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Afghanistan's Geopolitical Developments and Foreign Policy

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Abstract

Nearly a century after Afghanistan gained independence in 1919, the question of autonomy and originality in the nation's 20th-century foreign policy remains a topic of contention within the country. Following its independence, Afghanistan found itself in a unique situation shaped by the influence of major global powers' competition. Over the past century, geopolitical shifts have significantly influenced both the internal and external circumstances of Afghanistan. This article seeks to address the query: How did regional geopolitical developments impact Afghanistan's foreign policy from the time of its independence to the events of September 11, 2001? This article is descriptive-analytical in which the relationship between the geopolitics of the region and Afghanistan's foreign policy is examined. The geopolitical situation of Afghanistan in the geopolitical theory of the world order of Saul Cohen has shaped the theoretical discussion of the author, Afghanistan as a quasi-independent state in the geopolitics of the region, not just in the post-Cold War period. The special feature of Afghanistan in the region has been prominent since the independence of this country until now. The findings of this paper show that the foreign policy of Afghanistan after independence in the phases of geopolitical stability and transformations in the security structure of the region is more towards a neutral and balanced strategy. The country has had relations with the great powers of every period and has always distanced itself from such a strategy. It is and the independent or what was once a semi-independent position in the regional geopolitics has evolved into a pivotal and crucial region with the accompanying strategy with great power, coup, revolution and even military occupation has also occurred in this country.

Keywords: Soviet Union, Afghanistan, South Asia, Middle East, Neutrality Policy, Companionship Policy, Heartland

1. Introduction

The introduction to the establishment of the country of Afghanistan emerged on the scene in the mid-18th century, coinciding with the death of Nadershah Afshar and widespread changes in the territory of Iran. In 1747, Ahmadkhan Abdali established the government of Afghans, consisting of several Pashtun tribes in Kandahar. Starting from the latter half of the 19th century and in the 1860s and 1870s, the expansion of the borders of the Russian Empire to the south in Central Asia caused the Emirate of Bukhara and Khanashin Khojjand and Khiva to come under the power of Moscow. These developments brought the Russian territories close to British colonial lands in India (Toriya, 2014: 49).

At that time, Iran was a buffer zone between the lands under Russian rule in Central Asia and British colonial India. Due to Iran's military defeats from the tsarist army in the Caucasus and the signing of the Turkmenchai Treaty in 1828, Russia found the right to have a military and commercial presence on Iranian soil.

As a result, the British government in India thought of creating a new buffer zone and provided reasons for the separation of the Persian Gulf in the south and Herat in the east of Iran. This issue and subsequent developments in the 19th century became a prelude to the emergence and end of the independence of Afghanistan in 1919 (Mojtahed-Zadeh, 2004: 123). After that, the monarchy, republic, communist and Islamic systems ruled Afghanistan. Since the time of independence, Afghanistan has passed the difficult path of securing national interests in foreign policy in connection with geopolitical developments and competition of regional and global powers. This article aims to address the impact that regional geopolitical developments have had on the area have had on the country's foreign policy since the independence of Afghanistan until September 11, 2001. After the theoretical discussion, the geopolitics of the region in the past and the geopolitical order in the 20th century, and then the foreign policy of Afghanistan based on the use of neutral policy or distancing from it. This policy is reviewed in two periods.

2. Theoretical discussion

Geopolitics as described by Saul Cohen is a product of its time and the definitions and theorizing about it have also evolved according to time. In the first use of this term, Rudolph Killen defined geopolitics in 1899 as the concept that posits the state as a geographical organism and phenomena in time and space; the state without this feature is an abstract concept. Karl Haushofer, who is known as the father of German geopolitics, calls geopolitics the new science of national government; A guide about the spatial algebra of all political processes that relies on broad geographical foundations, especially political geography (Cohen, 2015: 15).

Geopolitics is a combination of fixed and variable elements. The fixed elements of geopolitics are such as geographical location, the size of the land, the shape of the country, the spatial situation¹, and the variable elements are things such as population, natural resources, political institutions and structures. It includes social and international system developments (Ezzati, 1992: 75). Geopolitical regions are also distinguished from each other based on fixed and variable geopolitical elements. Geopolitical regions have been important since the commencement of the establishment of this field of studies and their emergence has been a function of the evolution of geographical regions. The evolution of each geopolitical region can be elucidated in the following pentagonal stage framework:

1. The stage of existence of a geographic region that is coherent based on one or more structural and functional features.
2. The stage of the emergence of the geopolitical region: when the structural and practical distinctiveness of the geographical region gained status and acknowledgment from the point of view of political actors, especially the states the geopolitical region is formed.
3. The stage of forming the geopolitical structure: in this stage, a network of relations between the actors is formed to provide more benefits for them. Cohesion, conflict, competition, conflict, cooperation and divergence are observed among the actors of geopolitical regions.
4. From the relations that are formed in the third stage, the geopolitical state of affairs of the region in terms of convergence, divergence, integration, division of forces and regional gap is fixed and determined to a large degree in this stage.
5. What is formed in the fourth stage, if the result is cohesion, it provides the floor for the formation of regional organizations. Otherwise, the region will move towards the intensification of the crisis and return to the third stage (Hafeznia, 2010: 1-3).

Cohen explains the geopolitical structure of the world in three hierarchical levels, which consist of:

1. The geostrategic region² that includes the division at the macro level.

¹ Topography

² Geostrategic Realm

2. The geopolitical region³, which is geopolitical sub-divisions and is considered intermediate level.
 3. National states, many independent regions, quasi-states and sub-divisions of land within and between states, which are located at the lower or small level of the global geopolitical structure. (Cohen, 2015: 37).
- From Saul Cohen's point of view, Afghanistan's geopolitical situation can be analyzed at both the medium and small levels.

On the one hand, this country is a part of the geopolitical region of the fragile Middle East belt; The fracture belt is a region that is subject to deep internal conflicts and is affected by the competition and interventions of the influencing powers of geostrategic regions, which is the reason for the rupture and fragmentation of the region. According to Cohen, the Middle East has been in this situation since the 1940s (Cohen, 2015: 48). On the other hand, Saul Cohen has identified states that have capabilities for independence or semi-independence⁴ from geopolitical regions.

In this independent situation, Afghanistan is located in the fragile belt of the Middle East, between the Middle East, the heartland region of Russia and the independent region of South Asia. Such geographical proximity has provided a powerful capacity for this country to create a Pashtun confederation in the east and south or an Uzbek and Tajik confederation in the north of Afghanistan (Cohen, 2015: 56-58). Also, the geopolitical situation of Afghanistan after independence has been influenced by the periods of geopolitical order and law, these stages will be explored in the subsequent discussion.

3. The geopolitical situation of Afghanistan and the era of geopolitical order in the 20th century

The geopolitics of a region in the 20th century is under the influence of the periods of order and geopolitics. The geopolitical revolution is usually accompanied by war, the collapse of some powers, the emergence of new countries, changes in the world's geographical and political map, and changes in the ranking of regional powers. This feature is evident during the two world wars; While in the geopolitical system, the strategy and policy of activists and the control and management system have more stability and continuity. Post-World War One and the independence of Afghanistan, three periods can be observed: the geopolitical period (1945-1919), the geopolitical system of the Cold War, and after the Cold War period that began in 1991 (Rahimi, 2011: 77). Of course, there is no consensus about the era and the geopolitical system. Peter Taylor, focusing on the periods of world order and geopolitical history, identifies three periods in the years 1904 to 1945, 1907 to 1946, and 1989 to 1991.

Also, in addition to the passing periods, two periods of global geopolitical order appeared until the ending of the Cold War. The first period of the geopolitical order was formed between 1904 and 1945 due to the competition for the succession of Britain as the dominant power, and the second period was observed during the Cold War (Taylor, 1). 993: 38-40). Before we examine the periods of geopolitics in the 20th century, we examine the geopolitics of Afghanistan.

3.1 Afghanistan and the inherent geopolitical configuration in the surrounding area

The distinctive geographical positioning of Afghanistan significantly influences the geopolitical characterization of the region, and it has been called "Crossroad of Asia" or "Heart of Asia". Mackinder believed that there are points in every continent that countries try to control, and they consider controlling it as controlling the heart and center of the same continent. Afghanistan stands as one of the regions that have been subject to rule by various empires throughout history (Hekmatnia, 2004: 100). Afghanistan is a country surrounded by land whose north, south, east, and west regions are separated by the Hindu mountains. In the east of this country is Pakistan, and in the north of the country is the plain of Central Asia and the Sihun and Jihun rivers, and the three countries of Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan are the northern neighbors of Afghanistan.

³ Geopolitical Region

⁴ Independent/Quasi State

The short, difficult and mountainous border amid Afghanistan and China has made this country the connecting point of China's nuclear powers with Pakistan and India. In the west of Afghanistan, the plateau of Iran has the largest Shia population and connects Afghanistan to the Middle East (Martin, 2011: 4). In this way, the meaning of regional geopolitics for Afghanistan is the same the geopolitical interconnection among the three regions of the Middle East, Central Asia, and South Asia in the communication intersection of Afghanistan. In order to analyze the geopolitics of Afghanistan, it is essential to look at the effect of the security composition of those regions on the geopolitical system and geopolitics of Afghanistan.

Comprehending the power dynamics within these regions is essential for gaining insight into Afghanistan's domestic and foreign policies. After Afghanistan's independence, the geopolitics of the region began to be under the control of the three great powers of Britain, Russia, and Germany. During the Cold War, the region was dominated by bipolar geopolitics, and after that, the era of influence of regional powers began.

3.2 Afghanistan and the geopolitical security composition of the region

The semi-independent situation of Afghanistan in the region has been linked with the concept of the barrier state⁵ in the existing studies in the 20th century. Since the word "barrier state" was recorded in the Oxford English Dictionary in 1883, there has been a consensus about the status of Afghanistan's barrier in the security composition of the region. Before independence, Afghanistan has been in the status of a barrier between the Russian Empire and Britain in India, and the status of a semi-independent state is considered by Cohen (McLachlan, 1997: 89). While in the 19th century, Afghanistan was the place of conflict and competition between Britain and Russia, in the 20th century, after the independence of Afghanistan in 1919, this competition continued until the ending of the World War Two, Germany was another world power, which has had an impact on the situation of Afghanistan, which is being examined in the discussion of Afghanistan's foreign policy in this period.

In the security composition during the Cold War, Afghanistan was at the center of the rivalry between the two superpowers, America and the Soviet Union. Upon the demise of Joseph Stalin in 1953, the priority he gave to the Soviet Union also changed. The strategy of the Soviet Union during the post-Stalin Cold War was to support communist movements and regimes in several parts of the third world, which meant distancing itself from Stalin's eyes. The invasion of the Red Army to Afghanistan in support of the communist government of Afghanistan in 1979 is evaluated in this context (Cohen, 2003: 6). This invasion changed the status of semi-independent Afghanistan in an obvious way. In response to this situation, America started supporting the Afghan Mujahideen against Russia. With the fall of the Soviet Union, Afghanistan returned to its former semi-independent status. In this connection, the geopolitical situation of Afghanistan in the 20th century geopolitical system is examined.

4. Afghanistan in the geopolitical period from 1919 to 1945

With the independence of Afghanistan in 1919, this country was bordered by British India in the east and Russia in the north. During this period, Britain and Germany's efforts to expand their influence caused some geopolitical theorists such as Agnew and Dolby to talk about Darwinian geopolitics and environmental algebra. During this period, geography has acted as an independent variable that shapes the policies of countries (Pishgahi-Fard and Ghodsi, 2009: 81-82). Therefore, the geopolitics of the Afghanistan region during this period was the center of competition between the great powers of Russia, Britain and Germany.

4.1 Afghanistan during the Cold War

Post-World War Two, a geopolitical bloc based on the rivalry between the Soviet Union and America was formed. The penetration barrier policy was included in the security strategy of the Western Army against the Soviet Union and found a special place in geopolitical theories.

⁵ Buffer State

4.2 The Heart of the Soviet Union and the Geopolitics of the Region

According to George Kenan's article "Behavioral Sources of the Soviet Union" written in 1947, many consider him to be the founder of the penetration barrier policy against the Soviet Union. But researchers such as Francis Sempa believe that the strategy of penetration barrier was proposed by Halford Mackinder before, and from his point of view, if Kenan is the father of penetration barrier strategy, then Mackinder can the patriarch knew this strategy (Sempa, 2002: 67-68).

In addition to Mackinder, Spikeman (1893-1943) also agreed with Mackinder's geopolitical point of view; however, he proposed a study according to which coastal Eurasia was the key to global power instead of the heartland. According to him, the power that has control over the Rimland region also has control over Eurasia and the fate of the world is in his hands.

Also, James Burnham, (1904-1987), a philosopher and political theorist, wrote an aggressive analysis in 1944 about the "threat of the Soviet Union against the West", According to Burnham, after communism took over China, America should change from the policy of "blocking penetration" to the aggressive policy of "liberation"; Because the penetration barrier cannot create an obstacle for the expansion of the communist ideology of the Soviet Union. Also, with the link between China's communism and the Soviet Union, Moscow could control most of the "island of the world" (Sempa, 2002: 73-77).

Some believe that in the 1970s, America's weakness in the military rivalry with the Soviet Union was an indication of the superiority of America's nuclear power compared to the previous decades, and this situation is the reason for the foreign policy of the Soviet Union became more aggressive, which manifested itself in the attack on Afghanistan. The visible change in the nuclear balance had an impact on the conduct of the Soviet Union and European countries (Askarkhani, 1998: 23).

4.3 South Asia and geopolitics of the region during the Cold War

The escalation between India and Pakistan is a prominent feature of South Asia during the Cold War and even after it, in terms of social and cultural structure, the formation of Pakistan is affected by the tension between the followers of Hinduism and Islam in India. In the political-security structure of the region, the issue of Kashmir is considered to be a big dispute and place of conflict between the two countries. Since the 1970s, with the expansion of Saudi Arabia's role in supporting the radical Sunni Islamist groups, the conflicts between religious and ethnic groups in Pakistan and in the region have increased. In addition to the prominent role of Pakistan in the security link of South Asia and Afghanistan, India also has an important position in the political, economic and security structure of the region. During the Cold War, this country had about 73 percent of the region's land area, about 77 percent from the population perspective, and from the gross domestic product perspective, it included 77 percent of the share of South Asia (Basrur, 2008: 46-49).

4.4 Middle East and geopolitics of the region during the Cold War

Cohen believes that since the 1950s in the Middle East, the competition of the six regional powers, either individually or in the form of forming an alliance and union with one of the superpowers, has affected the regional system (Cohen, 1992: 8-9). From the middle of the 1970s, the influence of Middle Eastern developments on Afghanistan increased. Before the Islamic revolution of Iran, this country, along with Saudi Arabia, in alignment with America, ensured the stability of the Persian Gulf; however, with the Islamic revolution, the collaboration between the two countries changed to regional conflict and competition, and it affected the geopolitical security composition of the region.

5. Regional Geopolitics in the Post-Cold War Era (1991-2001)

The fall of the Soviet Union and the geopolitical bipolar system of the 1990s transformed the region, and the independence of the Central Asian republics in 1991 brought new independent actors into the fold, most of the

populations of these countries are Muslims. Saul Cohen classifies the geopolitics of the region under the geopolitical structure of the world post-Cold War era. In Cohen's division, global geopolitics is divided into three macro, medium and micro levels; Geostrategic region is related to the macro level, geopolitics is related to middle level regions and national states, regions with more independence, quasi-states and territorial divisions within and between states at the micro level. It takes (Cohen, 2015: 37). According to this division, in the post-Cold War era, Afghanistan has the status of an independent quasi-state⁶, which is the reason for its independence from geopolitical regions. This country is located between the three regions of the heartland of Russia, the independent region of South Asia and the fragile belt of the Middle East, and this geographical proximity has a powerful capacity for this country to create Pashtun confederation in the east and south, adjacent to Pakistan, as well as Uzbek and Tajik confederations in the north, adjacent to Afghanistan. Central Asia has provided (Cohen, 2015: 56-58)

5.1 Afghanistan's foreign policy in the 20th century

Foreign policy in this period according to internal developments and power relations in the geopolitics of the region including four periods of royal governments, the republican government of Dawood Khan, the communist government and finally the period of the Islamic government. These four courses can be studied and reviewed in two sections. The first part of the course is the balancing and neutral policy in Afghanistan's foreign relations. This section includes the royal governments that have been in Afghanistan for nearly half a century. The second part is also specific to the post-monarchy period in Afghanistan, which gradually distanced the Afghan government from the neutral policy and includes a period of coups, revolutions and civil wars.

5.2 The period of superiority of neutral foreign policy and balance in foreign relations

5.2.1. The government of Shah Amanullah (1929-1919)

Shah Amanullah, after the war with Britain and the country's complete independence in 1919, in order to avoid the competition of Britain, Russia and Germany in the geopolitical security composition of the region, a neutral and balanced strategy in relation to the assumed great powers, a strategy that is rooted in the situation the border of Afghanistan was opening and it had turned into the traditional strategy of Afghanistan's foreign policy, especially throughout the period of the royal governments (Andisha, 2015: 1-3).

He took three important goals by considering the positive balance in foreign relations:

1. Creating equal platforms for cooperation and attracting foreign investments.
2. Avoiding unilateral military reliance on great powers.
3. Reducing tension in relations with great powers (Arefi, 2017: 161-163).

In the book "Afghanistan on the Path of History", Ghulam Mohammad Ghabar describes the effort of Amanullah to increase the capacity of human resources in sending students abroad as follows: Germany, France, Italy and Turkey based on the Ministry of Education information. They were educated, and next year, some Afghan girls were to be sent to Turkey for the purpose of education, and it was also considered to send some military students to England (Ghobar, 1989: 793).

Equal opportunities for participation and economic cooperation for foreign countries were respected in Afghanistan during the Amanullah era. The observance of equal opportunities for foreign countries can be seen in the policy of equal behavior in creating foreign investment opportunities until the last years of the Amanullah government. For example, during his six-month trip to Russia and Europe in 1928, Shah discussed the construction of a road from Amoudria to Kabul and the plan to build a railway in Afghanistan with a joint venture between Germany and France. Despite the colonial experience and the war with Britain, Amanullah did not have the desire to continue the tension with this great power and took the path of negotiation, which ended in the signing of the agreement of November 22, 1921 between the two countries. It was dragged (Farhang, 1988:

⁶ Independent/Quasi State

345-346). Shah Amanullah improved the relations with the Soviet Union after Moscow recognized the independence of Afghanistan on March 27, 1919, and on April 7 of the same year, he presented a proposal of alliance between the two countries in written form. On February 28, 1921, the two countries signed a friendship treaty. On November 27, 1926, a neutrality and non-aggression agreement was signed between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. Following that, in 1927, an agreement was made to establish an air line between Kabul and Tashkent (Ghobar, 1989: 786-787). In this way, Shah Amanullah, with a realistic attitude, sought to balance the relations with the great powers, and neutrally sought to turn the threats, interference, and penetration of the Soviet Union, Britain, and Germany into an opportunity for reconstruction. And there was progress.

5.2.2. Foreign policy during the government of Mohammad Nadershah (1929-1933)

After Shah Amanullah, with the coming to rule of Habibullah Kalkani, the Sultanate in Afghanistan was disrupted for about 10 months - from January to October - 1929; But after the fall of the Kalkani government, Nader Khan, the son of Mohammad Yusuf Khan from the Barkezi family, founded a new dynasty that carefully implemented the policy of gradual modernization.

With the failure of Amanullah's hasty reforms and the disruption of government affairs, Nadershah took a cautious approach in foreign policy. During the inaugural ceremony of the National Council of Afghanistan in 1931, Nadershah declared the principles of Afghanistan's foreign policy to be neutral policy. While Amanullah's neutrality was a balance in relations with Russia, Britain and other countries, Nader Shah's policy of protecting the Arabian Sea seems to be unseemly. He showed his loyalty to the policy of non-interference in India and Central Asia in the form of coordination with the interests of the British government in India (Gerigorian, 2009: 395-396). His excessive conservatism in foreign relations reduced the level of relations with Russia and Britain, which had expanded during the Amanullah era. Nadershah faced three issues in foreign policy:

1. Solving internal economic and political issues that were related to German policies;
2. Limiting Russia's influence in Afghanistan.
3. Preventing British influence and interference in the free border areas between Afghanistan and India under British administration (Adamec, 2013: 331).

Nadershah's practical action in advancing the neutral policy was to send Shahuli's brother as Afghanistan's representative in London and to send another brother, Mohammad Aziz, to Moscow. On October 19, 1929, Russia's Minister of Foreign Affairs officially recognized the Kingdom of Nadershah and expressed his hope that friendly relations between the two countries would continue and expand. Afghanistan also signed a non-aggression pact with Russia. With the improvement of relations between the two nations, commercial relations also expanded (Gerigorian, 2009: 409). Nadershah was assassinated on November 8, 1933 and the case of his government was closed. Nadershah's neutral strategy caused him to be cautious in relations with Britain and Russia; Although Nadershah sometimes consulted the British government in India and Russia on technical matters; But during his time, Afghanistan's political relations with Britain and Russia decreased significantly. For countries like the United States of America and Japan, there was no practical initiative and the level of relations remained very low.

5.2.3. Foreign policy during the government of Mohammad Zahershah (1933-1973)

On November 8, 1933, Zahershah, the last king of Afghanistan, assumed power at the age of nineteen following the death of his father, Nadershah. He ruled Afghanistan for about 40 years and on July 17, 1973, after a bloodless coup by his cousin Sardar Dawood Khan, he left power. Since Zahershah was young when he came to the Sultanate, the power was in the hands of three of his uncles, Shah Mahmood Khan, Shah Wali Khan, and especially Mohammad Hashim Khan, who held the title of Prime Minister. Despite this, the prominent feature of Mohammad Zahershah's foreign policy was the continuation of his father's conservative policy (Gerigorian, 2009: 461).

In 1934, Mohammad Zahershah announced the principles of the country's foreign policy in the National Assembly as follows: fostering amicable ties with all nations emphasizing on strengthening peaceful relations

with other countries. Neighboring, not interfering in the affairs of other countries. Zahershah believed that by continuing the neutral policy and bringing aid from two superpowers after the Second World War, Afghanistan's interests would be better secured and if it would get help from Moscow, you need to ask for help from Washington too (Tanin, 2005: 103).

In the geopolitical era spanning the two World Wars and throughout the Cold War, Mohammad Zahershah cautiously adopted a neutral and balanced policy in relations with the great powers. Progress - Except for the time during the presidency of Sardar Mohammad Davod Khan (1953-1963), which in the pursuit of Pakistan's independence in 1947, tension arose over the Durand border line and the claim of Pashtunistan on the soil of Pakistan.

The examination of this period shows that the geopolitics of the region between the two world wars and till the ending of the world war two was in a critical situation and the competition of the three powers of Britain, Russia and Germany in Geopolitics. In one region, the royal system of Afghanistan is regarded as a policy of neutrality and balance in he has guided the relationship with the powers. After the independence of Afghanistan, Shah Amanullah had a desire for innovation and progress with a model from the West; But the geopolitical limitations in the region caused Russia, Great Britain, and Germany to seek ambitious goals by adopting a neutral policy, balancing relations, and creating equal opportunities. While Amanullah's foreign policy spent a successful period in balance and neutrality; but Amanullah's hasty reforms did not meet with public acceptance and failed.

Avoiding fundamental reforms, Nadershah and Zahershah cautiously continued the path of neutrality in Afghanistan's foreign policy till the ending of World War Two. During the Cold War, the geopolitics of the region was influenced by the geopolitical system resulting from the rivalry between the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States. The separation of India and Pakistan in South Asia are also complicated the geopolitics of the region. Dawood Khan, the Prime Minister of Zahershah, from 1953 to 1963, in the first turn of the neutral policy, tried to solve the issue of border disputes with the Soviet Union and even with the United States through the policy of cooperation. Pakistan and resolve the issue of Pashtunistan; but it did not succeed. Until the end of Zahershah's reign in 1973, Afghanistan's foreign policy was on a neutral path.

5.3 The period of neutrality and balance policy in Afghanistan's foreign relations

5.3.1. Foreign policy during the period of the republic of Mohammad Dawoodkhan (1973-1978)

Mohammad Dawood Khan, who had tried to free Pashtuns from Pakistan's rule during his presidency, got another chance to do this during his presidency. He was eyeing Washington's support. When in 1956, America announced its position on the border of Afghanistan and recognized the Durand border as the official border of Afghanistan and Pakistan, Dawood Khan asked for the support of this country in the matter. Pashtunistan was disappointed and publicly expressed its desire for strategic relations with the Soviet Union.

During his first trip as the president to Moscow in June 1974, Russian officials asked him to talk to Pakistan and strengthen his relationship with Parcham Party, which was supported by Moscow. This behavior of Russia changed Dawood Khan's expectations from Russia and its effects were revealed very soon in internal and external dimensions. After Dawood Khan's trip to Moscow, he started removing the members and supporters of Parcham Party from the circle of internal advisors and the government board (Rasanayagain, 2005: 62-63).

From this period onwards, Mohammad Dawood Khan distanced himself from the camp of communism. During Dawood Khan's moving away from Moscow, Iran played an important role as the regional policy in Afghanistan's dependence on Russia. In 1975, the Shah of Iran promised to pay two billion dollars for the construction of the railway line from Kabul to Bandar Abbas. Although in practice, 1 million dollars were paid and there was no news about the construction of the railway line from Afghanistan. In June 1976, with the visit of Bhutto, the Prime Minister of Pakistan to Kabul and the improvement of relations, the dream of Pashtunistan also ended for Dawood Khan.

5.3.2. Foreign policy during the communist governments (1987-1992)

After the communist coup in 1978, Afghanistan's foreign policy was completely formed in connection with Moscow and enmity with the Western camp. In this era of communism ideology, internal conflicts and intra-party rivalries left no room for a dynamic foreign policy. After the coup, Nurmohamed Taraki and Hafizullah Amin, the main faces of the Khalq party, who consider themselves the main winners of the 1979 revolution (Thor 7, 1357), Babrak Karmal became the face of the Parcham party. They decided to pressure to accept the rule of the people in the new era and claim an equal share. Not being able to.

He tried very hard to prevent the split between the People's Party and the Flag and to keep the People's People's Party united. But there were many differences between the party leaders and this was not possible. In the end, the Kremlin also approved the policies of the People's Party. In September 1979, Taraki traveled to Havana to participate in the Non-Aligned Conference, and on the way back he made an unplanned stop in Moscow and met with Foreign Minister Berzhnev and Gromyko. The result of these meetings was information that they gave to Taraki about Hafizullah Amin's increasing power. The Russians believed that Amin's coming to power is not in the interest of the Afghan revolution (Braithwaite, 2011: 62).

On his return from Moscow, Taraki invited Amin to his place of residence on September 14. There was an attempt on his life; but Amin escaped from the place and with the siege of Saranjam Citadel, on October 8, 1979, Taraki was killed in the Citadel of the Republican Presidency. With this action, Amin ignited the conflict within the Shalavor party and created division in the party. Amin's government did not last more than a hundred days from September 1979 to December this year (Tanin, 2005: 267-273). Amin tried the policy of accompanying America. The main obstacle in this path was the assassination of the American ambassador Adolph Dobbs in Kabul. As a result of Amin's efforts, relations with Washington improved.

In the latter part of October and early November 1979, the Soviet Union's Communist Party reached the assessment that the political changes in Afghanistan could be advantageous for the United States and finally decided to send military forces to Afghanistan. December 1979, Soviet Union military planes landed at Bagram and Kabul airports and helped the ground forces that had arrived two days ago from Hirtan and Torgundi ports. Russian forces surrounded the residence of Hafizullah Amin in Kabul and killed him in the evening of December 27, 1979 (Tanin, 2005: 278-289).

With the killing of Hafizullah Amin, Babrak Karmal gained power with the support of the Soviet Union forces from 1979 to 1986, and the foreign policy of Afghanistan came under the control of Moscow. Following the transformations in the Soviet Union after Brezhnev's death, in November 1985, Gorbachev, who opposed the ongoing military presence of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, came into prominence and believed in supporting the transfer B7 didn't have a chance, he informed Karmal that he has decided to withdraw the military forces of the Soviet Union.

In such a situation, on April 14, 1986, Babrak Karmal declared his resignation from the role of Secretary-General of the People's Democratic Party, and Dr. Najibullah was appointed as the new Secretary-General of the People's Democratic Party. Moscow implemented the commitment based on withdrawing from Afghanistan, and on February 15, 1989, the withdrawal of Soviet Union forces from Afghanistan was completed. With the exit of the Red Army from Afghanistan and the strength of the Mujahideen in the battlefield, there was an expectation of the fall of Najibullah's government; but he tried to maintain order and improve his position by changing the name of the People's Democratic Party to the Homeland Party in 1990. But the Mujahideen did not accept it and the last communist government of Afghanistan was overthrown. Mujahideen managed to win the Islamic revolution of Afghanistan by controlling different provinces of the country on May 8, 1992 corresponding to April 28, 1992.

In a nutshell, it can be said that the communist government in Afghanistan was never able to maintain its unity; Noor Mohammad Taraki, Hafizullah Amin, Babrak Karmal and Dr. Najibullah were the leaders of the communist government in Afghanistan from 1978 to 1992. During this period, Afghanistan's foreign policy

completely left the path of neutrality and changed its path to support the Soviet Union. Amin's coup against Taraki and its repetition by Babrak Karmal against Hafizullah Amin, who was inclined to America and even opened the foot of the Red Army to Afghanistan, shows that the cost of leaving the policy of neutrality is very high.

5.3.3. Foreign relations of the 1990s (the Mujahideen government and the emergence of the Taliban)

The civil war and the tenuous legitimacy of the Mujahideen government had an impact on Afghanistan's foreign policy during this era led by Burhanuddin Rabani. In this geopolitical period, the relations of the influence of Jihadi parties, in collaboration with regional and global powers, played a role in shaping the destiny of Afghanistan and the surrounding region.

With the victory of the Afghan Islamic Revolution on April 24, 1992, an agreement was reached on the framework of the interim government between the jihadi groups residing in Peshawar, Pakistan. According to the agreement, two months ago, Sabghatullah Majdadi, the president of the interim government was appointed. After him, Burhanuddin Rabani of Tajik tribe, the second interim president of the Mujahideen government, took over this post for four months from June 28, 1992. According to the agreement, after this period, the Haloaqad Council was supposed to be established to appoint a temporary government for eighteen months and schedule general elections in Afghanistan. Due to the violation of this agreement from both sides, Burhanuddin Rabani held a council meeting to appoint the president in Herat city. On December 30, 1992, this council extended the government of Burhanuddin Rabani for two years. With this decision, the pros and cons were formed and the civil war continued. With the coming out of the Taliban in 1994, the direction of politics in Afghanistan turned from the Islam of the Mujahideen to the radicalism and Islamic fundamentalism of the Taliban. Infinitely the basis of the nomadic seats (Saikal, 2004: 209-210).

The diversity in the war's lineup left no possibility for the advancement of the foreign policy of the government of Burhanuddin Rabani. For this reason, more than the foreign policy in this era, I see the role of regional and world powers' relations with the heads of nations and jihadist parties. In this period, with the fall of the Soviet Union, the hegemonic system of Central Asia also collapsed and the newly sovereign republics of Central Asia turned into independent actors in the region.

Iran, which had completely abandoned its alliance with the United States with the Islamic revolution of 1979, turned into an important and independent actor in the region. In Afghanistan, following the withdrawal of Soviet forces and the collapse of the communist system, the military strength and power of the army disintegrated. In such a situation, Russia and America's indifference to Afghanistan's civil war provided an opportunity for Pakistan's influence in this country. The massive flood of immigrants from the 1970s onwards, Islamabad's support of Afghan Islamists, and the creation and strengthening of Sunni jihadi parties in this country, created the time for Pakistan's influence and the link between South Asia and Afghanistan in the region.

Burhanuddin Rabani, the head of the Islamic government in his foreign policy was looking to establish good relations with Pakistan and his firm support of Kashmiri Muslims in the conflict between India and Pakistan confirms this claim. Despite this, Burhanuddin Rabani's effort to create an independent policy in foreign policy, which included establishing relations with other neighboring countries, including India, was not favorable to Pakistan. In this unstable period, the fate of Afghanistan was again influenced by the relations and interventions of regional and world powers. Barnett Rubin describes the situation of this period as follows: for two years (1992-1994), the United Nations made no effort to initiate peace talks in Afghanistan. Regional powers including Pakistan, Iran, Central Asian countries, Saudi Arabia, India, and Russia intervened in Afghanistan's affairs. Russia was worried about the threat of Afghanistan's civil war in Tajikistan's neighborhood to re-establish power in Central Asia.

Iran was also against Pakistan's action and saw it as a part of America's restrictive strategy against Iran's regional economic interests. A trans-regional coalition was formed. The Pakistani army, with a large number of Pashtun

officers and Pakistani drug traffickers, many of whom were active in Pashtun tribal areas, cooperated widely with the Pashtun Taliban. (Rubin, 2013: 29).

Apart from Afghanistan's connection to the geopolitics of South Asia, the Middle East also exerted an influence on the security policies of the region. In March 1990, Saudi Arabia provided 100 million dollars to the Islamic Party of Afghanistan, led by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, to support a plan he and General Shahnawaz Tani to overthrow Najib's government. With the fall of Najib's government in 1992, Arabia continued to provide financial aid and fuel to the Mujahideen government. Of course, this aid was optional, and due to the hostile relations between Iran and America, the Mujahideen who were present in Iran, as well as about two million Afghan immigrants from the aid of Arabia and Jamaat Jah. So, the way parties and immigrants in Pakistan are benefiting from it, they remained undivided (Rashid, 2002: 198).

In addition to this, compared to Arabia, Iran's policies were mostly implemented in connection with Shia parties and currents. Tehran maintained ties with Shiite groups in the central highlands of Afghanistan, specifically in Hazarajat, including Bamyan and its adjacent provinces. In 1988, by integrating the eight Shiite parties in the "Islamic Unity Party", Iran tried to make this party appear in the international dialogues in which the Sunni parties supported by America, Pakistan and Arabia If they have an advantage, it should be present (Rubin, 2013: 35- 36).

Following the Cold War, the significance of the region surged in Central Asia due to the emergence of newly independent republics. Simultaneously, in South Asia, the enduring nuclear-powered competition persisted between India and Pakistan, marked by longstanding disputes, particularly concerning Kashmir. During this period, the rivalry between Iran and Arabia increased. With Afghanistan being in the midst of civil wars, the time was created for the coming out of the Taliban. During this era, the geopolitical landscape of the region was influenced by the foreign relations of jihadist parties, groups, and the Taliban with global and regional powers. The lack of a draft government in the decades after the Cold War in Afghanistan makes it difficult to analyze its foreign policy in this period.

6. Conclusion

From what has been studied, it can be concluded that Afghanistan's foreign policy in the 20th century is influenced by regional geopolitics. In the 20th century, before the Cold War, as Peter Taylor said, there was a competition for the succession of Britain, and Afghanistan's foreign policy was affected by this competition. During the Cold War, the neutral path of Afghanistan's foreign policy gradually turned towards Russia, and finally, after the Cold War, Jihadi and Taliban forces engaged in geopolitical conflicts across South Asia, impacting both the Middle East and Central Asia. Various governments ruled Afghanistan from the time of independence until September 11, 2001. Monarchy, republic, communist government, Islamic republic, and Islamic emirates came to power one after the other; Afghanistan's foreign policy during this period was affected by the competition of great powers.

The strategy of neutrality and balance in relations with the big regional and world powers, which was implemented during the fifty-year period of the Afghan monarchy, had guaranteed Afghanistan's stability to some extent; Since the era of Dawood Khan's presidency and then the communist government, Afghanistan's departure from the path of neutrality has had unpleasant effects and consequences for the Afghan governments. Even post-Cold War era, the competition of global and regional powers in the geopolitics of the Middle East, South Asia, and Central Asia has had an impact on Afghanistan's relations, and the status of the semi-independent state after Since it changed the course of developments in Afghanistan, September 11, 2001, the independence of Afghanistan, until the event in Geopolitics has been reproduced.

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