驗區很多實際運作尚未確實開展,「試驗」意指區內運作的彈性與變動。中國官媒對於自由貿易試驗區的英文翻譯是Pilot Free Trade Zone。文中討論新疆自貿試驗區的內容,引用《方案》文義進行分析,爲免註腳冗長,不重覆引注。

^{2.} 新疆自貿試驗區的官宣簡介,請參考〈詳解新疆自由貿易試驗區 CCTV「新聞 1+1」〉,《中國中央電視台》,2023 年 11 月 2 日,https://www.youtube.com/watch?app=desktop&v=DV4CsQn67YU。

貳、新疆自由貿易試驗區是「加工出口區」、還是造鎮?

世界銀行將自由貿易區定義爲「小型、有固定範圍的免稅區域,爲 貿易、轉運和再出口業務提供倉儲、儲存和配送設施。」³新疆自貿區也 設有「綜合保稅區」,這些保稅區進行封閉式管理。進口貨物,可以暫 時不交納進口關稅,但是必須存入保稅區的保稅倉庫。保稅區的貨物可 以移轉所有權,以及簡易再加工,再出口時不需繳納出口稅。但如果進 入中國境內市場,就必須繳納進口關稅及進口環節增值稅。⁴

至於加工出口區(export processing zone)簡單來說就是享有加工後,出口貨物免稅優惠的特區,區內企業加工、生產的貨物和勞務,都豁免增值稅與消費稅。世界銀行定義加工出口區是「一個工業區,通常面積為10至300公頃,專門從事出口製造。它為企業提供自由貿易條件和寬鬆的監管環境。目標是吸引外國投資者、合作者和買家,為某些經濟體的工業產品進入世界市場提供便利,從而創造就業和外匯」。5換句話說,緣由生產與加工過程都需要購置機器、廠房、倉儲設施,加工出口區內對這些相關設備的採購都予以免稅。同時區內企業為加工出口產品所需要使用的原物料、零件、以及其他耗材也都全額免稅。加工出口區強調的是全線生產所需的材料與勞務完全免稅,目的在於外銷,賺取外匯。

自貿區與加工出口區的概念其實並行不悖,在過去應該是頗爲相近同義詞,都希望吸引外資。加工出口區則多進行勞力密集的工業製造中心,聘用大量工人。最大的不同可能在於加工出口區強調大部分的貨物都必須出口。當前的自貿區更專注提供服務,包括進出口營運便利的規劃、以及法律與金融服務。

^{3.} Gokhan Akinci and James Crittle, *Special Economic Zone: Performance, Lessons Learned, and Implication for Zone Development* (Washington DC: World Bank, 2008), https://documents.worldbank.org/en/publication/documents-reports/documentdetail/343901468330977533/special-economic-zone-performance-lessons-learned-and-implication-for-zone-development.

^{4.} 目前可查到中國關於保稅區最早發展的文件是: 〈國務院關於設立洋山保稅港區的批復〉,《中國國務院》,2005年9月8日, https://www.gov.cn/zwgk/2005-09/08/content 30272.htm。

根據 2012 年中國重新完備海關特殊監管保稅區域的規定,「綜合保稅區」由海關執行並監管徵稅和外匯;更像一個多功能自由港的關稅隔離區。6或僅指提供加工出口所需原料器材貨物的進口豁免關稅區,類似於出口加工區,但是也可擴張涵蓋自由港和轉口貿易區。從這個角度看,新疆自貿試驗區應該擁有勞力密集製造業出口加工的功能,同時也可以進行內陸自由港國際中轉、配送採購、貿易不同的業務,以促進地方與相鄰區域的就業與經濟繁榮。

但是新疆自貿試驗區的範圍極大,可以說是一個城市的規模。依據《方案》,新疆自貿區範圍共179.66平方公里,超過1.5個台灣新竹市的面積,遠遠超過世界銀行加工出口區定義的百倍以上。另外劃分成三個片區分別是烏魯木齊片區134.6平方公里(新疆生產建設兵團第十二師30.8平方公里,烏魯木齊綜合保稅區2.41平方公里);喀什片區28.48平方公里(新疆生產建設兵團第三師3.81平方公里,喀什綜合保稅區3.56平方公里);霍爾果斯片區16.58平方公里(新疆生產建設兵團第四師1.95平方公里,霍爾果斯綜合保稅區3.61平方公里)。從這樣的規劃來看,等於是大規模結合工廠的造鎮計畫。

烏魯木齊、喀什、霍爾果斯三個片區除去保稅區範圍,均交由新疆 生產建設兵團(後文簡稱「新疆兵團」)來負責經營,推估發展勞力密 集工業可以容納超過百萬的人口能量。除去綜合保稅區外,其餘土地應 該均是在新疆兵團原來規模範圍上,繼續城鎮化的腹地空間。

^{5.} World Bank, Export Processing Zones (Washington DC: World Bank, 1982), https://documents1. worldbank.org/curated/en/400411468766543358/pdf/multi-page.pdf

^{6. 〈}國務院關於促進海關特殊監管區域科學發展的指導意見〉,《中華人民共和國國務院》,2012 年 11 月 2 日,https://www.gov.cn/zhengce/content/2012-11/02/content_3750.htm。

參、新疆生產建設兵團在自貿試驗區的角色

新疆生產建設兵團於 2020 年被美國以「涉及對新疆維吾爾族和其他 少數民族的侵犯人權」爲由,實施制裁。2021 年歐盟、英國以及加拿大, 也跟隨美國的步伐,對新疆兵團相關人員實施制裁。新疆兵團現在又成 爲新疆自貿試驗區的主體,中國政府背後的企圖又可能是什麼?

一、新疆生產建設兵團的背景

新疆兵團最初設立於1954年,納編當時投降的國民黨軍隊、進疆的解放軍,以及少量的第二次東突國的民族軍。新疆兵團最初目的是軍隊就地復員與安置,進行「戍邊屯墾」。理想上新疆兵團平時作爲大規模農場,戰時能夠衛戍邊境安全,當然後來實際上更成爲新疆壓制維吾爾民族主義運動的力量。

「生產建設兵團」作為中共政權的一個特殊建置,在文革時期達到頂峰;中國境內除去新疆兵團,另外還設有12個兵團,隸屬於不同軍區。71975年前後中共撤銷所有兵團隸屬軍區的編制,改制成立農墾總局作為替代。當時認為這樣的改變有利於中共「黨指揮槍」的權力集中。生產建設兵團中的現役軍人幹部或者轉業留在農墾系統,或者復員回家、極少量被調回軍隊。但是新疆兵團不同,原來組成的成員政治背景就相對複雜,再加上1950年代開始不斷招募知識青年與與農民工支邊,並接收大批從沿海省份轉業復員軍人,離鄉背井地移民新疆。突然廢除編制,一時造成新疆民心浮動。1980年代當時還有胡耀邦放寬民族自治權限的背景,以及上海知青在新疆集體要求安排返鄉的示威運動,最後鄧小平於是決定1981年重建新疆兵團。新疆兵團撤銷時的全稱是「中國人民解放軍新疆軍區生產建設兵團」,而1981年中央批准恢復的名稱是「新疆

^{7.} 生產建設兵團的沿革與改制,請參考杜敬等,《當代中國的農墾事業》(中國社會科學出版社,1986 年)。

生產建設兵團」。棄用解放軍頭銜,但仍強調黨政軍三合一,⁸實際上就 是中國東部移民到新疆的特殊農墾管理行政單位。

新疆兵團恢復後不再隸屬於軍區管轄,改成直屬中國國務院,行政 位階爲副省(部)級單位,自行管理內部行政事務。新疆維吾爾自治區 黨委書記則兼任新疆兵團第一政委,行政業務受國務院和自治區政府雙 重領導。中國官方宣稱新疆兵團是一個所謂「黨、政、軍、企」合一體 制的特殊社會組織。9實際上,新疆兵團作爲「軍」的一部份大多已消失, 現在最多只是留下軍事結構的師團連的名稱,以及接受後備民兵訓練,¹⁰ 並結合新疆兵團建置轄下進行守邊的武警部隊。新疆兵團的主體實際上 已經是一個超大型、又特殊的,由北京直接領導的、由中國內地移民組 成的國營企業;新疆兵團在 2014 年組建「中國新建集團公司」,依照產 業進行分割經營,旗下十數家公司已經股票上市。¹¹

二、以自貿試驗區爲名,遂行從「再教育營」2.0 的轉型

依據《新疆自貿試驗方案》,新疆自貿試驗區意圖發展的業務從農、 工、服務業,到文化與高科技產業,無所不包。但是實際上,根據現有 新疆兵團的基礎,發展的侷限應該還是著重在農業與工業,尤其是勞力 密集的產品製造與加工,以及少量的金融服務業。

^{8.} 關於新疆兵團被廢除所造成的影響,中共官方多只宣稱農墾產量大降,其餘民心浮動與民族關係逆轉的背景均避而不談,參見例如〈新疆生產建設兵團,曾被撤銷六年,1981年鄧公爲何決定將其恢復?〉,《網 易》,2022 年 9 月 17 日,https://www.163.com/dy/article/HHF3P32R0553E8RE.html:〈新疆生產建設兵團的恢復〉,《兵團理論網》,2018 年 12 月 5 日,http://www.bingtuannet.com/btllw/llw_ws/202001/t20200115_66885.html。

^{9.} 新疆生產建設兵團一直被詬病是「黑機關」,主要是因為中國憲法並沒有這個公務機構。現有新疆兵團的體制則是出於行政命令,那就是 1981 年的〈中共中央、國務院、中央軍委關於恢復新疆生產建設兵團的決定〉,以及 1990 年〈國務院關於調整新疆生產建設兵團計劃管理體制和有關問題的通知〉。新疆兵團制度結構的一般描述,參見〈新疆生產建設兵團的歷史與發展白皮書〉,《中華人民共和國國務院》,2014年 10 月 5 日,https://www.gov.cn/zhengce/2014-10/05/content_2760794.htm。

^{10.} 宋民霞,《新疆生產建設兵團民兵組織研究》, (新疆:新疆大學碩士論文,2016)。

^{11. 〈}新疆建設兵團改革破冰 成立中國新建集團 (概念股)〉,《新浪財經》,2014年7月17日, https://finance.sina.cn/2014-07-17/detail-icczmvun0626469.d.html?from=wap。

新疆自貿試驗區烏魯木齊片區面積最大,由新疆兵團第十二師主導,除去原有第一產業農牧業,¹² 強項就是中國所謂的第二產業,也就是工業、製造業與建築業,以及第三產業的批發和零售業、交通運輸、倉儲物流、住宿餐飲業與金融業。喀什片區由位於圖木舒克市的新疆兵團第三師主導,¹³ 作爲中巴經濟走廊的起點,有地緣經濟重要性,第二與第三產業也迅速成長,尤其是紡織與電子組裝的加工產品出口。霍爾果斯片區則位於哈薩克邊界,當地爲新疆兵團第四師六十一團,主要經濟發展依賴第一產業的農業與衍生產品。但是這個片區位於伊犁邊區,主要由新疆兵團第四師主導,近年第二產業逐年攀升,除去農產品加工、輕工業外,油電燃氣業也快速成長。¹⁴

除去透過新疆兵團造鎮作爲經濟發展的政策,新疆自貿試驗區背後的政治謀算就是將再教育營轉型成現代工廠。新疆再教育營從試點到大規模運作,至今將近十年;第一個階段目的就是「嘗試養成」現代工業人口。經由再教育營,讓新疆少數民族,尤其是維吾爾族,不僅在政治上不再反抗,認同中共,並從一個農牧民群體轉型變成是一個中國發展模式版本的工業人口,重新刻寫當地的社會模板與倫理內涵。新疆兵團在過去幾年已經開始負責管理充滿「強迫勞動」並結合再教育營與工廠的機構,遭到國際譴責與制裁。15 現在新疆自貿試驗區更是要把新疆突厥裔民族完全投放到工廠裡面,「實際運作」轉型成現代工人,甚至將

^{12.} 依照中國國家統計局《三次產業劃分規定》,第一產業是農、林、牧、漁業。第二產業是採礦業、製造業(不含金屬製品、機械和設備修理業)、電力、燃氣及水產和供應業、建築業。第三產業即服務業,也就是除第一產業、第二產業以外的其他行業。新疆兵團第十二師的經濟發展簡介請見官網 http://www.12s.gov.cn/。

^{13.} 新疆生產建設兵團第三師的官網,請見 http://www.xjbtnss.gov.cn/。

^{14.} 新疆生產建設兵團第四師的官網,請見 http://www.cocodala.gov.cn/。

^{15.} Laura T. Murphy, Nyrola Elimä, and David Tobin, "Until Nothing Is Left: China's Settler Corporation and Its Human Rights Violations in the Uyghur Region - A Report on the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps," Sheffield Hallam University, July 2022, https://www.shu.ac.uk/helena-kennedy-centre-international-justice/research-and-projects/all-projects/until-nothing-is-left.

來作爲中國陸上絲綢之路經濟帶的樣板。中共現在認爲新疆問題不只是 民族自治/民族政治的問題,更是現代社會轉型的問題。

建、新疆自貿試驗區對中亞經濟安全的影響

中國與哈薩克兩國已經於 2023 年 11 月正式允許兩國人民免簽入出境。¹⁶ 霍爾果斯作為中國通往歐亞大陸的陸上口岸,已經於 2023 年 8 月開通 24 小時貨運快速通關服務。¹⁷ 這個舉措當然是新疆自貿試驗區設立的相關一系列措施,促進中國與中亞經貿往來的環節步驟。

儘管中國整體進出口的貿易表現黯淡,但是 2023 年前三季,新疆的海外進出口貿易激增 47%,達到創紀錄的 2,528 億人民幣 (355 億美元),¹⁸ 也讓人質疑這幾年對新疆產業鏈相關公司與新疆兵團的制裁是否有效。貿易激增的部分原因是與中亞的進出口貿易量。哈薩克、烏茲別克、吉爾吉斯和塔吉克的交易額大增,其中機械電子、服裝和紡織品是交易量最大的商品。這些中亞國家是否再轉口前往俄羅斯,則不得而知。

^{16. 〈《}中華人民共和國政府和哈薩克共和國政府關於互免簽證的協定》即將生效〉,《中華人民共和國外交部》,2023年11月2日,https://www.mfa.gov.cn/wjbzwfwpt/kzx/tzgg/202311/t20231103_11172619.html。

^{17. 〈}霍爾果斯口岸: 加快建設向西開放國際物流大通道〉,《人民網》,2023 年 8 月 22 日, http://finance.people.com.cn/BIG5/n1/2023/0822/c457822-40061527.html。

^{18. 〈}外貿活力持續走強 規模再創歷史新高——前三季度新疆經濟數據分析(三)〉,《人民網》,2023年 10月 31日,http://xj.people.com.cn/BIG5/n2/2023/1031/c186332-40623020.html。

^{19.} Pak Yiu, "Xinjiang Foreign Trade Hits Record Despite Western Sanctions," *Nikkei Asia*, November 20, 2023, https://asia.nikkei.com/Spotlight/Supply-Chain/Xinjiang-foreign-trade-hits-record-despite-Western-sanctions.

	Number of FIEs by 2018	Actual utilized FDI in 2018 (USS million)
Hong Kong SAR	266	91.16
United States	32	7.68
	4	1.30
Taiwan, China	36	1.23
United Kingdom	7	0.46
Singapore	3	0.16
Canada	10	0.09
Korea	24	0
Russia	16	0
Australia	9	o
Japan	z:	0
Germany	6	o

圖 1 \ Investing in Xinjiang: Economy, Industry, Trade, and Investment Profile

資料來源: https://www.china-briefing.com/news/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Catalogue-of-Industries-Encouraged-for-Foreign-Investment-in-the-Central-and-Western-Region-of-China-2020.pdf。

外資可能因爲新疆再教育營與制裁影響而大幅下降,但是也不是完全缺席(請見圖1)。²⁰ 另外由於中國政府的補貼,新疆自貿試驗區事實上已經吸引中國內部勞力密集的產業向新疆移動,這些廠商過去從沿海移入內陸省分,現在再次西遷。集中在勞力密集的製造業、礦業、服務業與農產加工業。²¹ 當然在可以預見的未來,新疆自貿試驗區向西拓展中亞市場的企圖已經昭然若揭。

^{20.} 爲吸引外資進入新疆,中國政府發布《中西部地區鼓勵外商投資產業目錄》。外商在新疆的優惠 待遇包括:降低企業所得稅至15%、進口設備免關稅、土地價格優惠。參見 https://www.chinabriefing.com/news/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Catalogue-of-Industries-Encouraged-for-Foreign-Investment-in-the-Central-and-Western-Region-of-China-2020.pdf。另見 "Investing in Xinjiang: Economy, Industry, Trade, and Investment Profile," *China-briefing.com*, December 2022, https:// www.china-briefing.com/doing-business-guide/china/where-to-invest/investing-in-xinjiangeconomy-industry-trade-and-investment-profile.

^{21. 〈}新疆:聚焦「八大產業集群」 研發建設「加速跑」〉,《人民網》,2023 年 2 月 20 日,http://xj.people.com.cn/BIG5/n2/2023/0220/c186332-40308456.html。

新疆自貿試驗區擴大人民幣跨境使用。在大宗商品貿易、境外承包工程、邊民互市進行人民幣跨境結算。過去雙邊貿易匯兑多爲黑市交易,現在以中國銀行爲首,已經開辦與中亞地區國家跨境結算、境內外融資、聯行代付的業務。²² 跨境人民幣結算業務的運作重點在於成本與信心,運作維持通暢可以累積業者使用信心,拉動人民幣跨境使用水準的提升。中國不斷嘗試推廣跨境人民幣支付清算系統(CIPS),邀請一帶一路倡議相關國家參與,以利人民幣國際化。²³ 中亞國家相對窮困,成交金額不致太大,在這個區域推動風險相對可控。如果順利,中亞區域國家對中國的依賴將更爲加重。

打造新疆自貿試驗區的最終目的當然在於中國試圖控制中亞及南亞區域的經濟走勢。新疆自貿區在霍爾果斯與喀什建立片區,明顯是往西北針對哈薩克,輻射中亞各國,以及往西南接上中巴經濟走廊,往印度洋出海。這是陸上絲綢之路經濟帶的兩條從中國出境路線,而統籌指揮規劃的地區則設在烏魯木齊。中國的長期目標是向外延伸「殖民」整個中亞、南亞地區,只是現在還看不出來是強奪市場與原料,還是對土地也有野心。中國號稱中巴經濟走廊在巴基斯坦計畫投資 500 億美元,儘管目前受到阻礙,24 但這對當地是一個天文數字;中國把巴基斯坦差不多當成中國的一個省分在投資與建設,中國在當地的影響力當然舉足輕重。

另外,新疆自貿試驗區目前已經工廠林立,環保污染問題已經成為 一個盲點或禁忌。例如喀什,絕對不會只有連接中亞與南亞,僅僅扮演 貿易和物流的角色,也會逐漸發展成中國向西出口的加工基地。喀什這 幾年已經強力發展紡織,食品加工勞動密集型產業,工廠林立,環保污

^{22. 〈}中國銀行新疆分行跨境人民幣業務結算量突破百億大關〉,《中國新聞網》,2023 年 11 月 20 日, https://www.xj.chinanews.com.cn/ziyuan/2023-11-20/detail-ihcuyruu2839085.shtml。

^{23. 〈}央行再簽署人民幣清算安排人民幣清算安排合作備忘錄,人民幣國際化再進一步!〉,《udfspace. com》,2022 年 11 月 3 日,https://www.udfspace.com/article/5273286306842741。

^{24.} E.g., Mariyam Suleman Anees, "Why China Could Tighten its Purse Strings on CPEC Projects," The Diplomat, October 31 2022, https://thediplomat.com/2022/10/why-china-could-tighten-its-purse-strings-on-cpec-projects/.

染問題非常嚴重。根據新疆「三城七園一中心」²⁵ 的發展規劃,將通過發展紡織服裝業解決 100 萬人就業問題。現在紡織業等於已經遍佈全疆,已經以烏魯木齊—昌吉、石河子—奎屯、庫爾勒—尉犁、阿克蘇—阿拉爾以及喀什爲中心,發展出五大紡織服裝產業集聚地,並逐漸形成產業鏈。

新疆棉花產量占到中國六成,發展當地棉紡織業似乎理所當然,問題就在於印染技術所帶來的汙染。中國宣稱已經發展出「棉纖維陽離子改性無鹽無城染色技術」,這種新技術高效節能省水,節水80%、節約染化料25%至35%、污染物排放減少90%。也就是説原來高污染的情況,可以降到只有原來的十分之一。²⁶ 新疆嚴重缺水,紡織業高汙染,是否現有技術能夠處理環保的問題,仍有極大爭議,可能對中亞地區環境造成極大的危害。

伍、結語

新疆自貿試驗區嘗試結合新疆生產建設兵團與加工出口區,還加上自由貿易區的某些元素,嘗試在新疆造鎮,進一步推動城鎮化。最終的目的應該是意圖將新疆突厥裔少數民族進一步同化,與作爲漢族屯墾區的新疆兵團進行融合。新疆「再教育營」推動數年後,中共認爲現在應該是驗收第一階段成果的時期。未來數年透過新疆自貿試驗區意圖進行的工作是將當地突厥裔少數民族從農牧民轉化成現代工廠工人,進行實際操練。並進一步推動一帶一路倡議,以新疆爲基地,向中亞攫取市場與材料,同時也對中亞經濟安全帶來極大的挑戰。

^{25. 「}三城」即阿克蘇紡織工業城、石河子紡織工業城、庫爾勒紡織工業城。「七園」即哈密、巴楚、阿 拉爾、沙雅、瑪納斯、奎屯、霍爾果斯。「一中心」即烏魯木齊紡織品國際商貿中心。

^{26.} 相關降低紡織業污染的報導,請參見〈全國 217 名專家團隊猛攻新疆紡織行業環保問題〉,《亞洲紡織聯盟網》,2018 年 11 月 13 日,http://www.tex-asia.com/news/201811/13/19518.html;〈新疆紡織業借力印染技術革新謀求轉型〉,《中證網》,2016 年 9 月 8 日,https://www.cs.com.cn/sylm/jsbd/201609/t20160908 5052524.html。

本文作者侍建宇為國立陽明交通大學文化與社會研究博士候選人,現為財團法人國防 安全研究院國家安全研究所副研究員。主要研究領域為:恐怖主義與反恐、中國民族 政治與維吾爾民族主義、中國與周邊鄰國的關係。

Is the Xinjiang Pilot Free Trade Zone "Reeducation Camp 2.0"? - Aims and Implications for Economic Security in Central Asia

Chien-Yu Shih

Division of National Security Research

Abstract

The Xinjiang Pilot Free Trade Zone evolved from the Xinjiang re-education camps. The forced detention and indoctrination process in Xinjiang's "re-education camps" has ended, and the CCP believes it is time to evaluate the results of reeducation. In the next few years, the Xinjiang Pilot Free Trade Zone will put local Turkic ethnic minorities into factories for practical training, completely transforming their original farmer-herder society and Islamic religious belief structure. The Xinjiang Pilot Free Trade Zone combines the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps (XPCC) and the Export Processing Zone, as well as some elements of the modern Free Trade Area, in an attempt to accelerate urbanization in Xinjiang. The intention is to further "assimilate" the local Turkic ethnic minorities and integrate them with the XPCC which is the Han reclamation areas in Xinjiang. It also looks forward to further develop the Silk Road Economic Belt, using Xinjiang as a base to seize markets and natural resources from surrounding areas, probably threatening Central Asia's economic security in doing so.

Keywords: Xinjiang Pilot Free Trade Zone, Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps, Re-education Camps, Economic Security

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本刊各篇文章由本院研究人員、以及外部學者、專家撰擬,以5,000 字以内爲度,稿件均經審稿程序,其著作權爲本刊所有,未經同意,請 勿轉載。

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出版者: 財團法人國防安全研究院

院址:10048 臺北市中正區博愛路 172 號

電話: (02) 2331-2360 傳真: (02) 2331-2361

Institute for National Defense and Security Research

No.172, Bo-Ai Road, Chongcheng Dist., Taipei City, Taiwan (R.O.C.)

Tel:886-2-2331-2360 Fax:886-2-2331-2361