

# **A Study of Chinese and Russian Policies in Afghanistan Based on the Holstay Approach**

## **دراسة السياسات الصينية – الروسية في أفغانستان استناداً إلى منهج هولستاي**

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**منظمة تعاون طالبان وشنغهاي**



## **Abstract**

National interests have also been a determining factor in China and Russia's foreign policy toward Afghanistan. China and Russia, as two great powers, have always had a strategic view of Afghanistan in pursuit of their regional and international interests in order to achieve their foreign policy goals.

In this article, in response to the question, what is the foreign policy of China and Russia in Afghanistan between 2001 and 2016 according to the holistic model? Using the Hallstick model (theory) and the descriptive-comparative method, the hypothesis has been tested that the foreign policy of China and Russia in Afghanistan are similar in orientation (creating alliance and coalition) but in the axes of goals and actions are different.

## الملخص

كانت وما تزال المصالح الوطنية هي عامل حاسم في السياسة الخارجية لكل من الصين وروسيا تجاه أفغانستان كقوتين عظيمتين من بين القوى العظمى في العالم حيث كان لكلا الدولتين نظرة استراتيجية سعياً وراء مصالحهما الإقليمية والدولية لغرض تحقيق أهداف مصالحهما الخاصة بسياستهما الخارجية.

تسعى مقاله الحالية للأجابة على التساؤل ادناه :

- ما هي طبيعة السياسة الخارجية لكل من الصين وروسيا ما بين الفتره 2001-2016 وذلك بأستخدام كلا من نموذج (نظرية) هولستاي و المنهج الوصفي المقارن. تم وضع فرضية بأن السياسة الخارجية لكل من الصين وروسيا في أفغانستان هي سياسة متماثلة الاتجاه فيما يخص تكوين التحالفات و الائتلافات و أما فيما يخص محاور الأهداف و الإجراءات فهي سياسة مختلفة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: سياسة خارجية ، نموذج هولستاي تنظيم طالبان و شنغهاي للتعاون.

## **Introduction**

China and Russia are among the most important countries and governments that, in the first place and according to what has been said, pay attention to Afghanistan in their policies, and the Afghan government attaches importance to relations with them as a tool to achieve its goals.

In its foreign policy, Russia attaches significant importance to post-Taliban Afghanistan. This position has various dimensions, including political, security, military and economic relations. The importance of these relations with Afghanistan has led Russia to its activities and cooperation with NATO to establish stability and security in Afghanistan in the technical fields and to prevent production and trafficking. Follow drugs as the most urgent issue.

Russia's various goals and interests in Afghanistan can be summarized as follows:

- 1- In the field of political issues, the relations between Russia and Afghanistan since 2001 have been greatly influenced by the large military presence of the United States and NATO member states in the fight against terrorism and narcotics in this country. One of Russia's most important long-term strategic goals is to counter NATO's presence in its neighborhood and maintain a vacuum with US and European forces.
- 2- Another important goal of Russia in Afghanistan, which has always been a concern of this country, is to prevent the spread of instability, terrorism and drugs to Central Asia and Russia. Afghanistan produces 90% of the world's opium and, on the other hand, has various extremist currents that, given the appropriate religious contexts in Central Asian countries to welcome these currents, it is likely to spread to these countries.

- 3- Another issue in Russia's foreign policy towards Afghanistan is military cooperation. Although Russia has denied any military presence in Afghanistan due to its bitter experience in Afghanistan and its understanding of the internal situation, it is interested in participating in training Afghan forces and selling weapons and ammunition to security forces. And it is the defense of this country.
- 4- Afghanistan is a bridge between Central Asian countries for the transfer of energy, Asia and their markets, especially since Russia and Central Asian countries need to cross Afghanistan to transfer energy, oil and gas to South Asia. Turkmen gas through Afghanistan to Pakistan and India is a clear example of Afghanistan's regional and geographical importance. On the other hand, the resumption of these relations, especially for the reconstruction of Afghanistan's basic infrastructure, most of which was previously built with Soviet financial and technical assistance, is crucial to reviving the country's economy.

On the other hand, the People's Republic of China, as one of the important international actors, played a significant role in the early decades of the 21st century. This increase in China's position can be attributed to two important factors: one is the expansion of its economic and military capabilities, which are usually considered a key component of the power of states in the international system, and the other .It is because of its fundamental role in international affairs that it operates on a large scale.

Since the fall of the Taliban government in Afghanistan, China has played little role in Afghanistan's political affairs, and its foreign policy toward Afghanistan in the new era has been based more on Pakistan's views on Afghanistan. Meanwhile, Afghanistan-Pakistan relations have had an impact on

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Afghanistan-China relations, and China's aid to Afghanistan during this period has been more focused on areas that are, in fact, within Pakistan's sphere of influence. China, on the other hand, is said to be indirectly a partner in the Afghan crisis in order to keep its arms sales and smuggling market warm in the midst of civil war and regional conflicts.

But apart from these issues and China's view of Afghanistan through the eyes of Pakistan, from an economic point of view, China, despite the large presence of foreign forces, especially the United States in Afghanistan, has a special view of Afghanistan and has tried to increase its economic interests with Afghanistan. Give;

- On the one hand, Afghanistan, as a transit bridge between Central Asia, South Asia and the Middle East, is of particular importance to China's interests, as China alone is one of Afghanistan's most important trading partners. In this regard, a major obstacle to the development of trade relations between the two countries is that there is still no direct transit route between China and Afghanistan.
- Afghanistan, on the other hand, with its rich natural and untapped resources, can be a serious economic stimulus to ensure China's stable and rapid economic growth; It is because of this importance that the country was able to win the bidding process for the Aynak copper mine in Logar province, which is the largest copper mine in the region and the world, and invest \$ 3.5 billion in the mining and smelting of the Aynak copper mine, including Afghanistan. Also benefits from this investment.

The unprecedented development of Sino-Afghan relations in recent years and China's entry into the political arena of Afghanistan as an impartial actor indicate China's quest to play an active role in Afghanistan after thirty years of patient politics. . The opportunity for NATO to withdraw from Afghanistan in 2014 has given China a fresh look at Afghanistan in the context

of its neighbour-hood geopolitical approach; a look that, unlike in the past, will transform China from a country watching Afghanistan to a constructive interventionist country in Afghanistan.

There is one thing in common between China and Afghanistan, and that is the vulnerability of the two countries to the cultivation and development of Islamic extremism by Pakistan. And this is still a major concern for China; Concerns that have not been allayed by China's widespread support for Pakistan over the years.

In fact, what is important for Russia and China in the first place (essential goals) is to reduce the threats in general and the security threats in Afghanistan in particular. In this regard, Russia and China have implemented policies during the period under review that this study seeks to identify and analyse. Accordingly, the present article seeks to answer the question of what are the differences and similarities between the foreign policies of China and Russia in Afghanistan between 2001 and 2016 based on the Hallstick, model?

### **Theoretical Foundations**

Hallsty refers to orientation or strategy alongside roles and goals as foreign policy outputs. In his view, the overall strategy or orientation of a government is seldom reflected in a decision, but it is clear from a series of successive decisions that have been made in an effort to adapt goals, values, and interests to the conditions and characteristics of the internal and external environment. By examining the structure of power and the exercise of political units in different international systems, at least three orientations of isolationism, non-alignment and the formation of coalitions and the formation of alliances can be identified (Hallsty, 1373).

Orientation or strategy is in fact the general policy of a country that determines the general method or policy to achieve

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certain goals. Therefore, "running the country is not the job of leaders and leaders, it is the job of strategies, presidents, ministers and politicians should not be the busiest people in the country; if they work hard it is a sign of weakness or lack of strategy. Only strategies can run the country. If a country "Good governance, good strategies are chosen, not good managers are selected. Weakness of politicians are- limited to their inability to formulate strategies or propagate those strategies" (Aghabakhshi and Afsharirad, 2004: 661).

Hallstý sees orientation as a state's overall commitment to the external environment and its core strategy for achieving external and internal goals and countering on-going threats. The overall strategy or orientation of a government is seldom reflected in a decision, but it is evident from a series of successive decisions made in an effort to adapt goals, values, and interests to the conditions and characteristics of the internal and external environment. By examining the structure of power and the exercise of political units in different international systems, at least three orientations of isolationism, non-alignment, and coalition-building can be identified. Four situations or variables can be influential in choosing any of these strategies. The first is the structure of the international system. In a bipolar or hierarchical structure, the strategy chosen by international units will vary.

For example, for a political unit in the hierarchical system, it is not possible to create an alliance effort against the centre. Second, the nature of the internal constants and the social and economic needs of a government can be linked to its overall strategy. Third, policymakers' perceptions of a continuing external threat that threatens their values and interests will have a major impact on their orientation toward the external environment. Finally, geographical location and the characteristics of low and high and the gift of natural resources

can often be related to the choice of direction of a government (Hallsti, 1373: 165-167).

One of the strategies that countries may adopt in their foreign policy in relation to other political entities is isolationism. Adoption of this strategy is influenced by the international structure, domestic social and economic needs, policymakers' understanding of external threats and geographical location. Isolationism in its general sense refers to conditions in which a political entity consciously or unconsciously minimizes its relations with its surroundings. The term is often used in political science research in the United States; Refers to a political vision or understanding that calls for the government to withdraw from engaging in issues outside the Americas. The classic statement of this political vision was first made in a speech by President Washington when he resigned in 1776. Thus the foreign policy of the American government from 1823 until its involvement in World War I in 1917 and World War II was based on the policy of isolation; which is known as the Monroe Doctrine (Rahiq Aghsan, 2005: 199-198). Usually, a newly established country that seeks to consolidate its independence, or a country that has made dramatic changes to its foreign policy principles through revolution, may resort to isolationist strategy. This is because an actor who is newly established or has experienced a revolution does not have the capacity to work simultaneously in both the domestic and foreign arenas. Isolation strategy is usually designed and implemented in the form of a long-range strategy to maintain the status quo (Seifzadeh, 2003: 279). Characteristics of political and military isolationist strategies are: low level of conflict in most of the subject areas in the system, lack of diplomatic or trade relations with other societies and political units, attempts to close the country's gates to various forms of foreign influence. The orientation of isolationism, like other strategies, is related to the four variables of the structure of the international system, stations, internal needs, threats and

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geographical features. The orientation of isolationism can succeed in a system in which the power structure is reasonably dispersed and there are no military, economic or ideological threats, and other governments regularly change their alliances with each other (Hallsti, 1373: 168).

In terms of internal needs, units that adopt an isolationist orientation are usually economically and socially self-sufficient, and in many cases the political unit does not have to rely on others to meet its social and economic needs. The impact of threats on isolationist strategy is that isolationist strategies have been adopted as a means of countering a real and potential threat by threatening the government by retreating behind the borders and building defensive fortifications instead of confronting the threat. Or preserve cultural influence (Hallsty, 1373: 168-169).

Also, the post, altitude and geographical characteristics of a country are related to the isolationist strategy in various ways. Enclosing among high mountains, vast seas or uninhabited plains and deserts will protect political units; Provided that other units located in the international system does not have the necessary equipment to easily cross these tolls and obstacles (Hallsti, 1373: 169).

To many experts, this is surprising because Moscow has apparently kept its distance from the war in Afghanistan over the years. In fact, Russia even supported the US invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 and the subsequent overthrow of the Taliban regime. At the time, former Afghan President Hamid Karzai rightly said that Afghanistan was probably the only place where the interests of Moscow and Washington did not clash.

With the US invasion of Afghanistan and the overthrow of the Taliban government, China welcomed new developments in Afghanistan. The Chinese hoped that the US fight against "terrorism" would be able to move the region from extremism and violence to peace and stability, and thus enable economic

cooperation between countries that China desperately needs. So in this struggle and the US invasion of Afghanistan, China chose the strategy of isolationism and non-intervention.

The most common form of non-alignment is found among countries that refuse to accept military commitments on their own initiative and without the guarantee of other governments for the purposes of the great powers. These states have an independent role in the international system as a whole, although they may be fully committed militarily, ideologically, and economically at the regional level (Hallsty, 1994: 174). This strategy also adapts to the needs and domestic political conditions of developing countries. Whereas this strategy is accompanied by pessimism about the main powers of the international system; The leaders of these countries can help create national unity by emphasizing the danger of conspiracies of great powers (Hallsti, 1373: 177); In terms of domestic economic conditions, these countries try to minimize their external dependencies (Hallsty, 1373: 176).

In terms of the structure of the international system, the strategy of non-alignment is possible in systems with a greater dispersion of forces; because in bipolar systems, weak countries are pressured by the leaders of the two blocs to side with them. Another factor in the success of this policy is being far from the main scene of conflict (Moghtadar, 1991: 148). Non-aligned parties believe that governments lose their freedom of action by entering into alliances. Because unity, in many cases, forces weak states to sacrifice their interests for the needs of the great powers; In addition, when a seizure becomes a crisis, usually the small partners of this alliance are not able to influence the consequences of this crisis (Hallsti, 1373: 176).

The strategy of alliance and coalition building, unlike the strategy of non-alignment, is in fact due to the perception that national interests are at stake by one of the international actors, so decision makers need to make a pact with other actors in the

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face of this risk (Seifzadeh, 2003: 27). 278). In fact, they assume that by equipping their capabilities, they will not be able to achieve their goals, defend their interests, or prevent imaginary threats. Hence, they rely on other governments that face similar foreign issues, or share the same goal, and make commitments to them (Hallsty, 1373: 180).

Also in this strategy, as in the previous two strategies, the effect of variables such as domestic needs, geographical location and the amount of international threats and pressures, and finally the structure and functioning of the international system must be considered. Among the structures of the international system, with the exception of the hierarchical type, the strategy of unity is generally seen. In a system based on the dispersal of power, alliances appear frequently. But because the goals of the state derive more from special needs and interests than from ideological ideals, these alliances become temporary. In a bipolar system and a system based on the dispersion of power, unions tend to be closely linked to structures in which the smaller members of the union are not easily separated from the bloc (Hallsti, 1373: 180).

National roles as foreign policy outputs are related to governments that are involved in issues in the whole system and region. The concept of national role can be considered as a definition that policymakers of common types of decisions, commitments, rules and actions appropriate to their government and it must be performed in various geographical and thematic conditions (Hallsti 1373: 198).

Actions are the actions that governments take to implement certain orientations, perform roles, or achieve goals and defend them against others. In international politics, actions and signs take many different forms, and to achieve national goals and interests in foreign policy, governments use various tools and tactics, the correct use of these techniques and actions in the success of many political units. It is affect. (Threats, diplomacy,

negotiations and economic and military tactics and major foreign aid or warnings and sanctions) (Holsty 1373: 249).

### National roles of China

China's national roles are:

- 1- The bulwark of liberation revolutions: China has been the material and spiritual leader of many foreign revolution leaders in the 1950s and 1960s.
- 2- The East Asian Economic Zone Leader is another of China's national roles.
- 3- Supporting liberation movements and anti-colonial policies is another of China's national roles.
- 4- China is a donor to development, especially in Asia.
- 5- China is helping to establish a regional sub-system such as the Shanghai Cooperation Organization.
- 6- China is an independent state that pursues its maximum interests in any particular matter.
- 7- China is an exemplary state in terms of industrial and economic development for other Asian countries.

China and Russia have the potential to challenge US and Western interests, so al-Qaeda should not hesitate if it can direct Uighur Islamic radicals against China, and Chechens and Uzbeks against Russia. To say that the competitive destiny of world power in Syria will be clear and that the Western world and the United States are confronting China and Russia in Syria cannot be irrelevant to such issues. The Chechens and Uighurs in Syria, along with al-Qaeda affiliates, are not only fighting against Bashar al-Assad's regime, but also against Russia and China, and this is exactly the intersection of the Western world and Islamic radicalism that can find common interests. The Arab Middle East is a laboratory for the confrontation of opposing forces.

China sees countries such as Russia, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan as important sources of energy reserves, and the formation of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization is seen as a

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tool to intervene in these countries. Although there is pressure from Russia to gain control of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, China continues to successfully secure security relations with Russia in order to protect the northern and western regions that are at risk. Therefore, multilateral relations in the form of Shanghai organization are considered for China in the election field (Lukin, 2007: 21).

According to statistics announced in the next few decades, China will become the most important energy consumer in the world. This is very important for China to look to the Shanghai Cooperation Organization for energy supply and security of power lines. Unit "provides. At the same time, friendship with Russia can also facilitate China's access to advanced Russian weapons (Ghasemi, 2007: 111-117).

In this regard, it should be said that one of the analyses of the Shanghai Organization is that the main goal of the organization and the main reason for its formation and development is to create a structure for regional cooperation in the fight against terrorism in the Central Asian region.

Among those analysts is Richard Weitz, who says in his analysis of the organization that Russia and China have united with the four Central Asian states in the form of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization against terrorist groups, separatists and extremists who are the main sources of instability in Central Asia. Sabudon et.al also supports this view, writing that Chinese leaders fear the spread of Islamism in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, and that the Russians are anxious to counter Chechen separatists. The four Central Asian governments also face extremist and separatist Islamist groups that challenge them to varying degrees. In a similar analysis, Russian researcher Alexander Lukin notes that governments in the Central Asian region have been aware of the threat of international terrorism since the late 1991s and before the 9/11 terrorist attacks, and have united to counter these threats. 133).

In the aftermath of 9/11 in the United States, Afghanistan invaded Afghanistan to fight terrorism. The United States announced its goal of suppressing the Taliban and arresting Osama bin Laden. But a review of the number of US-led forces, the Taliban and al-Qaeda, and a comparison of their military equipment with that of the United States shows that the main goal of the US offensive is to gain access to Central Asia's vast oil and gas resources and dominate Middle East energy. Afghanistan and curbing the influence of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the region. Because the American military equipment was much more than the Taliban military equipment. During the US and allied invasion of Afghanistan, China avoided access to its territory as a buffer zone for ground forces or as a transit point for US-led coalition naval and air forces. This country prevented the US Army from using its territory and provided vague answers about providing a base for the US Air Force and also supporting ground operations (Rezaei, 2008: 291).

The growing US presence and influence in the Central Asian region, especially after 9/11 and the occupation of Afghanistan, has become a security concern for China. This has led China to cooperate more seriously with neighboring countries in the form of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, and to coordinate with Russia in some way to counter the growing influence of the United States. On various occasions, Beijing leaders have challenged the idea of a multipolar system in opposition to US unilateralism. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization's capabilities, as well as its capabilities, with the membership of two of the five permanent members of the Security Council in this organization, having more than a third of the world's population, significant size and economic capabilities, promise a potentially strong coalition. If four observer members; With the addition of Mongolia, Iran, Pakistan and India, the SCO, with a population of about 2.7 billion and an area of about half the globe, will reach a more important position. According to many

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analysts, the present century is the century of Asia and many world power equations are determined in this region. Therefore, the importance of Asia in the future of the international system is increasing and it is necessary for the Asian powers to define their place in the new international system. Capacity building is essential for expanding regional economic cooperation. It is within the framework of such institutions that the opportunity to expand trade and mutual investment and the development of industrial and economic cooperation increases (Rezaei, 2008: 295).

After the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, China rejected the American theory of the international system and the US claim to a unipolar world, and Beijing leaders on several occasions proposed the idea of a multipolar system. China and the potential threats it posed made China very sensitive to its position in the international system. In this regard, the Chinese considered their bilateral relations with the United States to be one of the most important bilateral relations in the world.

### **National roles of Russian foreign policy**

The national roles of the Russian government include several:

- 1- Regional Leader: Russia has this view of Central Asian governments and considers itself as the leader of Central Asian governments.
- 2- Protector of the region: Russia emphasizes the protection of its neighboring regions, as the Soviet Union has been.
- 3- The mediating and linking government: Russia has a role to play in this regard towards Iran and the US approach to Iran.
- 4- The Russian government also considers development aid to Central Asian countries.

In recent years, the Russian government has pursued an open and independent foreign policy in order to restore the global role

and position it lost as a result of the collapse of the Soviet Union. Naturally, every country with a strategic position and a distinct historical and civilizational heritage with high economic and military power reserve its duty and right to participate in determining the destiny of the world, even if the means to achieve these goals are limited at certain stages.

The same is true of Russia. The great changes that the foundation of the world order and its internal variables saw brought about a change in the form of decision-making in Russia. Economic, social, and foreign variables played an important role in this regard, but Russia's foreign policy goals remained in power for a long time, as Russia continued to recognize itself as an international power that was once again emerging. Global has arrived.

National roles in foreign policy point to three categories: isolationism, non-alignment, and coalition building. These approaches to national roles in Russian foreign policy are strategies that determine whether or not to make commitments in Russian foreign policy.

National maps as one of the most important foreign policy outputs can have a great impact on decisions made by actors in international relations. Maps are closely related to orientations on the one hand and to foreign policy goals on the other (Sotoudeh, 2006: 88-87).

Russian President Vladimir Putin seeks to revitalize the Russian Empire through a series of new strategies, including avoiding confrontation with the West and the United States, striving for a multipolar world, and creating new regional and international coalitions.

Russia has re-entered the world order to play an influential and international role. Former Russian President Boris Yeltsin has pursued a policy of integration with the United States in some cases and a coalition with Russia in others. This gave the

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United States a wide-ranging influence in determining Russia's political approach. However, in the wake of Russia's efforts to integrate with the West and the United States to establish friendship with these countries, Russia's policy has lost its independence on many international issues and has reconsidered its positions on many occasions in order to strike a balanced relationship with America has. In this way, they lost the role they had enjoyed on the world stage during the Soviet era, and formulated their priorities and strategies for international change in the interests of the West.

After Vladimir Putin came to power, the Russian government adopted a new policy aimed at strengthening government institutions, and changed Russia's foreign policy once again, formulating it in line with Russia's foreign interests. This became clear when Putin announced that the years of weakness were over. He called on the United States and Europe to treat Russia with respect and to recognize it as a world power.

Many of Russia's moves and approaches are a kind of political maneuver and compromise aimed at putting pressure on the United States and Western governments. These measures are aimed at achieving the highest level of interaction between these countries and Russia's political, economic and trade demands. In this regard, Moscow seeks to create new spaces for relations with developing countries and powers that oppose US policies and provide them with the greatest economic and financial assistance. Convergence between Russia and countries opposed to US policies is not only aimed at getting closer to these countries, but also as a policy to pressure and bargain to obtain the best volume of Russian actions and positions (Information Newspaper, 2016: 7).

Russia focuses primarily on its geographical environment, which is called an independent state. Russia has always sought to form a Eurasian Union, including all its peripheral countries, including the Customs Union and the Social Security Treaty,

within the framework of international organizations capable of meeting global challenges and threats are raised. Russia's regional and international coalitions, including treaties such as the Shanghai and BRICS, the G8 and the G20, also have prominent Russian priorities. Its relations with the governments of East Asia, the Middle East and South America are at the top of Russia's list of priorities.

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Russia has compromised or retreated on many issues with the United States, as exemplified in the Middle East by the US-led war in Afghanistan and Iraq. The main reason for Putin's decision to cooperate with the United States was the pragmatic acceptance of the fact that, in those circumstances, cooperation with Washington was the only possible way out of the economic and political situation on the margins of Russia in the international arena.

As a pragmatic politician, he well understood the superiority of American power and its readiness to use all its power in the event of a threat to its national security, and sought to seize the opportunity provided by the challenge of terrorism. For Putin, the incident was an opportunity to bridge the gap between Russia and the West, and the United States in particular, while at the same time presenting a positive image of Moscow as a responsible partner in the global fight against terrorism. It should

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be noted that while Russia cooperates with the United States on the basis of pragmatism, there are many tensions and differences between them in many areas, including Iran's nuclear program, terrorism, and the promotion of democracy. (Kolaei, 1376: 6).

### **Comparing the interests of Russia and China in Afghanistan**

The Russian government clearly feels that its position in Central Asia is being challenged by others, especially the United States. While the NATO-US operation in Afghanistan is taking place against very serious security challenges that benefit Russia as well, at the expense of Russia, it has also turned the United States into a power in Central Asia. ). In 2001, when Putin agreed to US use of air bases in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan, he made it clear that Russia considered sending troops from the region to be temporary and a stabilization operation. However, this has been going on for more than eight weeks.

The Chinese uprising has challenged Russia's position in Central Asia even wider, more fundamentally, and more permanently than US influence in the region. Nevertheless, Russia, while traditionally sensitive to military expansionism, is tolerant of the economic influence that distinguishes China and the United States in Central Asia. Russia still considers the United States (and not China) as its main rival. In order to oppose and curb the US role in the region, the Russian government has participated in the establishment of a Security Cooperation Organization with China, during which important international actors such as India, Pakistan, and Pakistan were present in addition to Russia, China, and Central Asia.

Afghanistan, like the three countries of India, Pakistan and Iran, is an observer. In March 2009, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Afghanistan (OSCE) held a conference in Moscow, which was essentially aimed at enhancing the role of this organization. The Security Cooperation Agency, which has a budget of only \$ 4 million, has no chance of playing a serious

role in Afghanistan, including as a mediator between the Afghan government and Taliban elements. Its useful feature is also the holding of regional meetings, and with this capability it can serve as a route for contacts with Afghanistan.

China and Russia are cooperating on Afghanistan, but they do not have a common position. China, especially after the 2009 riots in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, distinguishes between al-Qaeda supporters in the middle of the Taliban and more nationalist groups and favors dialogue with nationalist groups to achieve peace. China's overall strategy in supporting the dialogue is at odds with India's oppositional approach to dialogue with the Taliban. Afghanistan is a key issue in Russia's relations with India and Pakistan.

For India, the root of Afghanistan's problem is the Taliban, who see it as the founding of Pakistan. Thus, the main cause of the Afghan crisis is the Pakistani leadership, especially its military wing, which seeks to curb Islamic extremism and direct it to destabilize India and dominate its neighbor. Over the past decade, India's image has greatly improved. India's vast ambitions go far beyond its current power and are impressive. The Indians want coalition forces to remain in Afghanistan, but do not trust that their strength will suffice. Therefore, they consider the options after the withdrawal of the West from Afghanistan. India has expanded its diplomatic efforts and presence in Afghanistan. It is debatable whether India is ready to send its troops to Afghanistan (Niko, 2010: 11).

In response to Trump's recent decision to hand over power to Afghanistan to the Pentagon, the Chinese Foreign Ministry said that the United States must respect Afghanistan's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Afghanistan shares a border with China's Xinjiang region. Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Lu Kang said: "Such a move should have a direct impact on the development and security of the region, but we oppose a long-term US presence in Afghanistan, so any move must respect the

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sovereignty and territorial integrity of Afghanistan and the peace process." Help in this country too. Given that Afghanistan has already welcomed Beijing to play a more prominent role in the country, China-Afghanistan relations have been expanding over the past ten years, and despite having a short, mountainous border with Afghanistan, Beijing is sensitive to developments in Afghanistan. That is why China, despite its cautious support for US policy in Afghanistan and its extensive relations with the West, is concerned about the continued military presence of NATO and the United States in Afghanistan and sees it as a security threat.

Russian Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Maria Zakharova also said that the United States occasionally makes decisions about increasing the number of troops in a country, but there is no concept or strategy for their actions. Maria Zakharova says there is currently no clear prospect of an increase in US troops in Afghanistan because their strategy is unclear, and many of their actions do not comply with the UN Security Council's mandate. According to him, the increase of US troops in Afghanistan and other countries without a clear goal and strategy, not only does not lead to stability, but also increases unrest. According to the Russian political official, the only way to save Afghanistan that can lead to security is through political dialogue.

China is lower than Russia militarily. Defense research in various fields, such as fifth-generation intercontinental ballistic missiles, aircraft carriers, and the collection and modernization of submarines, is a hallmark of China's defense modernization.

According to the Zhubao newspaper, China's foreign policy strategy revolves around three points: refraining from military alliance with Russia, refraining from confronting the United States, and refraining from taking revenge on Japan. China is interested in Banato's relations with the European Union and is reluctant to enter into a dispute with NATO over its alliance with Russia. China and Russia play a key role in Shanghai's largest

cooperation organization. China is using the organization to increase its influence in Central Asia, which has the largest energy resources, and China's significant influence in those countries has diminished Russia's role. Although most experts predict the prospect of Russia-China alliance in the SCO as an alternative to the EU, and if Shanghai becomes a military organization it will be a threat to NATO, there is no consensus. Radar's older brother will be in charge of this organization, while China is not interested in Russia playing a leading role in major economic projects such as the Vice-Asia Silk Road project (Karimi 1394: 12).

Russia has recently stepped up its involvement in Afghanistan. It has decided not to remain "neutral" in the long war that is shattering Central Asia. The recent trilateral meeting in Moscow, which included China, Pakistan and Russia to discuss Afghanistan's security, is just one example of Russia's and China's growing interest in Afghanistan. Russia first contacted Taliban leaders in 2007 to discuss the issue of drug trafficking through Central Asian countries that share a border with Afghanistan. There are now reports that Moscow is in contact with the Taliban again. But this time, according to experts, Moscow-Taliban contacts are not limited to talks on drug trafficking. They say the Russians understand that US policy in Afghanistan has failed and therefore want to intervene. Russia and China fear that Afghanistan could become another safe haven for the Islamic State militant group, after Iraq and Syria. In other words, Moscow and Beijing want to make sure this does not happen in close proximity to Central Asia.

Russia, with its extensive experience in international affairs, has pursued an independent, purposeful, innovative and decisive policy, while China, following a flexible policy, has acted conservatively to make the development of its relations with Russia more sensitive to the United States and the European Union. Western experts also do not see the development of

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relations between Russia and China as the establishment of a new alliance against the West, because Russia's cooperation with the United States and the West is more compatible with the cultural nature of the Russian people than China. Despite the various ups and downs in the relations of the great powers, it must be admitted that the world has entered a dangerous age, the current rivalries and disputes have become so acute that the slightest spark between the great powers will lead to a great war.

A Study of Chinese and Russian Policies in Afghanistan  
Based on the Holsti Model

### **1- Actions**

The most important factor in China's presence in the Middle East is energy and security. On the other hand, some believe that China's relationship in the Middle East goes beyond oil and energy. But in the meantime, the Ukraine crisis has changed the course of China and Russia. Russia expected China to do the same in Ukraine as it did in Syria. What is clear is that the acting of Russia and China in the region cannot be weighed in the balance because the two countries have different views in the region that are affected by their acting. Including in the case of Afghanistan, where the two countries showed different actions.

Russia and China are also two important and influential players in the Afghan conflict. Russia is deeply concerned about the Taliban's support for Chechen fighters and the spread of Islamic fundamentalism in Central Asia, although Russia is not reluctant to destabilize Central Asia to some degree. Russia's military support for the republics will become more tangible. Moscow's concern about the Taliban's actions has now reached the point where it has threatened air and missile strikes on Taliban positions. Russia has implicitly stated that identifying the Taliban and abandoning hostility to the group would require the withdrawal of support from Chechen Islamists and other Islamic militant groups, especially in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. At

present, Russia and Tajikistan are the most important suppliers of weapons and supplies to the Northern Alliance (Amini, 2000: 85).

China also has concerns about the Taliban. Beijing fears that the Taliban-style wave of Islamism may spread to the western provinces of the country, especially Xinjiang prefers Chinese card over Russia. In this regard, the Taliban have promised China that they will not allow any activity against China to be organized and carried out from inside Afghanistan. It will take steps to regain full control of Afghanistan. The recent bombing in Xinjiang province could have been a blow to China so that it would not have sided too much with its peaceful policies against the Taliban (Ibid: 86).

Russia and China agree on ending Afghanistan's civil war, but differ on how to achieve that goal. Russia supports a military strategy to weaken the Taliban, and if it were not for China's opposition at the Pentagon in Shanghai, Russia would likely have responded to some of its military threats against the Taliban. Afghanistan has a more economic approach to the issue.

One issue that is very important to the Russians is the territory of Afghanistan, which connects East and West, and if the United States loses in Afghanistan, the Russians can take control of several other East Asian countries with the help of China. In this policy, North Korea is also collaborating with Russia and China, and if the United States loses in Afghanistan, the Russians could well defeat the United States and take over Ukraine, Poland, Serbia, Bulgaria, Hungary, etc. It seeks to conquer these countries, and it turns out that the Russians, like Ukraine, are sending troops to Afghanistan, making the war in Afghanistan more dangerous in the name of ISIS.

During a visit to Beijing to attend the sixth session of the China Institute for Strategic Studies, Chinese Defence Minister Masoom Stanekzai expressed readiness for military assistance to

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Afghanistan. During the visit, Masoom Stanekzai also signed a Memorandum of Understanding between the Ministry of Defence of Afghanistan and the Ministry of Defence of China with the Deputy Chief of Staff of China. In May of this year, Afghan Interior Minister Noorul Haq Ulumi, during his visit to China, signed a memorandum of understanding with his Chinese counterpart. He provided military assistance. This analysis focuses on the possibilities of military assistance of these two countries to Afghanistan, taking into account the recent developments in international relations.

So the difference between China and Russia in Afghanistan is that China is deeply concerned about the activities of the country's Uighur fundamentalist organizations and is actually seeking to save itself by intervening in the Afghan government's negotiations with the Taliban. In other words, China opposes the Taliban and extremism in Afghanistan and supports the national government in this country. Russia, meanwhile, is backing the Taliban.

Russia's first contact with the Taliban was in 1995, informally, to secure the release of seventh Ilyushin-76 crew captured by the Taliban. Even in the 2000s, after al-Qaeda came to power in Afghanistan and the interaction between Russia and the United States in that country after 9/11, there was no difference between al-Qaeda and the Taliban, and the Kremlin insisted on confronting all these currents.

But in the 2010s, perceptions of the Taliban in Russia changed relatively, with differences between the Afghan Taliban and the Pakistani Taliban, al-Qaeda and ISIS. In this approach, for the moderate Taliban, functions such as confronting persecution or even positively with NATO and the United States, and especially against the rise of ISIS in Afghanistan, are assumed. To mediate these functions, contacts have been established between Russia and the "moderate" Taliban, mediated by Tajikistan. The connection with the Taliban took place while this group was

recognized as a terrorist group by the 2003 decision of the Russian Supreme Court and is currently on this list (Nouri, 1395: 17).

## **2- National roles**

The national role of the Russian government towards Afghanistan is that Russia, as the leader of the region, has a very important role towards the governments of Central Asia and Afghanistan, and in this regard, considers itself the guardian of the Afghan region so that its interests and goals in Asian countries Central is not endangered. The Russian government is also a development donor to Central Asia and Afghanistan. China's national role in Afghanistan is similar to that of Russia, and it advocates for Afghan aid to protect its interests in the region, aid its development, support liberation movements, and counter-colonial policies. In the following, we will explain about national roles.

In this regard, it should be said that with the reduction of American forces in Afghanistan and the expansion of the war in this war-torn country, the countries of the region are trying to prevent the negative consequences of the Afghan crisis from reaching their countries. China and Russia are among Afghanistan's neighbours who are concerned about the situation.

Although China does not have a long border with Afghanistan and is located in extremely difficult areas, the challenges of the war in Afghanistan can affect this powerful country. During the Taliban regime, delegations from China travelled to Afghanistan regularly and expressed concern that Uighur fighters were receiving military training inside Afghanistan, and each time the Taliban promised to stop them.

China did not recognize the Taliban government but maintained normal relations with Kabul. That is why today the Taliban look at China as a country that can play a positive role in

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Afghanistan's peace plan. On the other hand, China has a friendly and close relationship with Pakistan, and that is why the Afghan government hopes to influence. China will be fruitful for Pakistan in the Afghan peace process.

The two countries can play a key role in international efforts to curb the violence of Islamist fundamentalists as a regional and global threat. Both Russia and China are concerned about the situation in the region after the United States withdrew from Afghanistan in 2014. Based on this concern, the two countries have increased their military presence in Central and South Asia to prevent the region from becoming a safe haven for terrorists in the post-2014 period. Russia is strengthening its regional presence through the Collective Security Treaty Organization.

Regarding national roles, it should be said that Russia, unlike China, has pursued a policy of non-alignment and isolation on Afghanistan issues. Russia's special envoy to Afghanistan, Zamir Kabulov, said in early February that "Russia is tired of joining whatever Washington begins" and that no talks between the Taliban and Afghanistan, backed by the United States, Pakistan and China. , Will not take a share.

This is the first time since the fall of the Taliban regime that Russian officials have not shown support for US-led programs in Afghanistan. In the past, although Russia and the United States have differed on many international issues - from Ukraine to the Syrian crisis - and have taken different positions, when it comes to Afghanistan, the interests are at stake. Common goals worked together. From paving the way for the transfer of supplies to coalition forces in Afghanistan, to cooperating in the fight against drug trafficking, Russia has aligned itself with the United China in Afghanistan. . But refraining from participating in the Afghan peace process and expressing Russia's "tiredness" of such plans indicate that Sino-Moscow relations in Afghanistan have entered a new phase.

Nevertheless, Russia today, in addition to handing over arms to Kabul officials, expressed hope that the Afghan government's peace talks with the Taliban would begin as soon as possible, and encouraged the Taliban to participate in the talks relationships with it.

### **3- Objectives**

Objectives in foreign policy, as mentioned, are divided into three categories: short-term, long-term and medium-term.

Russia's goals in Afghanistan against China are:

1. Russia is deeply concerned about the presence of ISIS and the growth of narcotics through Afghanistan to Central Asian countries. In order to prevent ISIL, it will not hesitate to use any possible means, including cooperation with the Taliban and taking steps towards peace, in order to prevent the consequences of ISIL's presence in the region.
2. Russia no longer wants the United States to be at the forefront of determining its global destiny. Russia knows that the United States has lost the war in the Middle East, and Russia, on the other hand, has endured the policy of watching US military bases in its neighbor Afghanistan for a long time.
3. Russia, unlike China, believes in confronting the United States over Afghanistan, and the most important reason is security, while China has reasons for energy and energy resources.
4. Almost a hundred days after the ouster of President Donald Trump, Russia has realized that Donald Trump does not have a clear and decisive policy on Afghanistan and cannot play a constructive or decisive role in international affairs after the United States. Have a supplier. Therefore, it must take full advantage of this opportunity for the benefit of Russia.

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5. On the other hand, Russia knows that the role and position that the United States had 16 years ago in Afghanistan and the region no longer has that position. Over time, the people of Afghanistan have become skeptical of US policies and their sincerity in the fight against terrorism. Russia wants to seize this opportunity. Russia also knows that the economic and political problems that are currently plaguing the United States, this country can no longer focus on world beliefs alone and have the first say (Saeedi, 1396: 3-4).

The Russians were reluctant to invade the country for years after the end of the Soviet-era war, but threats from Afghanistan have inadvertently forced Moscow to get involved. This compulsion has been felt more and more since the mid-1990s, with the rise of the Taliban and the growing threat of Islamic extremism spreading to Central Asia and then Russia. Although the expansion of extremist movements was somewhat halted in the 2000s with the arrival of US and NATO forces in Afghanistan, the reduction of Western forces and the Taliban occupation of Kunduz in October 2016, 70 km from the Tajik border, and similar attacks on other cities, including Faryab, near the border. Turkmenistan was a wake-up call for Central Asia and Russia.

Thus, according to Holstie's theory, the arbitrary goals of China and Russia in Afghanistan are to counter US hegemony and a unipolar world. However, the essential goal of these two countries as the main poles of power in the international system has been to fight extremism and violence in Afghanistan in order to prevent this extremism from reaching its borders or countries whose national interests are related to it.

According to the Kremlin, the goal of US and NATO operations in Afghanistan is not to counter terrorism, but even to incite terrorism for political and military exploitation and to exert direct and indirect pressure on Afghanistan's neighbours,

including China, India, Pakistan, Iran, Central Asia and Russia. . In the eyes of the Russians, just as the United States used Afghanistan to inflict a major defeat on the Soviet Union, it can still use that country to put pressure on Russia. But Russia's political and geopolitical approach to Afghanistan is not just about competing and balancing with the West, and the Kremlin is also concerned with balancing other powers such as China, India and other neighbours, including Iran and Pakistan.

The range of asymmetric threats posed by Afghanistan clearly includes the activities of terrorist and extremist groups from al-Qaeda to the Taliban and ISIS. In the unstable conditions caused by the activities of these groups, drug and arms trafficking has also increased, and this issue has its own sensitivity for Russia. This sensitivity is similar to geopolitical threats due to the assumption of dynamic security and insecurity and their continuous flow from Afghanistan to Central Asia and Russia. Accordingly, Moscow cannot remain indifferent to developments in Afghanistan.

China's strategy towards Afghanistan is based more on economic and trade influence. Meanwhile, cooperation between China and Afghanistan covers many areas, the most important of which are cooperation in the field of trade, cooperation in the field of Industrial cooperation, cooperation in the field of energy and exploitation of oil, gas and electricity sources and laying of oil pipes and cooperation in the field of transport, construction of railways and road construction, etc. In addition, China is bordered on its western borders by two geopolitical structures: the Indian subcontinent - India and Pakistan, and the second Central Asia. Between these two structures is Afghanistan, which separates the two structures. Slowly In fact, the north of Afghanistan includes the geopolitical structure of Central Asia and the south of it includes the geopolitical structure of the subcontinent, which shows the importance of Afghanistan for China.

#### **4. Orientation**

Russia, by creating a regional alliance to which China has also leaned as a result of recent US policies; It seeks to challenge the US security program in the fight against terrorism. The concept of challenge does not mean the beginning of competition in the first place, but rather the strengthening of regional leverage to put pressure on the United States to cooperate with Russia. In the next steps, following the US reluctance to cooperate with China and other regional countries in the fight against terrorism, the possibility of expanding competition and challenging the US presence in Afghanistan could be on the regional table with Russia or without Russia. To be placed. By expanding its regional influence, Russia is trying to seize regional leadership in the fight against terrorism.

With the reduction of US forces in Afghanistan and the escalation of the war in the war-torn country, the countries of the region are trying to prevent the negative consequences of the Afghan crisis from reaching their countries. China and Russia are among Afghanistan's neighbours who are concerned about the situation and have taken the alliance and coalition orientation against it.

The four dimensions of the Northern Hallist model were the goals, actions, orientations and national roles in line with the Sino-Russian approach to Afghanistan. In this section, we concluded that on the one hand, China and Russia cooperate on Afghanistan Alliance and coalition in orientation), but do not have a common position in other holistic models. China, especially after the 2009 riots in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, distinguishes between al-Qaeda supporters in the middle of the Taliban and more nationalist groups and favours dialogue with nationalist groups to achieve peace.

On the other hand, the two countries play a key role in Shanghai's largest cooperation organization. China is using the

organization to increase its influence in Central Asia, which has the largest energy resources, and China's significant influence in those countries has somewhat diminished Russia's role. Although most experts predict the prospect of a Russian-Chinese alliance in the SCO as an alternative to the EU, and if Shanghai becomes a military organization, NATO will be threatened. But there is no consensus on this, with some of the most important obstacles being conflicts of interest within the organization over who will play the big brother role in the organization, while China is not interested in Russia playing a leading role in major economic projects such as the Via-Asia Silk Road project.

In short, Russia's security policy, unlike that of China, is based on the premise that Moscow is ready to eliminate any threat to its national and vital interests through a variety of security measures, from increased military cooperation to military aggression. The Russian Federation, like China, has sought to prevent Afghanistan from deepening its threats by establishing and strengthening regional alliances such as the Collective Security Treaty Organization, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and other multilateral security, political and economic arrangements, as well as strengthening its bilateral security ties. Strategic and its overflow to its borders and at the same time limit US influence in Central Asia.

### **Conclusion**

In this article, we use Holsti's theory to answer the question, what are the differences and similarities between the policies of China and Russia in Afghanistan between 2001 and 2016? The hypothesis that the policies of China and Russia in Afghanistan are similar in orientation (building alliances and coalitions), but in the axes of goals and actions are proven.

In this paper, the theoretical framework of foreign policy from Holstie's point of view was examined. In this regard, we have examined the four dimensions of the Northern Hallist model:

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goals, actions, orientations and national roles in line with the Sino-Russian approach in Afghanistan. In order to adapt the theoretical framework to the subject of the article, it can be said that on the one hand, China and Russia cooperate with each other on Afghanistan (alliance and coalition approach in orientation), but in other aspects of the Holocaust model, they do not converge.

China's interaction with Afghanistan can be examined from three areas: economic, security and independent role. From a security perspective, with the US-led invasion of Afghanistan, China saw one of its most important security threats, the Taliban-disappear, but the US military presence in the country's neighborhood was a far greater threat that had to be addressed. It was resolved.

Therefore, although China was not happy with the presence of US troops in Afghanistan, it did not consider the early withdrawal of US troops from Afghanistan as a policy due to the persistence of instability and insecurity in that country. Therefore, the Chinese government has been trying to present itself as a responsible neighbor to the Afghan government with the help of development aid and to take advantage of the opportunities gained in the economic field of this country.

From an economic point of view, China is the only beneficiary in the economic interests of the Central Asian region and Afghanistan, and therefore equals economic investments where it feels safe and secure. To this end, China has long sought the right time and waited for a future strategy in Afghanistan and its close partnership.

The third view sees Afghanistan's position as an independent factor, not in the light of the United States and NATO, for China. China's policy is based on the minimal military presence of this country in Afghanistan and the effort to resolve the political security problems of Afghanistan with the presence of all

regional and effective internal and external forces. Thus, China not only uses its longtime ally, Pakistan, and the support of the central government of Afghanistan to restore security in Afghanistan, but also hopes for the support of Russia and Iran in this regard, just as Russia does. China and Russia have also put talks with the Taliban on the agenda for security in Afghanistan.

Among China's neighbors, which are in dangerous areas, Afghanistan has naturally gained new importance in the Chinese government and is pursuing active engagement with Kabul. China has been in close consultation with Afghanistan's neighbors and close neighbors to support political transition and national reconciliation in Afghanistan. China has even played a significant mediating role with Pakistan, the United States bringing the Afghan government and the Taliban to the peace talks.

As Afghanistan remains a challenge to China's new neighborhood diplomacy and its strategy to build the Silk Road, China's limited security and strategic goals can only be achieved in cooperation with other major powers and states in the region that pursue its own interests for peace and stability. Afghanistan has developed, not realized against them. To promote stability in Afghanistan, there is an urgent need for the countries of the region to play a vital and neutral role in Afghanistan through a regional cooperation mechanism.

It should also assist with the provision of facilities such as communications networks, training and health services, training of the Afghan National Police and Army in cooperation with the United States and many other international and regional countries. Certainly, compared to the increasing suffering of the West in Afghanistan in the first decade of the 21st century, China can guarantee itself the peace, stability and security of Afghanistan and, consequently, the peace, security and stability of South Asia in the Asian century. Indeed, the rise of China's power cannot and should not be seen as a confrontational

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approach to its neighbors, especially Afghanistan; Where NATO and the United States still maintain their supremacy.

During the presence of foreign forces in Afghanistan, the United States has repeatedly called for China to play an active role in security interactions in the region. But China has suggested that foreign troops operate in Afghanistan under NATO Article 5; It is not interested in working alongside NATO programs in Afghanistan. With the spread of ISIS threats and the possibility of the group infiltrating Xinjiang and the Fergana Valley in Central Asia, China has concluded that it has invested in areas where threats and insecurity are on the rise.

The potential emergence and spread of ISIS in western China threatens the environmental context of investment. Therefore, China is trying to increase its security interactions in order to secure its economic plans in the port of Gwadar, the Silk Road and other economic investments in Central and South Asia.

Meanwhile, some international relations researchers have raised concerns about the unwarranted emergence of China and China as a new security player in two counterterrorism mechanisms in Afghanistan:

- 1- Unilateral Operation: In this way, China is still trying to connect with radical groups, as it did with Mullah Omar in the 1990s to keep al-Qaeda and other radical groups out of Xinjiang. Accordingly, it has provided a platform for negotiations between the Afghan government and the Taliban, which is considered a kind of unilateralism in regional security. However, given the scale of China's economic plans and the extent of the growing threat in the region, this mechanism may not be effective in the long run.
- 2- Collective action: The Chinese government can use its influence in the region, especially through Shanghai and the cooperation of the United States, to provide a platform

for countries in the region and beyond to take joint action. Even Iran, which considers the United States its enemy and is negotiating nuclear issues with the West; with the spread of ISIS and the growing threat against Iran, it seems that it accepts the views of the West on nuclear issues and is forced to seek help from the West to curb terrorism and ISIS.

Russia is one of the countries that has sufficient and first-hand information about Afghanistan's mines and their value and importance, and therefore intends to invest heavily in infrastructure, mines and energy resources and increase exports of economic and military goods to Afghanistan. Influenced by the above factors, Russia has actively pursued diplomacy and policy towards the countries of the region, especially Afghanistan. The country's policy in this regard is a security policy that aims to ensure stability and security in Afghanistan and the region. Unlike China, Russia's security policy is based on the premise that Moscow is ready to eliminate any threat to its national and vital interests through a variety of security measures, from increased military cooperation to military aggression.

The Russian Federation, like China, has sought to prevent Afghanistan from deepening its threats by establishing and strengthening regional alliances such as the Collective Security Treaty Organization, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and other multilateral security, political and economic arrangements, as well as strengthening its bilateral security ties. Strategic and its overflow to its borders and at the same time limit US influence in Central Asia.

Military cooperation includes a wide range of bilateral relations, including the sale of military weapons, support for Afghanistan, especially in the military sector, training and equipping of Afghan police forces, army reconstruction, holding

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multilateral security meetings with regional and Afghan-centred countries. Be.

Russia promised \$ 200 million in aid to Afghanistan at the outset of the new regime in Afghanistan, but its economic presence in Afghanistan has been limited, as Afghanistan grows and develops. Russia is considering a greater economic presence in the country. In this regard, in addition to the expansion of economic cooperation centred on Afghanistan and along with other influential countries in the region, including Iran, China and India, many economic plans have been proposed for the prosperity and economic prosperity of Afghanistan.

Among these plans is the construction of a railway line from Russia, Central Asia, and Afghanistan, which the Russian media has stated aims to expand trade and transportation relations in Central Asia. By pursuing these policies, Russia hopes to reduce security threats to its vital interests and help increase its power while ensuring regional security.



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