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The Negative Role and Importance of the Strategic and Security Agreement Between Afghanistan and America on Afghanistan's Relations With Regional and Neighboring Countries in View of International Rights

Abstract

International agreements to regulate relations between countries and international organizations is a common thing, one of the agreements that is used more in relations between countries today is strategic agreements and contracts. After the incident of September 11, 2001 and the formation of a new government in this country, Afghanistan has signed many agreements with regional and extra-

regional countries. One of these agreements was the signing of the strategic agreement between Afghanistan and America. This agreement has eight sections and 34 articles, regulating relations between the two countries, after 2014 until the end of 2024, in economic, social, political and military sectors. The third segment of this strategic accord pertains to overseeing the military connections between the two nations and finalizing the bilateral security agreement between the involved parties. On September 30, 2014, both nations formally endorsed a bilateral security agreement. In international law, bilateral security agreement refers to official agreements concluded between two countries, based on which the parties pledge mutual support and military aid in the event of a crisis or war. These two strategic-security agreements have accepted the legal and judicial authority of America over the military forces of this country in Afghanistan, and have predicted financial and non-financial benefits for them. The examination of these two agreements shows that the US government has me maximum use of its military presence and political influence in Afghanistan to regulate these agreements. These agreements will create insecurity and legal problems in Afghanistan's relations with its neighboring countries.

Keywords: strategic agreement, security agreement, international law, military bases, Afghanistan's neighbors

Afganistan Ve Amerika Arasındaki Stratejik ve Güvenlik Anlaşmasının Afganistan'ın Bölge ve Komşu Ülkelerle İlişkilerinde Uluslararası Haklar Açısından Olumsuz Rolü ve Önemi

Öz

Ülkeler ve uluslararası örgütler arasındaki ilişkileri düzenleyen uluslararası anlaşmalar yaygın bir durumdur, günümüzde ülkeler arasındaki ilişkilerde daha çok kullanılan anlaşmalardan biri de stratejik anlaşmalar ve sözleşmelerdir. Afganistan, 11 Eylül 2001 olayından ve bu ülkede yeni bir hükümetin kurulmasından sonra bölgesel ve bölge dışı ülkelerle birçok anlaşma imzaladı. Bu anlaşmalardan biri de Afganistan ile Amerika arasında imzalanan stratejik anlaşmaydı. Sekiz bölüm ve 34 maddeden oluşan bu anlaşma iki ülke arasındaki ilişkileri 2014 yılından 2024 yılı sonuna kadar ekonomik, sosyal, siyasi ve askeri alanlarda düzenlemektedir. Bu stratejik anlaşmanın üçüncü bölümü, iki ülke arasındaki askeri bağlantıların denetlenmesi ve ilgili taraflar arasındaki ikili güvenlik anlaşmasının sonuçlandırılmasıyla ilgilidir. 30 Eylül 2014 tarihinde her iki ülke de ikili bir güvenlik anlaşmasını resmen onayladı. Uluslararası hukukta ikili güvenlik anlaşması, iki ülke arasında imzalanan ve tarafların bir kriz veya savaş durumunda karşılıklı destek ve askeri yardım sözü verdikleri resmi anlaşmaları ifade eder. Bu iki stratejik-güvenlik anlaşması, Amerika'nın Afganistan'daki bu ülkenin askeri güçleri üzerindeki yasal ve adli otoritesini kabul etmiş ve onlar için mali ve mali olmayan faydalar öngörmüştür. Bu iki anlaşmanın incelenmesi, ABD hükümetinin bu anlaşmaları düzenlemek için Afganistan'daki askeri varlığını ve siyasi nüfuzunu azami ölçüde kullandığını göstermektedir. Bu anlaşmalar Afganistan'ın komşu ülkelerle ilişkilerinde güvensizlik ve hukuki sorunlar yaratacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Stratejik Anlaşma, Güvenlik Anlaşması, Uluslararası Hukuk, Askeri Üsler, Afganistan'ın Komşuları

Introduction

Using agreements to regulate relations between countries and international organizations is a common thing. The 1969 International Convention on Agreements between States expresses the principles and regulations based on which countries can regulate and conclude agreements in their relations. One of the agreements that is used more in relations between countries today is strategic agreements and contracts. Strategic agreement is the highest type of agreements between countries. Based on that, the relations between the parties will improve in the economic, political, social, cultural and military sectors. After the incident of September 11, 2001 and the formation of a new government in this country, Afghanistan has signed many agreements with regional and extra-regional countries. One of these agreements was the signing of the strategic agreement between Afghanistan and America. This agreement has eight sections and 34 articles, regulating relations between the two countries, after 2014 until the end of 2024, in economic, social, political and military sectors. The third segment of this strategic accord pertains to overseeing the military connections between the two nations and finalizing the bilateral security agreement between the involved parties. On September 30, 2014, both nations formally endorsed a bilateral security agreement. In international law, a bilateral security agreement refers to an official agreement between two countries, based on which the parties pledge mutual support and military aid in the event of a crisis or war. In the above strategic and security agreements, America has committed to cooperate with Afghanistan in the economic, political, social, and military fields. The Afghan government has also approved the establishment of United States military bases within Afghanistan. These two strategic-security agreements have accepted the legal and judicial authority of America over the military forces of this country in Afghanistan, and have predicted financial and non-financial benefits for them. The examination of these two agreements shows that the US government has me maximum use of its military presence and political influence in Afghanistan to regulate these agreements. The commitments of the parties in these agreements are unbalanced, against the constitution, independence and sovereignty of the Afghan government. These agreements will create insecurity and legal problems in Afghanistan's relations with its neighboring countries.

1. The nature of Afghanistan-US strategic and security agreements based on international law

1.1 Validity of Afghanistan-US strategic and security agreements based on international law

International agreements are the result of the agreement of the will of the states, even though the above expression seems self-evident and the agreement of the wills in international agreements is generally well-known and common; but in order for the agreement of the

governments to have a legal effect, the international law has stated conditions for it that in case of non-compliance with these conditions, even if the agreement of the wills has been reached, it will not have a legal effect, the agreement will not be valid (Mosbahzadeh, 2009, p. 38). The terms of validity of agreements have many commonalities with what exists in domestic law in terms of contractual obligations. The majority of the clauses concerning the nullification of contracts are regarded as fundamental legal principles, are taken from national legal systems. (Karo, 2000, p. 114). The primary rules and conditions, crucial among them, were outlined in the Vienna Convention of 1969, delineating the process for concluding agreements between states, and if they are not followed, the agreements will lose their legal validity. According to the convention of this treaty, it is written as the highest contractual document, due to its importance that comes from the international commitment of the government, it has relatively wide formalities. In this way, the agreement appears as a kind of formal operations, similar to the contracts in the internal system, the agreements must comply with some substantive conditions in order to be fully valid (Karo, 2000, p. 93). The most important of these conditions is as follows:

Eligibility; The first condition for concluding agreements is the competence of the parties to the agreement. In accordance with the tenets of international law, only entities recognized as subjects of international law possess the authority to enter into a contractual agreement.¹ Article 6 of the 1969 Vienna Convention regarding treaties concluded between states stipulates that each sovereign state has the authority to conclude a treaty. Without a doubt, the conclusion of treaties is one of the oldest and most indicative cases of exercising sovereignty or independence by countries. The government of Afghanistan also enjoys this right as a sovereign country and has the authority to enter into agreements with other governments and international organizations.

Project being the subject; the second requirement for the legitimacy of international agreements is that the involved parties must qualify as the subjects of the agreement. The criterion of the legitimacy of the subject of the agreement is its non-contradiction with the United Nations Charter and international law. According to the agreements that are in direct conflict with the United Nations Charter or are against the rules of international law, they have no legal validity in international law; such agreements are concluded with the aim of

¹ *Subjects of international law include states and international organizations, but the 1969 Vienna Convention governs only the regulation of agreements between states and agreements that international organizations are one or both parties to. No, it is not a function of this convention.*

encroachment on another country, such agreements are not valid due to the conflict with the decree that prohibits encroachment.

Satisfaction; the agreement of the parties involved is another fundamental element contributing to the validity of contracts. The will can have an obligation in a form that has been done explicitly and freely. Otherwise, it can be said that Raza is defective and causes the contract to be invalid (Najandi et al., 2010, p. 227-224). Therefore, the actions that lead to the failure of the states' satisfaction, such as reluctance or coercion, falsification and mistake, can provide grounds for the cancellation of agreements. Regarding the effect of coercion on contract cancellation, there is a historical development. Until the First World War, coercion did not cause cancellation. However, after the First World War and especially the conclusion of the Brian-Kellogg² Pact and recognizing the use of force as illegal in international relations, coercion causes the cancellation of agreements. The conclusion of Afghanistan's strategic and security agreements with America was made under the conditions that the Afghan government was weak from every point of view and did not have control over the existing crises. People have distanced themselves from the government and this distance has become more than before with the functioning of the government. While America has an effective role in Afghanistan's decision-makers as a provider of security, economic and political stability in this country (Rahel, 2011, A). America has tried to continue Afghanistan's constant dependence on this country by forming its desired political system in Afghanistan, which has limited authority, with a sick foreign policy and severe social and internal disparity (Rahel, 2011, B). In this scenario, a pertinent question arises: are the intricate strategic and security agreements between Afghanistan and America deemed valid under international law? Although it has not yet been examined by domestic and foreign lawyers, but in answering this question we will need to distinguish between strategic and security agreements. The strategic agreement, which was signed on May 1, 2012, between Afghanistan and America and approved by the Afghan parliament, has eight sections and 34 articles that legalize the relations between the two countries in non-military dimensions, military relations. The third part of this agreement, signed a separate security agreement has been signed between the two countries. But in the case of the 2014 security agreement between Afghanistan and America, this issue can be investigated; because both countries have a strong disagreement on the conclusion of this agreement, and this issue caused the conclusion of this agreement to be prolonged from 2013 to the end of 2014.

² *The Brian Kellogg Agreement was signed in 1928. This agreement prohibited the use of force and military force in international relations. After the regulation of the United Nations, this decree also prohibited the use of force by countries in their international relations.*

These pressures ranged from cutting off fuel supplies for the Afghan army, which this country was responsible for providing, to making its economic aid dependent on the signing of the security agreement by Afghanistan (Gary, 2014). Finally, he presented the option of zero or complete withdrawal of his forces from Afghanistan (Chandran, 2013). It is an undeniable truth that the economy of Afghanistan is heavily dependent on foreign aid, with the reduction of aid and the lack of domestic income, which is the outcome of several years of war and the twelve-year presence of America in this country, the economy of Afghanistan is stagnating. And it will fail (Zakhilwal, 2012, p. 39). Despite the important progress in all sectors, Afghanistan is facing many economic threats. This country is still one of the poorest countries in the world. Almost all government institutions depend on external aid for growth and development. In 2010-2011, the total national budget of Afghanistan was about 17.2 billion dollars, of which the international community provided 15.7 billion dollars, that is, more than 90 percent of it, without a doubt. The dependence still exists and will continue in the future (Trent, 2012: 20) Most of the foreign aid to Afghanistan is paid by the United States of America. This country is responsible for providing fuel for the Afghan army and armed forces. America has continued its aid to Afghanistan subject to the signing of the security agreement by the country of Afghanistan and announced that if this agreement is not signed, the economic aid of this country to Afghanistan will be suspended and cut off (Gary, 2014). Other countries that help Afghanistan have very close relations with America and are one of its allies. It is obvious that if a security agreement is not signed with America, these countries will pull out. The non-continuation of these aids by America and its allies can lead to the economic collapse of Afghanistan (Zakhilwal, 2012, p. 39). In addition to that, the extensive military and political presence of this country in Afghanistan should also be decreased. Under these circumstances, the voluntary consent of the Afghan government, as indicated by the signing of the security agreement with America, becomes questionable from the perspective of international law. Nevertheless, the international community does not recognize political and economic pressure as a valid justification for nullifying agreements. While America's action in Afghanistan is based on the signing of this agreement as soon as possible, it has gone beyond the threat to the complete withdrawal of forces and aid cuts, to the point where the White House announced that another person like the foreign minister CJ or the Minister of Defense, if you don't know this agreement In his view, he h to sign the permission or authorization letter from the President of the Republic, from our point of view, it will be accepted correctly. According to the constitution of Afghanistan, none of the members of the cabinet of Afghanistan can do such an action without a letter of authorization and authorization from the president (Jahaniyar, 2013, p. 3).

And all these cases indicate the real and objective political and economic pressure of America to sign the security agreement on the part of Afghanistan, which can question the legal value of this security agreement from the perspective of international law.

2. Afghanistan-US strategic and security agreements and types of security agreements

The discussion on the nature and quality of the strategic and security agreements between Afghanistan and America is more focused on the centrality of the security agreement. Only in cases where a subject has been transferred to a strategic agreement, it will be referred to.

Otherwise, this discussion is focused on the security agreement between Afghanistan and America; because the strategic agreement covers mostly non-military relations. In international law, security agreements can be defensive-offensive in nature, or simply a status of force agreement. As mentioned earlier, defense contracts are contracts on the basis of which the parties undertake to accept the defense of the aggressed party in case of an attack on any of its members. Most of the agreements formed in the form of defense organizations such as Sento, Sito and Warsaw are of the defense type (Ezhgandi and Roshandel, 2013, p. 196). In the Afghanistan-US strategic and security agreement, this country is not committed to defend Afghanistan against foreign aggression. Rather, it is simply committed that in the occasion of such a violation or threat of its occurrence, you will express your deep concern and discuss possible political, diplomatic, military, and economic measures to find an appropriate response. It is worth taking an appropriate decision immediately it will act in harmony with the basic laws of the two countries.³ Article 6 of the Security Treaty, in the form of 6 clauses, has stated the issue of aggression against Afghanistan and America's obligations in this case:

Contrary to the statement of the United Nations, Afghanistan has always been involved in the aggression of foreign countries and the use of force by foreign countries and armed groups that have a base outside the borders of this country or are supported by these countries. There are plans. Under this agreement, any employment of armed force or threat to the territorial integrity and political independence of Afghanistan, including backing armed groups, is prohibited by the involved parties, including the provision of shelter or weapons from a foreign country or other armed groups are strongly fighting back.

The parties commit to collaborating in enhancing Afghanistan's defense capabilities to counter threats against its national sovereignty, territorial integrity, or political independence. The United States views any foreign intrusion or the threat of intrusion upon the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of Afghanistan with serious concern. It believes that such

³ *The text of the security agreement between Afghanistan and America, concluded on October 8, 2014, Article 6.*

actions have the potential to undermine the shared interests of the parties concerning Afghanistan's stability, posing a threat to regional and global peace and stability. In case of such aggression or the threat of such aggression against Afghanistan, the parties will regularly consult each other in order to take possible political, diplomatic, military and economic measures as part of an appropriate response. These consultations aim to create a list of necessary political, diplomatic, military and economic actions. In the event of such foreign aggression or threat of foreign aggression against Afghanistan, the parties agree to each other and immediately take and implement an appropriate response, including the review of existing political, diplomatic, military and economic measures, including the list, paragraph 3 and in harmony with the provisions of the in the constitution, both sides consult.

While this country is in the agreement Similar to the invasion of South Korea in 1953 He considers this country to be a violation of America's interests, which will result in a military response from this country. In the security agreement between South Korea and the United States, the United States of America undertakes to defend itself militarily from this country against any foreign aggression and to consider any kind of aggression against this country as a violation of its interests (Bandow, 2010, p. 2). Therefore, the security agreement between Afghanistan and America, which lacked such a note, indicates that, from content perspective, it is a status of force agreement, not a defense-security agreement with an offensive or defensive nature. James Kongham⁴, the American ambassador in Kabul, announced during a meeting in the presidential palace of the Republic of Afghanistan that the signing of the security agreement is for cooperation in the field of training, vice and support of the security forces. It will not be utilized as a means to intervene in Afghanistan's border-related matters. This statement of Mr. Kongham indicates that this agreement is not considered a defensive or offensive agreement from the perspective of international law, but it has the essence of a status of force agreement (Binam, 2014).

3. Legal Effects of Strategic and Security Agreements on Afghanistan's Relations with Neighboring Countries

Afghanistan used to be a buffer zone between the two empires of Russia and Britain. Each government is trying to show the role of a more powerful region by influencing the Kabul government. The Second World War pushed the European powers to the sidelines and me the role of America and the Soviet Union as superpowers more prominent. With the Soviet attack on Afghanistan in 1979, the position of this country in the foreign policy of the United States

⁴ *Jems king ham*

increased and this country turned into an area of conflict and competition between the two superpowers. With the expansion of China's omnipotent power, the nuclearization of India and Pakistan, and Iran's efforts to acquire this technology, the revival of Russia's military power and abundant energy resources in Central Asia, the Caucasus, the Caspian Sea, and the Gulf. Ras, Afghanistan's geopolitical, geoeconomic and strategic geography situation for The United States was revealed more than before (Tawheed and Farhad, 2012, p. 67). This geography, due to being located in the vital region of the earth - the heartland - has made it possible for stable and influential powers to expand their power to Central Asia and curb the military-economic developments of China and Iran and create factors Rende, from the return of the powerful Russia, the tritonal rival of America, to global equations. It provides for America and its allies in NATO. Due to the civil wars, lack of security, stability and economic weakness in Afghanistan, the suitable platforms for accepting the political and military presence of these powers are an irreplaceable opportunity for America. which should be used as much as possible to enlarge its influence in the region and control strategic areas (Rahel, 2011, p. 2). For this reason, the Afghanistan-US strategic and security agreement, the discussion of establishing military bases in this country, has provoked a negative reaction from the neighboring countries of Afghanistan and the region. The countries of Iran, Pakistan, and Russia have officially announced their opposition to this matter, and other regional players also have a negative view of these agreements. The regional sensitivities of these agreements were one of the main worry of the Afghan authorities after signing them, which caused this process to slow down (Tawheed and Farhad, 2012, p. 68). The American government, as the political leger of one of the two main blocs in the world, after the Second World War, has special interests and goals in relation to each of the world's regions. Depending on the importance of the considered region, America's policy in that region has been strong and weak. The politics of this country in Afghanistan has seen changes during this period, which can be said from the perspective of application, the stage and situation has been completely abandoned, forgotten and includes a very active one.

Before the September 11 incident, Bin Len and Al-Qaeda were known as one of the most original anti-American groups. Although America was aware of bin Len's group taking refuge in Afghanistan, it preferred to prevent the expansion of Al-Qaeda's terrorist activities into American soil. After the incident of September 11th, America's foreign policy towards Afghanistan changed its nature from oblivion to active; That is, America could no longer be indifferent to what is happening in Afghanistan (Heydari, et al., 2009, p. 77) .In the definition of international terrorism as a threat to America's national security, this country found a substitute for America's enemy that h disappeared, i.e. "international communism". The fight

against this alternative enemy required extensive justification and claims for the global military presence, especially the acquisition of military bases in Central Asia and Afghanistan. The space created after the developments of September 11th, the attack on Afghanistan and the defeat of the Taliban and Al-Qaeda could be the beginning of the path that America wanted to follow, and in other words, Afghanistan is a test of its power. America was in the new millennium to reach its global goals (Schneider Dieters, 2002, p. 199). The move to establish a military base in Afghanistan, if its declared goal is the fight against terrorism and fundamentalism, is in fact a fight with regional powers such as Iran, Pakistan, Russia and China.

4. Islamic Republic of Iran

According to natural geography, Iran and Afghanistan are two neighbors who inevitably coexist next to each other. Almost everything that happens on both sides of the common borders of the two countries has a direct impact on their security, economic and humanitarian life. If the deep historical, cultural and economic links of the two countries are ded to it, its importance will double. Several deces of war and instability in Afghanistan h a great impact on Iran's security and turned this country into the largest refuge for Afghan refugees, leaving nearly a thousand kilometers of its borders damaged and unstable (Abbasi, 1999, p. 49). The harsh actions of the Taliban, with Wahhabi-Salafist ideas, the tendency to issue this ideology, with the support of the countries of Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Pakistan, could be a threat to the national security of Iran. The security threat from Afghanistan was fully felt when the Taliban group took power in Afghanistan with the support of Pakistan's security service and martyred Iranian diplomats in this country Besides that, drug smuggling from Afghanistan to Iran has been one of Iran's constant problems. Therefore, the collapse of the Taliban and Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan was described in the direction of Iran's national security, and Iran supported this action in the first place (Kahraman, 2003, p. 30). After the September 11 incident, Iran, along with the international system, also played a constructive role in the formation of a powerful and national government, during the meeting and the conclusion of its agreement. This country is considered to be the fifth country that helps in the reconstruction of Afghanistan, with more than 560 million dollars in the direction of creating Afghanistan's infrastructure, providing electricity in the western province of Herat, and creating great educational opportunities for people. Jarin helped in Iran and attracting students from Afghanistan for higher education. These aids have reached more than one billion dollars so far (Abbasi, 1999, p. 49). In addition, Iran's energy exports of oil and gas to Afghanistan and the supply of electricity to the industrial city of Herat, from Iran's side, are very important for Afghanistan's industries. Therefore, the signing of the strategic and security agreement by the

government of Afghanistan with the United States, in which it was agreed on the formation of military bases of the American forces on the soil of Afghanistan, at least three bases (Herat, Shindand, Shuraab, Helmand) are located near the border with Iran, causing more concern. Iran has become For this reason, this country has opposed the conclusion of these agreements and considers it a disturbance of regional equations and considers the creation of permanent US bases in Afghanistan as a threat to its national security. Iran considers America's presence in Afghanistan to be the cause of instability and instability in the region, and considers it a factor of continued insecurity (Tawheed and Farhad, 2013, p. 68). Both of the agreements have called the strengthening of regional relations and regional and international stability peace as one of their goals. The third section of Article 6, Clause "A" of the strategic agreement also states that the United States has not sought to establish permanent military establishments in Afghanistan and does not wish to be present as a threat to Afghanistan's neighbors. In paragraph "B" of the same article, he has also committed that he will not use Afghanistan's soil or Afghanistan's institutions as a starting point for attacks against other countries⁵. The preamble of the security agreement has once again emphasized this issue in the fifth paragraph in a similar way; However, the use of the term "starting point of operations" may be interpreted as the opposite meaning that these bases can play a supporting and operational role in the case of starting operations from outside Afghanistan. It is stated in the third article of the second clause of the security agreement that the commitments of this agreement do not prevent the right of any party to defend the project in accordance with international law.

With regard to the interception and downing of the American drone (RQ170) by Iran, which it entered Iran's airspace from Afghanistan, the arrest of Abdul Malik Righi, one of the opponents of Baloch separatism in Iran's Sistan Baloch province. Before signing these agreements, Afghanistan's statesmen should have considered the opinion of the Islamic Republic of Iran and taking firmer commitments from America in the text of the agreement. (Talei Hor and Bagher, 2013, p. 119). As a result, if America pursues its information-intelligence activities against Iran from the soil of Afghanistan, without a doubt, such an act is considered as a violation of Iran's national interests, ding to the fact that the government of Afghanistan creates international responsibility in the legal and political relations of Iran. It will leave negative effects with Afghanistan. Meanwhile, Afghanistan is more vulnerable due to the dependence of its commercial and economic sector on the transit route of Iran, considering the problems it has in its relations with its southern neighbor.

⁵ *Afghanistan-US Strategic Agreement, Section 3, Article 6, Clauses A and B.*

5. Islamic Republic of Pakistan

Towards the conclusion of World War II, as the United Kingdom prepared to withdraw from India, according to Lord Mountbatten's plan, India underwent partition, resulting in the creation of two separate countries, India and Pakistan. In 1947, another neighbor appeared in the south of Afghanistan called the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Based on this plan, the former territories of Afghanistan, which were annexed to India (under British rule) from the end of the 19th century according to various agreements, including the Durand Line, belonged to Pakistan. The fate of Pashtuns across the Durand Line, which separates Afghanistan and Pakistan, remains unresolved from the Afghan government's point of view. Despite the official objection of the Afghan government to the British embassy, this country announced that the UK has no responsibility in this regard; the government of India and Pakistan is the decision maker. This line has never been officially recognized by the Afghan government. During Dawood Khan's rule in 1953, the Durand Line issue caused great tension between Afghanistan and Pakistan (Tanin, 2011, p. 93-92). The Durand Line, which forms the current border between the countries of Afghanistan and Pakistan, was drawn between Amir Abdul Rahman, the king of Afghanistan, and Sir Mortimer Durand, the foreign secretary of the British Indian government in September 1893. This line has caused the Pashto-speaking people on both sides of this border line, who have family ties and a common culture, to be separated from each other. One of the negative effects of this line on Afghanistan is limiting it to drought, losing a large part of its territory on the other side of the current Peshawar line (Arianfar, 2010, p. 14-12). Since the formation of Pakistan, this border line and its acceptance by Afghanistan has turned into one of Pakistan's strategic demands and has cast a shadow on all relations between the two countries. Following the Second World War and the onset of the Cold War, the United States assumed the role previously held by the British in the region. With the aim of hitting the Soviet Union, which had influence in Iran and Afghanistan, the Americans took a defensive position, paying more attention to Pakistan (Tanin, 2011, p. 94). After the establishment of the Barak Carmel government and the entry of Soviet troops into Afghanistan in 1979, it was documented that America would provide assistance to the Afghan Mujahideen in front of the public opinion of the world. On January 3, 1979, Carter⁶, the President of the United States of America, signed an executive order according to which he should have secretly helped the opponents of the pro-Soviet government in Afghanistan. For this work, the cooperation of Pakistan's Intelligence Organization (ISI) was necessary for America. After the ousting of Bhutto and the coming to

⁶ Jimmy Carter.

power of General Zia Al-Haq, relations between the Pakistani and American information organizations became warmer. America's goal of this cooperation was to prevent Soviet influence in the region and control India (Sodefski, 2004, p. 18-16). The country with which the future of Afghanistan is deeply connected is Pakistan. Pakistan's powerful forces continuously support the Taliban, Haqqani network and other militants in Afghanistan, and also seek to divert any kind of peace talks without the presence of this country and in terms of benefits. At the same time, Pakistan receives economic and military aid from the United States forces for the war against militants. Considering the desperation and desperation in the war, Pakistan's double games are unacceptable for America. Pakistan's destructive role in Afghanistan should be found in the history of Pakistan's war with India. The primary objective of the Pakistani military is to ensure that, following the withdrawal of international forces and the establishment of a new political process, factions aligned with Pakistan ascends to power. Pakistan is worried about the growth of India's influence in Kabul and its friendly view of Afghanistan for its own security in the region. The interests of this country in Afghanistan are not limited to the threat of India; but it covers a wide range of subjects.

Projecting insecurity from inside Pakistan to outside its borders considering the main origin of these insurgents, who are located on the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan, in the border provinces of Pakistan, this country, without any competitors, is a deterrent. Due to the intensity of separatism and Afghanistan's desire to solve the Durand issue, it is one of the main strategic interests of this country in Afghanistan (Buda, 2013, p. 169-170). India's view of Afghanistan is also from the perspective of war with Pakistan. From the historical perspective, India has very good relations with Afghanistan, regardless of the Taliban era, which India sees as an enemy. India has strengthened its influence again since 2001, and with the aid of two billion US dollars to Kabul, it is almost the largest regional donor to Afghanistan. In October 2011, India and Afghanistan signed a strategic cooperation agreement, which increased India's role in training Afghan security forces, while causing concern to Pakistan.

In the strategic and security agreements, despite the fact that America has pledged that it will not launch military operations against any country from the soil of Afghanistan, but the use of drones is aimed at suppressing Al-Qaeda in the tribal areas of Pakistan. Yqa is at the opposite point of this commitment of America. These drones generally fly from US military bases in Afghanistan and launch missiles on Pakistani soil. From the legal perspective, this act is regarded as a violation and has an international responsibility for Afghanistan and America. If America continues this action, in addition to the violation of the commitment with Afghanistan, it will cause the relationship between Afghanistan and Pakistan to deteriorate.

From a geographical perspective, Pakistan and Afghanistan share a long border and are bound to cooperate with each other. Meanwhile, Afghanistan is more dependent on this country. Considering that Afghanistan is a land-locked country, the transit of goods, imports and exports in Afghanistan depends on Pakistan's cooperation until an alternative source is found. To the extent that 70 percent of the equipment of the international forces stationed in Afghanistan was me through this route during the past years. Afghanistan and Pakistan have treaties and agreements in the transit and tre sector, the construction of the railway line between Afghanistan, Pakistan and Uzbekistan, the pipeline for the transfer of Turkmenistan's gas from Afghanistan to Pakistan, and so on. More than 100 million US dollars for the reconstruction of Afghanistan. It has been shown (Yar Ghazi, 2010, p. 117-118). Considering Afghanistan's high dependence on Pakistan and keeping in mind that the demands of this country and its goals of not signing the strategic and security agreements between Afghanistan and the United States are illegal, but the government of Afghanistan wants to protect its interests, which does not have an alternative for it yet, must inevitably take care of this concern. Pakistan's opposition and this country's lack of satisfaction will create many legal problems in the commercial and economic relations of both countries. In addition to this issue, Pakistan's efforts to bring armed opponents to the negotiation table with Afghanistan, or to encourage them to make Afghanistan insecure, should also be dealt. In the Afghanistan-US strategic and security agreement, the support of Afghanistan against internal and external aggression is emphasized, but the use of the terms is vague and unclear. If America is determined to defend Afghanistan against foreign aggression, these agreements play a decisive role in reducing Pakistan's interference in Afghanistan and its support from insurgents. Whereas America will never take such an action due to its long association with Pakistan, the lack of reaction against Pakistan's encroachment in the eastern provinces of Afghanistan and America's silence indicate that America is never ready to replace its old and strong ally with Afghanistan. The use of ambiguous words and dumb concepts is the only way for America to avoid confrontation with Pakistan in order to support Afghanistan.

6. People's Republic of China

China is Afghanistan's northeastern neighbor, which shares a 75-kilometer border with Afghanistan. This nation, housing one-fourth of the world's population, a powerful central government, advanced industry and military power, is a prominent power in the world. China was also a powerful and huge empire in the past. After the Second World War, due to internal problems, the power of China was analyzed and part of the land of this country was occupied by Japan. The civil war in this country between the militias under the leadership of Gian Kishak

and the communists under the support of the Soviets under the leadership of Mao continued until 1949. During this time, the land of this country was the competition between these two superpowers of East and West. In 1949, this conflict concluded with the triumph of the communists over the militias supported by the United States, leading to the establishment of the People's Republic of China under the leadership of Mao, this great country gained its complete independence. With the progress it made after 1949, China was able to provide an important military power to Yemen, with which it can achieve its demands in a world that only understands the language of force. This country is deeply involved in economic development in South and Central Asia. China has made the most important investment in Afghanistan's mineral resources, especially copper, oil and gas in the north. More effectively, China and Pakistan have close economic relations and are trading partners, and China contributes greatly to economic infrastructure, development, trade, and the purchase and sale of military weapons with Pakistan. The relationship between China and Pakistan is a significant launching point for China's relationship with the Islamic world and also as an obstacle to the growth of the influence of India and Russia.

China was one of the few countries that supported Pakistan after the US attack to kill Osama bin Laden in Islamabad. The Prime Minister of China, Wen Jiabao clearly assured Pakistan that it doesn't matter what developments happen in the world, the important thing is that China and Pakistan will always be good neighbors, friends, partners and good brothers. This country is also establishing trade and transportation arrangements in Central Asian countries, especially Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, with the aim of expanding the exports of Chinese goods and access to more natural resources (Staster et al., 2013, p. 202). China's policy towards Afghanistan is based on five considerations, which are:

- Considering the relationship with America, that does not want Washington to open up to the region.
- Preventing India's influence in Afghanistan, which is considered its old enemy.
- Fear of expansion of Taliban establishment to Xinjiang states.
- Relations with Pakistan and neutral policy in Afghanistan crisis.
- This country's relations with Russia and Iran and support for the peace process in Afghanistan.

With the establishment of this country, many treaties and agreements have been signed with Afghanistan, in the fields of trade, economic and technical cooperation, irrigation projects, haymaking, poultry farming, fish farming, mining, china making, building silos and technology. The foundation of the paper factory has been signed. As a big and reliable neighbor, China has

contributed to the financing and completion of many projects in Afghanistan and has contributed more than 139 million US dollars in the reconstruction of Afghanistan (Yar Ghazi, 2010, p. 128-129). America's relations with China after the victory of the communists supported by the Soviet Union and the establishment of the People's Republic of China, America's military support from Japan against China's claims on the islands of these two countries in the Pacific Ocean. America's opposition to handing over the seat of this country to the government of the People's Republic of China In the United Nations until 1971, the expanding relations of America and its cooperation in the nuclear project of India, as the old enemy of China, although it looks normal on the surface, but inside there is a lot of misunderstanding. They are in conflict. America sees China's growing trend as a threat to its uniaxial power in the future and is constantly monitoring the movements of this country. Although China sees great economic benefits in the cooperation group with America, it considers the presence of this country in Afghanistan as a threat to its national interests. China's Xinjiang states, with 30 million people, with Islamic and separatist tendencies, are considered a potential threat to the national security of this country. America can easily take vantage of this weak point of China through Afghanistan and take it in the future with the expansion of separatist and founding movements in this country (Mousizadeh, 2014, p. 20). For this reason, the Chinese government did not declare its opposition to the signing of the US-Afghanistan strategic and security agreement, but it is obvious that this country considers this action as a negative move against its national security. In the strategic and security agreements, it has been emphasized that the soil of Afghanistan will not be the starting point of operations against any country, America does not want to be a presence that is a threat to Afghanistan's neighbors; but this issue is not clear whether America's support for separatist groups includes these things or not? America's performance has shown that it always seeks profit from proxy battles to reach its interests and considers direct military attack as the last solution. In the Syrian crisis, this issue was clearly identified. It is clear that in the case of supporting the separatist Uyghurs in the Chinese state of Xinjiang, which borders Afghanistan, it will cause China to take a stand against this act of America and be compensated. The opportunities that the union of this country with Pakistan provides, can easily create multiple challenges for Afghanistan and America on the soil of Afghanistan, the least of which is the continuation of insecurity and intelligence battles. In the case of China's non-cooperation, the peace process in Afghanistan was also without results, and the role of this country as a pressure factor on Pakistan is very important. Considering the many treaties and agreements between Afghanistan and China in different sectors and the extensive commercial-economic relations between this country and

Afghanistan, the lack of consideration of this country's comments in signing the agreements, the effects of rights Negative impact on Afghanistan's relations with China as the largest foreign investor in Afghanistan will leave. The least effect is the reduction of China's investment in Afghanistan, the proxy battle with America and the creation of obstacles on the way of Afghanistan's trade as an importing country.

7. Russian Federation and other Central Asian countries

Russia, which was a powerful country before this, is looking for it to regain its former power and revive its past position of influence and power. However, Russia has several strategic reasons for considering Central Asia as a vital factor for its security interests. Russia's historical efforts to control the region originated from the belief that this control has many strategic and economic benefits. Moscow kept this control during the period of the tsars and Soviets, the regional governments were also important sources for successive empires. At the same time, Russia considers the growth of Islamic and radical political movements, which seek to overthrow the secular states of Central Asia, as a threat to itself. Russia, with a significant population of Muslims, is afraid that radical Islamic movements, if successful in Central Asia, will spread to other countries and use Chechnya as a base, causing more unrest. There are more terrorist attacks on Russian soil. In addition, this country has extensive economic interests in these regions (Oligah, 2004, p. 278-276). In the continuation of its Asian policy and according to the will of Petr Kabir, Russia considered Afghanistan as a passage to reach the warm waters of the Indian Ocean. After the active entry of the United States of America into the world scene, Afghanistan again had an important strategic importance for the two superpowers during the Cold War. After the Soviet attack on Afghanistan, America became fully active in Afghanistan in order to neutralize rival policies. With the beginning of internal oppositions against the encroachment of the American Soviet Army, which did not have an active and visionary role in the region, this land was opened. With the cooperation of Pakistan and the support of the Afghan Mujahideen, it was able to inflict a heavy and irreparable blow on the opponent, which paved the way for his long-term presence in this land and Central Asian republics with calculated programs (Baluchi, 2001, p. 70-69). After the incident of September 11, 2001, America also benefited from Russia's aid in the attack on Afghanistan. Among the most significant of them was the provision of information and security assistance to Washington (Najafzadeh, 2003, p. 149). What me Russia take active action was the Chechen issue. During the 1990s, Russia was criticized by the United States of America for its treatment of Chechen fighters. America's military attack in Afghanistan and Russia's support for this issue caused the issue of Central Asia and Russia's actions to be seen less. Also, America's turning a blind eye to Russia's actions

in Chechnya was also important. In addition to the reports about the relationship between the Chechen fighters and the Taliban and the Al-Qaeda network, about having a military training school for the Chechen fighters, the expansion of extremists in the regions of Central Asia in the form of the final victory of Taliban. There was also a ban in Afghanistan that used Russia to support the opposition faction of the Taliban and the United States. For this reason, this country did not react to the formation of American bases in Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and the use of the air base in Tajikistan. This was the first time that Russia allowed America to enter its forces into the Central Asian republics and into the private life of this country (Najafzadeh, 2003, p. 163). Russia and Afghanistan have concluded agreements with each other since the time of Peter II, the emperor of 1729. Of course, the relations between the two countries have gone up and down in parallel with the developments in Afghanistan and the world. After the incident of September 11, this country has been going through ups and downs. After the coup d'état of 7 thour 1357 and 8th Sawr 1358, which caused the formation of the communist regime in Afghanistan, this relationship has increased dramatically. Russia has built more than 154 public institutions in different sectors in Afghanistan and has provided military aid to the Afghan government during this period. This relationship has caused this country to allow military intervention in Afghanistan in order to support the communist regime. Currently, this country has signed agreements and agreements with Afghanistan in the field of economic cooperation such as oil extraction, natural gas, transportation industries, construction, and agriculture. So far, this country has provided more than 75 million US dollars in cash and non-cash aid to Afghanistan (Yar Ghazi, 2010, p. 132-130). From this country's perspective, security and stability in Afghanistan is considered important for its interests in Central and South Asia. Russia has a wide range of economic, security and political interests in Central and South Asia. The first step is to obtain a transit position for the transfer of fossil fuels from Central Asia to Europe and Western routes and to gain geopolitical power over Central Asian countries. Despite the cooperation of this country with America and NATO in the battle against the Taliban and Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan, it looks with concern at the presence of American and NATO forces in Afghanistan; but with this, it provides political, military, logistical and economic support to the government of Kabul. The US-Afghanistan strategic and security agreement has drawn criticism from some Russian authorities concerning the long-term presence of US military bases. Other Central Asian countries, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan have used their natural resources and geographical location as a pressure lever against the big powers. The relations of these countries with Russia as the biggest power in the region, despite the fact that it is not coordinated in some cases, but in general they are dependent

on Russia. These countries are also afraid of the rise and spread of extremists such as the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, the Islamic Jihad Union, Chechen extremist groups that have obvious ties to the Taliban and Al-Qaeda, and drug smugglers. The stability in Afghanistan is tied to the stability in these areas. In addition, Afghanistan is considered the shortest route to transfer the energy resources of these regions to South Asian countries, India and Europe (Staster et al., 2013, p. 204). All these countries have agreements with Afghanistan in terms of culture, economy, trade and transit, oil and gas transfer (Yar Ghazi, 2010, p. 121). These countries do not have any opinion about Afghanistan's agreements with America. It is obvious that many of these countries follow Russia in their foreign policy. The opposition of Russia is, in a way, the opposition of these countries as well. The signing of the security agreement with America will cause these countries to reconsider their relations with Afghanistan. Russia's relations with America after the Ukraine issue, with the obvious intervention of America and NATO member countries, have reached their coldest possible state after the end of the Cold War. As far as can be imagined, these two traditional rivals will advance to the point of military confrontation with each other. It is obvious that Russia chooses Afghanistan as the first center to respond to America. In order to compensate for America's actions in the 1980s, this country should take the front of more movements in its private life. Based on this, Afghanistan will become a field of competition between these superpowers, which the Afghan people will have to taste.

Conclusion

Afghanistan's geographical and strategic location has caused this country to be the focus of regional and extra-regional superpowers. Each of these countries is based on long-term strategies that they have defined for themselves in the region and the world. They have special vital and strategic interests in Afghanistan. It is obvious that this meeting has been effective in Afghanistan's relations with its neighboring countries. The neighboring countries of Afghanistan have been affected by these internal developments of this country during several years of instability. Emigration, drug smuggling, the emergence and growth of extremist groups like Al-Qaeda, each in its own way, has created a threat to Afghanistan's neighboring countries. After the incident of September 11, 2001, all these countries made financial and non-financial cooperation in order to destroy the establishment and ensure stability in Afghanistan. It is obvious that these countries benefited from the struggle with the establishment, the creation of a powerful central government in Afghanistan. Based on this, all the neighboring countries tried to help in the reconstruction of Afghanistan in different areas. Afghanistan is a country surrounded by drought that needs the cooperation and assistance of its neighboring countries to achieve economic development. There is no necessary infrastructure to replace air transport.

From an economic perspective, there is no substitute for it. From the distant past, this country has realized that the way of development in Afghanistan is through the cooperation of its neighboring countries. For this reason, this country has signed many agreements with its neighbors in the direction of economic cooperation, trade, transport and transit of goods and commercial goods. America's presence in Afghanistan has led to the opposition of most of Afghanistan's neighbors. It is obvious that these oppositions and ignoring them by Afghanistan will have legal and damaging effects on Afghanistan's relations with neighboring countries. The least effect of regional isolation is the revision of transport and transit agreements. This action can make Afghanistan face an economic-commercial sanction from its neighbors, going beyond those challenges and will have a huge economic cost for the country. The rift in America's relations with Afghanistan's neighboring countries causes these countries to put indirect pressure on the government and people of Afghanistan to reconsider their relations with America. This challenge involves navigating the dual objectives of fostering political and economic development while concurrently ensuring stability and security in Afghanistan.

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