

The Position Of The Two Countries On The American Occupation Of Afghanistan

Asal Awad Shalash¹, M. D. Rasha Abdel Samad Ismail²

¹Student, College of Education for Girls - Department of History

²College of Education for Girls - Department of History
asal.shalash584@st.tu.edu.iq¹, rasha_ismael@tu.edu.iq²

Abstract

According to the previous interests, we find that the administration of President (George Bush) has employed global changes to issue many decisions from the United Nations against terrorism. Pakistan's unlimited cooperation with the United States in its war against terrorism was driven by the urgent need to save itself from being seen as the Taliban ally. The research reached the following results:

- 1. On the twelfth of September 2001, the United Nations issued Resolution No. (1368) condemning the attack on the United States, and called on states to cooperate among themselves and revealed the negligent, organizers and those responsible for the attack.*
- 2. The Taliban called for the delivery of Ibn Laden with its members, the closure of all training centers, and the permission of the United States to reach the training centers.*
- 3. The United States wanted behind its occupation of Afghanistan to achieve several goals, including being close to the wealth of Central Asia and the wealth of the Caspian Sea, and the removal of Russian influence from it or its competitor.*
- 4. The US foreign policy towards Afghanistan has provided material support to Afghanistan after the occupation, especially for the new Afghan Prime Minister, and (Hamid Karzai) won the first presidential elections after the American occupation of Afghanistan, which took place on October 4, after leading the transitional government.*
- 5. Iranian-Afghan relations have maintained their fixed level of tension since the Taliban took control of the rule in Afghanistan in 1996, while developments improved relations with them began in September 1998 when the movement welcomed the international mediation that the United Nations carried out to resolve the dispute with Iran and in turn the United States warned Iran against aggression against Afghanistan*
- 6. There is no doubt that the American occupation of Afghanistan made Iran in an unenviable position and has many positives and negatives at the same time.*
- 7. Pakistan joined the US-led coalition against its former ally to protect its national interest in a radically changing international scenario.*

Keywords: Afghanistan, Taliban, Bin Laden, George Bush, Al-Qaeda

INTRODUCTION

On the twelfth of September 2001, the United Nations issued a decision condemning the attack on the United States, accusing al-Qaeda of attacking it, and called on countries to cooperate among themselves and revealed the negligent, organizers and those responsible for the attack.

According to the previous interests, we find that the administration of President (George Bush) has employed global changes to issue many decisions from the United Nations against terrorism. Pakistan's unlimited cooperation with the United States in its war against terrorism was driven by the urgent need to save itself from being seen as the Taliban ally.

The position on the occupation of Afghanistan

On the twelfth of September 2001, the United Nations issued Resolution No. (1368) in which it condemned the attack on the United States, and called on countries to cooperate among themselves and revealed the negligent, organizers and those responsible for the attack ⁽¹⁾. And to absorb the state of amazement and terror that prevailed in the American street, the American administration (Osama bin Laden) accused (Osama bin Laden). ⁽²⁾

(Al-Qaeda) is the responsibility of the American attack, and the Taliban demanded that it be delivered with its members, the closure of all training centers, and allowing the United States to reach the training

centers. North Alliance to start militarily against the Taliban. ⁽³⁾ On October 7, 2001, US President George Bush announced the war. ⁽⁴⁾

The Taliban forces gathered around Kandahar, the religious capital of them, and by the sixth of December, the Northern Alliance took control of American support for most Afghan lands, and Mulla Muhammad Omar and Ibn Laden managed to escape from view, while most Taliban fighters fell into families or killed. ⁽⁵⁾ Despite the rhythm of the attack on the United States and the accompanying reaction, many researchers saw him as a fabricated justification by the United States for global goals, Fuhaid Muzah states that the organization (Al-Qaeda) found in the Taliban a cover to strengthen the organizational structure of it, and it is not correct to say that (Al-Qaeda) has grown away from the eyes of the American intelligence and the countries adjacent to Afghanistan, especially Pakistan, which was sponsoring all the activities of the organization And Taliban. ⁽⁶⁾ The new American administration was headed by George Bush. ⁽⁷⁾ Since 1997, she founded a research center called the new American century project, which aims to organize America's military power and prevent the rise of any competitive global military force, and after September 11 the project ideas turned into practical policies for the new century. ⁽⁸⁾

In addition to the foregoing, the United States wanted from its occupation of Afghanistan to achieve several goals, including being close to the wealth of the Middle Asia and the resources of the Caspian Sea, and the removal of Russian influence from it or its rival rather, in addition to that the practical presence of the American forces in Afghanistan represents the establishment of military bases near China, the country whose economy is growing quickly and which tries to have a share in the wealth of Central Asia and extending lines Transfer energy through its ground, this is in addition to the re-containing Iran, which the United States has adopted since 1995. ⁽⁹⁾

There is a material and moral correlation between the war in Afghanistan and the contents of American foreign policy and the reflection of this on the security of the region, especially the Caucasus. And this region is incorporated into the international collective security system. ⁽¹⁰⁾

The presence of the United States in Afghanistan carried and carries a strategic goal against the neighboring countries (Caucasus) in order to contain Russia, exclude Iran, monitor China, and infrastructure based on geopolitical pluralism in the Caucasus from its south, ending in its north, and establishing the oil corridors of Euro Asian does not pass through the Russian, Iranian, and Chinese lands, and thus Russia is wary of frightening that the United States aims to expel it from a circle Caucasian energy development, and therefore we find there a convergence of Iranian-Russian interests against the growing American influence in the Caucasus. ⁽¹¹⁾

According to the previous interests, we find that the administration of President (George Bush) has employed global changes to issue many decisions from the United Nations against terrorism, such as decision (1368) approved by the Security Council on September 2001 which is the justification according to which Afghanistan was struck, as the Americans justified their understanding of the decision that the Security Council had granted them the authorization to launch the war on Afghanistan, and the Secretary-General affirmed In this regard, he said, "The decision is hinting on this mandate, and it cannot be the basis for the attack on Afghanistan, but even if al-Qaeda is responsible for the incident, and the Taliban government has declined to hand over al-Qaeda elements to the United States, this argument cannot be a justification for the military attack on Afghanistan. ⁽¹²⁾

The US foreign policy towards Afghanistan has provided material support to Afghanistan after the occupation, especially for the new Afghan Prime Minister, and (Hamid Karzai) won the first presidential elections after the American occupation of Afghanistan, which took place on October 4, after leading the transitional government, he obtained 55% of the votes of voters and advanced to his competitors by a rate 40%. ⁽¹³⁾

Iran has well realized the extent of the ideological dispute between it and the Taliban movement, especially since the last movement is supported by several international parties, including Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan and other countries, so it tried to remain bridges of the relationship between it and Burhan al-Din Rabbani based on the hope that it will return to power and not to rush to establish a relationship with the Taliban, especially since the internal Afghan conflict in the ways of that period and the failure to guarantee the victory of a party on another party, that was not a long time until the Taliban forces managed From imposing its control over the majority of Afghan lands, the leader of the Unity Party,

Abdel -Ali Mazari, killed ⁽¹⁴⁾ The supporter by Iran, and also occupied the city of (Zahedan) in the same year and worked to detonate religious sites, including the Sheikh Al -Fayd Mosque. ⁽¹⁵⁾

Soon the state of (Kandahar) took control of the border with Pakistan also in the same year, as the city of Islamabad occupied, the Taliban was receiving support from Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and the United States. ⁽¹⁶⁾ Iranian anxiety increased after Washington received a delegation from the Taliban government, after the latter took control of most Afghan lands, and the Iranian government realized that the support of the United States of America for the Taliban government was in Washington's policy (containment) against Iran. ⁽¹⁷⁾ Iranian -Afghan relations have maintained their fixed level of tension since the Taliban took control of the rule in Afghanistan in 1996, ⁽¹⁸⁾

As for the developments of improving relations with it, it started in September 1998 when the movement welcomed the international mediation of the United Nations to resolve the dispute with Iran. In turn, the United States of America warned Iran against the aggression against Afghanistan ⁽¹⁹⁾.

But after the events of September occurred, the threats of the United States of America began to expel Osama bin Laden, the leader of al -Qaeda from Afghanistan, and signs of the American attack on Afghanistan are strengthening the Taliban, the Taliban rushed to improve its relationship with Iran through some diplomatic measures, including opening commercial roads with it through the (Islam Qalaa) border region. ⁽²⁰⁾ The traditional Swiss communication channel represented by the Swiss embassy in Iran, which has sponsored American interests since cutting diplomatic relations between Iran and the United States of America since 1979, has been active, and the Swiss embassy and its ambassador, Tim Goldman, played an important role as an indirect communication channel between the two parties, and this channel was activated by summoning the Swiss ambassador to the US State Department headquarters in Washington; To study ways to advance rapprochement with Iran and his vision of the possibility of this, he emphasized the centrality of this channel ⁽²¹⁾. 2001.

In this regard, he said: "His country is in constant and indirect contact with the United States of America regarding the anti -terrorism plans, and that the position of the last country is known to us, and that it sends messages to us through the Swiss embassy, and Iran is responding through the channel itself". ⁽²²⁾

In this context, on October 1, a report was issued by the Iranian Parliamentary Committee for the Afghan crisis in the Iranian Shura Council, recommending talks and opening a dialogue with the American administration on the future of the situation in Afghanistan, to preserve Iranian national security ⁽²³⁾

"Iran should take advantage of what he described as the need of Europe and the United States of America for Iran and its role in resolving the Afghan issue, and to use this to achieve national gains. ⁽²⁴⁾". Adapted from: The Same Source, ⁽²⁵⁾

On the signing of a secret agreement between Iran and the United States of America, it stipulates that Iran provides aid to any American soldier who hurts or is forced to land in Iranian territory, or flee to Iran as a result of the battles taking place with the Taliban in exchange for guarantees of respect for the United States, the safety and sovereignty of Iran. ⁽²⁶⁾ It is worth saying that the position of the Iranian government represented at the time of the reformist movement was based on the preservation of Iranian national security, and the reformists set out from the idea that there is no permanent friend, nor a permanent enemy, so the reformist leader Muhammad Khatami condemned the leaders of Afghanistan, and at the same time condemned the American bombing of Afghan civilians, saying: "I condemn the dark leaders in Afghanistan who spread violence, and war. And drugs through the world are under the cover of Islam, and I condemn the American strikes against an innocent people and isolated the victim of the assault of the great powers. ⁽²⁷⁾ He narrated: "He should not respond to the tragedy by committing another tragedy, and it should not be attacked and harmful to innocent members in Afghanistan, or anywhere else, ⁽²⁸⁾

Mohsen Mir Amadi, head of the National Security Committee of the Iranian Islamic Shura Council, said: "The cooperation that Iran has shown is the most that the United States of America can wait for Iran, which is that it is not standing in their faces or opposing their plans". ⁽²⁹⁾

Also through one of the leaders of the Conservative Movement, Mohsen Rezaei ⁽³⁰⁾ On his position, he attacked the American administration, considering that it will reach the conviction that it is unable to manage the affairs of the world. Moreover, the Supreme Commander of the Revolutionary Guards, Rahim Safavi, said: "Iranian politicians and military personnel are following the situation closely, because the presence of American forces in Afghanistan is a threat to our security and national interests. ⁽³¹⁾".

Former Iranian Defense Minister Ali Shamkhani said: Iran has not made promises to the United States to help and stand with it against the Afghan people, and that it supports its allies in Afghanistan from the Northern Alliance against the Taliban forces, this does not mean that it is participating in the United States in its campaign against Afghanistan.⁽³²⁾

The religious scholars also rejected such cooperation, according to what was stated in the statements of Nasser Makarim Al -Shirazi,⁽³³⁾ One of the senior references in Iran by saying: We believe that such cooperation harms Iran more than gaining benefits ... Undoubtedly, our cooperation with it in hitting the Muslim people of Afghanistan from a religious point of view is definitely forbidden; Because our religion of Islam does not allow us to exterminate the Afghan people, and accordingly, in terms of the fatwa, our fatwa is clear and explicit, this is a forbidden act, and it should not be done or just thinking about it.⁽³⁴⁾

There is no doubt that the American occupation of Afghanistan made Iran in an unenviable position and has many positives and negatives at the same time, it is that this occupation displaces the Taliban's control of the rule in Afghanistan, and thus it aspires that the new expatriate of the authority is in harmony with its interests, in addition to that its supporters have a political role in the process that is formed after the demise of the Taliban, and others. The American in the territory of Afghanistan, and this is not satisfied by Iran, because it is afraid of the American presence on lands with which it borders, in addition to its fear that the American administration is to form an Afghan government loyal to it, which works in contradiction as required by Iran's interest and others.

Pakistan has joined the US -led coalition against its former ally, its national interest in an internationally changing international scenario in Afghanistan in a significant change in a significant change, with the great shift in its Afghan policy. Pakistan lost any influence in Afghanistan since the Soviet invasion in September 1979 The Pakistani foreign policy towards Afghanistan focused on three main issues linking the enormous flow. For refugees that started in the early eighties between Pakistan and the United States in a closer way.⁽³⁵⁾

Second, Pakistan has become a country on the line of confrontation in the last major battle in the Cold War, which means that it enjoyed an unprecedented proximity with the United States during the 1980s and became the main sponsor of the Afghan Mujahideen fighting against the Soviet army and Afghan government forces, third, by the 1980s, Afghanistan is no longer considered a secondary neighborhood problem, but rather a major national security issue for Pakistan.⁽³⁶⁾

Pakistan's unlimited cooperation with the United States in its war against terrorism was driven by the urgent need to save itself from being seen as the Taliban ally and he recorded that President Musharraf said that "this decision was taken to avoid the huge damage and losses that may be caused to Pakistan if it does not cooperate with the United States." The decision was not popular with religious parties and some other politicians, who considered it a betrayal and abandonment of the Taliban, which Pakistan has been sponsored over the past decade. With regard to Taliban, their threat to launch an attack on any neighboring country was presented to the United States.⁽³⁷⁾

The events of September 11 necessitated Pakistan's review of its policies. Pakistan found that it has no risk -free options, but all options were full of risks to varying degrees. The challenge was to adopt a policy and a business path that could reduce the danger factor and choose the best possible path in specific circumstances. Pakistan benefited from the necessity to become part of the United States -led by the United States against terrorism in Afghanistan.⁽³⁸⁾

It is an excessive expression of the actually eliminating the Taliban and Al -Qaeda. The alliance with the United States has once again served the interests of Pakistan. Pakistan is no longer isolated as it was before the events of September 11. All the sanctions imposed on Pakistan were raised for more than a decade and now received economic aid and other aid to implement its reform agenda⁽³⁹⁾

The debts could not be rescheduled without the support of the United States and other Western countries sympathetic to Pakistan for the dangers it endured in removing itself from extremist elements. And a larger design than I did in the past⁽⁴⁰⁾

Also, Pakistan, after the events of September 11, 2001, and because of its geographical location, once again became an indispensable ally for the White House (in light of the American invasion of Afghanistan), while preserving its destabilizing role in the region, US sanctions were raised on Pakistan,

Islamabad received \$ 14 billion in military aid between 2002 and 2011, and 7.5 billion dollars of financial aid.⁽⁴¹⁾ Pakistan has provided logistical support to the international coalition in Afghanistan and helped in the arrest of a large number of al-Qaeda members since 2002, relations between the United States and Pakistan entered a new stage of the sharp confrontation, as Pakistan began providing Iran, Libya and North Korea with nuclear technology and experience, and because of its fear of the possibility of terrorists in their hands one day on a nuclear bomb, and its dependence on Pakistan in its war on terrorism, helped the United States. Islamabad in securing its nuclear arsenal and turned a blind eye to the dark points "in its nuclear file."⁽⁴²⁾

There were other reasons for the increasing concern, with the decline in Pakistani military aid in the war against al-Qaeda since 2004, although the United States ranked a major ally from outside the NATO in 2004 and Pakistan has become a destination for Afghan Taliban, Haqqani (and the Pakistani terrorist movements to thank the good) who fled from their country but Pakistan's hopes to fulfill these promises It was shattered with the conclusion of the nuclear energy treaty ⁽⁴³⁾ Civil between India and the United States in 2005.⁽⁴⁴⁾

CONCLUSION

1. On the twelfth of September 2001, the United Nations issued Resolution No. (1368) condemning the attack on the United States, and called on states to cooperate among themselves and revealed the negligent, organizers and those responsible for the attack.
2. The Taliban called for the delivery of Ibn Laden with its members, the closure of all training centers, and the permission of the United States to reach the training centers.
3. The United States wanted behind its occupation of Afghanistan to achieve several goals, including being close to the wealth of Central Asia and the wealth of the Caspian Sea, and the removal of Russian influence from it or its competitor.
4. The US foreign policy towards Afghanistan has provided material support to Afghanistan after the occupation, especially for the new Afghan Prime Minister, and (Hamid Karzai) won the first presidential elections after the American occupation of Afghanistan, which took place on October 4, after leading the transitional government.
5. Iranian -Afghan relations have maintained their fixed level of tension since the Taliban took control of the rule in Afghanistan in 1996, while developments improved relations with them began in September 1998 when the movement welcomed the international mediation that the United Nations carried out to resolve the dispute with Iran and in turn the United States warned Iran against aggression against Afghanistan
6. There is no doubt that the American occupation of Afghanistan made Iran in an unenviable position and has many positives and negatives at the same time,
7. Pakistan joined the US-led coalition against its former ally to protect its national interest in a radically changing international scenario.

Margins

(1)Muhammad Sarrafar, previous source, pp. 241-242.

(2)Osama bin Laden: He was born in 1957 AD in the city of Riyadh in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and the roots of Bin Laden returned to the Yemeni city of Hadramout. Bin Laden formed his own training camps in the parts of Afghanistan and established an office to register the names of the fighters to the flags of their relatives if they were killed, and the name of the office (Al-Qaeda) was derived from the name (Al-Qaeda linked to Ibn Laden), and it is reported that he returned to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 1989 and informed by Pakistani intelligence that the United States intends to assassinate him with Abdullah Azzam and after two weeks the assassination of Azzam in Pakistan, and several American soldiers operations in the region have affected the region and bin Laden was accused of it, he moved to Afghanistan with his family

- in 1996 AD and began to launch threatening statements against the United States and his last place under the list of terrorism, accused of 2001 bombings in the United States, and the United States stated that it was assassinated in 2011, for more seen: Abdul Bari Atwan Al-Qaeda, the secret organization, Dar Al-Saqi, Beirut, 2007, p. 47-64
- (3) Ammar Muhammad Kazem Faraj and Abdel-Hakim Mahdi, US intervention in Afghanistan, Basra Literature Magazine, No. (89), 2009, George Bush: He was born in the state of Newhevin, his sixth older brothers, and in the second of Umrah he moved with his family to the state of Texas and at the age of fifteen years he joined the Massachusetts School and studied history at Yal University but he did not succeed in a light success in it, so he enrolled With the air force, the political currency began in the mid -1990s and joined the Republican Party, then became the forty -three president of the United States of America and extended his second reign from January ٢٠٠١ to 20 January 2009 and declared at the beginning of his rule war on terror after hitting the commercial center in New York and the Ministry of Defense in Washington. For more sees: Oudo Zato, Heads of Wisdom from Establishment until now, 2nd edition, Dar Al-Hikma, Baghdad, 2021, pp. 335-3340.
- (4) George Bush: He was born in the state of Newheven, his sixth brother, and in the second of Umrah he moved with his family to the state of Texas and at the age of fifteen years he joined the Massachusetts School and studied history at Yal University, but he did not succeed in a great success in it, so he joined the air force, the political currency began in the mid -1990s and joined the Republican Party, then became the forty -three President of the United States of America and extended for a period of time His second ruling from January 2001 to the twentieth of January 2009 and at the beginning of his rule he declared war on terrorism after hitting the commercial center in New York and the Ministry of Defense in Washington. For more sees: Oudo Zato, Heads of Wisdom from Establishment until now, 2nd edition, Dar Al-Hikma, Baghdad, 2021, pp. 335-3340.
- (5) Mahmoud Al -Maraghi, The Book of Death from Afghanistan to Iraq, American Foreign Ministry documents, Dar Al - Shorouk, Cairo, 2003, p. 319.
- (6) Muzdah Wahid, Afghanistan and Benjal Salt Taliban, published, Tahrar, 1382 N., p. 188.
- (7) Note that Israel had a prominent role in the United States' policy after George W. Bush's victory, which controls behind the scenes in that government, the Cristin Sinz Monteralama newspaper published in its issue issued on 20/7/2005, a report under the title of the empire industry in which it stated that twelve men are the main theorists of American foreign policy, all of them Jews, most notably Richard Perl, the creator of creative chaos. In order to rebuild the Middle East, which begins the occupation of Iraq, Paul and Walvovitz, President of the World Bank, Daghas Fayth, the Assistant US Defense Minister, and Luis Lewi, Dick Cheney Cheney Adviser for National Security Affairs, looking at, Treita Barzi, Alliance of Common Interests, Translation: Amin Al -Ayyubi, Arab Science Publishers, Beirut, 2008, p. 316.
- (8) Reda Hilal, the religious right and the new conservative right in American policy, American Studies Center, Issue (2), Cairo, March (2003), p. 15.
- (9) The United States established fixed and large rules in the cities of Khost, the Basem Base and the Mazar of Sharif and Laura, in addition to that a base in the state of Uzbekistan traded for twenty -five years, and established another base in the state of Kyrgyzstan, to be close to the Chinese border, and around the Caspian Sea, US oil companies began to penetrate into Azerbaijan and Georgia, and these efforts were concluded by occupying Iraq, the owner of the third oil reserves in the world For more sees: Ali Mahmoud Mohamed, the true dimensions of the American invasion of Afghanistan, Dar Al-Wafa for the World Printing and Publishing, Alexandria, 2017, pp. 26-64.
- (10) Muhammad Abu al -Fadl, the oil conflict in Central Asia, International Politics, Sunnah, 34, No. 131, January, 1998 pp. 274-279.
- (11) Source, p. 274.
- (12) Muhammad Refaat Al -Imam, Security problems in the Caucasus, interference, oil and politics, volume ٢٧, No. 149, July 2002 p. 165.
- (13) Ammar Muhammad Kazem Faraj and Abdel -Hakim Mahdi, previous source, p. 344
- (14) Abdel -Ali Mazari: He was born in 1946 an Afghan leader and founder of the Afghan Unity Party, from the ethnicity of Hazara, believed that the dissolution of Afghanistan is in a federal system in which for every ethnic special constitutional rights that enable it to rule and manage its regions .184
- (15) Salah Abboud Al -Amri, the history of Afghanistan and its political development, the Arab Office for Publishing and Distribution, Cairo, p2012.
- (16) Youssef Al -Jahmani, Tora Bora, the first wars of the century, Houran Dar for Printing, Publishing and Distribution, Damascus, 2002 p. 144.
- (17) Fatina Muhammad Khalil Baydoun, Iranian foreign political positions towards the eastern neighborhood countries in the period 1991.
- (18) Talhi Enas Al Qaeda and Geopolitical Bets in Afghanistan, Master Thesis, College of Political Science and International Relations, University of Algeria, 2014, p. 106.
- (19) The success of Youssef Al-Bustan, Afghanistan, the first victim of globalization, Osama Dar for Publishing and Distribution, Jordan 200, pp. 106-107.
- (20) Muhammad Sarrafar, previous source, p. 165
- (21) Muhammad Salem Ahmed Al -Kawaz, Iran's position on the American war on Afghanistan 2001 Journal of Education and Science, Volume Fourteenth, Second Issue, Center for Regional Studies, University of Mosul, 2007, p. 12.
- (22) Adapted from: the same source
- (23) Hassan Qatamsh, Iranian position on the American war of Afghanistan - the confused republic - and losing options, Al - Bayan Magazine, Volume 171, p. 70.
- (24) Adapted from: Muhammad Salem Ahmed Al -Kawaz, previous source, p11.

- (25)The same source, p. 12.
- (26)Akram Al -Qassab, the Middle East and the effects of war on Afghanistan, Ziada Center for Coordination and Follow -up, United Arab Emirates, 2002 p.
- (27)Adapted from: Fatina Muhammad Khalil Baydoun, previous source, p89-90.
- (28)Adapted from: Muhammad Sarrafar, the previous source, p273.
- (29)Adapted from: Muhammad Salem Ahmed Al -Kawaz, previous source, p. 13.
- (30)Mohsen Rezaei: He was born in 1954 in the city of Suleiman Mosque in Al -Ahwaz. Commander of the Revolutionary Guards, for more details see: Mohsen Redai, the publisher of the Defense and Achieving Defense Center in me. Ja, 1394 pp. 7-15.
- (31)Adapted from: Muhammad Salem Ahmed Al -Kawaz, the previous source, p. 6.
- (32)Muhammad Salem Ahmed Al -Kawaz, previous source, p. 9.
- (33)Nasser Makarim Al -Shirazi: He was born in 1926 in the city of Shiraz, he finished the elementary, middle and secondary study in his hometown, then he traveled to Najaf Al -Ashraf to receive knowledge from the professors of the Hawza in Najaf and was disciples at the hands of its scholars, including Mr. Mohsen Al -Hakim, Abu Al -Qasim Al -Khoei and Abdul -Hadi Al -Shirazi, he obtained the degree of diligence at the twenty -four years of age and then returned to Iran in 1959. Among the scholars, the Journal of the Office of Islam, known as his jurisprudence and fatwas, has positions in support of the Islamic Republic's regime and take positions in various political issues, arrested many times during the era of Shah Muhammad Reza Pahlavi and exiled to the cities of Gabahar, for more details, see: Shaker Keska'i, Iran, parties and political figures ma, Riyad Al -Rayes for books and publishing, London, 2014, p301.
- (34)Muhammad Salem Ahmed Al -Kawaz previous source, p. 14.
- (35) Al-Daawa (Lahore), July 2003, p.2.
- (36) Hasan Askari Rizvi, 'Afghanistan, the United States and Pakistan's Foreign Policy', Current Affairs Digest, November 2001, p.76.
- (37) Moonis Ahmar, '9/11 and the changing paradigm of conflict resolution', IPRI Journal, vol. III, no. 1, Winter 2003, p. 4.
- (38) Government of Pakistan, Economic Survey of Pakistan: 2001-2002, p. 116-
- (39) Ibid.,p.116
- (40) Muhammad Ishaque 'Pakistan Horizon, October 2005, Vol. 58, No. 4 (October 2005), pp. 53-64
- (41) Kavanna T. American-Pakistani relations since 1947: an unhappy alliance. Questions Internationales, No. 66. Translated from French: Yuri Kosenko. [Electronic resource]. Access mode
- (42) The Constitution of Pakistan (1956) // Documents and Speeches on the Constitution of Pakistan, Green Book House, Dacca (East Pakistan) [Electronic resource].
- (43) Ibid.,
- (44)Nuclear Energy Treaty: The Civil Nuclear Cooperation Treaty between India and the United States, also known as the "Indian-American nuclear agreement", is a bilateral agreement signed on July 18, 2005, and aims to enhance cooperation in the field of civilian nuclear energy between the two countries. This treaty represents a major transformation in international nuclear policy, as it allowed India, which has not signed the Nuclear Weapons Treaty (NPT), to reach civilian nuclear technology and international nuclear trade. The agreement included several stages, including the signing of the 123rd Convention, the approval of the US Congress, the support of the International Atomic Energy Agency Council, and the approval of the Nuclear Suppliers Group. For more, see: Harsh F. Pant, The Nuclear Agreement between the United States and India: Politics, Practical, Policy of Great Powers, OOP India University Press), 2011, p. 48.

SOURCES

1. A single Muzdah, Afghanistan and Benjal Salt Taliban, published, Tahrar, 1382.
2. Abdul Bari Atwan Al -Qaeda, the secret organization, Dar Al -Saqi, Beirut, 2007.
3. Akram Al -Qassab, the Middle East and the effects of war on Afghanistan, Ziada Center for Coordination and Follow -up, United Arab Emirates,2002
4. Ali Mahmoud Mohamed, the true dimensions of the American invasion of Afghanistan, Dar Al -Wafa for the World Printing and Publishing, Alexandria, 2017.
5. Ammar Muhammad Kazem Faraj and Abdel -Hakim Mahdi, US intervention in Afghanistan, Etiquette of Basra, No. (89), 2009.
6. Fatina Muhammad Khalil Beydoun, Iranian foreign political positions towards the eastern neighborhood countries in the period, 1991.
7. Government of Pakistan, Economic Survey of Pakistan: 2001-2002.
8. Harsh F. Pant, the nuclear agreement between the United States and India: politics, practical, and the policy of the great powers, OOP INDIA University Press, 2011(
9. Hasan Askari Rizvi, 'Afghanistan, the United States and Pakistan's Foreign Policy', Current Affairs Digest, November 2001.
10. Kavanna T. American-Pakistani relations since 1947: an unhappy alliance. Questions Internationales, No. 66. Translated from French: Yuri Kosenko. [Electronic resource]. Access mode.
11. Mahmoud Al -Maraghi, the travel of death from Afghanistan to Iraq, US State Department documents, Dar Al -Shorouk, Cairo, 2003.
12. Moonis Ahmar, '9/11 and the changing paradigm of conflict resolution', IPRI Journal, vol. III, no. 1, Winter 2003.
13. Muhammad Abu al -Fadl, the oil conflict in Central Asia, International Politics, Sunnah, 34, No. 131, January,1989.
14. Muhammad Ishaque 'Pakistan Horizon, October 2005, Vol. 58, No. 4 (October 2005).

-
15. Muhammad Refaat Al -Imam, Security problems in the Caucasus, the interference of raising, oil and politics, volume 37 No. 149, July 2002.
 16. Muhammad Salem Ahmed Al -Kawaz, Iran's position on the American war on Afghanistan 2001, Journal of Education and Science, Volume Fourteen Issue, Second Issue, Center for Regional Studies, University of Mosul, 2007.
 17. Reda Hilal, the religious right and the new conservative right in American policy, American Studies Center, Issue (2), Cairo, March (2003.)
 18. Salah Abboud Al -Amiri, the history of Afghanistan and its political development, the Arab Office for Publishing and Distribution, Cairo, 2012
 19. Shaker Keskari, Iran Parties and Political Persons , Riyad Al -Rayes for Books and Publishing, London, 2014.
 20. Talhi Enas Al Qaeda and Geopolitical Betthade in Afghanistan, Master Thesis, College of Political Science and International Relations, University of Algeria, 2014.
 21. The Constitution of Pakistan (1956)// Documents and Speeches on the Constitution of Pakistan, Green Book House, Dacca (East Pakistan) [Electronic resource].
 22. The success of Youssef Al -Bustan, Afghanistan, the first victim of globalization, Osama Dar for Publishing and Distribution, Jordan 08.
 23. Tita Barzi, Alliance of common interests, translation: Amin Al -Ayyubi, Arab Science House Publishers, Beirut, 2008.
 24. Udo Zato, Heads of Wisdom from Foundation until now, 2nd edition, Dar Al -Hikma, Baghdad, 2021.
 25. Udo Zato, Heads of Wisdom from Foundation until now, 2nd edition, Dar Al -Hikma, Baghdad, 2021.
 26. Youssef Al -Jahmani, Tora Bora, the first wars of the century, Houran Dar for Printing, Publishing and Distribution, Damascus, 2002.