Iran-Afghan Relations in Historical Perspective

Submitted by:

Kaleem ullah Bareach

Supervisor:

Dr. Munir Ahmed Baloch

Submitted in:

Area Study Center for Middle East and Arab Countries
University of Balochistan, Quetta
**Declaration By The Candidate**

I, Kaleem Ullah Breach, do solemnly declare that the research Work Title “Iran Afghan relations in Historical perspective” is hereby submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy and it has not been submitted elsewhere for any Degree. The said research work was carried out by the undersigned under the guidance of Prof. Dr. Munir Ahmed Baloch, Director, Area Study Centre for Middle East & Arab Countries, University of Balochistan, Quetta, Pakistan.

Kaleem Ullah Breach
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Dedicated

To

Late Hameed Ullah Jan Bareach

My Brother who died in a young age and was too committed to help others, his commitment and courage has always encouraged me to help others
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ABSTRACT

This scholarly work on Iran- Af ghan relations in historical perspective is to find out the reasons and causes for the fluctuated relations of both the countries, who historically remain important players in shaping the history and structuring the political, social and administrative spheres of the region. Iran, Known in history as Persia and Afghanistan are located in such territory, which always had important geographical and strategic position. Since long there has always competition between both the states for holding authorities on their own land and even to occupy the vast territory of Central Asia and more importantly to come towards the plane areas of India. Most of the time in the course of the history, the other regional and global powers had their role in maximizing the differences between both the neighboring states and supported one against the other. In such circumstances Iran in general and Afghanistan in particular could not pay proper attention for the structural, political and social developments of their respective countries.

In the recent past specially after the Sour revolution of 1978 in Afghanistan, Iran along with the rest of the countries of the world put her share in fighting against the revolutionary Government of Afghanistan, which was followed by civil war in Afghanistan in the start of 1990s, which let the way open for establishing the Taliban Government in Afghanistan. During the Taliban government the relation between the Iran and Afghanistan became too worse, however, the tragic event of 9/11 somehow provided an opportunity to both Iran and Afghanistan to come close and to establish good relations by supporting each other. Iran since 9/11 had investment in Afghanistan in different fields and positively played her role in accomplishment of UN peace plane and Iran positively played her role in
the development of Afghanistan despite of the opposition and objection by USA and other Western countries.
CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Afghanistan, often called the crossroads of Central Asia, has had a turbulent history. In 328 B.C, Alexander the Great entered the territory of present-day Afghanistan, to capture Bactria (present-day Balkh). Invasions by the Scythians, White Huns, and Turks followed in succeeding centuries. In 642 A.D, Arabs invaded the entire region and introduced Islam. The Afghans accepted Islam as there was resemblance in the code of life between them.

Afghanistan since then has been ruled by different monarchs and also has been under attack by foreign invader including Persia. In 998, Mahmood of Ghazni (998-1030) consolidated the conquests of his predecessors and turned Ghazni into a great cultural center as well as a base for frequent forays into India. Following Mahmud's short-lived dynasty, various princes attempted to rule sections of the country until the destructive Mongol invasion of 1219 led by Genghis Khan.

Following Genghis Khan's death in 1227, a succession of petty chiefs and princes struggled for supremacy until late in the 14th century, when one of his descendants, Taimur lane, incorporated Afghanistan and tried to include Afghanistan into his own vast Asian empire. Babar, a descendant of Taimur lane and the founder of India's Moghul dynasty at the beginning of the 16th century, attacked India and occupied the India from an Afghan King Sultan Ibrahim Lodhi. Sher Shah Suri, the great Afghan here took the Indian Sub-continent from Mughal. In the start of 18th century the Afghan King Ashraf Shah had tussle with Persia as the Persians had attacked Qandahar and in response Mirwas Khan Hotak attacked the Persian capital Isfahan and occupied it.

In 1747, Ahmad Shah Durrani, the founder of what is known today as Afghanistan, established his rule. A Pashtoon, Durrani was elected king by a tribal council after the assassination of the Persian ruler Nadir Shah at Khabushan in the same year. Throughout his reign, Durrani consolidated chieftainships, petty principalities, and fragmented provinces into one country. His rule extended from Mashed in the west to Kashmir and Delhi in the east, and from the Amu Darya (Oxus) River in the north to the Arabian Sea. After the death of Ahmed Shah Abdali, the Country was to face number of problems as Indian Sub-Continent came under the British rule.
The British planed to occupy Afghanistan; in this plan British had the support of Iran. The British occupied almost half of Afghanistan. Zahir Shah remained the King of Afghanistan till 1973, when Daud Khan, ousted Zahir Shah but Daud Khan Government was also toppled down by Noor Muhammad Khan, the Head of PDPA in April, 1978 who brought revolution. With the Afghan Sour Revolution a long and tiring war started in which the great powers including neighboring states particularly Iran and Pakistan actively took part. The Afghan war ended with the Geneva Peace accord in 1988. The afghan Mujahedin government was installed in 1992 but was failed to bring peace and prosperity. The emergence of Taliban in 1994, surprisingly, occupied Afghanistan within some years but their harsh policies and their unique brand of Islam isolated them from the rest of the world, consequently, the 9/11 Incident became a cause of ending the Taliban’s regime and Hamid Karzai became the head of the State with the support of United States.

The ancient nation of Iran, historically known to the West as Persia and once a major empire in its own right, has been overrun frequently and has had its territory altered throughout the centuries. Invaded by Arabs, Seljuk Turks, Mongols, and others—and often caught up in the affairs of larger powers—Iran has always reasserted its national identity and has developed as a distinct political and cultural entity.

Archeological findings have placed knowledge of Iranian prehistory at middle Paleolithic times (100,000 years ago). The earliest sedentary cultures date from 18,000-14,000 years ago. The sixth millennium B.C. saw a fairly sophisticated agricultural society and proto-urban population centers. Many dynasties have ruled Iran, the first of which was the Achaemenid (559-330 B.C.), a dynasty founded by Cyrus the Great. After the Hellenistic period (300-250 B.C.), came the Parthian (250 B.C.-226 A.D.) and the Sassanian (226-651 A.D).

The seventh century Arab-Muslim conquest of Iran was followed by conquests by the Seljuk Turks, the Mongols, and Taimur lane. Iran underwent a revival under the Safavid dynasty (1502-1736), the most prominent figure of which was Shah Abbas. The conqueror Nadir Shah and his successors were followed by the Zand dynasty, founded by Karim Khan, and later the Qajar
(1795-1925) and the Pahlavi dynasties (1925-1979). The Pahlavi dynasty was toppled down by Islamic revolutionaries in 1979, since then Iran is ruled by Islamic revolutionaries.

Both the great neighboring nations had fluctuated relations with each other over the centuries, with disputes over their territories, culture, language, identity. With the emergence of the afghan state in late 18th century, an era of competitiveness and cooperation had begun which has remained unchanged. The only difference is that the modern day Iran is socio-economically developed with a centralized and functioning state structure as opposed to today’s Afghanistan.

Iran continues to doggedly pursue its strategic, economic, political and security objectives in Afghanistan.

Iran has a long list of goals in Afghanistan. In addition to ensuring that Shia particularly, Hazara interests are accommodated, another short-term Iranian goal is for Afghanistan to be stable enough to permit the 1.5 to 2 million refugees now in Iran to return home. A longer-term goal is to prevent Russia, Pakistan or Turkey from dominating the region and its resources. Iran’s perspective is complicated by the fact that Central Asian energy competes with its own resources. The Iranians have plans to build oil and gas pipelines to Pakistan and India that would compete with pipelines from Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan. Finally, Iran, like Russia, wants to ensure that the United States does not remain a dominant player in whatever new order emerges in the region.

After the Taliban captured Herat on the Iran border and, subsequently, the Bamiyan province, both areas, where the Shias were in a majority with a large sprinkling of Ismailis, there were reportedly large-scale massacres of the Shias and forcible re-settlement of the Shias in the Sunni-majority villages in the rest of Afghanistan and their replacement by Sunnis brought to Herat and Bamiyan from other provinces. This is being done to reduce the Shias to a minority in their traditional homelands.

Iran will be a key player in any Afghan solution. In fact, although Americans tend to see Iran as a Middle-Eastern country because of its role in oil production as well as its tendentious relations with Iraq and Israel, Iran is preeminently a Central Asian country. The size of Alaska, it has borders with Pakistan, Afghanistan and Turkmenistan in the region. Only about 51 percent of the
population is Persian, with a wide variety of other ethnic groups represented as well. Some 58 percent speak Persian as a mother tongue, with 25 percent speaking a Turkic language.

Although its identity as the preeminent Shi’a Muslim nation is important to Iran, and its immediate interest in an Afghan solution is the protection of the fellow-Shi’a Hazara groups there, when it comes to its relations with Central Asia we need to think of imperial Persia rather than black-clad Mullahs. The Iranians have a strong sense of their identity and past and see themselves as the natural heirs of a leadership role in the region.

**OBJECTIVES**

The main objectives of my work are,

- To analyses the Historical background of Afghan and Iranian society.
- To probe the relations between Afghanistan and Iran and to find out the reasons that why the relation between them fluctuated over the years.
- It is basically to discuss the territorial, religious (Sectarian) Ethno lingual issues between them.
- One of the other main objective is to analyses the foreign role particularly British colonial power in the past and of USA and her allies at present and of neighboring countries in the relation between Iran and Afghanistan.
- It is also to point out the will and determination of the people and statesmen of both the countries in determining their relations.
- It is to observe the impacts of Iran-Afghan relations on their own society.
- It is to observe the Impacts of Iran-Afghan Relations on the global and regional politics.

**SIGNIFICANT OF THE STUDY**

- The study on Iran-Afghan retaliation in historical perspective has significant because.
- Both Iran and Afghanistan remained neighbor from thousands of years.
- Both had unique civilizations and remained a center in academic excellence.
- Both remained important regional powers and combat each other showing their authorities.
- Iran and Afghanistan had the fortune that they could not be occupied completely by imperialistic posers like British etc.

- They had fluctuated relation in the course of the History, despite of having common religion but with different sect which most of the time remained the cause of ill relation.

- In recent past in late 1970’s both Iran and Afghanistan had revolutions, but surprisingly of different ideology, as Afghanistan had democratize and socialist revolution while Iran and Islamic revolution.

- The tragic advent of 9/11 accelerated the significance of the region on its peak, the Iranian Government Supported the UN plan for Afghanistan and actively participated in the post 9/11 developments in Afghanistan, despite of sever differences on the core issues with USA.

**SCOPE OF THE STUDY**

Throughout the history, the Iranian and Afghans remained original powers influencing the political, economic and social orders of the region but more importantly on their own relations, due to which both Iran and Afghanistan had fluctuated relations, providing opportunities to other regional and particularly to global powers to intervene and get their own benefit from the circumstance. In such available atmosphere the scope of the subject extends to explain the role of regional and global powers. In this context Arabs, Mongolians, Moghuls and in particularly the British played doggedly role between Iran and Afghanistan in creating the gap between both the states rather facilitating them to come closer for having good relations. In the recent past especially after the 2nd World War the two established world powers USSR and USA further intervened in the internal and external affairs of both the countries. So, the scope of the study extends from regional to global one.

**RESEARCH PROCEDURE**

Research means to enquire a knowledge or to give a new meaning to the old knowledge. The methods of inductive / qualitative pattern of research are proposed to be adopted for this study. The relevant materials are expected to be found from the published and
unpublished sources. The interviews of different personalities will also be included in the study. The visits to different libraries and universities within the country and abroad are to be arranged.

The repetition of well-known facts has so far as possible been avoided: but where for the sake of the continuity of the narrative it seemed essential to refer to them, this has been done with great brevity.

**DATA ANALYSIS**

Modern research cannot be conducted without data analysis; therefore, it will be done through the following bibliography of the primary and secondary sources:

BOOKS

JOURNALS & MAGAZINES

NEWS PAPERS

NEWS MEDIA

TELEVISION

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

INTERVIEWS
HYPOTHESIS

The topic tilted as “Iran-Afghan relation in Historical perspective” is of great importance and has a valuable scope because both of the countries have always remained strategically important and were great regional powers in recent past. The Afghan and Iranians had played determining role in political affairs of Central and South Asia. There are numeral events in the past that both of nations had direct wars against each other have still not been eased and the sectarian difference particularly the projection of shiaism in Afghanistan by Iran has never let the positive relations. The contrast political change in both the countries in late 1970s had further deteriorated the situation as afghan Sour Revolution of April 1979 was claimed to be an Islamic one, so, both the countries were marching on opposite direction in that created political scenario. The emergence of Taliban forces seized the Iranian consulate in Mazar e Sharif and executed Iranian diplomats. However, the situation after the 9/11 event provided a kind of complex opportunity to Iran as on the one side the Iran was happy from the downfall of Taliban regime while on other side was sad as USA stationed their forces in Afghanistan.
CHAPTER’S DESCRIPTION

This Ph.D. thesis has been divided into six chapters which could be considerable more expanded, but this has been kept to its present size partly for reasons of vast research topic and partly by focusing attention on evidence, relation mainly to the Iran-Afghan Relations in Historical Perspective. Other evidence, e.g. that pertaining to the role of other Regional and Global power in particular the neighboring states has been sparingly used.

Chapter-I

This chapter briefly describes the introduction and importance of the relevant topic. In this connection, a brief prologue has been made to illustrate about Iran-Afghan Relations in Historical Perspective along with the significance of Iran-Afghan culture’s legacy in Central and South Asia. In this chapter the narration of the research title has been made to make it comprehensible in deciphering the opted terms of Iran and Afghanistan. It also defines the overall subjective scope of the research dissertation along with its chronological bounding. Moreover, hypothesis, objectives and research procedure has also been mentioned to perceive the relevant topic of this dissertation well.

CHAPTER-II

This chapter demarcates in general the historical background of Iran and Afghanistan in Central and South Asia from ancient times up to the tragic event of 9/11. This chapter assists in illumination the topic and focusing it towards the impact on Iran and Afghanistan in the earlier period of the region as well as on their internal affairs, it also focuses on the Cultural contribution.

CHAPTER-III

This chapter titled as territorial and political disputes between Iran and Afghanistan explains in detail the territorial and political disputes. Since Iran and Afghanistan are close neighbors from thousands of years, both the state’s share a very long border and used to have great civilizations. Iran and Afghanistan also used to be the military powers of the region and has occupied the areas now known as India, while also attacked the central Asia states. Being the military powers of the region, both the states played the role of mediators in disputes occurring within their states and
also in areas other than their native states. In the course of history it is found that most of the
times Iran and Afghanistan remained in opposite positions. Afghanistan in its part was made
isolated while Iran used to have an alliance earlier with Turkic power of Central Asia, the
Mughal and finally with British to counter Afghanistan. In such divergent historical background
the territorial and political disputes between both the states were naturally to rise and could not
be avoided. Consequently, the relations between both states remained fluctuated.

CHAPTER-IV

This Chapter titled as Afghan Sour and Islamic Revolution of Iran and its Impact on Iran-Afghan
Relations explain the situation after the first would war and its impact on Iran and Afghanistan.
The division of would in to two blocks that is socialist and capitalist led the world in to two
blacks that is socialist and capitalist led the world to be divided on this same pattern. USA and
USSR emerged as super powers after the Second World War. UNO was formed in 1945 for
avoiding the wars in future and maintaining the peace. The world got divided into two locks, one
led by USA, known as capitalist, the other was led by USSR, known as socialist block. There
were few countries that remained somewhat neutral and formed non-aligned movement, but it
could not influence the world politics. Though Iran and Afghanistan remained neutral in both the
world wars, however, in the post-world war scenario, both the states could not avoid the political
and ideological influences of global politics. During the course of the cold war both the
neighboring states had monarchies with some constitutional reforms, which provided
opportunities to leftists, inspired by socialist ideology and also Islamic fundamentalists. Both
organized themselves for bringing political and structural changes in their respective countries.
The last years of 1970 witnessed revolutionary changes in both the countries. Afghanistan had
socialist based revolution, while Iran had Islamic Revolution. In such a contradictory
atmosphere, highly influenced by global politics, the relations between Iran and Afghanistan in
post-revolutionary period were bound to be tense rather a cordial. The brief summary included in
this Chapter of poetical and constitutional developments in post-world wars period would help in
understanding the relations between Iran and Afghanistan in post-revolutionary period of 1970.
CHAPTER-V

This Chapter with the title emergence of Taliban and Iranian Reaction in one of the important chapter as in this period the Iran-Afghan relations remained too worse. The emergence of Taliban was so rapid that surprise the world the reasons could be traced as the failure of Mujaheddin Government, in Afghanistan and their division and intensive fighting with each other could be traced with divergent interests in Afghanistan. By 1994, it became evident that Burhanuddin Rabbani regime was not very friendly to Pakistan, so Pakistan therefore started looking for alternatives in Afghanistan, which was not liked by Iran as she, considered Pakistan’s motives in Afghanistan a threat for sabotaging Iran’s interest in Afghanistan including the welfare of its Shiite population. In fact, Iran which had tense relations with USA and other western states, did not want any such development in its neighboring country like in Afghanistan which may jeopardize her political, ideological and economical interests consequently. Iran’s relations with Afghanistan in whole Taliban period remained tense and deteriorated further after 1997.

CHAPTER-VI

This chapter titled as, the situation after 9/11 in Iran and Afghanistan contains the facts about the event of the 11th September, 2001, the day when the two towers (Twin Towers) of the world trade Centre in New York, USA and the building of pentagon, Washington were attacked by airplanes hijacked by some suicide attackers, killing thousands of people and demolishing the world trade Centre which brought very rapid changes. In the world particularly in Afghanistan which let the Taliban’s days numbered. So, the external and foreign policy of Taliban government could not achieve success Taliban’s relations with the rest of the world, especially with Iran remained never cordial. Taliban were not able to find friends, even Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates left Taliban after the incident of 9/11. For shaken and shocked United States, it was unbelievable that such an event could happen in USA. It was not only unexpected for the people of USA but for the whole world and none could even think that such an attack could be carried out against a country which after the disintegration of USSR was considered the only superpower of the global. The USA initiated action to provide evidence to UNO, NATO and European Union and to the members of OIC about Osama Bin Laden’s
involvement in the attack of September 11 on USA. Throughout, the World the country which was in most critical position was Iran because there were tense relation between Iran and USA and that the US had taken every opportunity to subdue and vilify Iran in the past. But the USA was even successful in obtaining the acquiescence of Iran. Under the Supervision of United Nation a conference was convened on 28th Nov: at Konigs winter near Bonn, Germany under the auspices of German Chancellor, Gerhard Schroder and in the presence of special representative of the Secretary General of UN for Afghanistan, lakhdar Brahimi. The tragic events of 9/11 in USA shaped the world affairs in different way. The far most impact of these events was the decision of UN to replace Taliban Government and to shun the terrorist camps of Osama Bin Laden’s Al-Qaida with in Afghanistan. The USA led alliance did not waste time to install ATO forces in Afghanistan, Iran although was in hostile position due to the leading role of USA and her physical presence in Afghanistan but Iran supported the global efforts for bringing peace and stability in Afghanistan and since then she plays a positive role in Afghanistan. Iran such efforts have also been recognized by Afghan government despite of objections by USA and other western countries.

CONCLUSION

The conclusion includes a through look over all the topic and analysis of whole the circumstances in the ages of history. It’s concluding findings present suggestions for the smooth relations of both important neighboring states that the only way for bringing peace and prosperity into the region and to larger extent in the whole world, peace and prosperity in Afghanistan is very important and prerequisite. That would be possible only if the relations between Iran and Afghanistan are good and Iran being comparatively more developed country with very rich infrastructure Alost in all fields has to play her due role not only in creating good relations with Afghanistan but also to establish peace in Afghanistan, especially Pakistan has to be taken on board for a durable peace in Afghanistan and the whole region.
LITERATURE REVIEW

Iran Afghan Relations in Historical Perspective is a vast and significant topic, covering not only a long period of the history, as well as placing a huge impact on the region. As, both Iran and Afghanistan used to be a crossroad from north to south for monarch. It is a matter of the fact that both Iranian and Afghans themselves used to govern the region. Such an important topic attracted many of the contemporary writers and historian to have focused upon.

Long ago in the early 10th century, during the period of Mehmood of Ghazna, Al-Beroni in his book kitub-ul-hind described in detail the administrative structure of Afghan and their relation with rest of the neighboring countries, particularly Iran. Edward Brown G. in his book a literary history of Persia while Brain Dicks in the Ancient Persian and F.A Khan in the Indus valley and early Iran, also provided detail of Iranian history. The literature available during the sultanate period states in detail the history of not only of Afghanistan but of Indian sub-continent and special reference has been given to the invaders coming from central Asia and Iran. In all such literature, the writers had described the causes of attacks of invaders from North to Central Asia and their policies towards Iran, Afghanistan and South Asia. During such critical period, the relations between Iran and Afghanistan would surely be effected as most of the invaders would do for their benefit against the other.

The Lodhi afghan Sultan in Afghanistan and safavi of Iran were the first monarch indeed, where the Iranians and Afghan came closer to each other with reference to their relations, during this period significant changes accord with the coming of Mughuls headed by Zahir-ul-Din Baber, who replaced the Lodhi Afghan with the support of Ismail Shah of Iran. The primary and secondary sources of that very period and in large context during whole the Mughul periods, highlights and determines the contemporary history of Iran and Afghanistan most importantly, their relations with each other’s. The valuable literature written mostly by manacles or by other historian of their courts provided sources in regard to the topic under discussion. Such literature includes Tuzuk-i-Baburi, by first Mughul King Zahir ud Din Babar, Hamayum Nama by Gul Badum and Riaz-ul-Islam in Indo Persian Relations; in all these books the Iranian relations with Mughul with reference to Afghan connection are described.
The revival of Afghan authority/power in the end of 17th and start of 18th century brought a big change in the power structure of the region, at one side Mughal sultanate become weak in India and on the other side British colonial power strengthened their positions, the Afghan during this period also focused towards Iran and Iran and Afghan had several attaches on each other capitals, the written sources on that period which include Iranian, Afghans and British literature are of great importance, the rise and fall of Iranian monarch Nadir Shah, in mid of 18th century and the emergence of Ahmed Shah Abdali in Afghanistan soon after the assassination of Nadir Shah Afshar in 1747 A.D, had provided opportunity to historians to focus on the history of both the states and their relations with each other. A lot of authentic literatures describing the situation of that very particular time are of great importance. G.P. Tat's book, the Kingdom of Afghanistan, A historical sketch and sir George Mac Munn’s book, Afghanistan from Darius to Amanullah focused not only on the history of Afghanistan but also described her relation with neighboring states specially Iran while Ghanda Singh in his famous book titled as Ahmed Shah Abdali provided value bale historical facts on the relations between Iran and Afghanistan. The book namely From Zarathustra. To Khomeini, populism and Dissent in Iran written by Manochehr Dorraj did present the history of Iran in archeological order and also focused on the socio-economical and political stricter of Iran, with special reference to her relation with neighboring countries. While Richard Frye N in the book known as the golden age of Persia and Laurence Lockhart in the fall of safavid dynasty and the Afghan occupation of Persia thoroughly discussed history of Iran during safavid period and her relations with Afghanistan. During the 19th century and onwards, the complete occupation of Indian subcontinent by British colonial power and British forward policy towards Afghanistan and her role in instigating the Iranian against Afghanistan or some time afghans against Iran, composed the historical documents by their own wish and colonial will, however the Afghans, Iranians, Iranians and other writers also added valuable literature for the future writers. Louis Dupress’s book Afghanistan, the pathan by Olaf Caroe, Kingdom of Kabul by Mount Elphinston and Angrezi Istimau Afghanistan by Olus Yar while Zaven Davidian’s book, Iran in the services of world ease have described in detail the policy of British for Afghanistan and Iran. The mentioned literature provided materials regarding
the strategy of British using Iran against Afghanistan or otherwise. A much related book known as Persia and the Gulf, Retrospect and prospect by Jhon F. Standish particularly focused on the British role in widening gap between Iran and Afghanistan and strengthening the position of British in the region. The Iran and Afghanistan although could not be occupied completely but the interference of British in both the countries was in process. So the written documents in any shape have to be analyzed as available. After the 2nd world war, Iran and Afghanistan did not have savoir conflicts with each other but on the Hilmand River Water both the countries had to get control for their benefits. The official documents and other literature of both the countries in regards to their relations are also very supportive to be sighted. The Afghan Sour Revaluation of 1978 and Islamic Revelation of Iran was not only a big change for both countries not only with each other but also with rest of the world. A large numbers of books, magazines, articles and written material are found on the subject as well on their relations. Some very interesting and informative books on the pre and post revolutionary Iran and Afghanistan are of great importance which includes, Iran: A revolution in turmoil by Haleh Afshar, Islamic revolution of Iran by Dr. Jalal-ud-Din Madami, Revolution in Iran and Afghanistan by S.A. Mardomnameh while Iran before and after Khomeini by Sayeed S.M.A and Islamic revolution of Iran by Hameed Zehdashti documented not only in detail the historical background of Iran but also the long and committed struggle of the people of Iran against the Shah regime which finally brought big change in Iran in the shape of Islamic Revolution while War without winners by Rasool Bakhsh Rais, Political order in post Commuist Afghanistan by William Maley and Fazal Haq Saikal, Revolutionary Afghanistan by Beverly Male, Afghanistan under Soviet domination, 1964-83 by Anthony Hanan, Red flag over Afghanistan by Thomas Hamm and Afghanistan and the Soviet Union by Henry S. Bradsher had pointed out the causes of Afghan Revolution and the role of global politics in Afghanistan. It is surprised to see that although the Iranian revolution was taken as anti American but did not have good relations with Afghanistan and Iran had actively participated in the war against Afghan Revolution. The post revolution period of Iran and Afghanistan, till the withdrawal of Soviet Troops from Afghanistan and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and particularly the Taliban Regime in Afghanistan are the main focus
of my research topic. So the literatures written locally or internationally are in such a large number that assisted me a lot during the course of my research. Few among such literature include the books like, Untying the Afghan Knot, Negotiating Soviet withdrawal by Muhammad Riaz Khan, Outside Afghanistan: Inside story of the Soviet withdrawal by Diego Cordvez narrated the process of negotiations for the withdrawal of Soviet troops and also the role of Iran is described in the process of negotiations held under the umbrella of United Nations. Ahmed Rasheed’s book on Taliban titled as Oil and new great game in Central Asia, the Taliban phenomenon by Kamal Matinuddin, the Taliban war, religion and new order in Afghanistan by Peter Marsden and Seeds of terror, the Taliban, the I.S. I and the new opium wars by Gretchen Peter tell the facts about the emergence Taliban, that how quickly Taliban occupied almost whole of Afghanistan and also the unique style of Taliban’s administration and also that how Afghanistan became safe haven for militants from all over the World, particularly for Osama Bin Laden. The relations between Iran and Afghanistan became too worsened during Taliban period that in 1998, there was even the possibility of full fledged war between both the countries. All these above mentioned books described in detail the causes of ill relations between Iran and Afghanistan and also the illicit poppy cultivations in Afghanistan and the new work of Al-Qaida, whose leader Osama Bin Laden had established himself strongly in Afghanistan.

Finally the Tragic event of 9/11 completely change not only the physical map of the world but it caused a huge change to the political map of the world too. The friends of the Cold war Era turned into enemies and the priorities changed into international necessities like war against terrorism and making the world safe place for living from the horrors of Al-Qaida whose leaders once used to fight for the protection of the world against Soviet Union. Iran in general while Afghanistan in particular had to formulate their internal and external policies in such a way that they should not only benefit from the changing global atmospheres but also to adjust with the rest of the world. During this period many foreign and local writers produced a huge number of historical materials on this issue which helped me in the accomplishment of my topic.
CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF AFGHANISTAN AND IRAN.

A good number of books and research papers have been written either on Afghanistan or on Iran separately or on their relations with neighboring countries and with the rest of the states of the globe. As both Iran and Afghanistan are close neighbors and had played an eminent role in the history of the particular region which surely had great impact on the global history. The territory where Iran and Afghanistan exist is of course for not only regional powers but for global power as well. In this context it is too necessary to have research on the relations of Iran and Afghanistan as no proper work has been done on their relations so far. First of all it is necessary to have a glimpse over the historical background of Afghanistan and Iran.

Afghanistan: A Geographical Sketch

Afghanistan a landlocked country surge up into great mountain barriers, leaving here and there more accessible ways, not only does contain sheltered pockets of ancient people, but is the most remarkable store house of antiquities. The country basically has been a cross roads for historical and religious forces between Europe and Asia and more specifically between south Asia and central Asia and links Middle Eastern states with the rest of the world. Afghanistan witnessed some great historical and warrior such as Alexander the great, Changez Khan and Taimur, Iranian, Moghals and British in final episode. Afghanistan although is a landlocked, arid, economically backward but has strategic location at the conjunction of central Asia, the Persian Gulf and the sub-continent.

The modern Afghanistan has an area of 2,51,772 square miles (647,500 square kilometers)\(^1\), through this country go seven main routes, which figure in history as corridors of invasion and commerce between the Indus plains and central Asia and also towards middle eastern states. These routs are Khyber, Malakand, Gandab, the Bungesh route by Kurram, the Comal route through Waziristan and the Bolan route by Quetta \(^2\). The authority of the various empires which
claimed in the past to rule this country only extended to control over the plains and the rest of the country has always remained independent.

Afghanistan is bounded on the north by Central Asian states (Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan) on the west by Iran and on the east and south by Pakistan, in the north east it touches China and Kashmir. The Afghan tradition begins with the sixth century B.C with establishment of the Achaemenian Empire of Persian (Iran) by Cyrus the great in 559 B.C, lasting until the empire was overthrown by Alexander in 331 B.C, however Alexander experienced bad luck in this very region as he faced a land and its people who created many problems for them, as the Macedonians army was severely punished on the trek and faced very hardship which could not be bear and not easy to deal with. The period of other one thousand years between Alexander’s death and the beginning of Islam in these parts witnessed many invasions from Persia (Iran) and Central Asia. Afghans in this conflict fought not only for its existence but also to preserve its dominancy. After the induction of Islam in this region by the mid-seventh Century A.D, it then became an important element in the political and cultural history of Afghanistan. Islam since then became the part and parcel of Afghan Society. In most of the time in the course of history, Afghans extended its boundaries primarily on the basis of religious inspiration or their land had been conquered or under estimated by utilizing their religious spirit. On the part of Afghanistan, the Ghaznavid (Tenth-twelfth century A.D) probably the most important was a true renaissance of military conquest and cultural achievements towards India. The conquest towards India from Afghans were followed by Sultan Shuhabudin Ghuri in the 12th century A.D, who established Slave dynasty in Indian Sub Continent. Among the most famous rulers included Sultan Ala ud Din Khilji, who had far reaching impact on the political and administrative set up of Indian Sub Continent, followed by Lodhi dynasty who ruled the Indian Sub Continent on its own Afghan classic ways. The Afghan remained in power in India till 1526 A.D. when Zahir-ud-Din Babar who came from Central Asia defeated Ibrahim Lodhi in the first battle of Panipat. However, Political instability for Afghanistan was brought on primarily by the destructive Mongol and Turco Mongol invasions of the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries A.D and followed by Asian
imperialists (Persian Safavids and Indian Mughals) who fought over the Afghan territories in the 16th - 17th centuries A.D but after the death of Nadir Shah Afshar in 1747 A.D, the great Afghan Empire rose under the leadership of Ahmed shah Abdali, who not only countered the Persian while at the same pushing the Afghans towards India, actually Moghals of India and Iran had an old alliance against Afghanistan between 1545 A.D when Naseer ud Din Hamayun, the 2nd Mughal king of India was defeated by Sher Shah Suri so, Naseer Ud Din Hamayun ran away from India and left India in the lands of Sher Shah Suri, an Afghan commander, Nasser ud Din Hamayun during the exile life in Iran had developed an alliance with Iran for getting India back from Afghans and in response giving Qandahar, the Afghan capital and other main cities to Iran which was done accordingly. The rivalries between Iran and Afghanistan continued. The Afghan land encircled by Iran on the one side and her ally Mugal on the other side could not subdued completely as in 1706 A.D, Mir Wais Khan Hottak, the Afghan king successfully headed an Army against the Iranian governor of Qandahar, Prince Gurgin and thus commenced an astonishing chapter of Iranian-Afghan relationship. The Afghan dominion destroyed only by the subsequent rise of Nadir Shah Afshar on the throne of Iran. In 1737-38 A.D Nadir Shah Afshar over run Qandahar, the capital of Afghanistan and then turned his attention to Mughal India, he finally entered Delhi in 1739 A.D, after occupation he destroyed and plundered ruthlessly the capital of India. Nadir Shah left the crown in the hands of Muhammad Shah, the Mughal ruler while secured for him Sindh, Kabul and Qandahar. But his prolonged success came to an end in 1747 AD, when he was assassinated by Saleh Beg, the captain of his guard. The death of Nadir Shah had great impact on the politics of the region. With his death Iran and her neighboring countries had to consolidate their position with the new prevailing Political scenario. Afghanistan being the closest neighbor and Iran’s competitors had to re organize it self and was suppose to formulate a strategy which may provide an opportunity not only to re-establish their own country but also to exceed even behind their borders towards India and Iran. Amed Shah Abdali, a young Afghan, who was in Nadir Shah’s Court, was well aware about the weaknesses of Iranian authority. The Afghan tribal leaders assembled in Qandahar in order to nominate a leader or a king for Afghanistan. Amed Shah Abdali was chosen the Afghan king. When Ahmed Shah
Abdali was elected the king of Afghanistan, the political, economical and administrative situation of Afghanistan was too weak, soon, Ahmed Shah decided to invade India firstly to divert the attention of Afghans from internal differences and Secondly to be economically strong, so Ahmed Shah Abdali soon organized an Afghan army and in the first step in March 1748, he attacked India and gained not only the area of Sindh but also had strengthened his economical position. Ahmed Shah Abdali, also carried on his invasion towards Iran and recaptured Mashed in 1750 AD and had greater influence in the rest of Iranian areas. The Afghan king also paid attention to the internal affairs of his country, and remained in his Kingdom for long period while at the same time he was keenly observing the situation in his neighboring states especially India and Iran. From where he could get not only the economic benefits but also to empower himself in his own country. However, a very large Country likes India, where many indigenous powers were emerging who were not only capable of creating problems for Moguls rulers but could also be dangerous for the Afghans, so it was necessary to combat them with an iron hand. Among these indigenous military powers in India Marhatta gained much military power till 1760, A.D. Marathas were not only a sever threat for Mughal rule in India, as by that time the Mughals become too weak to face Maratha, but also they could become a challenging factor for Afghans.

So in 1760, the Afghan under the leadership of Ahmed shah Abdali decided to invade India. A decisive battle was fought between Afghan and Maratha in the field of Panipat in which Marathas were badly defeated and their hope for occupying Indian Sultanate was buried for ever. Ahmed Shah came back to Afghanistan in March 1761, and again concentrated on the internal affairs of his country. Ahmed Shah during his tenure remained successful not only in his foreign settlement while also in uniting the Afghan tribes in a prescribed border of Modern Afghanistan. At its highest in 1762 A.D, the Durrani Empire encompassed all of Modern Afghanistan plus Iran’s Khurasan, nearly all of Modern Pakistan, part of India, and the Province of Kashmir. His Empire stretched from the Amu River in the North to the Arabian Sea in the South. The Southern regions were gained more through an alliance with the Brahui and Baluch tribes than through conquest across those west lands. By all accounts he was not only an excellent military leader but an admirable sovereign, who, while retaining his dignity, was
solicitous of the concerns of his subjects. He died on 19th Oct, 1772 A.D, at Chaman Toba Achakzai from a sever disease leaving sensible heritage for his successors

Ahmed Shah Abdali after performing the magnificent services of making the Afghan masters of their own land might have been more celebrated in history had he also ensured the future stability of his creation as his immediate successor Taimur Shah, who was his second son, methodically proceeded to alienate his Pashtoon supporters, first by moving Capital from Qandahar to Kabul, outside the influence of his own tribe, secondly he organized a personal body guard of Persian speaking warriors rater than relying on his own tribesman. Furthermore, it was the time when political and administrative position of Indian sub Continent was rapidly changing due to arrival of British and other European powers. British colonial power with her expansionist designs had the intentions to go ahead towards North. On that circumstances, Afghanistan as well as other regional powers including Iran needed a strong and farsighted leaderships to face and stood against the of British. Unfortunately, the prestige of his father could not be kept on by Taimur Shah. Taimur ruled until 1793 with personal security and pleasure, but beneath him his father’s concept of an energetic Afghan nation had fallen apart. He left behind over thirty sons and many daughters among whom only six were to designate as his real heirs. The result was a lurid swirl of chaos.

One Son, Zaman, seized power in Kabul while another, Mahmood, established himself in Heart, and a third, Hamayun, held Khandahar, Zaman imprisoned the reminder of his brothers, forcing their submission, and then was able to seize Hamayun, the oldest Son, and blind him. So, finally, Zaman Shah, the second son supported by chief of the Barakzai, another strong Pashtoon tribe in Qandahar, sized the throne. With Zaman Shah on the throne commenced the new phase in which British who by then became a power in India while Mughal rulers became weak enough. The British feared from Russian arrival in the politics of India. Shah Zaman commenced his attempts to regain control over Ahmed Shah’s Indian empire in 1795-1797 A.D and in 1798 A.D but the British in order to minimize the danger of Shah Zaman’s invasion send mission to Iran to create and renew the threats to Qandahar and Herat, such troubles with Iran, designed by the British compelled Shah Zaman to abandon his designs to re-conquer the Indian Capital. Iran had an
alliance with British to engage the Afghans. The British also feared the French involvement in the region so, a treaty was signed with Iran in which Iran and British together were to attack any attempt of the French invade or occupy any part of the Iranian dominance while the King of Iran would never allow the French or any European force in alliance with them to build a fort or settle in any part of Iranian territory. The British having occupied the Indian Territory now turned their eyes towards Afghanistan, so that they may secure themselves from the invasion from the north. Firstly by the Afghans, whom the British still considered a big threat for their Indian colony, secondly, the British wanted to minimize the threats from Russia and also to stop the Russian influence in the region as British was afraid that Russia may reach to hot water which could be then real danger for British. So, the intervention of global powers in the politics of this very region is since then.

During this period, the British sent many missions to Afghanistan and even to Iran in order to form their future strategy. Year’s earlier, in 1809, A British official, Mountstuart Elphinstone, had led a mission to Afghanistan and recorded impressions in his reported book, The Kingdom of Kabul, that still resound across the centuries. “The internal government of the tribes,” answers its end so well that the utmost disorders of the royal government never derange its operations, nor disturb the lives of the people. A number of organized and high-spirited republics are ready to defend their rugged country against a tyrant and are able to defy the feeble efforts of a party in civil war. Elephantine observed that Afghans are content with discord, alarms and with blood will never be content with a master. However he perceived flaws in the Afghan Character, such as tendencies towards envy, avarice, discord, and revenge and have the degree of curiosity. When the British first arrived India, they were informed of the reputation of the Afghan armies that had repeatedly swept across the Punjab under Ahmed Shah and even before, so , the British was to take the Afghan element as a serious threat.

Afghanistan faced internal disputes, the ruling brothers stood against each other. In 1800 A.D his brother Mehmood took Shah Zaman in custody and put out his eyes, with the blinding of Shah Zaman, the Durani Empire practically came to an end. A bloody struggle among the brothers for the throne started, although Shah Muhmood had the throne of Kabul in his hand but
his brother Shah Sujal-ul-Muilk had linked himself with British and Ranjit Singh, who now occupied Lahore and even Peshawar. The internal disputes provided the best opportunity for the British to accomplish their desire of occupying the Afghan territories and to install friendly government in Afghanistan, so, that they could be able to not only rule the Indian Sub Continent smoothly and also to minimize the threats of Russian and other global powers in the region.

In 1809, only few weeks after Elphinston left Peshawar, Mahmood and Fateh Khan took the field, captured Khandahar and Kabul and met Shah Shuja’s forces at Nimal, on the Road between Kabul and Peshawar. There Shah Shuja was decidedly defeated and after periods of captivity in Kashmir and Lahore, where he came close to Sikh leader Ranjeet Singh and he eventually joined Shah Zaman in Ludhina as a British pensioner. However, there in Kabul Shah Mehmood was nominal ruler as Fateh Kahn proceeded to run the kingdom but in 1818, Fateh Khan was blinded and subsequently, tortured and brutally killed, by Shah Mehmood and his Son Kamran. This provoked a general rising, led by the Barakzai, a tribe who defeated Shah Mehmood and Kamran and drove them to Heart, where Kamran succeeded his Father in 1829 and ruled, at least nominally, until 1842. However, the Barakzai at that very point were unable to agree on a successor, in result the Country degenerated to anarchy, so the empire created by Ahmed Shah finally started disintegrated.

Taking advantage of these dissension, the Sikh ruler Ranjeet Singh annexed Kashmir in 1819 and later after defeating a Durrani army near the City of Attock, extended his authority across the Indus to Peshawar, until 1834, however, he allowed the Afghans to continue to govern the city and neighborhood under his authority. Ranjeet Singh had already signed a treaty with the British, which was to last until his death in 1839, and the British came to regard him as trustworthy leader of a stable buffer State of Punjab.

Amidst the anarchy that prevailed in Afghanistan, one of the Younger Barakzai, Dost Muhammad Khan gradually maneuvered himself in to position of supreme power in Kabul. His mother was from a Qizilbash tribe and spent much of his youth under the protection of Fateh Kahn. On Fateh Khan’s death, he moved towards Kabul, which at that time was nominally held by Kamran’s son Jahangeer and took Kabul from him, However, Dost Muhammad Khan was
immediately challenged at Kabul by Shah Mahmood and Kamran but Dost Muhammad was successful in retaining his authority. By 1826 he was strong enough to take full control of the city of Kabul. Dost Muhammad Khan was although a capable ruler but it was his misfortune that he ruled on Kabul at a time when two great imperilset power, Britain and Russian, extending their conquest, the one to the East and the other to the North, while at the same time Dost had to defend himself from the internal opponents, supported by British. In 1834 A.D, he had to defend himself from an attack by Shah Suja who encouraged by British as well as by numbers of Durrani Chief who resented Barakzai rule, came out of seclusion, and concluded a treaty with Ranjig Singh and March to Qandahar. There Dost Muhammad Khan defended him in close fought battle. No sooner had this threat been dealt with, however then Dost Muhammad found that Ranji Singh had taken the opportunity to seize Peshawar, to strengthen his hand in repulsing the Sikh, Dost Muhammad assume the title of Amir-ul-Mumine (Commander of the faithful) and presented the confrontation a religious war. In 1835 A.D, Dost Muhammad son Muhammad Akber Khan defeated the Sikh and killed Sikh general Hari Sigh in the battle at Jamroad near Peshawar but could not get Peshawar from the Sikh. The British Governor General of India Auckland had taken step to watch more closely events in Kabul, for this purpose sent many mission, first of all, he sent Karamat Ali, an Indian, then Charles Masson, Alexander Barnes, Wude and finally, Macnaghten during 1836-1838. The purpose of the mission sent to Dost Muhammad was to desist from all correspondence with Russian and Persian-never receive agents from them and surrender all claims to Peshawar as that Chief ship belongs to Moharaja Ranjeet Singh and respect the independence of Qandahar and Peshawar. On the rejection of such terms by Dost Mohammad Khan, the Governor General Auckland decided to switch from passive to an active policy and to exercise the option of Military action in Afghanistan, and to interfere decidedly in the affairs of Afghanistan. The British forwarded the proposal that now Shah Shuja should once again be brought out of exile and restored to the Afghan kingdom. To make this proposal possible a treaty was signed by all three parties in July.
1838 which provided in return for Sikh supported under taking that Shah Shuja would abandon all claims to Peshawar and would pay Ranjeet Singh the equivalent of £ 20,000/- annually, according to the treaty Shah Shuja would be installed on the throne of Kabul after deposing Amir Dost Muhammad Khan and British would have over all supervision.

A well planned strategy was framed by the British to impose war on Afghanistan, to depose Amir Dost Muhammad Khan from the throne of Kabul. The route taken by the army of the British and her allies lay in the South –West direction from Ferouzpur, across the Indus at Bukkur, Punjab and thence North-West to Bolan Pass. Towards the end of March the column reached Quetta, where it came close to Qandahar and entered the city of Qandahar on 25th April 1939 A.D. Initially, the town folks gave the army an enthusiastic well come, and the Britishers were happy that the affairs will be settled as they have planned but when the March reached Ghazni, a town near Kabul, where , Ghulam Haider Khan, the Son of Amir Dost Muhammad Khan fought gallantly, but was captured and March entered Kabul. Amir Dost Muhammad left Kabul and took asylum in Bukhara. Shah Sujah was throned as the King in August 1839 A.D with the support of British army, and thus Shah Shuja once again became the king came again for the moment all seemed well, but the absence of popular enthusiasm was immediately apparent.

Amir Dost Muhammad Khan came back from Bukhara. As if all this were not enough, Dost Muhammad then escaped from Bukhara, raised a force of Uzbeks north of Hindu Kush and in September 1840 advanced on a small garrison at Bamian, when the combined force met Dost Muhammad’s army a few miles out of the town, they achieved a decisive victory. However, Dost Muhammad was not finished and soon reappeared in Kohistan, now with Tajik support, and a further engagement took place. Dost Muhammad had the better of this, but seems at that point to have lost heart and surrendered himself to British, he was dully sent under guard to Ludhiana India, where he was given pension and was held in the very house formally occupied by Shah Shuja. The calculation of the British were unanimous that Shah Shuja should easily recover his throne and how they came to believe that the Afghans would accept an invasion by their Sikh enemies who had occupied their winter capital Peshawar with support of British, who is planning
to occupy Afghanistan or the rule of superannuated puppet who had on more than one occasion been ejected from the Country, remains unexplained.

His son Mir Akber Khan collected a huge number of Afghans against the British occupation. In November 1841 A.D, Kabul was attacked; almost all the British army men were killed including Burnes, Lawrence Mackenzie and Shah Sujah. Akber Khan, the son of Dost Muhammad was now the leader of the Afghans. Dost Muhammad came back to Afghanistan to be installed in his unstable seat by the predominantly influence of his son Akber Khan who died in 1848 A.D. Amir Dost Muhammad Khan was able to conquer Afghan Turkistan, Balkh, recovered Qandahar and Herat. Dost Muhammad died in 1863 A.D, leaving sixteen sons behind him, of whom five aspired to the throne? The war of succession ended, although Mir Dost Muhammad five years before his death had nominated Sher Ali, his third son as his successor. But Sher Ali was opposed by two of his older brothers, Azam Khan and Afzal Khan and most dynamically by the letter son (Sher Ali’s cousin) Abdul Rehman. In 1866 A.D Abdul Rehman won a series of victories that placed Afzal on the throne but then his father died and fell out with his uncle and by 1869 Sher Ali had fought his way back to Kabul so, the kingdom Sher Ali finally secured was larger in extent but threadbare in reverence-a combination switched for its role as the last buffer between the burgeoning Russian and British empires of Asia. After the Crimean war, Russia had redirected its attention to Transoxiona, and this time the Emir of Bukhara, Tashkant and Khiva were unable to resist Tsarist power. British diplomats gained assurances from their Russian counterpart that Afghanistan would remain off limits to both sides, its Northern boarder at the Amuo River (Oxus), but suspensions run high that the Russian were still intent on reaching India.

Tension between Britain and Russia came to a new head in 1877 A.D, when, Russian General Kaufman had assembled a force of thirty thousand men in Turkish with which he intended to invade British India. First, he dispatched a 250-men mission under General Nikolai Stolietov to Kabul to enlist Afghan support. She Ali alarmed as much by potential British mission to turn back, Stolietov kept coming, in turn sending assurances ahead of Russian support for the Afghan king. On July 22, the day after the Berlin Conference ended, Sher Ali met the Russian in Kabul.
Lord Lytton in Calcutta learned of the Russian presence in Kabul, he furiously demanded that the Afghans accept a similar British delegation. So, the British dispatched their delegation to Kabul without waiting for permission. On September 3rd, Sir Neville Chamberlain led 250 men into the Khyber Pass, but was turned back by Afghan troops who refused to let them through. Lytton wanted to declare war immediately but then it was decided to give Sher Ali an ultimatum: either apologize for the rebuff and allow a permanent British mission in Kabul—or face war. However, the British had in any case already counted on war and thus the second Anglo-Afghan war was imposed on Afghanistan which lasted from 1878-1881 AD; Sher Ali had precious little with which to combat the onslaught. He had attempted to raise a national army of fifty thousand men, but had only sketchily been able to pay them or provide equipment. So, Amir Sher Ali disappeared for he had put his trust in the Russian left Kabul in 1878 and sent pleas to the Russians for support. Whatever, promises the Russians had made earlier were now withdrawn, and Kaufman advised him to settle with the British. Sher Ali determined to travel to St. Petersburg to put his case before the Tsar, but Kaufman refused to let him cross the Amu River. Distraught by aggression on one side and treachery on the other, the king went to the half-populated ruins of once magnificent Balkh and died in Mazar-e-Sharif in January 1879.

In Kabul, Sher Ali had left his throne to Yaqoob Khan, his son whom he had previously held under arrest, after his father death, Yaqoob Khan became the king of Afghanistan and exchanged letters with the British hinting at his wish to end hostilities. In the spring, Yaqoob Khan was invited by the British political officer, Louis Cavagnari, to a conference at Gandamak. A treaty was signed namely “Gandameck” May, 26, 1879 A.D between Amir Yaqoob Khan and the British. According to the treaty Amir was agreed to surrender claims to the District of Kurm, Sibi and Pishin and to abandon his claims to the country on the either side of Kabul and Michini-passes. The treaty provided to British to protect Afghanistan against Russian aggression, and in return for this Afghanistan was not to have direct dealing with other powers. The treaty also included that to have a British representative at Kabul who could act as the British representative. More importantly than gaining territory, Britain’s object, which it had pursued
for years, had been to place a permanent residency in Kabul that could monitor Russian
approaches and enforce Afghan Compliance with British Policy.

The presence of British representative in Kabul and the treaty of Gandamulk let the Afghan for
another national rising under the leadership of Muhammad Jan Wardag. It was beginning to like
1842 A.D again, who now commanded up to forty thousand men, even sent British General
Roberts terms, offering safe passage for the army through the defiles if the British would quit the
Country. But for every one Afghanistan was too troublesome to be annexed but too dangerous to
be ignored and British came to the point that who could rule the country if the British were
compelled to finally depart? Amir Yaqoob Khan abdicated and gone to India, so Abdul Rehman,
son of Afzal Khan was proclaimed Amir of Kabul with clear instruction by British government
that Amir has to strive to bring Hirat in his control however, Amir is nothing to do in the affairs
of Kandahar while Kurram, Sibi, and Pishin shall not be considered Afghan areas. The foreign
policy of Afghanistan shall be framed with the approval of British. Ayoub Khan, Son of Amir
Shah Ali, an expected strong candidate for the Amir of Kabul, attacked Kandahar but failed to
be successful of getting Kandahar. He left Kandahar for Herat and then to Iran. Britishers after
occupying Kandahar handed over to Amir Abdul Rehman who reluctantly agreed to leave it.

Amir Abdul Rehman whom the British tilted as the “the Iron Amir” adopted such policies in
order to take the country out of crises. He restructured the tribal system and organized the
national army. During his period there were rising of Hazara community in Bamian and also in
Mazar-e-Sharif, but he successfully crashed them. The most famous act during his period was the
demarcation of Durand Line, drawn in between British India and Afghanistan. Amir Abdul
Rehman was reluctant to accept the demarcation of Durand line because it detached many of the
eastern Pashtoon tribes from his dominions but was compelled to agree.

Towards the end of the century, Abdul Rehman became increasingly plagued by government and
his strength visibly declined. However, his achievements were variable. He preserved
Afghanistan’s independence, keeping both the Britain and Russia at arms’ length while not
provoking either to attack him. Internally, he circumscribed the power of the tribal and religious
leadership, consolidated the Afghan State and created a unitary kingdom with settled frontiers.
However, this was at the cost of social and economical development. He died in 1901 A.D., almost uniquely in Afghan history; there was no contest for the succession when Abdul Rehman died. He had groomed his eldest son, Habibullah who succeeded his throne. He followed the policy of his father for the development of Afghanistan. In Character, Habib Ullah was the antithesis of Abdul Rehman. A tolerant and good natured man. Among the men of influence at Habib Ullah’s court was Mahmood Beg Tarzi, a descendent of one of the Qandahari Sardars whose Father had been exiled to Damascus by Abdul Rehman and who now returned to Kabul with his Syrian Wife. An intellectual, a nationalist and a modernist, Tarza was much influenced by the Young Turk movement and was allowed to publish newspaper, the Siraj-Akber, which took a strong Pan-Islamist and anti-imperialist stance. Tarzi was not afraid to draw attention to what he saw as Afghanistan’s failings under Habib Ullah’s rule, in particular its economic and social backwardness and he was critical of religious traditionalism. He felt that Afghanistan and other Islamic states had to adopt new ideas and modernize their economies, if they were not to remain in a position of permanent inferiority to the more developed world. Tarzi tutored two of Habib Ullah’s sons, Inayat Ullah and Aman Ullah Khan, who each married one of his daughters, and it, was he who was to be the principal architect of the dominant feature of Afghan policy during the first three decades of the 20th century.

Habib Ullah was fortunate that, largely as a result of his father’s repressive policies, there was little or no internal unrest during his reign. While Habib Ullah could afford to be relaxed about Afghanistan’s internal affairs, her external relations were to be a cause for concern throughout the reign. The British in India was not happy for his initiatives to have direct relationship with Russia and other countries of the World, even not of a political nature but of economical one. To emphasis the point, he announced the dispatch of twenty-four envoys to countries around the World. He also had a visit of India in 1906 A.D. when Lord Minto was Viceroy. More seriously, he was impressed by the relatively advanced state of India’s technology and economy, and became more receptive of Tarzi’s urgings of the need for Afghan development. Amir Habibullah also had agreement of friendship with Germany and Turkey. On the eve of First World War. He kept the peace in Afghanistan and remained neutral. On January 1st 1919 A.D. He left Kabul,
leaving his third son, Amanullah Khan Incharge of capital. On 19th Feb, Habibullah was assassinated in Laghman, north of Jalalabad while on hunting trip. The British, the Russians and many domestic rivals were variously accused of the crime, which was never satisfactorily resolved. Habibullah’s death occurred at a time when Afghanistan only succeeded to some extent in easing out of the British sphere after World War I.

Amanullah after coming to the throne of Kabul declared that Afghanistan is fully independent state and this independent state be recognized by the British government and Viceroy of India, receiving cool response from British, however, support came from the Soviet Union, where by then, the Tsar’s Government had been overthrown by Bolsheviks, Nicholas’s revolutionary successor were now gathered around Vladimir Lenin. Lenin recognized Afghanistan as a foreign independent state and had friendly agreements with each other. In less then a month the British declared a war on Afghanistan, nearly 35,000 British troops equipped with aircraft, were used against Afghanistan. In May, 1919 A.D, Amanullah motivated Afghan Army and the people of Afghanistan, the third Anglo Afghan war was started, however, within a month, both side realized that there was little to be gained by the war, and Amanullah agreed to meet Lord Chelmsford in Rawalpindi. Having tired of fighting the British, had the peace treaty of Rawalpindi in August 1919 A.D, giving Afghanistan freedom to conduct its own foreign affairs. Britain relinquished control of Afghanistan’s foreign policy, because of this treaty August, 1919 A.D, is generally regarded as the year of birth of modern Afghanistan and Amanullah was titled as “Ghazi” (The victorious). Amanullah, declared himself Amir, rest of the members of Royal family submitted to him. Amanullah soon after declaring himself the Amir categorically stated that Afghanistan should be internally and externally free and lost no time in initiating administrative reforms and included in his cabinet Mehmood Tarazi, as a foreign Minister. On the domestic front, Amanullah’s well intentioned efforts aimed at the whole sell transformation of an anachronistic society into a modern society and secular state, were unsuccessful and cost him his throne. Amanullah began to decree a series of administrative, economic, social and educational reforms. He called for
(a) the establishment of western style constitutional monarchy, a cabinet of ministers, and elected lower house and a nominated upper house (so far so good, except that such concepts would have been incomprehensive able to the tribal and religious members of Loya Jirga);

(b) The separation of religious and state power-perennially prickly issue in Muslim countries.

(c) The emancipation of women, enforced monogamy, compulsory education for all, and co-education schools. Meanwhile, Amanullah’s grandiose project to turn Kabul into the capital of modern Kingdom and his tour of European capitals where he was dazzled by the achievements of the west.

The reforms of Amanullah Khan and his relations with other powers other than British remained the cause of uprising against him, even Mahmood Tarzai, his foreign minister resigned from his government as his advice on the need to proceed slowly and cautiously in the reform programme having been repeatedly ignored by Amanullah34. The writing was on the wall, in November, 1928, Pashtoon tribes men revolted in Jalalabad and in the north Tajik marched towards Kabul under the leadership of Bacha Saqqao, forcing Amanullah to flee safely to Khandahar, which finally resulted in his exile in 1929 A.D to Rome35. Amanullah Kan was succeeded by “Bucha Saaqa” the son of water carrier, a Persian speaking Tajik. Who subjugated the city and its helpless inhabitants to a nine month reign of terror? The looting, pillaging, arson, and the rapes perpetrated by the wild invaders alienated even those religious leaders opposed to Amanullah, such as the influential Hazart of Shore Bazar. But due to internal differences and the growing resistance by Pathan tribes led by General Nadir Khan, a member of the powerful Musahiban family and his brother Abdul Rahim compelled Bacha Saaqa to surrender just in a year in October 13th 1929. Bucha Saqao was killed then by Nadir Khan, who now became the King of Afghanistan, and ruled till 1933 A.D.

Nadir Shah introduced a constitution in 1931. But he could not rule for a long as he was assassinated in November 1933 by a High School student in Kabul. The young cadet was the adopted son of General Ghulam Nabi Charki, who had been killed the previous year by soldiers by the order of Nadir Shah after an angry confrontation with the king at his palace. After his death, his nineteen years old son Zahir Shah began to rule for a long forty years till 197336,
however, Zahir Shah Reign, but his father’s brothers governed. The first twenty years of Zahir Shah Era were relatively peaceful on the domestic front. The King’s uncle Hashim Khan, who had been appointed Prime Minister in 1929 continued in that capacity until 1946, when he was replaced by his younger brother Shah Mohammad. In 1953, Shah Mohammad was ousted in a palace revolution in which the King’s cousin, who was also his brother in law, Sardar Dawood Khan, became Prime Minister and in 1973, Dawood Khan managed to oust Zahir Shah from the throne declaring himself the President of Afghanistan.

During his period Kabul’s relations with Soviet Union improved and a number of treaties were signed with Soviet Union as well as with Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Germany. The Second World War brought with it a challenge in the sphere of the government’s foreign relations. In August, 1940, Afghanistan, which had been admitted to the League of Nations in 1934, formally reaffirmed its neutrality. In October, 1941, the British and the Soviet demanded the expulsion from the Afghan soil of all citizens of three Axis countries. The Afghan government considered the ultimatum an affront to their declared neutrality and to their traditional laws of hospitality and a characteristic Afghan solution was found: the non diplomatic personnel of all the belligerent nations were expelled. And a similar joint ultimatum to the Iranians who had been slow to respond, had resulted in the invasion and partial occupation of Iran by British and Soviet forces in August 1941, and the forced abdication of Reza Shah who was replaced by his young son. There was of course more at stake in Iran: German agents had been very active there, Iranian oil was a precious resource for the Allies, and, with most of Soviets was a strategic necessity. So Afghanistan due to its diplomatic efforts saved his country in the 2nd world war.

The British withdrawal from Indian sub-continent in 1947 and the attendant partition of sub-continent had made the Afghans vulnerable. When Pakistan applied for United Nations membership in September, 1947, Afghanistan cast the only negative vote on the basis that the Afghan areas occupied by the Britishers may be given back to Afghanistan or let the people of these areas to decide for their future. In this context in 1949, the Afghan ruler denounced the frontier agreement with the departed British, and demanded that the Pashtoon historical
territories be given independence. In response the relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan remained tense.

In 1964, the Loya Jirga was held which approved constitution of 1964, and two elections were held under this constitution in 1965 and 1969. The press law of 1965 made way for relatively open political life. Taking advantage of this law, political parties were founded, significantly, the peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), commonly known as “Khalaq” was founded by Noor Muhammad Tarakai, which later on played key role in Afghan affairs. In July, 1973, when Zahir Shah went to Italy, Daud not only recaptured power, but also abolished the monarchy and proclaimed a Republic and ruled as a President. Daud was helped in his affairs by leftist officers in the army as well as by urban based PARCHAM, led by Babrak Karmal to counter Islamist fundamentalist movement. The leaders of the Islamist movement fled to Pakistan in 1975, where not only they were given Asylum but also received support from Pakistan in their struggle for bringing change in Afghanistan. Among these leaders were Gulbadin Hikmatyar, Burhanuddin Rabani, and Ahmed Shah Masood, who later on to lead Mujahedein in Afghanistan. Sardar Dawood Khan promised to introduce basic reforms and real democracy to serve a majority of the people. The reforms, Dawood actually introduced proved to be half way measures. In foreign policy, Dawood gave an appearance of distancing Afghanistan somewhat from Soviet Union but practically Soviet Union had established political roots through PDPA. In the geo-political region in which Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan are located profound political changes took place in the last years of 1970s. In Afghanistan PDPA with Noor Muhammad Tarakai and Babrak Karmal as front rank leaders remained successful in ousting Dawood and his team from the throne. The Afghan revolution, which took place on 27th April 1978, established a socialist backed regime PDPA did not appear to have planned it in any detail, though they might have been working towards it. While in Iran, the Islamists under the leadership of Imam Ayatollah Khomeini ousted Shah of Iran and established an Islamic regime with very strong control on the institutions of the government. In the same decade, in Pakistan, the Military over thrown the democratic regime of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and an army general General Zia-ul-Haq assumed power as head of a Martial law regime in 1977.
Afghanistan, after the Sour revolution became the battle field for the world powers. Noor Muahammad Tarakai the then seated President was murdered while his successor Hazifullah Amin was killed too in a very short time when Soviet troops formally invaded Afghanistan. Babrak Karmal who brought with him the Red Army of Russia became the Head of the State of Afghanistan. With this new development, the foot soldiers for the Jihad of Afghanistan, the Afghan Mujahedeen were to become the US-backed, anti Soviet troops and the war took over a new momentum as USA, China, and Arab States, poured money and arm supplies for the fighters and it was Pakistan who helped and implement their mission for over a decade till the withdrawal of Soviet troops in 1989. The Afghan war ended with 1.5 million Afghan lives perished, about 5 million Afghans migrated to its neighboring countries of Afghanistan–Iran and Pakistan\(^5\). The cycle of conflict continued in Afghanistan till now. USA and her allies organized Afghan Mujahedeen with the support of Pakistan Military. The PDPA government lasted in some form or another until 1992, while the Soviet troops withdrew in 1989. Fighting continued among the various Mujahedeen factions which gave rise to a state of warlords, based partly on different foreign allies of different factions. The international community, including UN and USA didn’t pay proper attention to reconstruct Afghanistan. In 1994 Taliban developed as a politico-religious force with the support of Pakistan who finally sized Kabul in 1996, hanging Dr. Najibullah, the former President of Afghanistan\(^5\). During Taliban regime much of the population experienced restrictions on their freedom; women were banned from jobs and education. The leadership of Al-Qaeda including Osama Bin Laden along with other such militant Islamic organizations of different countries made Afghanistan as a global base camp. Following the September 11th 2001 attack on Twin Tours in New York and on Pentagon in Washington, the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) was established by UN Security Council to help and assist the Afghans government\(^5\). The Afghans nation is currently struggling to rebuild their country while dealing with TALIBAN INSURGENCY and also to improve political affairs within the government.

**Historical background of Iran**

Iran, historically known to the west as Persia, and once a major Empire in its own right, has been overrun frequently and has had its territories through the history. The country has often caught up in the affair of larger powers. Iran has always reasserted its national identity and has developed
as a distinct political and cultural entity. The Iranian has strong sense of their identity and sees themselves as the natural heirs of leadership role in the region.

Iran has an area of 636,372 square miles (1,648,195) square kilometers and a population of 74,700,000 (2010 census) people. The Islamic Republic of Iran is bounded on the north by Armenia, Azerbaijan and Turkistan, on the east by Afghanistan and Pakistan, on the west by Iraq and Turkey while on the south bounded by the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman. Iran along with several other countries of the Gulf is one of the world major oil producers. Until 1930, Iran was known as Persia and was having a monarchy ruled by Shah. The popular uprising led by Islamic clergymen, resulted in the establishment of an Islamic Republic. Archeological findings have place knowledge of Iranian pre-history at middle Paleolithic times; under the Achuemenid Dynasty (559-330 BC) a dynasty founded by Cyrus the Great, they united the nearest. During their rule, the ancient Iran had an important influence on the Mediterranean peoples. The Empire was finally overthrown by Alexander the Great, who defeated Persian army at Arbela in 331 BC, but the death of Alexander was followed by a struggle between his generals, one of whom Seleucus took the Persia and founded the SELEUCID Empire, the next great Empire after the Hellenistic Period (300-250 BC) came Parthian (250 BC-226AD). The Parthian, a militant and invading people who’s Great King Mithridates of the Arsacid Dynasty consolidated the kingdom which extended towards northern Persia and extended western frontiers to include Armenia and Mesopotamia.

The next Great Empire that of the Sasanian lasted until it was defeated by Arabs in the battle of Qadisia in 637 AD. However, the Persian influence over the Arabs was eminent during that time. By the 8th century, the Abbasid Caliphate had begun to disintegrate and the Ghuzz Turks invaded Persia of which the Seljuk became the leader. The Seljuk Empire itself broke up in the 12th century into a number of succession states. The 13th century saw the Mongol invasion in 1258 AD, Halaqu Khan, the grandson of Changez Khan sacked Baghdad and destroyed the Calipahete. The Persian also came under the dynasty founded by Halaqu Khan, towards the end of the 14th century Persian again fell under the domination of another military conqueror, when Taimur under took a series of military campaigns against Persia and even crossed Afghanistan
reached India, between 1381 and 1387AD. The short lived kingdom of Taimur was followed by SAFAVID Empire in the 16th century laid by Ismail SAFAVI (1502-24). Persia, during this period re-emerged as a political unit for the first time since the Muslim conquest and it extended its authority all around the region. The Safavid had increased its influence in the region in general and in Afghanistan in particular. The Safavid had an alliance with Indian Mughal to combat the Afghans not only in Afghanistan but also in India. Under Shah Abbas (1587-1629), the Safavid Empire reached its zenith and Persia enjoyed a power and prosperity which it has not achieved since. Under the later Safavids rulers internal decline set in and from 1722-30 Persia was subject to Afghan invasion, as the Afghan capital was attacked by Persian commander, Gorgeen and in reply the Afghans under Mirwais Khan Hottak invaded Persia, while in the west and north it was threatened by Turkey and Russia. However, during the reign of Nadir Shah Afshar (1536-47 AD), Persia had stabled position. Nadir Afshar had not only attacked Afghanistan but also invaded India and occupied Delhi, the capital of India in 1538 AD. The Afsharids were succeeded by Karim Khan Zand whose relatively peaceful reign was followed by the rise of Qajar who ruled till 1925 AD. During the Qajar period events in Persia became increasingly affected by great power rivalry and their interest in Afghanistan. The British in that period had complete authority over India and was planning for the occupation of Afghanistan. With the growth of British influence in India, the main emphasis in Anglo-Persian relations shift to a strategy to encircle the Afghanistan and to subdue the Afghan government from their authority not only on Indian territory nut also from their own territories within Afghanistan. The region of Persia and the Persian Gulf came to be regarded as one of the main bastion protecting British India. During the First World War, Persia was nominally neutral but in fact Pro-Turkish. By the end of the war the internal condition of Persia was chaotic to the British government; the restoration of order was desirable, more probably because British were involved in war with Afghanistan. While Iraq was also given under the mandate of British, so, with this end in view an agreement was signed in 1919 between Iran and British, for recognizing the Persian army and financial assistance was given to Persia by British.
In 1921, a coup de tat took place in Iran, Raza Khan became minister of war, later on in 1923, he became minister and finally in 1925 the crown of Persia was conferred upon him and then was known as Raza Shah. His first task was to restore the authority of the central government throughout the country and secondly to place Persia’s relations with foreign countries on the basis of equality. Internally Raza Shah’s policy aimed to modernization and autocracy in Persia. Education was remodeled on western lines and women were no longer obliged to wear the veil after 1936 AD. On the outbreak of Second World War, Iran declared its neutrality, however, the allies demanded a reduction in the number of Germans in Iran. On denial, Iran was invaded by allies on 26th Aug.1941 AD. On 16th September 1941, Raza Shah abdicated in favour of his son Muhammad Raza who introduced social, educational and land reforms for the purpose of improving standard of education, health and social welfare among the poorer classes. Iran’s relations with the USSR remained good, various trading and technical agreements were signed and at the same time Iran also had good relations with western countries, however, Iran’s relations with the more radical Arab States were less friendly because of Iran’s close ties with west, moreover the Arab States distrusted Iran’s soft attitude towards Israel, with whom Arab had wars on the issue of Palestine.

During 1977 and 1978 demonstrations started and acts of political violence increased. The Shah government could not control the situation even by imposing Martial law. Exiled religious leader Ayatollah Khomeini conducted his campaign from France where he has arrived after 14 years exile in Iraq for opposing the Shah. His campaign resulted in establishing the Islamic Revolutionary government in 1979 AD. A new constitution was drafted which secured the most important authority to a religious leader through WILLAYT-E-FAQIH who oversees the operations of the government. The Islamic revolutionary government soon indulged in problems internally due to its hard polices and the Iraq-Iran war in 1980s also created problems. At the time when Islamic revolution of Iran appeared, there also came a revolution in Afghanistan. Iran although was considered a staunch enemy of USA but in Afghanistan both of the states were together against the Taliban government.
The US hostage crisis in which some fifty diplomat of US Embassy in Tehran on 4th November 1979 were taken by militant Muslim students. The hostage crisis which lasted for 444 days and the issuance of a religious verdict by Ayatollah Khomeini on February 1989, pronouncing a sentence of death on the British author Salman Rushdie, and the Iranian desire for an Atomic power, isolated Iran both politically and economically from the rest of the world, particularly from the west. The success of Khatami, as the President of Iran in 1997 tried to end the Iran’s isolation by seeking an improvement in relations with the west.

The event of 9/11 provided another opportunity to stay and work closely with the rest of the world for bringing peace in Afghanistan and for the implementation of UNO peace plan in Afghanistan.
CHAPTER THREE

Territorial and Political Disputes between
Iran and Afghanistan

Since Iran and Afghanistan are close neighbors from thousands of years, both the states share a very long border and used to have a great civilizations. Iran and Afghanistan also used to be the military powers of the region and had occupied the areas now known as India, while also attacked the Central Asian states. Being the military powers of the region, both the states played the role of mediators in disputes occurring with in their states and also in areas other than their native states. In the course of the history it is found most of the times that Iran and Afghanistan remain in divert position. Afghanistan in its part was made isolated while Iran used to have an alliance earlier with Turkic power of Central Asia, the Mugal and finally with British to counter Afghanistan. In such divergent historical background the territorial and political disputes between both the states were naturally to be raised and could not be avoided. Consequently, the relations between both the states remained fluctuated.

Afghanistan, a land locked Country has been in between the two great civilizations, the more urban Persian Empire to the west and Turkic nomadic culture to north of Central Asia. The foot prints of these people, their culture and language can be evident across the country as we can still see that Persian originated Dari and Turkish styled languages are spoken in large extent in Afghanistan, whose history is predominantly one spent starving off invasions from each one of its frontiers at varying periods of its existence, acting as corridor to let their armies pass north to south or west to invade India, for this very purpose the control over Afghanistan was important for survival.

The claim of Iran the then Persia on the historical territory of Afghanistan dates back to 600 B.C. when the Persian Empire brought centralized rule to the region for the first time but they were unsuccessful in pacifying the diverse tribes. Once again during the period of Sassanid, the Iranian reasserted their claim to the region and called it the province of Khorasan but they failed to subdue resistance from Afghan tribes. When the Arabs under the banner of Islam attacked and defeated the Persian Army in the decisive
battles at Qadisiyya in 637 A.D and Nihavan in 641 A.D. Persia then did not emerge as a political entity and lost its power, however, the Arabs also could not establish themselves in the region but left behind local Islamic dynasties, the Ghaznavids succeeded by Ghurids, who built the Afghan Empire and invade India 1192 A.D. and defeated the Indian military force of Perfeive Chohan in the battle of Tarain where Shahab Uddin Ghauri established the sultanate of Delhi but Changez Khan and his Mongol hordes not only attacked Afghanistan in 1219 AD but also destroyed the Persian and Arab Empires.

In the way the Changez Army destroyed the ancient cultural cities of Balkh and Herat pilling mounds of dead bodies. They completely wrecked the centralized rule of Afghan, Persian and even of Arab, later on the Mongol ruler Halaqu Khan, the grandson of Changez Khan sacked Baghdad and destroyed the Caliphate in 1258 A.D.

Towards the end of 14th century in 1380, Taimur Lane another Mongol Chief-tain and descendants of Ghanghis Khan under took series of Military campaigns against Persia, Afghanistan and India, and founded a short lived Kingdom across Persia and India. Herat was captured by him and soon became the capital of Taimurid Empire in 1405 A.D, under his son Shah Rukh, thereby establish Herat as one of the most cultured and refined cities of the world.

But this Kingdom founded by him was short lived and rapidly disintegrated on the death of Shah Rukh, the tussle again started between Persia and Afghanistan in the region. The Afghans were supposed to maintain its authority on Herat while the Iranian was anxious to occupy that civilized and learned city.

On that particular part of the history, three very important events occurred, consequently shaped and formed strong dynasties in Iran and Afghanistan and in larger extent in India.

In Iran, the 16th century saw the foundation of Safavid Empire which was accompanied by an eastward movement of the Turkmen from Asia minor back into Iran, for the first time since the Muslim conquests, Iran re-emerged as a strong political unit. The foundation of Safavid Empire was laid by Ismail SAFAVI. The Central Asian Turkic links with Iranian cultures was one of the major legacy of this period, this link indeed alliance between Iran, Central Asian and Turkic power (which later on established Mugal dynasty in India) played significant role in the future of
Afghanistan as a Nation. This was followed by a series of invasions in the next few centuries which resulted in a complex ethnic, cultural and religious mix that was to pose serious problems towards Afghan nation building.

The Afghans, who were in ruling Janta, since the reign of Mahmood Ghaznavi, finally established a pure Afghan dynasty under the leadership of Behlol Lodhi, who captured Delhi on 19 April 1451 A.D from Syed Allodin. Behlol encouraged the Afghan tribesmen to come to India. The senior offices were reserved for his loyal Afghan supporters. Behlol Lodhi was succeeded by his son Nizam Khan who was titled as sultan Sikandar Lodhi in 1489 A.D and ruled till 1517 A.D; Sikander Lodhi enhanced the prestige of sultanate. He was followed by his son Ibrahim Lodhi who ruled till 1526 A.D. However, the internal disputes in Royal family and uprising of Rana Sanga of Mawer provided very golden opportunity to Zaheeruddin Babar of Farghana, who was ousted from his native place by Shabani Khan Uzbek who reduced Babar to mere fugitive in 1504 AD, Babar occupied Kabul in 1504 AD and strengthened his ties with Shah Ismail Safavid to capture his native place. Babar closed ties with Safavid of Iran helped the Mughal in future against the Afghans. Immediately after Babar has settled in Kabul in 1504 AD, he developed interest in the conquest of India. Internally the Lodhi family was divided due to the differences, in 1523 AD, Daulat Khan who was Ibrahim Lodhi’s cousin, was the Governor of Punjab along Behlol’s younger son Alam Khan asked Babar to support them to overthrow Ibrahim Lodhi. In October 1525, Babar invaded Delhi; Alam Khan supported Babar while Daulat Khan with army of 20,000 to 30,000 surrendered to Babar and fought against Ibrahim Lodhi. Babar in a furious battle at Pani-pat in 1526 AD defeated Ibrahim Lodhi and established Mughal Rule in India, which lasted for more than three hundred years.

The next 300 years are a history of periodic and regular invasion into India by the Afghan tribes in the process conquering Delhi and to create vast Afghan Empire in order to secure their historical land. During the period of Hamayun’s exile in Iran, he came close with a number of Iran’s nobles and others whom he invites to join him if he succeeded in recovering his lost dominations and quite a number did. This opened the way for the migration of talented Iranian to the Mughal’s court, who all latter on during the Mugal period the Iranian had great influence in
Mugal court and was adorned by the brilliant group of Iranians, of the many Iranians who were imminent at the Mugal court, it will suffice here to mention Hakim Abdul Fateh, Foreign Minister of Akbar, and the third Mugal Ruler. Asaf Khan, Prime Minister of Mughal ruler Jahangir, Ali Mardan and Amir Khan Wardens of the Marches and Ruhullah Khan, Finance Minister of Aurengzeb Alamgir.9

The main point for the closer ties between Persia and Mugal of India could only be Afghanistan, as there was severe differences between Iran and Afghanistan on the territory of Herat and other areas of Afghanistan even Kandahar which remained a bone of contention between both the countries.

The Mugal who snatched Delhi from the Afghans, were afraid enough that the Afghans who were in very large number in India could again emerge and organize themselves for regaining the lost sultanate of Delhi. In such circumstances, both the Iran and Mugal formed a kind of alliance to counter the Afghans.

In India after the death of Zahiruddin Babar in 1530 AD, just four years of his conquest of Delhi, his eldest son Naseer-u-Din Hamayun succeeded the thrown of Delhi. Hamayun had three half brothers, Kamran, Askarai and Hindal. Besides, his brothers, other Mugal princes and more importantly Afghans were big threat to him. Sher Shah Suri whose original name was Farid Khan was born during the arena of Behlol Lodhi and his father was Hassan Khan. After Babar victory over Rana Sanga, he joined Mugal services. Sher Shah hold Bihar and eastern India his Military and diplomatic talents make him popular amongst Afghan. Sher Shah recruited large number of Afghans in his Army. The hidden purpose was to regain the Afghan rule over India and to oust the Mugal from the region.10

In May 1549 AD Sher Shah Suri with a large Afghan army attacked Mugal force, Hamayun could not face the Afghans, and so he ran away from the battle ground. Hamayun was followed by Sher Shah Suri until he took shelter in Iran with Shah of Iran and remained there till the death of Sher Shah Suri. Sher Shah declared himself as the King of Indian Sultanate and successfully regained the Afghan authority on India. Thus he became successful in getting the Afghan authority back so; the Afghan determination to drive the Mugal out of India was completed.
Suri ruling period was short lived but it was better planned, he ruled vigorously until his accidental death. Sher Shah Suri ruled India for five years and enlisted himself as best statesmen of the world. His first task was to ensure that the Mughul should not re-conquer India. After his death his second son Jalal Khan was crowned adopting the title of Islam Shah, he was succeeded by his elder brother Adil Shah. But his successor Islam Shah and Adil Shah could not proved himself as Sher Shah Suri. The Internal feuds among the Afghans gave an opportunity to Hamayun to come back to India after the fifteen years exile in Iran.

Hamayun, observing the situation of Delhi keenly and taking advantage of the internal dispute among the successor of the Sher shah Suri seek help from Shah Thamasp of Iran. Shah Of Iran gave him military support on the condition that once big cities of Afghanistan Qandahar, Herat, Ghazni and Kabul had been captured then Qandahar and Herat would be ceded to Iran. In September 1545, Hamayun occupied Qandahar and in December 1545 Kabul was taken and remained in Kabul for few years and in November 1554, Hamayun captured Lahore despite the strong resistance by Afghan forces against the combined army of Mughul and Iran. In July 1555, Hamayun was successful in recapturing the throne of Delhi and re established the Mughul rule in India with the support of the army of Iran. The defeat of the Afghans in India and taking the Afghan cities by Iran deteriorated the relations between Iran and Afghanistan and clashes again started between Iran and Afghans in the border areas of Iran and Afghanistan.

Afghans after the collapse of Suri dynasty gathered around Bayazid Roshan who had launched a Roshani movement with thousands of followers. That was apparently a religious and reformist movement but in actual a nationalist movement striving for re establishing the Afghan kingdom in Delhi and also to take the lost afghan territory from Iran. Mugul King Akber realizing the momentum of Afghan had to take military and other action to counter the Afghan strength. The introduction of new religion with name of Den-i- Ilahi, a mixture of Islam and Hinduism was basically to get the support of Hindus not only to counter Afghans and also to strengthen his position in rest of India. Akber early military campaign against the Roshani movement could not be successful. He himself led an army against Afghans and also constructed a strong fortress at Attock, on the side of Indus river which is still existing and in February, 1586 Akber’s trusted
friend and commander Birbal was killed with some Eight thousand troops by Afghan was a clear message to Akber that Afghans could not be subdued by Military force so, he decided to play the clans against each other and to start a religious propaganda against Roshani movement, consequently, Roshani movement ceased to be threat to Mughul rule.  

In Iran, the Safavid, under Shah Abbass advanced till Herat and occupied the Afghan territories till Qandahar. Under Shah Abbass (1587-1629) the Safavid Empire reached its Zenith and Persia enjoyed a power and prosperity which it has never achieved. The safavid dominion stretched from the Oxus to the Persian Gulf and from Afghanistan to Euphrates, Afghanistan has been alternatively part of Iran and of Mugal India. However, the Afghans never subdued fully and tried to combat both the Mugal and Iranians. Mir Wais, the Chief of Hotak, Tribe of Ghalzi Pashtoon of Khandahar built an independent state in 1709, in rebellion against safavid Shah of Iran as before the Mir Wais, the Shah of Iran attempted to convert Sunni Pashtoon in to Shiaism was seen as the immediate cause of rebellion, along with the cultural and territorial expansion of the Iran in Afghanistan Finally Mir. Wais Hottak remained successful in establishing an Afghan kingdom in Khandahar. Under the late Safavids internal decline set in only from 1722-30 Iran was subject to Afghan invasion and occupation. The Safavid dynasty practically ended when the successors of the Mir Wais Hottak under Mahmood rose in revolt, and sized Heart and Mashed, defeated Shah Hussain of Iran and after a seven months siege occupied the capital Ispahan in 1722 A.D. Members of the Safavid family, however, still retained a vestige of authority chiefly in Mazandran.

However, it is famous for the Ghalzi in Afghanistan that they could win battle but could not rule. At this very time Nadir Kuli, the Afshardi Turk, made used of the pretext of restoring the enfeebled Safavids to size the supreme power in 1736 A.D. Nadir Afshar defeated Ashraf Shah, the Afghan king of Iran near Shiraz. By 1738 AD Nadir Shah defeated Hussain Sultan, the ruler of Qandahar and ended the Afghan ruling period. Nadir Shah not only maintained the Iranian kingdom in its fullest extent and was also successful in subduing Afghan territories. He sized Kabul and Qandahar in 1737, pushed on towards Lahore, defeated the Mughul army and sacked Delhi in 1738.
The emergence of Nadir Shah Afshar (1736-1747) on the throne of Iran empowered the country, during his period he organized Persian army and at the same time the successors of Mir Wais, due to internal disputes lost authority even in their own country, at this very time Nadir Shah Afshar not only remained successful in ousting Afghans from Iran but also attacked Delhi in 1738 and plundered it. Nadir Shah Afshar was remarkable chiefly for his military exploits. At the time of occupation of Qandahar, Nadir Shah Afshar had close contact with the sons of Malik Muhammad Zaman Khan, Zulfiqar Khan and his younger brother Ahmed Shah, Nadir Shah treated them well and sent them off to exile in Mazendran. Where Ahmed Shah, along with other Afghans joint Nadir Shah, the new corps of Afghan mercenaries, on whom Nadir Shah had complete reliance. The Afghan Corps accompanied Nadir Shah to India and participated in all the battles. Nadir Shah Afshar death in 1747 AD, gave an opportunity to Ahmed Shah to organize the Afghans and found the modern Afghanistan. It was under Ahmed Shah that the Afghans rose to liberate Kandahar and drove the Mughal back to India with the support of all Pashtoon tribes he was chosen as the king of Afghanistan in a Loya Jirga. Ahmed Shah formed a confederation and laid the foundation of modern Afghanistan, Liberating the Afghans land both from Iran ad Mughal Empire.¹⁸

Nadir Shah Afshar was succeeded by Karim Khan Zand whose peacefully reign did not create much problems for Ahmed Shah Abdali, that’s why Ahmed Shah Abdali concentrated towards India He had several attacks on India, Finally defeated the Marathas at the battle of Pani Pat, in 1761 and captured the throne of Delhi and Kashmir.

Ahmed Shah was a born leader, assumed the title of “Dure-i-Durrān” (Pearl of Pearls). In his reign of twenty six years (1747-73 AD), Ahmed Shah swept eight times across the Indus and ravaged the Punjab as well as Delhi. In the Historical battle of Pani Pat fifty miles north of Delhi, in 1761 AD defeated Marathas. Ahmed Shah secured Afghan border near Iran and also extended the Empire to Delhi. Ahmed Shah was only 55, when he died and was succeeded by his son Taimur Shah, his favorite but not his eldest son, a very different sort of man.¹⁹

However, at this junction of history; the 18th century saw a power shift in Indian politics which also had its impacts in the rest of the region. With the growth of British influence in India in late
18th and early 19th Century and a power struggle within the Durrani clan for the thrown of Afghanistan. gave an opportunity to British to plan for invading Afghanistan. Primarily in response to their own fears of expanding Russian empire in central Asia, which might covet Afghanistan for a thrust against British Indian empire, the British made three attempts to conquer and hold Afghanistan, At the same time colonial power of British would motivate and influence Iran to stand against Afghanistan. On the question of Herat and some time supported Afghans against Iran.

Taimur was never even reasonably familiar with Pashto language. He was born in Iran, Mashed in 1746 AD. He remained Governor of Herat, where Persian language had influence. Taimur Shah could not maintain his father legacy. The remote provinces gradually threw off the submission offered to Ahmed Shah and the Kingdom began to disintegrate. In 1793 AD, Thimur Shah died and was succeeded by Zaman Shah, the second son of Taimur, who was supported by Painda Khan, the Chief of Barakzai, with Zaman Shah, on the Afghan throne commenced the phase in which Afghan politics became a definite problem for the British, who now had strengthened its position in Indian sub-continent which entering into the sphere of world politics, Napoleon Bonapart had developed links with Tipu Sultan, who revolted against the British in state of Maysur in India, the Tsar of powerful Russia was an actual threat to British who was growing its authority to Central Asian States and the Middle East.

Shah Zaman commenced his attempts to re-assert control over Ahmed Shah’s Indian Empire by crossing the Indus in 1795 AD and advancing to Hassan Abdaal on the road of Rawalpindi. He captured Sher Shah’s fort of Rohtas, so in 1797 AD, crossed the Indus, with Shah Zaman at Lahore and Tipu Sultan whose final trial of strength with the British was approaching, the British minimize the danger of Shah Zaman’s invasion by utilizing its war and strategic diplomacy in the region by sending a mission to Iran, which might induce the Shah Zaman, to renew the threat to Qandahar and Herat to relieve British India from the alarm of Shah Zaman’s invasion which was always attended with serious threats to East India Company. The British later on successfully adopted such policies by instigating sometime Iran against Afghanistan and sometimes utilized Afghanistan against Iran, even different communities with in a country were
made to fight against each other on the bases of ethno-lingual and even on religious basis. The purpose of the British was of course not only to strengthen its authority over the already occupied country of India but was to extend its colonial territory, more impotently to combat and stop the Russian Tsar and French influence in the region. So a treaty was signed in which Iran and Britain together were to attack any attempt of the French to involve or occupy any part of the Iranian dominions, while the king of Iran will never allow the French or any European force in alliance with them to built a fort or settle in any part of the Iranian dominions. After signing the treaty, the Iranian forces came towards Herat to invade Qandahar with the difficulties in which Shah Zaman found himself; he was compelled to abandon his designs on India. 22 His brother Mahmood who was in Persian court was also used for this purpose.

Actually after the death of Nadir Shah Afshar, Iranian authority could not be maintained in the areas where Nadir Shah had the authority, even the areas such as Heart and Khurasan on which the Iran had claim were then under the control of Afghanistan. During the Zand dynasty in Iran (1750-1794 AD), the Iranian could not properly raised the issue, the most possibly due to Ahmed Shah’s overwhelming power who extended the Afghan territory all around. But the rise of Kajars on the throne of Iran, provided an opportunity to not only claim the territories of Khurasan and Herat but were striving for the areas which were under the safavid rule while on the other side the Afghans were still of the proud memories of the conquests of Ahmed Shah Abdali, but practically whole the region was under the influence of British and other global powers of that time.

Afghanistan, during and after Shah Zaman’s period fell in rivalries between Shah Zaman and his brothers- Shah Mahmood and Shah Shuja, in the race for getting throne of Afghanistan. Shah Mahmood defeated Shah Zaman in 1800 AD, and was made blinded, while in 1803 AD, Shah Shuja ousted Shah Mahmood from the capital of Kabul and in 1809AD, Shah Mahmood availed opportunity to defeat Shah Shuja and took the capital from him becoming the king of Afghanistan. 23 Having been involved in rivalries for rulership, Afghanistan became weak and the role of British aroused in the affairs of Afghanistan, either to occupy the country or to install their own liked Government on the throne of Kabul. In 1840AD by installing Shah Shuja on the
throne of Kabul and arresting Amir Dost Muhammad Khan, in such circumstances, Iran under
the Kajars ruler Nasir-u-din tried to take the city of Herat from Afghanistan in 1858 and in
1856.24

Heart which is now one of the big cities of Afghanistan, situated in the Valley of Hari River, has
very historical background. During the Middle Ages Heart became one of the important cities of
Khorosan. This city is the gate way to Iran, collecting the highest amount of customs revenue for
Afghanistan now. The city of Herat was ruled by different power full monarchs. Before 1040
A.D Heart was ruled by the Ghaznavid. In 1040 A.D, it was captured by Seljuk Empire however,
in 1175 A.D; it was captured by the Ghories and then came under the Khawarazm Empire. Heart
was captured by Mangols in 1221A.D and destroyed by Changez Khan. Around 1381 A.D the
City was again destroyed by Taimur lane. In 1506 A.D the city was captured by Uzbeks but few
years later Shah Ismail Safavid captured the city of Heart and made it the part of Safavid
Empire, since then there was a continues struggle between the Afghans and Iranians for getting
the city of Heart. In 1710 A.D the city was fell to Mir Wais Khan Hottak and was ruled by the
Ghilzai Afghans until 1736 A.D, when Nadir Shah Afshar swept through with his forces. After
Nadir Shah's death in 1747 A.D. Ahmed Shah Durrani took the possession of Heart.25 However,
in 1824 A.D, the city became independent for several years when Afghanistan was split between
the Durrani and the Barkzai, while Iranian Government under Kajar rules gained power and
established ties with Russia and French. At this very moment Iran had planed to occupy Heart in
1852 A.D and 1856 A.D, but this time British came in support of Afghanistan to fight against
Iran and not to let Iran to occupy Herat. The basic cause of British to have war on Heart against
Iran was the open desire of Russia to have hold over the Iranian court. The immediate cause of
the Iranian advance against Herat was the refusal of shah Kamran, the ruler of Heart, to
acknowledge the sovereignty of Iran and in this occasion the Iranian Kajar ruler Mahmood was
supported by Russia whilst the Afghan Kamran received British Backing. British regarded it of
the utmost important to the security of India that Herat should not become available to any power
which might obtain control over the councils of the Shah.26
The Iranian government declaration that Herat Province formed part of Iranian domains was taken serious both by British and Amir Dost Muhammad Khan, the ruler of Afghanistan. So a treaty of peace and friendship was signed between Afghanistan and British in March 1855 A.D. Because both of them understood the Iranian aims of occupying not only the province of Herat but Afghan territories beyond it.

Iran adopted aggressive measures against British in August 1856 A.D, the British mission agent was expelled from Iran and advance body of Iranian troops captured Farrah, a city of Afghanistan near Iranian Border and Iranian Shah appealed the nation to be ready to fight against the British if the British army arrived in Persian Gulf. Herat fell to the Iranian in October 1856 A.D, forcing the people of Heart to submit to the Shah of Iran in reply the British declared war on Iran in November 1856 A.D. This short war was resolved nearly a thousand miles away in the Persian Gulf. The Iranian court had sued for the peace directly after the capture of Bushire in Persian Gulf and a treaty was signed in Paris on 4th March 1857, asking Iran to relinquish all claims to the sovereignty of Herat and to obtain from farther interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and the Britain shall play the role of arbiters in any dispute which night arise between Iran and Afghanistan. The treaty ended the Iranian’s hopes for expansion towards Afghanistan. The city of Herat and other linked areas were fallen to Amir Dost Muhammad Khan in 1863 and since then Herat is the part of Afghanistan.27

So, the British policy of engaging Afghanistan with Iran, which was started in 1799-1800 by sending Mehdi Ali Khan Babmai wala, a famous businessman to Iran's Shah to instigate to him to invade Herat during the period of Shah Zaman, remained successful. The British not only secured India from the threat of Afghanistan but it availed opportunity to occupy the Afghan winter capital Peshawar with support of Ranjit Singh of Punjab and Shah Shuja of Afghanistan, after the first Anglo Afghan war (1838-40). The British though was defeated in the First Anglo Afghan war but Peshawar could not be taken by the Government of Afghanistan.

If the Iranian government on the instigation of the British would not attack Herat, and on other areas of Afghanistan the British might have been defeated even in India and Afghanistan would not have faced such crucial problems.
During and after the First World War both Afghanistan and Iran did not have much territorial or other problems. Afghanistan and Iran remained neutral in the first world war, however, Afghanistan soon offer the First World War remained successful in obtaining independence from the British, through a peace treaty signed between Amanullah Khan and the British, under the new treaty the independence of Afghanistan was recognized, British agreed to the new Amir adopting the title of a "King" and being in direct communication with London and with the rest of the world.

While Iran’s foreign affairs went from bad to worse. The domestic scene was equally unpromising under Nasir-ud-din Shah (1847-1896) and his son Muzafaruddin Shah (1896-1907), hence affairs were not good except for the short period of Amir Kabir’s government get first stagnant and then in a state of rapid decline.

In the period of 1920's, the head of both the states made enormous journeys abroad to the spread of liberal ideas to avail modern education and to introduce reforms in their own countries for the purpose to make the countries developed.
CHAPTER FOUR

Afghan Sour and Islamic Revolution of Iran and Their Impact on Iran-Afghan Relations.

The global politics and the international relations had adopted a different kind of scenario after the First World War, which lasted 1914-1919. The world power was divided in to two groups, one led by UK and other by Germany. The war ended with the victory of United Kingdom and its allies, although, the League of Nations was founded in 1926, to maintain peace and avoid further wars in the world, but it failed in a decade. The Germans, who elected Hitler as their Chancellor, again equipped and organized a huge army to take revenge from British and her allies. The Second World War started in 1939, which lasted till 1945, German and her supporters were badly crashed and were defeated.

USA and USSR emerged as super powers after the Second World War. UNO was formed in 1945 for avoiding the wars and maintaining the peace. The world was divided into two blocks, one led by USA, known as Capitalist, the other was led by USSR, known as Socialist block. There were few countries that remained some what neutral and formed non-align movement, but it could not influence the world politics.

Though Iran and Afganistan remained neuter in both the world wars, in the post-world war scenario, both the states could not avoid the political and ideological influences of global politics. During the course of the cold war both the neighboring states had monarchy with such constitutional developments, which provided opportunities to leftists inspired by socialist ideology and also Islamic fundamentalists. Both organized themselves for bringing political and structural change in their respective countries. The last years of 1970s witnessed revolutionary changes in both the countries. Afghanistan had socialist based revolution, while Iran had Islamic revolution. In such a contradict atmosphere highly influenced by global politics, the relation between Iran and Afghanistan in post revolutionary period were naturally to be tense rather then cordial. The brief summary of political and constitutional development in post world wars period would help in understating the relations between Iran and Afghanistan in post revolutionary period of 1970s.
Development in Afghanistan in post-world wars

Amanullah Khan, who became the King of Afghanistan, had announced the independence for his Country with no control of British on the foreign relations of Afghanistan, the treaty of Rawalpindi in August 1919 AD, formally announced the independence of Afghanistan. It was a political and diplomatic victory of Afghanistan that it not only saved the remaining territory of Afghanistan from the occupation of the British but also the British gave up its attempt to control the foreign policy of Afghanistan. Now Afghanistan was some what free to formulate its foreign policy, Amir Amanullah, a moderate, liberal minded person, who had developed its link with the rest of world, particularly, with Russia, where the Socialist Revolution was successfully brought by Lenin, the head of Bolshevik in October 1917 AD. USSR, was indeed the first country who recognized the independence of Afghanistan, Afghanistan had a treaty of friendship with USSR in 1921 AD, according to the treaty, USSR, supported Afghanistan financially and technically, combine with the reforms of Amanullah and his relations with USSR and with other developed countries of the world, provoked the educated class, specially the younger for the adoption of leftist ideas, consequently, gave birth to such liberal oriented organization, such as “Wish Zelmayan” by a group of young progressive intellectuals, who later on paved the way for the foundation of Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) in 1965 AD. However, the British who was not happy with Amanullah’s such progressive developments, had instigated the religious groups against Amanullah, which soon presented itself in the form of a wave of a religious revolts first inspired by the reactionary fanatic, Mullah Shor Bazar, who played important role in the fall of Amanullah Khan in 1929 AD.¹

There occurred some very important events both internationally and regionally in 1930’s and 40’s. Zahir Shah, the King of Afghanistan, kept his country out of the 2nd World War by declaring Afghanistan’s neutrality. The 2nd World War was ended in 1945 AD, with USA and USSR as an emerging super powers of the world by clear division of the world in to two blocks, one capitalist led by USA and the other Socialist, led by USSR, while on the regional political scene, by 1946 AD, it became clear that the British who was a colonial power of Indian sub-continent, would soon be leaving the region and would grant the independence to India. The
British through 3rd June Plan of 1947 AD announced the division of India into two independent states, India and Pakistan. Afghanistan on that particular circumstances demanded the Afghan’s lands which were occupied by the British and were included in British India, failing which, Afghanistan did not vote for Pakistan in the United Nations in September, 1947 AD. Afghanistan continued putting its pressure on Pakistan for Pashtoon areas to be given independent status or to be included in Afghanistan that was primarily the basic cause for Pakistan’s interest in Afghanistan’s affairs for installing such kind of Government who would whole heartedly accept the Durand Line as a recognized international border. The role of Pakistan in and post Afghan war could be analyzed in this very context, while on the other side Iran, who also had historical disputes on Herat and on the water of Helmand River played active role in Afghan war against the Sour revolution.

The political, constitutional and social polarization during the ruling period of Zahir Shah was although slow, but provided opportunity to political groups to argument their public participation. In 1964, Mohammad Zahir Shah, the King of Afghanistan, deliberately abandoned a two hundred years of autocratic rule and diminished his own power in order to give his country a system of Government which could survive, as an absolute monarchy could not, the period of new democracy was period of considerable political activity. Three political orientations began to develop during this period, leftists, Islamic fundamentalists and western liberals largely oriented towards social democracy. The new constitution came into operation in 1965 following Afghanistan’s first election. Although, the election was not on party basis but it provided opportunities to the political leaders to participate in election independently. The election campaign gave encouraging results to the progressive and leftist organizations, as the election remained largely confined to intellectuals and city dwellers.

The PDPA, founded by Noor Mohammad Tarakai, was strongly influenced by that of Soviet Communist Party. Its leading lights were Noor Mohammad Tarakai, Babrak Karmal and Hafeezullah Amin. They performed their role in promoting their influence on the important State institutions. The PDPA had an attractive campaign for the support of their members for Loya Jirga, although, the party did not win much of the seats, only four members of the party namely,
Babrak Karmal, Dr.Anahita, Noor Ahmed Noor and Fezan ul Haq Fez an were elected while, Noor Mohamad Tarakai and Hafeezullah Amin lost the election, however, Amin was elected to the parliament in the 1969’s election. They all used their offices to express constant criticism of the structure and on the performance of the Government. This impact was multiplied by the lack of Party organization and discipline within the parliament, which permitted their tightly organized cell often to dominate debates. The PDPA considering that the parliamentary support to them was not so positive, consequently, they concentrated on publishing papers for the promotion of their ideas, the weekly magazine “Khalaq” edited by Noor Mohammad Tarakai, was the leading newspaper of PDPA, after two years PDPA was split in to two groups, the new group was led by Babrak Karmal and Dr.Anhita, now began editing a new paper, titled “PARCHAM”, The Flag, beside these two papers, some other newspapers like Afghan Millat named after the party edited by Ghulam Farhad, the Masawat, equality, managed by Maivandwal and the Shula e Javaid edited by Mahmoodi Brothers played an important role in mobilizing the people for the change in the government and above all the system of the country. But the government soon put ban on the newspapers and Journals, because, they have in some way offended the authorities.

The Islamic fundamentalists, whose original connection was with Al Azhar University in Egypt and with Qum (Iran), the religious center in Iran had established its strong support among the people living in rural areas of Afghanistan. The rise in Islamic fundamentalism in Afghanistan was in part a reaction to the leftists and nationalist groups. They were supported by Pakistan as large numbers of them fled to Pakistan including Gulbadin Hekmat Yar, Rabani, Ahmed Shah Mashood with so many others. With the help of Pakistani government during Zulfiqar Ali’s Government, they began a campaign of Insurrection against the Afghan Government. They were allowed to open offices, they army and Pakistani Jamiat e Islami also supported them. Saudi Arabia supported financially, Pakistan’s support was more strategically then ideological. Having putting ban on the newspapers and Journals, the leftist now changed their strategy too. The leftists had tried hard to recruit not just among the intellectuals but in the army, air force, police in to whose ranks they also infiltrated their own man, who later on, became the key player.
in ousting Dawood from Government. On July, 17, 1973, Sardar Mohammad Dawood Khan, the first cousin and brother in law of the King Zahir Shah and former Prime Minister from 1953 to 1973 came to power in a bloodless cope, while the king was out of the country with the support of leftists, mostly by Parcham led by Babrak Karmal on the directives of Russia. However, Noor Mohammad Taraki refused to obey the Moscow directives to support the cope in which Dawood overthrew the monarchy.  

In such circumstances, the PDPA was split and two factions became open, one known as Khalaq, of Noor Mohamad Tarakai, mostly Pashtoon dominated and the other Parcham, Flag, of Babrak Karmal largely Persian speaking Tajiks. The expectation of the people particularly of his left wing parcham could not be accomplished by the Dawood. The Republican proved neither radical nor particularly Soviet oriented. Dawood, once coming on the throne reversed all the measures, constitutional changes made earlier. He abrogated the 1964’s constitution and dissolved the Loya Jirga canceling the next election due in 1974. In the end of 1976, Dawood found his own political party known as the National Republican Party. The reason was to legitimize his authority by constitutional means. He asked all other existing political groups including the Parcham to merge into national Republican Party of his own in order to make it a strong political organ. In 1977, Dawood framed a new constitution; it was only to serve the interests of Dawood’s regime.

Soon the difference emerged between Dawood and Parcham. In 1975, Dawood began to purge the Parchamis and other progressive minded political organizations and the people from the army and from other key positions bureaucracy and he is reputed to engineer the assassination of half dozen prominent leftists and began also to show soft corner to religious leaders, by 1977, he had not only begun to modify his hard line stance on the question of Pashtoonistan with Pakistan and also arranged an exchange of State visit to Pakistan. This antagonized the members of the People Democratic Party of Afghanistan whom he had used as the political basis of his own team at the time of the cope of 1973. These were the enough points for split PDPA factions of Khalaq and Parcham to be re united to work to bring the Afghan Sour Revolution of 1978.

The immediate cause of Afghan Sour Revolution became the assassination of Mir Akbar Khyber, a well known PDPA leader on 17th, 1978. The funeral of Mir Akbar Khyber turned to a mass
demonstration against the ruling authority, which gave Dawood the excuse he needed to arrest the PDPA leader such as Noor Mohammad Tarkai, Hafeezullah Amin and Babrak Karmal. However, he made a mistake of leaving a number of other leaders and supporters of PDPA, who on 27th April, 1978, under the command of Colonel Abdul Qadir and Colonel Aslam Watan Jar, who were to become the heroes of the revolution, attacked Presidential palace at Kabul. Dawood himself was shut down in cold blood and his family members and close supporters were also killed. After this bloody event, Noor Mohammad Tarakai and other leaders were released and a new Democratic Republic of Afghanistan was established with the Khalaq faction in authority. Revolutionary Council with Noor Mohammad Tarakai as Chairman and also Premier was founded. Babrak Karmal and Hafeezullah Amin both became the Deputy Premier. With this began a new chapter in the history of Afghanistan ended with horrible results not only for Afghanistan but for whole the world. Afghanistan became a battle filed for global powers. The closes neighbors of Afghanistan such as Pakistan and Iran were to take active part in the war by a accomplishing their long awaited desires.

**Development in Iran in post-world wars**

The dramatic Iranian politics during the first decade of the 20th century were exceptionally turbulent. Not only were the Qajar Shahs which had ruled Iran since the late 18th century became weak and despotic but a movement of political liberation gained a hold on the intelligentsia and growing middle class. Forced by Masses, Mahmood Ali Shah granted a western style Constitution and a Parliament in 1906, when Mahmood Ali Shah repudiated the constitution in 1908, so he was forced to abrogate in favor of his minor son, Ahmed Shah, who restored the constitution. By that time the clouds of war were already gathering over Europe, when World War I broke out, the Shah of Iran, Ahmed, could not maintain Iran’s declared neutrality but in fact remained pro-Turkish.

Turkish, British and Russian troops were active inside Iran and German agents were successful in stirring tribal unrest. By the end of the war, the internal condition of Iran was chaotic, however, after the agreement of 1919, the British Government, whereby, British advisors were sent to recognize the Iranian army and to reform the economy. In February, 1921, Raza Khan, the Commander of Iranian division fighting the rebels in the north and young nationalist intellectual,
Zia uddin Tabatabai engineered a cop, marched towards the capital city of Tehran, overthrew the weak government of Iran. Reza Khan spent five years consolidating his position as a strong man ultimately deposed the last Qajar Shah in 1925 and crowned himself as the first Pahlavi Shah in early 1926. Having first set out to pacify the country's external affairs, he turned into internal reforms which included the secularization of the legal system, education and bureaucracy, the centralization of the administration, creation of disciplined army and focused on the development of agriculture and expansion of the home industry. He even changed the Hellenistic name of Persia to Iran, meaning Aryan in 1935. The changing of the name of the country to Iran was not liked by Afghanistan as Afghans claimed to be the Aryan.

In the field of law, Reza Shah introduced the French Judicial System challenging the reactionary religious establishment’s hold on the legal system through Islamic law. Perhaps more deleterious were his dealing with the clergy and their traditional followers, who made the bulk of population. In trying to secularize and modernize society, women were no longer obliged to wear the veil after 1936 AD. His strong policy of westernization and close identification with a western power (the Germany) and his other reforms were advance enough which led religious fundamentalists to consider him a puppet of the West and in such a way the seeds of Islamic revolutionary groups were put, which in a future had a great impact in bringing revolutionary change in the country.

His close relations with Germany, who before World War II had provided Iranian with great power alternative to British and Russians, ultimately led to his downfall, by the out break of the World War II, Germany had acquitted considerable commercial and political influence in Iran. On the out break of World War II, although, Iran declared its neutrality, but there were a large number of German available in Iran. For the allies, Iran was the only practical route of re-supply which could be utilized against them, thus, when refused to accede to allied demands to expel German expatriate in 1941 AD, so on 26th August 1941 AD, Iran was invaded by allied forces, Consequently, Reza Shah was compelled to abdicate in favor of his son Muhammad Reza on 16th September 1941 AD. For Iran, the abdication required a total re-assessment of its foreign relations. At the end of the 2nd World War, Iran turned to the United States, who joined World
War II against Germany in 1942 AD, and played an important role in defeating Germany, for the rest of Muhammad Reza Shah’s reign, the United States remained his foremost ally. The United States and the Soviet Union became the two Super Powers of the post World War - II era. Each had its ideological mission (Capitalism versus Communism) with its networks of alliances in different countries. The impact of global politics could also be seen in post World War II’s Iran where the Islamic fundamentalist led by Shia clergy who have had significant influence, now was emerging as a strong political force in Iran, while at the same time a strong communist Tudeh Party which was prescribed but continued to exist underground.

Muhammad Reza Shah maintained a close relationship with United States, both regimes sharing a fear of opposition to the expansion of USSR. Leftist, nationalist and religious groups attacked Shah’s Government for violating the Iranian Constitution of 1906 AD, political corruption and the political oppression by the SAVAK (Secret Police).

In 1953, Mohammad Reza Shah weathered severe threats from Prime Minister Muhammad Mossadq, who was backed by Iranian nationalists and by religious forces. However, the Mussadeq Movement came to an inglorious end in August 1953, in a coup supported by the US. The Shah who had fled to Rome at the height of the coup came back to consolidate his power with the help of the military. Thus, foreign powers were involved in both the installation and restoration of the Shah Mohammad Reza Phalvi on Iran.

During the 1960s, the Shah launched his own reforms programme known as the white revolution in Jan, 1963, involving the re-distribution of lands, his own personally held lands to the nation through the Phalvi foundation. The Shah’s reforms programme was submitted to public referendum which included, land reforms, nationalizing forest lands, sale of equity in state own factories to the private sector to rise revenues for land reforms, provision for sharing with workers twenty (20%) percent the net profits of industrial establishment, emancipation of women and the vote for women and the creation of literacy corps. In 1967, the Shah’s long awaited crown nation took place, after crowning himself, he crowned Queen Farah, for the first time in history of Iran that a woman had been so honored. In such circumstance opposition to the regime of Shah began to mount. The most serious opposition came from the religious corner led
by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, the founder of the Iranian Islamic revolution who first came to political prominence in 1963 when he led opposition to the Shah’s performance of reforms of white revolution. Khomeini declared that the Shah had emblazoned the destruction of Islam in Iran and publicly denounced the Shah as a wretched miserable man. Khomeini was arrested on 4th June, 1963 and hundreds of supporters of Khomeini, who took the streets to demand his release, were killed. After his release, he continued his agitation against the Shah, condemning the regime close cooperation with Israel and its extension of diplomatic immunity to American government, in November 1964, Khomeini was re-arrested and sent into exile to Turkey from where he moved to Najaf in Iraq, the 2nd holiest site after Mecca for the Shia, finally to Paris where he remained for 14 years until the occurrence of revolution of 1979.

Apparently, a period of disaffected calm following in Iranian politics but actually nothing was going in favor of the Shah. In March 1975, the Shah dissatisfied with the current structure of party politics and wanting to weld together all those who supported the principles of his white revolution policy, and announced the formation of a single party system. The Iran National Resurgence Party (RASTAKHIS). It became not only the party, Iranians were permitted to belong to, but on the whole adult population was required to belong and pay dues. In 1976, the Shah Government angered pious Iranian Muslims by changing the first year of the Iranian solar calendar from the Islamic Hijri to the ascension to the throne by Cyrus the great “Iran jumped over night from the Muslim year 1355 A.D to the royalist year 2535 B.C.”.

In such circumstances where nothing was going in Shah’s favor, different political organizations came forward in opposition and to oust the Shah from the Government. The very first signs of opposition in 1977 came from Iranian constitutional liberals, this was a section of the population that was fairly secular and wanted the Shah to adhere to the Iranian Constitution of 1906. Various anti Shah Groups operated from out side Iran, mostly in London, Paris, Iraq and Turkey with the liberals, Marxists and Islamists ideas were sending speeches on audio cassettes to Iran. The Marxists including the communist TUDEH party of Iran was more zealous against Shah and few guerrilla organizations such as the Organization of Iranian People’s Fedai Guerrillas.
(OIPFG) and the Iranian People Fedai Guerrilla also aimed to defeat the Pahlavi regime by gorilla war.²⁸

However, that ultimately prevailed was that containing the core supporters of Ayatollah Khomeini, had all those groups whose aim was to oust Shah from the Government to replace the Shah’s regime, Khomeini developed the ideology of VELAYAT-E-FAQIH (Guardianship of the Jurist) as according to his ideology as Government in fact every one required, guardianship in the form of rule or supervision by the leading Islamic Jurist or Jurists. In October 1977 the mysterious death of Khomeini’s eldest son Mustafa in Najaf, touched off demonstrations by the supporters of Khomeini in Qum, Iran. The police opened fire, killing many people. The anti Shah religious leaders declare forty days of national mourning against the killing of protestors.²⁹ Violent 40 days incidents witnessed the death of hundreds of people, rioting and burning of public buildings. The Shah, in turn, had neither the heart nor the will for the massive crackdown. In August 1978, the crises in Iran were further deteriorated when a cinema in the city of Abadan was burnt down with 477 people locked inside. The outrage through out Iran was so tense that Shah responded by changing Prime Minister of Government, none of whom bore responsibility for political system. By October 1978, the Shah actively considering leaving the country.³⁰

Ayatollah Khomeini who was at that time in Paris, France insisted that the Shah had to go. In December 1978, extra ordinary demonstrations through out Iran were holding, calling for the removal of Shah, the return of Khomeini and the establishment of an Islamic republic. The Shah finally left on 16th January, 1979 in such a way the Pahlavi monarchy came to an end. Khomeini eventually flew back to Tehran on 1st February 1979 welcomed by millions of the people. On 1st April, 1979, the people of Iran in a referendum sanctioned the declaration of the “Islamic Republic of Iran, a draft constitution proposed that Iran be governed by a President, Prime Minister and a single chamber of Islamic Consultative Assembly (Majlis-e-Shura). The most important draft of the constitution was the provision of “Wale I- Faqih”, religious leaders whose extensive power secured for them most important executive influence in Iran.³¹

Thus, the two neighboring countries, Iran and Afghanistan had witnessed revolution almost in the same year. The monarchs in both the countries were ousted by replacing with revolutionary
government having different ideologies of their own. The ideology of the Iranian revolution can be summarized as populist, nationalist and most of all Shia Islamic. The Iranian revolution expresses itself in the language of Islam, that is to say, as a religious movement with a religious leadership, a religiously formulated critique of the old order and religiously expressed plan for the new era. While the Afghan revolution’s ideology was based on socialism. The transformation of society and substitution of new structures for old ones with the introduction of rapid reforms. The sour revolution of April 1978 proved to be a turning point in Afghan history since an attempt was made by the new holders of power to radically transform the nature of Afghan state. The capture of Afghan State power by urban based modernizing political elite including sections of the armed forces, with a particular ideological agenda for change led the international and specially the neighboring state to be practically involved in Afghanistan.

The unfortunate people and territory of Afghanistan was once again fallen in the war in which almost whole the World participated. The two super power US and USSR were confronting each other in the war. Both of them had a long line of states in their support. The neighboring countries, especially Iran and Pakistan with their vested interest have also played their active role in Afghan war.

The newly established revolutionary government of PDPA, in Afghanistan was to face a mix reaction of the Afghan people in reply to their reforms of PDPA Government. However, the response of the neighboring countries of Pakistan and Iran was totally against the Afghan revolution.

The relations between Iran and Afghanistan, which always remained in fluctuation and in problem, further deteriorated. Even before the arrival of Soviet troops, the Afghan Government faced first ever resistance in Heart, a city not far from Iranian border which affected the other such provinces bordered with Iran and Pakistan. The first indication that the opposition seriously threatens the Afghan regime came in Herat on March 22\textsuperscript{nd}, 1979, after the agitators sized the control of the city of Herat. Mobs hunted down all known Khalq, PDPA Officials, savage atrocities were committed. The insurgents maintained the control over the city for three days before armored and air force units re-took it in a bloody counter attack.\textsuperscript{32} Herat a typical of
Afghan cities with a strong Shia population was culturally oriented towards Iran. The PDPA Government conventionally blamed Iran for the uprising. The Afghan Government claimed that the disturbance had been started by Iranian provocateurs. The Afghan Sour Revolution of 1978 and the PDPA regime was not welcomed by Tehran. With the Islamic revolution of Iran, the pattern of Iran-Afghan relations developed further strains. The official media in both Iran and Afghanistan started blaming each other for alleged interference in their respective countries.\(^{33}\)

After Herat, opposition escalated in other parts of Afghanistan. Attacks were made on the other major towns of Pul-i-Khumri, Mazar-i-Sharif, Qandahar and Jalalabad. The immediate aftermath of the Herat uprising was a sweeping reorganization of the PDPA Government which brought Hafizullah Amin close to the effective control and became as the Prime Minister of the country on March 27th, 1979.\(^{34}\) The most serious long-term result of Herat incident was the marked change on the attitude of Soviet Union, who now increased all types of Soviet aid to Afghanistan, because Soviet was conscious about the suspicious role of USA and her allies in Afghanistan. Because it was observed that in Western Afghanistan, the counter revolutionary groups are active in the area of the Country which bordered on Iran and Pakistan, staged an anti-government uprising in Heart and Soviet also blamed Iran and other neighboring states for interference in Afghan affairs.\(^{35}\)

Noor Muhammad Taraki had a visit of Moscow in Sep, 1979 in which it was resolved to remove Amin from holding the authority and to pave the way for Babrak Karmal. However on his return, the internal conflict ended with the assassination of Noor Muhammad Taraki by Hafizullah Amin who now emerged as the Head of the State. Amin success came at the cost of rift with Soviet which ultimately could not be healed. Amin was not well trusted by Soviet and the Soviet authority suspected that Amin because of his background as he studied for years in US universities might be in the west pocket rater than Soviet and his sudden move to normalize relations with USA and Pakistan proved suicidal for him. This provided a best reason to replace him by Babrak Karmal.

Amin began his tenure by taking steps to rectify the situation but it was late enough because opposition to the revolutionary Government increased involving traditional minority
communities such as Shia of Hirat, Hrakat-i-Islami backed by Iran and since 1978 at least ten resistance organizations had established headquarters in Pakistan and Iran. These resistance organizations have competed for international support in order to acquire the military supplies necessary to carry out the war. With the end of Dec. 1979, resistance activity flared into unprecedented intensity, fighting spread nearly all provinces which were started in the March 1979 in Herat a city near the border of Iran.

Finding the situation out of control and the growing interference of Iran and Pakistan backed by US and other western powers. The Soviet Union chose to eliminate Amin and take over military control of Afghanistan.

On 27th Dec. 1979, the Soviet troops overpowered troops, loyal to Amin without major battle and Amin died fighting, Barak Karmal who had been living in Eastern Europe since the PDPA Government of Khalaq faction accused him of treason in 1978 was proclaimed President of Afghanistan in a regime now openly protected by Soviet troops. Thus Afghanistan entered in a very tragic and horrible phase of her history. The innocent and unfortunate people of the country are to face and witness undeclared wars of other on their soil. It was probably a unique war in the history of the world that almost whole the countries of the globe, particularly, the neighboring states in one or other way participated in the war for accomplishing their own interests. The cold war turned into the hot war on the territory of Afghanistan, which had already remained in a war like situation for centuries. With this new phase in Afghan history, all the states involved in the Afghan affairs including Iran were to shape their relations with changing atmosphere.

For the United States, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was an absolutely unacceptable assertion of Soviet military might, beyond the legitimate frontiers of the Soviet bloc. Afghanistan has turned out to be a watershed in Soviet-Americans Relations. The United States needed a string of friendly nations specially the support of neighboring countries of Afghanistan that would cooperate in the building of strategic consensus for the containment of Soviet power and influence. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan helped the United States to mobilize a large number of third world nations specially the Muslim world to stand against it. Under such tense circumstances in Afghanistan in the start of 1980,
almost millions Afghan had assembled in the border area of Pakistan and most of them were armed. The American and her western allies successfully convinced most of the countries in Middle Eastern Gulf and South Asian states that Soviet intervention in Afghanistan is a threat to Iran and Pakistan and indeed to entire American and western interests in the Persian Gulf region. There were no such military forces in the immediate area that could be capable of deterring any Soviet military action in Iran and Pakistan. United States decided to support the resistance groups already organized under the auspicious of Iran and Pakistan. United States made Pakistan a front line state for making the Afghan mujahedin ready to resist the Afghan Government as well as Russian troops. During the Presidentship of Ronald Reagan, USA offered a package of military and economic aid valued at $3.1 billion in six years plus F.16 aircrafts to Pakistan. The weapons as per agreement between USA and Pakistan were to be distributed under the direction of Pakistan’s Inter Service Intelligence (ISI) Directorate, easing restrictions on the trickle of arms coming through Pakistan and across the border into Afghanistan.

Iran reply and its relations with Afghanistan

The Soviet and Afghans were anxious to have Iran on their side or at least not to be hostile to them. The Soviet and Afghans leaders were somehow optimistic that the fall of Shah of Iran and his American-backed regime by the Islamic revolutionaries under the leadership of Ayatollah Khomeini would either support or remained neutral in the events happening in Afghanistan. Because the Afghan Sour Revolution was basically an anti-American while the Iranian revolution was also tending to be anti-American. But the reaction, came from the Iranian side could have been surprising for Soviet and Afghanistan. The Iranian Government did not welcome the Afghans revolution, particularly after the arrival of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, the patterns of Iran-Afghan relations developed strains, the Iranian government strongly condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and declared its determination to help Mujaheddin. Ayatollah Khomeini, who was the spiritual Head of Islamic revolution categorically, termed the Soviet move as brutal intervention by looters and occupiers and a threat to Iran.

Iran also hosted a huge number of Afghan refugees. The number of the refugees was next to Pakistan. Plus 1.5 million Afghan refugees arrived in Eastern Iran and they were accommodated
between Mashed and Zahedan. These refugees were living in heavily guarded camps and border crossing are restricted by Iran, in contrast to the Afghan-Pakistan border. Iran might have played role in Afghan war equally as Pakistan if not involved in war against Iraq (1980-88) but despite this, Iran supported mujahedeen, however, their support has remained mostly confined to Shia factions and also to some extent to Dari (Persian) speaking Afghans. Names of well-known pro-Iranian organizations were Asif Mohseni’s, a revolutionary leading, Harkat-I-Islam, and extreme Hazara Nasar party, also armed by the Khomeini regime. It draws its recruits from the young Hazaras living in Bamiyan, the central part of Afghanistan. The Shia clergy in Afghanistan have enjoyed revival because of the influence of Iran, which continued and further increased during the Afghan war. The clergy had close contact with Iranian teachers. The Nasar is pro-Khumoni organization set up in Iran and after Afghan Sour Revolution a number of activist groups originally founded at Kabul in the seventies were merged and united in a single organization known as Nasar. The Nasar gained its recruits amongst the Hazara community and were organized in Afghanistan on the basis of a certain amount of local support and received aid from Iran. About 1983, Sejah-yi-Pasdran (army of the guardians) was organized and encouraged by Iranian Pasdaran to control the Afghan Shia territory. This organization also received weapons from Iran and was joined by young Hazara living in Afghanistan.

In Herat, Islamic Society of Afghanistan under Ismail Khan used to be the largest resistance organization backed by Iran. Ismail Khan who during the time of the war had established a large and reasonably well run front against Afghan revolutionary Government and was able to mobilize around 5000 mujahedeen. Iran also provided some backing to Jamat-I-Islami led by Burhanuddin Rabbani and to Hizb-I-Islami of Gulbadin Hikmat Yar. Both were permitted to establish their offices in Iran.

The Shiite Harkat-I-Islami founded by Sheikh Assaf Mohsini Qandahari, a Pashto speaking, organized the Harkat and made it militarily very effective with a pivotal role in the resistance movement. The movement had hold in the areas of Hazarajat but its members were also active in resistance in the South of Mazar-I-Sharif, West of Kabul at Paghman and also in the suburbs of Qandahar. It had good relations with Iran and was supported by Iran.
and its border areas, Shia resistance is insignificant, nevertheless, especially, at the Iranian frontiers, all along the frontier between Iran and Afghanistan. There were number of small Shia groups which had links with Pro-Khomeini groups in Iran’s Sistan Province. Most of the Shia at Nimruz, in Afghanistan used to receive adequate supplies from Iran. The Shia groups supported by Iran, fought against the Afghan Government in such way that they have made their political existence felt.44

Iran during the course of Afghan war made very open statements supporting the resistance groups. Iran also allowed many resistance groups, mostly Shia to open their office in Iran and provided material aid to those Shia groups who have adopted Khumani line. Around 1.5 million Afghan refugees were in Iran but with much closer surveillance by the police then their brethren in Pakistan. Iran would have played more active role in Afghan war if not involved in a war with Iraq and secondly, as America was leading the war in Afghanistan, so Iran due to American presence and her leading role was little bit reluctant to make her support open to all Afghans. So the Iranian authority categorized its involvement in Afghan war with following three phases. First, it supports the Shia community as a whole, secondly, it limits its support to those groups which recognized the leadership of Khomeini and finally it focused only on those who will allow themselves to be absorbed into the Iranian Pasdaran organization.

Iran didn’t try to control the whole of Afghan resistance movement but was quite ready to send delegations of PASDARAN, generally to the Shia in order to set up Afghan PASDARAN with the goal to strengthen its control over the Shia minorities and to use them as pawns in its policy of regional expansion.45

**United Nations Led Diplomatic Efforts**

The Afghan revolutionary Government and the Soviet troops present in Afghanistan were given very tough time by the US led alliance. There was all around attack on Afghanistan, engulfing the entire Afghanistan in a civil war fuelled by internal and external factors. The Afghan territory was surrounded by Iran, Pakistan and China; all these three countries were directly involved in the Afghan war. They with the support of global allies aided, trained and projected the resistance groups to fight in Afghanistan depriving the revolutionary Government of Afghanistan of its control over the centralized means of violence and legitimacy over most of its territory. Along
with the tragic events occurring in Afghanistan, the process of dialogue and the diplomatic efforts through UN were also in progress to resolve the Afghan issue, more importantly to put pressure on the Soviet to withdraw their troops from Afghanistan. The invasion by the Soviet troops in Afghanistan and its withdrawal from the Country was a major challenge to UN. The UN soon after the invasion of USSR in Afghanistan realized the importance and its far-reaching impacts on the regional and global politics. So on 5th January, 1980, the Security Council of UN forwarded a resolution vetoed by Russia but was passed by UN General Assembly Resolution on the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security, reaffirming the purpose and principles of the charter of the United Nations and the obligation of all states to refrain in their international relations from the threat of use of force against the sovereignty, territorial and political independence of any state, gravely concerned at the continuing foreign armed intervention in Afghanistan and deeply concerned at the increasing outflow of refugees from Afghanistan and also calls for the immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan.46

The Secretary General office empowered by UN General Assembly for seeking the political settlement of Afghan issue carried its efforts. In late 1981, Perez De Culler, the Security General of UN appointed Diego Curdovez as his Personal representative on Afghanistan for settling the Afghan problem politically. It was difficult enough to take all the stake holders on the board, initially Afghanistan focused on direct talks, bilateral agreements with Pakistan on non-interference bases and international guarantee limited on non-interference for the Pakistan, their non-recognition of the Kabul government formally tied to the OIC position, ruled out the signing of a bilateral agreement. Moreover, for Pakistan, the return of the refugees was linked to Soviet withdrawal while the Afghan position linked withdrawal to stoppage of out side mainly Pakistan’s interference. For the Afghan side, interference was the starting point of the entire issue and cessation of interference is a key to normalization of the situation as well as to a decision on withdrawal of Russian troops. Afghanistan dwelt at length on alleged instances of Pakistan’s sponsored activities to overthrow the Kabul regime with the support of USA, China, Saudi Arabia, Iran and others. Afghan side demanded that the items on non-interference should be
taken first for consideration and also proposed specific measures for acceptance by the Pakistan side. The list of measures proposed by Afghan Government included closure of camps and bases for Afghan resistance groups in Pakistan, restriction on freedom of movement on Afghan mujahedeen leaders in Pakistan, termination of supply of arms to Afghan Mujahedeen.\textsuperscript{47} It is very surprising to see that even after many changes occurred in Afghanistan, today again the same question of interference from Pakistani side in Afghanistan is raised by present Afghan Government. This time Afghan Government is not alone in raising the issue of interference but USA and other forces including NATO have also raised the issue with solid proofs and have asked Pakistan to play fair game for the settlement of Afghan problems.

For US negotiations had less value as she was in winning position in Afghanistan. For Iran, Negotiations without the participation of Afghan mujahedeen were fruitless.\textsuperscript{48} However, the UN representative Diego Cardovez remained successful after a lengthy and long talk at Geneva, which started in Jun 1982 and finally on April 14\textsuperscript{th}, 1988, the Geneva accords were signed.

The first round of Geneva talks was held during June 16-24\textsuperscript{th}, 1982, where an understanding was reached on the scope and content of a comprehensive settlement and in the second round held in April-June 1983, it was acknowledged that the final settlement would be integrated when all four elements had agreed upon. In the third round held in Aug. 1984, Pakistan agreed the provision concerning non-interference in the form of bilateral agreement.\textsuperscript{49} In the next three rounds of talks which were held during June 22\textsuperscript{nd} to Dec. 19\textsuperscript{th}, 1985, an understanding was developed relating to non-intervention/non-interference and the procedure for the return of refugees was finalized. The 7\textsuperscript{th} round of talks held after two years and during this period three important developments took place. Firstly, the year 1986 brought forth increasing signs of Soviet difficulties in Afghanistan and Soviet desire for a political development. The most significant indication came in Gorbachev’s famous statement to the 27\textsuperscript{th} Soviet communist Party congress on 26\textsuperscript{th} Feb.1986, describing Afghanistan as a “bleeding wound” and announced the Soviet forces back to their home land. Secondly, Kabul finally dropped its insistence on direct talks and agreed to the finalization of the talks on the existing procedure.\textsuperscript{50} Thirdly, the change of the governments took place in all three states. I.e. Gorbachev became head of the state in Russia, Dr. Najeebullah
succeeded Babrak and Muhammad Khan Junejo became as Prime Minister of Pakistan. In the 7th round an agreement reached for the time table for the withdrawal of Soviet troops. Finally, Geneva accords were signed on 14th April, 1988 by the representative of Afghanistan and Pakistan in witness with guarantee of USSR and USA.

The Geneva accords of 14th April, 1988 was to came in to force on 15th May, 1988 with the agreement on interrelationship for settlement of situation relating to Afghanistan, including time frame for Soviet withdrawal which would be completed within nine months. Bilateral agreement between Afghanistan and Pakistan on principles of mutual relations in particular on non-interference and non-intervention, declaration on international guarantees of USSR and USA and bilateral agreement between Afghanistan and Pakistan on the voluntary return of Afghan refugees both from Pakistan and Iran.51

Iran, who could not play an active role in the process of Geneva accords due to its stance that any process of bringing change in Afghanistan can not be successful until the Afghans mujaheedin who are Physically involved in the war are not taken in the process as a party, secondly Iran’s involvement in the war against Iraq was also one of the main reason for not concentrating in the process of Geneva accords. However, Kabul and Soviet demanded for involving Iran as a party to the Geneva process and Securing its commitment to the provision of non-interference. Actually, both Afghanistan and Soviet were too much conscious about the post withdrawal period in Afghanistan. From early 1985 Iran began to figure as one of the major concerns expressed by the Afghanistan and Soviet to the Geneva negotiations and the issue was raised with considerable seriousness accusing Tehran of adopting an aggressive position and of receiving counter-revolutionary Afghan rebels.52 The Afghan Government even proposed that Afghanistan agrees to withdrawal of one third Soviet contingent initially while withdrawal of the remaining two third to be withheld, until Iran had endorsed the settlement but Iran showed zero intentions of associating herself with the process of Geneva without the participation of mujaheedin. However Iran maintained a strong policy of demanding Soviet withdrawal and establishment of an Islamic Government by the mujaheedin.53
Post Geneva Accords Afghanistan

The Geneva accords signed on 14th April, 1988 by Pakistan and Afghanistan as high contradicting parties under the auspices of UN and internationally guaranteed by USSR and USA had for reaching impacts not only on the politics of Afghanistan but also on global politics. In other words it can be said that Geneva accords remained the basic cause for changing of balance of power in world politics and making the world a uni-powered.

The Geneva accords which could prove successful had a number of reasons for its failure. First of all, the Afghan mujahedeen who although were fighting on the instigation and financial support of US led alliance mainly stationed in Pakistan and Iran, were fully ignored in the process of Geneva accords.

Iran who had a larger influence on the mujahedeen mainly on Shia sect was also not included in the process. Although the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan was completed by 15th Feb.1989, but no mention in the Geneva accords that who would control the wounded Afghanistan, where still a good number of resistance groups exist in and out side of Afghanistan backed by neighboring countries of Pakistan, Iran and influenced by Saudi Arabia. The UN or any other neutral countries should have been given the task for disarming the several Afghan groups supported either by Iran or Pakistan and Afghanistan should have been given in the mandate of UN for several years, so that the complexion of the conflict which later on aroused in Afghanistan could have been avoided. UN and US with her allies of western countries had by this time virtually dropped Afghanistan from their agenda, leaving the country on disposal of Pakistan, Iran and Saudi which eventually brought drastic results for whole the world. Factors inhibiting the emergence of a political consensus within the resistance groups and Dr. Najeebullah’s ruling Junta have been compounded mainly by figures within Pakistani body politics and the deepening shadow of Iranian-Saudi rivalry on the Afghan conflict.

Pakistan, who had critical influence on the leaders and parties of Afghan mujahedeen, was pushing its agenda to install such a Government which should be friendly and influenced by Pakistan. The major mujahedeen groups based in Pakistan, formed a Seven party alliance were

1. Hizb-e-Islami of Hikmat Yar,

2. Hezb-I-Islami of Younis Khalis,
3. Jamiet-e-Islami of Rabbani,
4. Ithad-e-Islami of Sayyaf,
5. Harkat-e-Inqalab of Nabi,
6. Muha-e-Milli of Gillani and
On the other side Iran had also several mujahedin groups who were in total of eight. Which were united under an alliance of Islamic Coalition Council of Afghanistan on their soil, seeking for the security of Shia and reasonable position in the central Government of Afghanistan.\(^{54}\)

Dr. Najeebullah, the President of Afghanistan after the Soviet withdrawal offered national reconciliation for establishing an inter-Afghan dialogue for power sharing, combined with the ceasefire or the creation of peace zones but the proposal was rejected by the Seven party alliance of Afghan Mujahedin base in Pakistan while Government of Pakistan was only ready to give a push to such proposals provided Najeebullah was to be removed. Najeebullah hinted out his willingness to resign if necessary as a result of the process for National reconciliation.\(^{55}\) But Pakistan did not accept the Najeeb’s proposals and convened a Shura of Afghan mujahedin in Pakistan which was held form 10-24 Feb.1989. The aim of convening of the Shura was to establish Afghan Interim Government and subsequent military offensive against Afghan army in Jalalabad. Najeebullah announced yet another peace initiatives at highly publicized Loya Jirga convened in Kabul on 20-21 May, 1989. He proposed setting up a mediation commission of the Loya Jirga to contact the mujahedin to pave the way for country wide peace conference. This conference would elect a “leading council” which could act as a broad based Government to oversee a ceasefire and drafting a new constitution and thereafter organize elections for a new parliament.\(^{56}\) But Najeebullah’s this proposal was again rejected by Afghan Mujahedin’s alliance based in Pakistan and by the Government of Pakistan.

The Sura of mujahedin in Pakistan faced acute flaw in its composition due to the absence of Iran based Shia mujahedin parties. Before holding the Shura, Prof. Sabgatullah Mujadadi, at that time the spokesman of Pakistan’s based Islamic alliance of Afghan mujahedin traveled Iran after securing a promise from the Iranian Foreign Minister, Akal Ali Vellayati to discuss the
matter with Iran based mujahedeen under the leadership of Karim Khalili, a well known Shia Afghan mujahedeen leader. They both agreed to an understanding under which Shia representative would secure 100 out of 519 seats of Shura with Seven ministers in the Afghan Interim Government but this agreement was not acceptable to the Pakistani based mujahedeen as it was repudiated by the Council of alliance on mujahedeen return. The Shia mujahedeen were offered only 70 seats and two ministers in Afghan Interim Government which the Shia alliance based in Iran, refused to take. In return, the Iran based group decided to boycott from the session of SHURA in Islamabad on the basis that the Shia representation in the Shura and in proposed Afghan Interim Government is too less, and in such a way it also widened the gape with Iran as Mujadadi, during his visit to Tehran, which was arranged by Iranian foreign minister, Akbar Velayati, promised for proper representation.

Politically, the Afghanistan Interim Government (AIG) suffered from lack of political direction from its very inception. The suspicious role played by ISI of Pakistan (Inter Service Intelligence) which was seen to be backing the fundamentalists, exacerbated resentment among other groups excluded from the Afghan Interim Government, damaging the AIG’s credibility. The ISI has also been widely accused of playing favorites, furthermore, the new AIG failed to associate, in an institutional relationship, the other major resistance groups namely the mujahedeen commanders from inside Afghanistan, the tribal elders and the local Afghan émigrés. Thus AIG remained largely restricted to the Peshawar groups and distribution of important portfolios among the seven leaders disowned even pretension of broad representation.

Thus the Afghanistan Interim Government in its beginning lost its credibility and support of the Afghans in all over the country. The AIG was basically a brain child of Pakistan’s ISI and of Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia in particular appeared determined to exclude Iran as a significant actor in Afghan situation. The crises over the Iran based Shia representation paralyzed the Shura and the scope of AIG. Moreover, the Afghan venue was also necessary for the recognition of AIG as the AIG was formed in Pakistan, having no Secretariat in Afghanistan. Militarily, the test of AIG and its constituent resistance groups came soon as pressure built on it to establish foot hold inside Afghanistan, so, the Jalalabad offensive was planed with the support of ISI in March-
April 1989, but the Afghan army fought well and defeated the ISI and AIG’s force in Jalalabad and in Sept.1989, the Khost was attacked but Afghan again remained successful in defending its territory. The feature of the Khost offensive once again highlighted the political weakness of the AIG and the continuing disarray in mujahedeen ranks and world wide, the resistance no longer attracts the same support as before.\(^{58}\)

Iran’s position during post withdrawal period was precarious on one hand it was generally supportive to mujahideen’s objectives but on the other hand its concern was to boost the position of Shia element in any future settlement in Afghanistan.

Although in the beginning after the withdrawal of Soviet troops, the Mujaheedin were defeated both in Jalalabad and Khost by Dr. Najeeb’s forces but their position later on were strengthened against the Najeeb’s forces. They carried on their attacks on Kabul, actually success in Kabul was rather due to the defection of Afghan General Shah Nawaz Tanai and Rashid Dostum in Feb. 1992 against the Najeeb’s regime which made Kabul more vulnerable to mujaheedin attacks. Shah Nawaz Tanai, the former Defense Minister joined Hikmatyar forces and later on shifted to Pakistan. Soon after the defections of Dostum and Shah Nawaz Tanay, Ahmed Shah Masood captured Bagram Air Base, an important military installation from which two important garrisons arrived to Kabul.\(^{59}\) In such prevailing circumstances Dr. Najeebullah could not survive and announced on 18\(^{th}\) March, 1992 his intention to resign in favor of a neutral interim administration. Dr. Najeebullah resigned on April 1992 and sought refuge in the UN office in Kabul.\(^{60}\) Najeebullah’s resignations and the capture of the Capital by forces of Tajik dominated Jamiat-I-Islmi under Burhanuddin Rabbani and Commander Ahmed Shah Masood’s leadership with the assistance of General Dostum’s militia resulted in the final collapse of the state authority.

Since 1992, several internal and external factors have contributed to the continuation of the civil war in Afghanistan. In the internal context, resisting divisions along regional ethnic sectarian and linguistic lines were the most crucial one while these internal division with Afghan society were further exacerbated by external factors such as the support for particular majority and minority groups by regional actors, including Iranian support along sectarian lines for the pro-Iranian
faction Pakistan’s advocacy of particulars Pashtoon actors and the newly independent Central Asian republics preference for Uzbeks and Tajiks while the Saudi’s backed the more orthodox Sunni Pashtoon elements.61

Political alliance building within and outside Afghan territory didn’t, however, consistently reflect ethnic, territorial or sectarian when opportunities for capturing, retaining or consolidating State power presented themselves.62 Islamabad sponsored negotiations for a constituted Central authority led for example to the signing of Peshawar accords on 26th April, 1992 between Tajik leaderships and a number of Pashtoon dominated parties, according to which Sibghatullah Mujadadi of Jahha-I-Nijat-I-Milli was to be appointed acting President to be replaced after two months by Burhanuddin Rabbani who would hold power for four months. Thereafter, elections would be held for a Shura to form an Interim Government for eighteen months which would then hold National election. On 28th April, 1992, the Peshawar based leadership formed the two months Interim administration in Kabul after which Prof. Burhanuddin Rabbani replaced Mujadadi as President, who was dominated and influenced by Northern alliance of Tajik commander Ahmed Shah Masood, Uzbek General Abdul Rashid Dostum, Ismaili Shia commanders, Jaffar Nadei and Hizb Wahdat of Ali Mazari. The alliance members had close relations with Iran. The dominance of alliance representative in Rabbani regime gave Iran an opportunity to influence the process of policy formulation. Soon after the formation of Rabbani Government, Pakistan realized that Iran had played a major role in the formation and success of Northern Alliance whose dominance in Rabbani administration had tremendously increased Iranian influence in Afghanistan. The Hazara community was also adjusted with three ministerial portfolios, eight seats in Jihad Council and one seat in leadership Council.63

Since Pakistan was not happy with the growing influence of Iran on the Afghan affairs. So, Hikmatyar was encouraged to launch an attack on the Kabul leading to a temporary extension of Rabain’s four months term until conditions were conducive to constitute the Shura. Rabbani did in fact create s Shura which extended his term as President for two years leading once again to a statement in the moves to frame a viable and representative political structure to govern Afghanistan.64 This transitional mechanism proved both short lived and unrepresentative due to
the internal competition and external involvement. Yet another Pakistani attempt through Islamabad accord of the 7th March 1993 to create a workable interim structure in Afghanistan. The leaders then even paid a visit to Saudi Arabia where they made the pilgrimage to Mecca and took an oath to adhere to the agreement but this oath had little effect and it was also to fall for the same reasons as the Peshawar accord.

Through this accord, Rabbani was given an extension in office until June 1994 and during his tenure National elections was to be held for a Constituent Assembly which would create a constitution and hold Parliamentary Election but the alliance began to unravel due to a resumption of conflict between its signatories. Although the Shia parties had been included in the accord but this time no power sharing role was provided to Dostum, which increased tensions between the Uzbek leader and the President Rabbani. So, Dostum formed an alliance with Hikmatyar in January 1994 against the Rabbani Government and thus both started combine attack on Kabul which resulted in killing of hundreds of people and led once again to an exodus of refugees into Pakistani territory. The direction of the conflict continued to be dictated by the internal contradictions in Afghan society and specially the divergent interest of regional states in particular Iran and Pakistan both wish to install a kind of Government in Afghanistan who should be more amenable to their interests.

In such critical circumstance innocent Afghan people completely unaware about their future who were never taken in confidence most importantly their views and say were never gauged to decide about their future were once again not only intentionally ignored by International community. They were thrown in the hands of neighboring countries, particularly Pakistan who already shaped a plan with the new faces of old players known to the world as Taliban’s. Now with the support of Saudis Arabs state and non-state actors. This strategy was given practical shape in hurry bringing tragic result not only for wounded Afghanistan but even for the whole world.
CHAPTER FIVE

THE EMERGENCE OF TALIBAN AND IRANIAN REACTION

Afghanistan, a Country with its alarming and tragic history has most of the time remained in very difficult time, mainly due to the involvement of regional and global powers in shaping the affaires of the Country suitable for securing their own interests. The post Afghan Sour revolution period experienced such external involvement in a large extent which further increased the internal conflicts among different communities living in Afghanistan.

There had been great hopes when the Soviet troops withdrew and Dr. Najeeb resigned in April 1992, that a broad based Afghan Government would be established and that there would be at least peace after years of conflicts. But period after the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, and after resignation of Dr. Najeebullah, can be considered the most unfortunate one because of the rigid attitudes of the Mujahedin who characterized themselves by a total inability to agree between themselves on any lasting political settlement and their readiness to neighboring countries, especially Pakistan and Iran to fight each other at the slightest provocation underlying their persistent divisions were not only clashes of personal ambition, but also ethnic, tribal and religious antipathies. Over the year following the Mujahedin take over, it was estimated that some 30,000 people had been killed and possibly 100,000 wounded and many more left the country for exile.1

Origin of Taliban

As for as the origin of Taliban is concerned that whether it was an indigenous movement or foreign backed, the circumstances were made fully ready for such movement to be emerged in Afghanistan. Taliban spokesman Mullah Wakil Ahmad in October 1996 gave the following reasons for the emergence of Taliban. That after the resignation of Najeebullah the Afghan Mujahedin came to power in 1992, the Afghan people thought that peace would prevail in the country; however, the leaders began to fight over power in Kabul, some local leaders, in al over Afghanistan, particularly in Qandahar, formed armed groups that fought each other. There was wide spread corruption and theft and there were road blocks everywhere, women were being attacked, rapes became common killings were often. Therefore, after these incidents, a group of
students from religious schools decided to rise against these leaders in order to alleviate the sufferings of the residents of Qandahar Province.²

However, the failure of Mujahedeen Government, and their division and intensive fighting with each other could be traced with divergent interests of the external factors who wanted to secure and enhance their interests in Afghanistan. By early 1994, it became evident that Burhanuddin Rabbani regime was not very friendly to Pakistan, so Pakistan, therefore, looking for alternatives in Afghanistan.³ Pakistan such initiatives was not liked by Iran as she considered Pakistan’s motives in Afghanistan a threat for sabotaging Iran’s interest in Afghanistan, including the welfare of its Shiite population. This was clearly expressed during Benazir Bhutto visit to Iran in November 1995. The Iranian President Rafsanjani warned her that if Islamabad were to pursue its policy of installing a client Government in Kabul, Tehran might go to force and to exercise a military option to resolve the issue⁴, but Pakistani Government ignored the Iranian threat, probably Pakistan did not want to waste its everlasting efforts played as frontline State in the Afghan war. The Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) of Pakistan had enough links in Afghan Mujahedeen, who could replace the Rabbani regime. A prime mover in it was the then Pakistani Interior Minister, General (Retd.) Naseerullah Babar, who seems to have decided that irrespective of any views that the Rabbani regime might have, he should open up an over land trade route to Central Asia, which following the Soviet departure, had become a major objective of Pakistan policy.

General Nasserullah Babar’s Southern route project required the cooperation of the Herati administration of Governor Ismail Khan. Babar visited Heart in September 1994 with some six ambassadors of Western countries; to secure Ismail Khan’s assistance in return for economic and political gains he could obtain through the opening of the Southern route. This was followed by Benazir Bhutto, the Prime Minister of Pakistan’s visit to Ashakabad, Turkmenistan, where she met with General Rasheed Dostum and Ismail khan, and secures their cooperation.⁵ On 29th October 1994, Nasserullah Babar led a Convoy of thirty trucks of National Logistic Cell (NLC) from Quetta to Afghanistan guarded by Taliban fighters across the borders towered Qandahar. The convoy was accompanied by 80 military personnel of Pakistan, Colonel Imam, an ISI Field
Officer in South Afghanistan, who is considered to be the real founder of Taliban was with the convoy along with Taliban Commander Mullah Borjan and Mullah Turabi. When there way was blocked by Afghan commanders Amir Lallay, Mansoor Achakzai and Ustad Haleem, the Taliban commander proceeded to deal with the Militia responsible for blocking the convoy and went on immediately to seize Qandahar and subsequent conquest of Helmand, which to their own surprise and of that everyone else, they took in a matter of days and in minor casualties.\textsuperscript{6}

Thus the ruling period of Taliban started in Afghanistan who in very short period of time fulfilled occupation of major cities of Afghanistan including Kabul. A Pakistani back was therefore evident at the outset of the Taliban’s emergence, and despite their denial, their complicity in Taliban’s subsequent success is also beyond any reasonable doubt. However, the most common and reported story made public by Taliban or by their supporters regarding the emergence of Taliban is that Taliban emerged from amongst the disgruntled young Afghan refugees studying in Deeni Madrassas around Quetta and Peshawar. The Taliban first came as a force under the leadership of Mullah Omar, when in spring of 1994, war lord commanders abducted teenage girls and were raped repeatedly, and 30 Taliban freed the girls and hanged the commander from the Tank. Following this incident, two war lords’ commanders killed civilians while fighting for the right to take the young boy to marry him. The Taliban freed the boy and punished the war lords. Later on the people of the area requested to Mullah Omar to free them from the atrocities of local war lords and commanders.\textsuperscript{7}

Behind the scene, somewhat passive US acquiescence in an eventual Taliban’s takeover, experienced by its Pakistani and Saudi allies, laid the UNOCAL game plan. UNOCAL was a consortium of US oil companies formed to explore the hydrocarbon reserves of Central Asia. UNOCAL staff acted for a time as an unofficial lobby for the Taliban and was regularly briefed by the CIA and Pakistani ISI. In the US eyes the most important function of the Taliban would have been to provide security for the roads and potentially for the Gas and Oil pipelines that would link the Central Asian states to the international market through Afghanistan rather than Iran,\textsuperscript{8} even the US Secretary of State for South Asian affairs, Robin Raphael, went so far as to state that, the Taliban capture of Kabul was a positive step but later on US policy took a fresh
direction with the appointment of Madeleine Albright as Secretary of State in early 1997, clarified that the Washington objective in Afghanistan was an Afghan Government that is multi-ethnic broad based and that observes International norms of behaviour.\(^9\)

The heavy Pakistani involvement in arming, training and even providing logistical support to Taliban field operations was no secret to informed observers as early as 1995. The generous Saudi funding was also well known. The chief influence on the ideological make up of the Taliban was by both the factions of Jamiat-Ulema-Islam (JUI) of Maulana Fazle-Rahman and Molvi Sami-ul-Haq, which run the network of Madrassas in Pakistan. Maulana Fazl-ur-rahman established close links with the Army, the ISI, and his party was to become the most vocal advocate for Taliban in Pakistan after this appearance on the Afghan scene and mobilizing financial and other assistance to Taliban. The religious Madrassas were and still basically the recruitment centres for the Taliban. Thousands of the students in Pakistani Madrassas used to be sent there in Afghanistan for participating in war for Taliban.

The Taliban movement begun and largely remained a military organization, composed initially of students’ volunteers and defectors from the Mujahedin and war lords Militias and later enlarged by conscription. The Taliban standing army had never numbered more than 25,000 to 30,000 fighters, although this would have been increased before new offensives, such as those that led to the capture of Kabul in 1996 and Mazar-i-Sharif in 1998. Madrassa students from Pakistan, who by 1999 had made up some 30 percent of the Taliban military men power.\(^10\)

The Taliban thus had social and ideological links to institutional elements within Pakistani society that provided much support during their rise to power. They also had sources of support in Pakistan that lay outside the official structure of the Government and the military and from agencies such as ISI and unlike the Mujahedin of the Afghan resistance during the 1990s, whose likes with Pakistan were exclusively with the ISI and Peshawar based Afghan parties. For Taliban links were developed with Madrassas, who had an extensive campaign not only for increasing the strength of Taliban but also for collecting funds for Taliban.

The important sources for financing the Taliban movement were the private commercial truckers and transporters in the two border provinces who had developed a thriving business after the
departure of Soviet troops, moving food and other commodities to needy Afghan cities and smuggling contraband on their return trips. The Taliban would receive fee of $ 150 (6,000 rupees) on a single truck. These levies become one of the financial sources of revenue for Taliban. They become more important when the Taliban imposed taxes both on poppy production and on the transport of opium and heroin.\textsuperscript{11} The production of the poppy as well as the production of its derivatives, had been outlawed by Afghan Government before 1978. But situation changed after the Afghan Saur revolution, the poppy cultivation increased in the areas close to Pakistani borders. In the ensuing of civil war, after the withdrawal of Soviet troops, the drug trade serves to finance the war lords and during the reign of Taliban it became a major activity when the Taliban extended their control over the country. It gave a clear boost to the agricultural economy based on poppy cultivation. Opium production in Pakistan reached 4,600 tones in 1999, 97 percent crop was produced in Taliban controlled areas. In 1999 opium harvest had an estimated value of some $ 183 million. Farmers paid usher an Islamic agricultural tax of 10 percent to local Taliban commanders and Mullahs. Taliban also imposed a separate tax of 20 percent on drug dealers, transporters and refining laboratories in the name of Zakat but this went directly into the Taliban war chest. These taxes were an essential source of income for the Taliban. The business had grown to Rs. 150 billion (Pakistani Currency) in 1996-97. Poppy growing becomes the favorable crop.\textsuperscript{12}

The Taliban help provided a golden opportunity to international drug peddlers for enhancing heroin smuggling. The mafia kept the Taliban happy by giving them huge amount for looking after their administrative affairs,\textsuperscript{13} however, Taliban did not seem to be interested in assuming the responsibilities of Government for providing day to day facilities to the masses, they were remarkably effective in exercising the monopoly on the use of force. When the Taliban captured Kabul in September 1996, the Governmental infrastructure of institutions and municipalities functioning chiefly at the lower administrative levels collapsed, their subsequent replacement of senior bureaucrats with inexperienced one resulted in ceasing the different departments from effectively functions. Their exclusion of teachers especially women from employment also meant that schools ceased to operate. Their genders policies likewise surely affected the health services
as the Taliban barred all women from attending general hospitals, schools and in other such departments of government or non government. The Taliban way of ruling in Afghanistan was not only unique but was difficult to understand and not easy to handle. Their implacable rule was based on old traditional values. Their rigid policies became the cause of their isolation from the rest of the world; even the only three states namely Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emeritus, who recognized Taliban Government, could not convince the rest of the states to recognize Taliban Government.

The isolation of Taliban Government from the rest of the world and its de-reorganization from states other than three, and UN and OIC refused to accept Taliban as the legitimate Governing body of Afghanistan. This situation paved the way for all such Islamic fundamentalist organizations to take shelter in Afghanistan and to make it their base camp for launching and continuing their activities in their concerned countries or any where they wish to do. Afghanistan during the regime of Taliban became a safe heaven for banned and terrorist organizations, for instance, anti Government Islamic Movement in Central Asia received ready sanctuary on Taliban territory. In may 1999, Tahir Yuldashev, the leader of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) who was wanted on charges in connection with an assassination attempt on President Karimov in Tashkent on February 16, 1999 that killed 16 people and injured 128 others, was authorized to set up military training camp near Mazar-i-Sharif. Yuldashev trained Islamic militants from Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan even the Chinese Islamic fundamentalist from Xing jiang. The Taliban also maintained close links with Shamil Basavey, the leader of the independence movement and in February 2000 Taliban recognized the Chechen rebel Government and authorized the opening of mission in Kabul.14

The Wahabi movement in Saudi Arabia has also possibly influenced the Taliban. Its founder Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab (1703-87), was concerned at the superstition prevalent in Arabian society and the observance of Islamic rites and practices. His followers armed themselves and launched a Jihad against those they deemed guilty of idolatry, injustice, corruption and adultery, regarding themselves to be the true believers. They also imposed an unprecedented degree of
Puritanism on the community banning music, dancing, poetry and the use of silk, gold, ornaments, jewelry.\textsuperscript{15}

One can see many similarities between the Taliban and the Wahabi movement. Both mobilized men to martyr themselves with the aim of conquering a Country, overthrowing a Government regarded as un-Islamic and establishing a so called Islamic state. Both also insisted that their interpretation (Ijtehad) of Islam was the only correct one. In their rejection of criticism leveled by the Islamic Government of Iran and many others, that their belief system is not consistent with Islam. Taliban have insisted that their interpretation of Islam has a greater validity and purify than that of the Iranian concept.

**Osama Bin Laden and Taliban Government**

The close attachment of Osama Bin Laden, who was born in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, is the son of Muhammad Bin Laden, who had a number of marriages and had more than two dozen children. Osama is the only son from his mother. Following the Soviet invasion, Osama bin Laden participated in war against Afghan Revolution and established camps for Arab and other Mujahedeen in Afghanistan in 1986. He established a base in the area of Paktia, and in 1989, he formed the Al-Qaeda Organization but shortly there after in the Wake of the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, he returned to Saudi Arabia. After leaving Saudi Arabia, he revisited Afghanistan and Pakistan before making his way to Sudan. In April 1994 he was deprived of Saudi citizenship. In May 1996, he left Sudan for Afghanistan. Taliban provided shelter to him and to his companions, so he decided to live permanently in Afghanistan and to run his activities all around the world.\textsuperscript{16} The arrival of Osama bin laden and his presence in Afghanistan at a time when Taliban regime was not recognized by any western state including UNO, was of course a sign of danger not only for Afghanistan but for other neighbouring countries, in a broader sense for the whole globe. The United States and her allies shared key responsibilities for what happened to Afghanistan after the withdrawal of Soviet troops. In the unthinking zeal of cold war, USA and her allies fully supported the Afghan Mujahedeen for years in their struggle to evict the Soviet from the Afghanistan; the USA then withdrew from the scene leaving the Afghan factions in the hands of neighbouring countries and Saudi to fight among themselves.
It was during the gulf war and the deployment of US forces in Saudi Arabia as a part of operations “Desert Shield” and “Desert Storm” that a raged scenes to have tripped him. The western deployment seems to have struck him as the vary violation; he called upon to resist. Osama bin Laden and members of his net work - Al Qaeda, had been implicated in the simultaneous bombing of US embassies in Dares Salaam- Tanzania and Nairobi, Kenya, on 7th August 1998, killing 235 people including 13 Americans.\textsuperscript{17} The US asked Taliban to hand over Osama Bin Laden to them and to destroy the Al-Qaeda training camps in Afghanistan. The refusal of Taliban to compel Osama Bin Laden to leave Afghanistan irked Washington, Laden had called upon the US and other countries to pull their armies from Arab lands without any further delay.

As a consequence of Taliban refusal, the UN Security Council imposed economic sanctions including a ban on international flights to and from Afghanistan. The sanctions were to be effect in thirty days if the Taliban did not extradite Osama Bin Laden, for trial in the US court. The US retaliated on August 28\textsuperscript{th} 1998 by firing Cruise Missiles from ships in the Arabian Sea and Missiles from Air crafts on Afghanistan at Bin Laden’s alleged terrorist bases. A year later, Bin Laden was again implicated in the suicide bombing attack on the US harbour in Aden, Yemen in September 1999. On 19\textsuperscript{th} December 2000, the UN Security Council imposed new sanctions on Afghanistan, expanding the list to include the closure of terrorist camps, the freezing of Taliban assets abroad and an embargo on the import of arms and chemicals required for the production of heroin.\textsuperscript{18} However, these various pronouncements had no effect on the Taliban, as Taliban Government and Mullah Omar who was probably more interested in Osama and his team and had shown less interest to pull out the Afghan territory from the saver crisis. He stated unequivocally that “We will never hand Osama over to any one and will protect him with our blood at any cost.”\textsuperscript{19}

**Concerns of Iran**

The experience of Taliban and its subsequent occupation of Afghanistan’s more than 90 percent area created great concerns for Iranian government for a number of reasons. Firstly, the Rabbani regime in Afghanistan was more friendly to Iran, secondly the protection of fellow shia and their
share in any future set up of Afghanistan. Thirdly, Iran also stood to gain economic benefits and to convene the newly established Central Asian states to have trade route through Iran, which would be more secure than Afghanistan.

Iran even offered port facilities at Bandar Abbass and transit facilities by road and her soil for exporting Iranian goods and services to central Asian Republics. Indo-Iranian joint venture has created apprehension in Pakistan and in other western countries. To counter this move, Pakistan sent in 1994, a convoy of goods by road to Central Asia via Afghanistan under the leadership of Nasserullah Babar, when the convoy was stopped, so it was secured by Taliban, thus Taliban emerged. To be more realistic, the war in Afghanistan was for the advancement of economic interest. Practically Iranian policy towards Afghanistan underwent a sea-change at the end of the cold war. Lastly, ideological considerations during the Khomeini period gave way to the pursuit of State and Persian national interests. Iran became very active in Afghanistan cultivating contact with the parties and different groups in Afghanistan to counter the anti-Iran elements. The coalition and the broad based Government that took powers from Dr. Najeebullah in April 1992, pre-empting a scheduled transfer of power to a UN selected neutral team of Afghans, represented a major diplomatic triumph for Iran.

Actually Iran was vociferous in its criticism of the Taliban, on 7th October 1996, Ayatollah Ali Khomeini, in a Friday sermon said, “In the neighborhood of Iran, something is taking place in the name of Islam and a group whose knowledge of Islam is unknown has embarked on action having nothing to do with Islam. He regarded the actions being taken in Afghanistan were what be described as clear examples of reactionary and fanatical moves and of an ignorance of human rights. Iran also accused the Taliban of receiving support from the USA; on the contrary it has been supporting the Taliban in its suppression of its rivals.

In fact, Iran which had tense relations with USA and other western states, did not want any such development in its neighbouring country especially in Afghanistan which may jeopardize its political, ideological and economical interest. Following Taliban takeover of Kabul, Iran’s foreign Minister, Ali Akbar Velayati, toured Central Asian states and also to India to stress the need for a ceasefire and for the establishment of a broad based Government in Afghanistan, in
which all the nationalities and different religious groups should have opportunities to serve the Country because the military operations between the warring Afghan factions would destabilize the situation in the region.

During the Taliban drive to power, Iranian strategy towards Afghanistan took a new shape. Iran wanted Taliban to be engaged in the areas away from Iranian border but the fall of Herat to the Taliban in 1995 was perceived by Iran as a direct threat to her national security because the Taliban Government had reached near the boarder of Iran. Moreover, majority of the population of Herat are Shia and Persian speaking, Ismail khan along with his commanders took shelter in Iran, and both Ismail khan and Afghan President Burhanuddin Rabbani, blamed Pakistan’s ISI and its military for helping Taliban. Iran in reply, developed an airlift from Mashed in its Khurasan Province to the Bagram airbase, where it flew in arms supplies for Ahmad Shah Masood forces and Iran also established a number of training camps near Mashed led by exiled Governor of Herat, Ismail khan. Iran high profile involvement continued after the fall of Kabul to the Taliban, in her consistent support to the anti-Taliban forces. The equally consistent support to the Taliban regime by Pakistan and Saudi Arabia was seen by Iran as a conspiracy to isolate Iran in the region. Taliban on the other side, made displeasure towards Iran by accusing Tehran of supplying arms to the forces of Rabbani in Kabul and allowing them to use airbases inside Iran to strike at Taliban controlled areas of Afghanistan, in this connection Taliban presented Iranian made weapons to Tehran consulate in Herat, claiming that these were the proof of support to Tajik dominated “Persian speaking Government in Kabul” however, Iran denied the charges and explained “that these were supplied at the time of Afghan war with Russia.”

One of the major set back for the Shia population in Afghanistan and for Iran was the killing of Abdul Ali Mazari, a known political leader of Hezb-i- Wahad, a Shia (Hazara) political Party that was formed from a coalition of several political Parties after the Soviet withdrawal. The government of Iran is believed to have played a key role on its formation. Abdul Ali Mazari of Mazar-i-sharif wished a stable, prosperous Afghanistan with a kind of Federation, where every ethnic group should have equal constitutional rights. In the course of the civil war in Afghanistan after the fall of Najeeb's Government, Abdul Ali Mazari played key role in securing the rights of
Hazara and was ready to form an alliance with any such group, who may be beneficial for Hazara’s interest. Mazari had formed an alliance with Gul Badin Hikmatyar and Dostum and began to negotiate with Taliban as soon as Hikmatyar retreated from Kabul; he did not want to have confrontation with Taliban and hoped that the war between Taliban and Rabbani Government would provide him an opportunity for survival. Mazari invited Taliban to occupy the frontline in west of the Kabul held by his fighters but things suddenly turned and Taliban started to disarm Mazari’s men, which resulted in clashes between the Taliban and followers of Mazari while Mazari was captured by Taliban on March, 12, 1995 and on March 13th, 1995 along with his nine other leaders of Wahdat were tortured and murdered by Taliban. Mazari was threw out of helicopter, and on the death of Mazari, there came a strong reaction from Shia population in Afghanistan, specially Iran’s reaction was so harsh that Foreign Ministers of Iran Ali Akber Velayati condemned the Mazari’s murder and blamed the Taliban for the continuation of bloodshed in Afghanistan.

The Iranian have also been concerned at the Taliban’s rapid successes, as in September, 1996, Taliban entered Kabul and captured it by killing a very large number of people. The fall of Kabul coincided with the brutal execution of Dr. Najeebullah along with his brothers Ahmadzai at the sprawling UN compound, where he had taken a shelter, in the wake of his resignation under UN sponsored peace plan. On the peaceful down of 26 September 1996, Dr. Najeebullah along his brother was killed in brutal way and their bodies were hanged from electric pole at the Aryana Square which sent shock waves across the whole world, but execution of the Dr. Najeebullah proved to be a great strategic blunder on their part as it greatly undermined, their standing among war affected masses, who had binned high hopes from them. Most importantly, Dr. Najeebullah’s brutal killing sent shock waves among the common people in Afghanistan, and particularly in Iran who had tense relations since their emergence. The period from 1996 to the fall of Taliban in October 2001, had left the country in a very critical situation as their started a severe civil war between the Taliban and the forces of Ahmad Shah Masood, Abdur Rasheed Dostum, Ismail khan, Abdul Malik Pehlawan and with the forces of Hazara community. Taliban in order to
occupy Northern provinces of Afghanistan had to face a very strong opposition; both the opponent groups did not hesitate to massacre those who they defined as enemies.

Iran relations with the Taliban deteriorated further after 1997, when Taliban occupied Mazar-i-Sharif, a strong hold of Abdur Rasheed Dostum who left Afghanistan for Turkey after his commander Abdul Malik Pehlawan had joined hands with Taliban. The joint forces of Uzbek Commander Abdul Malik Pehlawan and Taliban defeated the forces of Dostum. The fall of Mazar-i-Sharif at the hands of Taliban on 8th August 1998 resulted in three days massacre which can be described as genocidal in its ferocity. Taliban even did not hesitate to fight against the forces of Abdul Malik Pehlawan who were their ally against Dostum forces. Pakistan soon after the occupation of Mazar announced its formal reorganization of Taliban Government and Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates also followed Pakistan by officially recognizing the Taliban as the legitimate Government of Afghanistan. The occupation of the Mazar-i-Sharif by the Taliban was considered as a big victory by Pakistan and demanded from the world to recognize Taliban Government and the political and military leadership insisted that the victory of Taliban is an actual the victory of Pakistan by the occupation of the Mazar-i-sharif. In such a way the influence of Iran over the Afghanistan will be ended and the Central Asian States will have trade with Taliban through Pakistan rather Iran.

Iran, who has never been happy with Taliban and had usually blamed Pakistan for supporting Taliban, now was on peak of diplomatic displeasure with Pakistan’s decision of formally recognizing Taliban Government. Iran objected Pakistan of her decision regarding the reorganization of Taliban Government, and Iran Government even asked Central Asian States and India to do everything possible to stem the crisis in Afghanistan and to replace the Taliban Government by Broad based Afghan Government. Taliban in reaction to these statements, close the Iranian embassy in Kabul and asked the diplomats to leave the country.

During the course of Taliban occupation of Mazar-i-Sharif, a very tragic event occurred, the succeeded Taliban forces entered the Iran counselate in Mazar-i-Sharif and they captured the Iranian diplomats along with other officials who were serving there, and all these diplomats were killed. Iran had showed a severe reaction to this event, and asked the International Community to
put pressure on Taliban. Taliban fully ignored the Iranian reaction and also did not pay any weightage to the concerns of international community, so they attacked the historical city of Bamyan, mostly populated of Shia Hazara Community in September 1998, and killed hundreds of people. During course of time, Taliban also destroyed the historical statues of Buddha, which were made before 2000 years and which were declared by UNESCO as International archeological heritage.

Following the murders of Iranian diplomats and the occupation of Bamyan by Taliban, tension between Taliban and Iran rapidly rose to the extent that the supreme leader of Iran, Ayatollah Khamenei warned that a very big war shall be started which will engulf the whole region, Iranian again blamed Pakistan for her consistent support in the course of occupation of Mazar-i-Sharif and Bamyan. Some 70,000 Iranian revolutionary guards were moved to the Frontier and large scale exercises were held. A war like situation was created as in response to the brutal murder of Iranian diplomats, Iran military forces gathered on Afghan borders. Taliban immediately began gathering and recruiting large number of men along the border with Iran. Iran gathered two lakh regular army at the border of Afghanistan, however, the Security Council of UNO realized the severeness of an attack of Iranian military on Afghanistan, so UNO diplomat Lakhdar Brahimi was sent to Iran and Afghanistan as a special representative of Secretary General of UNO, he met Mullah Omar on 14th October 1998 and helped minimizing the tension between both the countries. The intervention of UN Security Council, prevented an imminent Iranian invasion. Although later on relations with Taliban remained tense but Iran in order to avoid direct clash, followed a strategy to put pressure through International Community on Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and UAE, as these three states have not only recognized the Taliban Government but were considered to be the real forces beyond the Taliban.

Tension between Iran and Afghanistan in particular with Pashtoon speaking Community has deep historical roots, and it would be surprising if it were now to be disappearing. Apart from the religious divide and ancient legacy of invasion and counter invasion, the problem of Helmand waters has been also along standing bone of contention. The cultural affinities between two countries have also been more of a hindrance that an aid to a closer relationship.
The drug trafficking and the expansion of terrorism in whole the world through Taliban ruled area, were the key points for Iran, who accused Taliban for its production and its transferring to the rest of the world. The mafia in drug trafficking along the Pak-Afghan border flourished in a very huge quantity, illicit business grown to Rs. 150 billion Pakistani in 1996 to 1997.\textsuperscript{29} Poppy growing became the favourite crop, the Taliban help provide a golden opportunity to international drug peddlers for enhancing heroin smuggling, although Islam has strongly prohibited the cultivation and the use of drug in any shape but Taliban did not stop the cultivation of poppy with the reason that the income from the poppy and other crops cultivation is beneficial and a major source for Taliban Government and for the people. It was estimated that approximately one million people are involved in cultivating the drugs, which used to get one billion dollars annually.\textsuperscript{30} While Taliban used to get reasonable amount annually as tax. The route for drug smuggling was through Iran; however, Iranian Government has always remained very much against the drug and its use or trafficking. Since 1980, about 2500 personnel from security forces died in the campaign against the drug trafficking. In September 1998, due to clashed and war like situation with Taliban, Iran closed its border with Afghanistan, so Iranian security forces captured about 5 tones heroin in few weeks, later on airways was used for trafficking.\textsuperscript{31} The cultivation of poppy and other kind of drugs in such a large quantity and its trafficking to the rest of the countries through the route of Iran was a matter of great concern for Iran. However Pakistan was not as rigid as Iran against the use of heroin but despite of these actions it was estimated that till 1998 approximately, Three million people, were the addict of Heroin in Iran while the number of drug user in Pakistan is much higher than Iran. The drug trafficking remained one of the main reason for ill relations between Iran and Taliban Government. Although Mullah Omar and Osama bin Laden's public statement indicated, to oppose the use of Drug but in real they even tried to recruit chemists to develop a super heroin, with a high quality to export to the west, there was stronger evidence that bin laden served as a middle man between the Taliban and Arabs drug smugglers from the United Arab Emirates, Qatar and Saudi Arabia, using commissions to fund his terrorist camps.\textsuperscript{32} Private jets were
constantly used by rich Saudi and UAE sheikhs apparently for the purpose to hunt the housbara bustard, an endangered species of migratory desert bird but US and British intelligence officials came to believe that at least some of these flights transported weapons and material to the Taliban and Al-Qaeda and flew heroin out, even with Mullah Omar approval, Bin Laden hijacked the State run Ariayana Airlines, turning it into a macro terror charter service carrying Islamic militants timber weapons, cash and heroin to the Emirates and Pakistan.33

In this modern Era with its sophisticated atmosphere, each and every State has to find friends and create good relations with the rest of the states. Political relations among nations cover a range of activities which include diplomacy, war, trade, relations, alliances, cultural exchanges, participation in International organizations and so forth, however, conflict and international conflict will always exist in such conflict bargaining plays an important role to develop capabilities that give them leverage to obtain more favourable outcome than they could obtain without such leverage, and in international politics, the ultimate outcome of the bargaining process is a settlement of the particular conflict. So, any state or government who lack such capability finds difficulty to survive.

Taliban who catapulted to power in 1996 through a spectacular victory in Afghanistan over their opponent were defeated in an equally spectacular way, the reason for their failure could be summarizes by some of these points. Their ideology of Islam which gave a different meaning to Islam. No proper leadership and overdependence on the Jehadi groups and on Islamic political parties of Pakistan. The Taliban leadership who had less political vision and administrative experience, the main part of the problem in this context was the Taliban leadership in general and mullah Omar in particular, who were mostly inaccessible, used to conduct their offices in an atmospheres of exceptional secrecy.

The Taliban hallmark to say total refusal to compromise, not merely with the International community, especially with neighbouring country of Iran, but also with the Mujahedeen parties and other elements, ethnic, political, religious or intellectual, which exist within Afghan society, its rejection of liberal political and social concept including notably the electoral process.
The emancipation of women who were never recognized as human beings by Taliban, was also one of the key point in isolating from the rest of the world, almost every right was snatched from them. Women were not allowed to work. Schools for girls were closed, widows turned to bagging to feed their children, and the veil (burqa) was made compulsory for Afghan women. The stricter dress code for men, ban on music, Television and photography styled Afghanistan more or less a prison for the people, where no such activity could be found which can energize the life of the masses.

However, the presence of Osama bin Laden in Afghanistan with his entire network of Al-Qaeda along with such other groups from different states, providing a secure base from where they could carryout terrorist activities across the world become the key cause of their failure and ending of their government in Afghanistan, in this connection the most historical and tragic event of the 11th September 2001, the day when the two towers (Twin Towers) of the world Trade centre in New York USA and the building of pentagon, Washington were attacked by Airplanes hijacked by some suicide attackers, killing thousands of the people and demolishing the world trade centre brought a very rapid changes in the world particularly in Afghanistan and Let the Taliban’s days numbered. So, the external and foreign policy of Taliban Government could not achieve success. Thus relations with the rest of the world, especially with Iran remained never cordial. Taliban were not able to find friends even Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates left Taliban after the incident of 9/11.
CHAPTER SIX

The Situation after 9/11 in Iran and Afghanistan

Apparently, the morning of September eleven was dawned as normal as the rest of the morning but following the terrorist attacks the global politics was to witness an atmosphere which shapes a new dimension in regard to world affairs. The attack on the World Trade Center in New York, in which two Airplane hit the Twin Towers of World Trade Center, killing more than 3000 people, 2801 of them belonging to some 70 different countries and a large number of Muslims from the subcontinent and from the Arab countries also died in the twin towers.\(^1\) Twenty five minutes later a hijacked plane crushed into the Pentagon in Washington, killing 184 people and half an hour later an airline crushed in rural Pennsylvanian.\(^2\)

For Shaken United States, it was unbelievable that such an event could be happen with USA. It was not only unexpected for the people of USA but for whole the world and none could even think that such an attack could be done with a country which after the disintegration of USSR was consider in real the only superpower of the globe. This attack even exceeded Pearl Harbor event of 2\(^{nd}\) World War where 2403 people were killed. September 11 was off the scale a disaster unprecedented in American history. However, following the September 11 terrorist attack, the world politics changed dramatically and forever indeed. The immediate reaction form the American came soon as the President of USA, George W. Bush had an address to the American people stating that “today our nation saw evil.” In his brief address he also revealed the attitude to be allowed for American response, “we will make no distinction.” He said, “Between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them.”\(^3\) It was a clear message from the President of United States of America to the world that the people and the Government of USA would not spare in any means to their enemies or their supporters. The President Bush then laid down the message to the world at large that “You are with us or against us”.\(^4\)

It only took almost a day for US intelligence to identify many of the September 11 terrorists, provided head shots, their recent movements and confirmed their connection to be of Arab origin Osama Bin Laden’s Al-Qaeda Organization. It was only after the attacks that all the pieces came together over the remaining of 19 suicidal Arab hijackers, fifteen of them from Saudi Arabia who
had coordinated the four separate operations.\(^5\) The reaction both with in America and from the rest of the world to the September 11 attack was a combination of deep sympathy for the loss of large number of people, fear of some kind of berserk American response and clear direction now that the USA was fully to be engaged against terrorist based in Afghanistan. First of all the Congress of United States of America appropriated $ 40 billion for anti-terror operations and on 14\(^{th}\) of Sept. the Senate of USA voted unanimously to authorize all necessary and appropriate force to be utilized against the terrorists.\(^6\) It was basically such a huge support to the American Government by their masses and their representatives to crush the terrorists that had never been shown in American History. However, the President Bush and the entire administration of United States did not immediately enter in war against terrorists; instead it channeled the universally expressed sympathy and support into concrete action in a coalition against terror. Simultaneously, the most skilful of the short-term achievements was the rapid mobilization of support for the military campaign in Afghanistan against the terrorists based in Afghanistan. The USA initiated action to provide evidence to UNO, NATO, and European Union and to the member of OIC about Osama Bin Laden’s involvement in the attack of September 11 on USA. Diplomatically, the administration of American Government remained successful in getting the support of different countries and alliances of the states. Russian who used to be a super power and was disintegrated by USA, through the same fundamentalists offered its support to the United States. Moscow provided intelligence use of air space and also lobbied Central Asian nations for their support. China also presented its support to USA. However, China also desired a UN role because China did not want US presence on its Western flank; however, China was also equally worried about Islamic insurgents in Sinkiang Province. NATO, the European countries, the Arab states and the most importantly the neighboring countries of Afghanistan namely Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and even Pakistan who fully supported Taliban and was among one of three countries who recognized Taliban Government was compelled to support the US effort against the Taliban. General Pervez Musharaf who had taken power on 12\(^{th}\) Oct, 1999 form Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, then the Prime Minister of Pakistan, now abandoned the Taliban and offered the United States his full support.
Throughout, the world the Country which was in most critical position was Iran. Because there were harsh relations between Iran and USA and that the US had taken every opportunity to subdue and vilify the Iran in the past. But the US was even successful in obtaining the acquaintance of Iran. Actually, Iran was in such a complex situation equally angry against the USA and Taliban. However, desired UN to play its role in Afghanistan for ousting the Taliban form the Government of Afghanistan and wanted the anti-Taliban group to take power and rule Afghanistan and at the same time Iran wanted the US influence minimized.

Once taking the world into confidence the Americans now concentrated on military plan. On Sept. 20th, the President Bush addressed the US Congress and to the people of America, with an eloquent determined call to arms and to act immediately against the Taliban Government and Osama Bin Laden. In the first Step a demand was made by the American from the Taliban Government to hand over Osama Bin Laden but Mullah Omer refused. A delegation form Pakistan, headed by ISI General Faiz Gilani was sent to Kandahar to convince Mullah Omer to give up Bin Laden and his Al-Qaeda associates but Mullah Omer demanded convincing evidence of Bin Laden’s involvement in the Attack of September 11. At the same time the Taliban Government and Mullah Omer responded with a call for Jihad against America and her allies.

On Sept. 25th, the American Government decided to launch a military campaign namely “Enduring Freedom” with aim to capture Osama Bin Laden to replace the Taliban regime and destroy the Al-Qaeda network. One of the aims was also to destroy the narcotics network. On Oct. 6th, President Bush announced that full warning has been given and time is running out, so the next day, on October 7th, 2001, the American and British forces commenced operation Enduring Freedom, with heavy bombing, air and cruise missile attacks on the airfields, terrorist camps, command and control installations, ammunition and on fuel dumps. This was the first blast of the military campaign which was to continue for a long time as remnants of Taliban and Al-Qaeda in different parts of the Country were systematically targeted. Day light strikes also started from 14th Oct, onwards and cluster bombs were dropped on 17th Oct. President Bush stated that the enemies air force and air defenders were being demolished, paving the way for friendly troops on the ground to slowly but surely tighten the net to bring them to Justice while
Defense Secretary, Rumsfeld had at first downplayed the importance of air power by suggesting that Afghanistan was not a target rich environment.

When it came to know that the air campaign had worked so well that Taliban resistance was quickly overcome and alliance forces began capturing the main cities. The long term strategy for an orderly negotiated transfer of power to a broad-based representative provisional government was overtaken by events, on Nov. 9th, alliance fighters occupied Mazar-I-Sharif and fell to groups led by Uzbek leader Abdul Rasheed Dostum. The Shiite leader Haji Mohaqiq mobilized fighters from Hazarajat within the Hindokush Commander Oustad Atta Muhammad had also moved towards the Northern Afghan City of Mazar-I-Sharif cooperating with Dostum. Their forces overran the airport and then took Mazar-I-Sharif, the Taliban defenders were defeated or surrendered. Those who fled west met by Ismail Khan Toran, leading his forces northward from Heart. Many Taliban eagerly accepted Uzbek or Tajik protection against the Shiite Hazaras who remembered the Taliban slaughters of their kinsmen in 1997.

In northeast, anti-Taliban forces of northern alliance moved against the Taliban held cities of Taliqan and Kunduz. The city of Taliqan fell without bloodshed. On Nov. 11, 2001 many Taliban in the North were foreign volunteers more fanatic then local Taliban. They would prefer to die then to surrender. The Northern Alliance forces launched simultaneous attack across Northern Afghanistan. In Khwajahar, Baghlan, Pul-e-Khumri, Nahrin, Aibak and Bamyan, all fell as did Mariatan and Shibargham in such a way Northern Alliance made rapid progress leading to Kabul. Taliban lines had been abandoned some retreating others defecting and many making off for their homes. Consequently, Kabul was officially abandoned by Taliban. Although the Northern Alliance had promised the United States (representing Pakistan’s worries) to halt two miles North of Kabul rather than enter the City and attempt to set up a new Government. But after five years of battling the Taliban, the temptation to enter the Capital City was too great to ignore. Thus on Nov. 13th, Northern Alliance troops marched into Kabul. There were scenes of ecstatic celebration in Kabul with the arrival of new forces almost all the people in Kabul regard the demise of the Taliban as a liberation. It was because of the harsh theocracy of Taliban rule.
had never sat will in Kabul, a city which had received a state of modernization and usually stood apart from the strict fundamentalism of the Afghan Country side.

After the fall of Kabul, Talibans were not able to have control on the rest of the cities. Jalalabad, a very important city near the Torkham border of Pakistan was abandoned at the same time as Kabul. Taliban and foreign Al-Qaeda fighters who had fled Mazar and other locations in the North escaped to their stronghold of Kunduz, thirty five mile west of Taliqan where they prepared for a last stand. The forces of Northern Alliance surrounded the City and about 15,000 fighters of Taliban and Al-Qaeda found themselves in a very hopeless situation. Present in the Kunduz were scores of Arabs as well as, Chechens and Indonesians plus hundreds of Pakistani and scattering of other nationals who had signed on to the Talibans’ cause. The situation around Kunduz had, meanwhile, turned messy. It was apparent that many of the Taliban wanted to surrender but Arabs and other dire foreign volunteers were preventing them. However, Kunduz fell on the 26th Nov. as Dortum’s Uzbek troops roamed streets taking the City in their control and showed little mercy to deal with the Taliban, especially to foreign Taliban, hundred of Talibans were taken prisoner and placed in a large 19th Century fortress called Killa Jangi near Mazar. They were killed ruthlessly. On Dec. 6th, the Taliban leader, Mullah Omer negotiated the surrender of his forces to Qandahar to local tribal Chief, Mullah Naqeeb. However, he could not hold the city for a long as forces loyal to Abdul Hameed Karzai who had succeeded his father Abdul Had Karzai, as Populzai tribal leader, following his father assassination in July 1999 at Quetta, Pakistan, succeeded in entering the Qnadahar on 9th Dec. so the era of Taliban rule was over. There was still the problem of Al-Qaeda which had instigated the conflict and whose elements were now threatening to disappear. The focus of the fighting had meanwhile switched to Tora Bora, a network of under ground caves in Nangarhar Province near Pakistani boarder, where Osama Bin Laden was believed to be hiding, but he along with his people was disappeared. The International community in general and US in particular was of the view that Osama is hiding somewhere else inside Pakistan but Pakistan constantly denied the blame of presence of Osama inside Pakistan, till his killing at the hands of allied forces in Abbottabad on May 2nd 2011.
As the suddenness of the military victory over the Taliban became apparent, a question was raised over that who would govern the Country because the ousting of Taliban from the Government of Afghanistan was done in just two moths. It became necessary to involve as many ethnic and politically diverse factions as possible and more importantly to also take in confidence the countries specially Iran and Pakistan. Under the supervision of United Nation a conference was started on 28th Nov, at Konigswinter near Bonn, Germany under the auspices of German Chancellor, Gerhard Schroder and in the presence of special representative of the Secretary General of UN for Afghanistan, Lakhdar Brahimi. 21 delegates participated in talks to shape a future Government for Afghanistan.

The following were represented with four major groups.

- Eleven delegates including one from Northern Alliance led by Younis Qanooni.
- Ex-king Zahir Shah.
- One group from Cyprus by Iran.
- One group from Peshawar representing the refugees in Pakistan.

For the nine days intensive discussion were held in following four major issues:

- Composition of the interim council.
- Formation of the interim Government.
- Holding of Loya Jirga and
- Induction of an International peace keeping force.

By 29th Nov., the broad agreement was reached on the following principles.

- Reaffirming the independence, National sovereignty and territorial integrity of Afghanistan.
- To freely determine their own political future in accordance with principles of Islam, democracy, pluralism and social justice.
- Recognizing the need to ensure broad representation in the interim arrangements of all segments of the Afghan population.18
By Dec. 5th, 2001 an agreement was finally reached and signed by all participants. On the Constitution of a transitional period for six months with Hamid Kerzai as chairman, until the convening of a Loy Jirga in June 2002 that would elect a provisional Government and a President for 18 months.

The holding of National wide elections at the end of the period would be preceded by the adoption of a new constitution and a UN mandated International force will be stationed in Kabul. 19

Now that agreement had been reached among the people’s representative of Afghanistan about whom it is usually thought that they can not resolve their problems through peaceful means of dialogue. It was not believable for many that how war like people could settle these problems in such a decent way. However, its real test laid Afghanistan when the Interim Council took shape on the ground.

Since Iran and Pakistan were the close neighboring and the key players, the UN and the USA led alliance had to ensure that they were not allowed to again intervene in the internal affairs of Afghanistan to destabilize the Government of Afghanistan and derail the process of holding a Loya Jira and constituting an Interim Government to finally hold elections to elect the new Government for Afghanistan. It was the time for the rest of the countries, specially neighboring states to not to play a previous game for accomplishing their vested interests in Afghanistan. It was indeed a time to support Afghanistan and let peace and stability prevail in Afghanistan which would surely have a positive results for not only global peace but very importantly for regional peace because the history has proved that destabilize and war like Afghanistan is not in the interest of any one. The poor Afghans had suffered more than enough and they also have had the rights to lead a peaceful and prosperous life, rebuild their war ravaged nation and move on the path of progress.

The Iranian Response and its relation with the new Government.

As for the most of the states of the world the tragic event of 9/11 brought result with different dimension. However, there were few countries those were in such complex situation how to deal and respond to the post 9/11 settlements in Afghanistan. Iran was a Country which was in
skirmishes position, that on the one side she was happy with the end of Taliban regime as there were no cordial relationship between Iran and Taliban while on the other side Iran was puzzled from the American with whom their have been no diplomatic relations for three decades. Since post 9/11 wars, Iran has been concerned by US military build up on its eastern boarder, as well as to the west in Iraq but surprisingly despite having problems with American, Iran was in forefront of pledging to sphere no efforts for working the reconstruction in Afghanistan and also to play role in implementing the agenda agreed in Bonn Conference. At the Brussels meeting of several countries who were willing to support Afghanistan discuss the provision of humanitarian relief aid, Iran suggested that it was best position to provide expert advice to the European Union for the reconstruction of Afghanistan and pledge to work along with the European Union. Iranian Foreign Minister Kharazi had met European official at the Brussels meeting and later the Afghanistan Head of the State Hamid Karzai to provide Iran’s complete support to the Afghan people and assistance to achieve economic stability through agriculture development and finding a viable alternative to poppy cultivation and the elimination of Opium and Heroin production, the most important common issue for both the neighbors. Iran also found itself in de facto alliance with US, once the American decided that it would setup its support to the Northern Alliance which Iran also supported earlier during the regime of Taliban. At the same time Iran’s had worries that if the US along with Pakistan exploit its war on Terrorism it would obtain a bigger foot hold in the region, consequently, Iran may loose the opportunity to find place in the affairs of Afghanistan. Iran was also conscious that the possible permanent basis in Pakistan, Central Asian states and Afghanistan itself may create problems for Iran, so, Iranian President; Muhammad Kahtimi visited Russia in March 2001 and signed an agreement with his Russian counterpart to supply Iran with an estimated $6.5 billion worth of arms over the next five years. Iran since then pursue its goal in Afghanistan separate from the US and its western allies and cooperated with Russia sharing the following broad goals with her.

1. Support for the Central Government under President Karzai, as a stabilizing force, and opposition to the return of a Taliban Government;
2. Seeking solutions to the conflict and resistant movement, that increase refugee pressure on Iran or make it more difficult to repatriate refugees;

3. Reducing the flow of Afghan drugs exports to, or transported via, Iran, which now has, for the first time in its history, a major narcotics problem amongst its population;

4. Controlling and, ideally, reducing and removing the influence and military presence of the USA and her extension in Americans permanent stay in Afghanistan.\textsuperscript{21}

However, Iran had been critical of America’s Sharpe divide of whom it considered an ally or opponent of American interest-, if you are not with, you are against us. Iran categorically pointed out of that it had already cooperated with the International efforts against the war on terrorism, by closing its boarder with Afghanistan, pledging emergency aid to refugees, joining efforts to block Taliban’s sponsored Heroin going through Iran, stepping up arms supplies to the Northern Alliance and helping in the process of bringing about a broad base government in Afghanistan.

However, despite showing positive efforts and practically helping the newly Afghan Interim Government and moreover, despite their common positions against the Taliban but on account of their long standing adversarial relations the US and Iran could not come any where near a dialogue. So this initial collaboration between Iran and the West specifically the US, did not last, rising tension over Iran’s nuclear programme and the conflict in Iraq after the US invasion of March 2003, where Tehran was blamed for supporting Americans enemy, in fact ended cooperation. Although, Iran’s nuclear program was initiated with the support of America. The United States of America and Iran signed a civil nuclear cooperation agreement in 1957 as a part of the US Atoms for Peace program. The Agreement, which provide for technical assistance and the lease of several kilograms of enriched uranium, also calls for cooperation on research on the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. The same year, “The Institute of Nuclear Science, under the auspices of the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). Moves from Baghdad to Tehran, and the Shah Muhammad Raza Pahlvi, takes a personal interest in nuclear center in Tehran University.”\textsuperscript{22}

Thus the foundations for Iran nuclear programme were laid as far as back as in 1960 during the Shah’s regime under the US auspices within the framework of bilateral agreements. But clearly the mounting International crisis over the issue is in its essence political rather than technical in
nature. It is at the same time rooted basically in the fundamental change brought about by the 1979 Iranian Islamic revolution in the US-Iran relationship. So, it is best to recall that the program for the development of nuclear energy in Iran was originally a gift of the United States of America to the Shah whom they had restored to the throne in 1953. Over the next two decades, right up to the Islamic revolution, the US, provided Iran not only technical assistance and training but also its first experimental nuclear reactor, enriched uranium and plutonium with the missile isotopes.

Tension with the US surfaced by early January 2002 when the US administration voiced its suspicions that Iran was possibly taking advantage of the situation to sent arms shipments and catch to the opponent of the Afghans Interim Government, as well as possibly enlisting Al-Qaeda men to destabilize any pro-western titles in the new Afghan administration. President Bush issued strong warning to the Iranian Government and President in his speech to the Congress declared Iran as Axis of evils.\(^{23}\) Now, insofar as the description of Iran as forming part of a supposed ‘axis of evil’ was concerned, that had come as something of a surprise to most independent observers of the situation in early 2002, and still remains a bit of a puzzle to them. For, Iran, in the aftermath of 9/11 that occasioned the US-led global war on terrorism, had to all intents and purposes given no reason for America to adopt such an inimical stance towards. When the World Trade Center and the pentagon were hit on 11\(^{th}\) September, 2001, the incumbent President of Iran, Mohammad Khatami, “ a moderate who was struggling for power against the country’s hard line Islamic leaders, expressed ‘ deep regret and sympathy with the victims’ and declared that ‘ it is international duty to try to undermine terrorism.’\(^{24}\)

The Iranian Government rejected the blame as in founded and the Iranian Government asserted that earlier it was Iran that had used all the means at its disposal to oppose the inhuman Taliban regime, long before the International community became worried over the terrorist groups in Afghanistan. Retreating the support of Iranian Government with the Afghan people to decide their own future. The Iranian Government assured the Afghans Interim Administration and International community that the Iranian boarders are tightly closed and the Islamic Government
of Iran in no circumstances would let Al-Qaeda members, fighters and supports of Osama Bin Laden to enter the Country.  

Iran in the post 9/11 period had actively increased its influence in Afghanistan. Iranian Government continued to contribute to Afghanistan’s economic construction with huge investment in the infrastructure development. Iran’s presence could also be found in cultural and religious field in Afghanistan even the western part of the country also witnessed such activities where Iranian has historically held sway. Iran and Afghanistan have appeared more politically aligned than ever. Iran’s growing influence in Afghanistan has also rewarded it with other political benefits including opportunities to broaden its reach in the region. Afghanistan has also welcomed the proactive approach from its western economic resources from Iran and simultaneously preserving a public relationship with Iran.

**Economic Support**

Iran has invested several hundred millions dollars in the re-construction of Afghanistan while broaden its export market into the Afghanistan. Iran has positively participated in any International Conference for re-construction of Afghanistan. In Tokyo conference held on 1-22 January 2002, Iran along with other states offer to work in de-mining the land, without which large agricultural tracts could not be safely brought under cultivation and soon after the Tokyo conference Afghan president Hamid Karzai paid a visit to Tehran on 26-27 February 2002. Iran pledged S560 million over years for reconstruction needs.  

Iran’s non oil export to Afghanistan in 2008 amounted to over $1.00 billions. The scope of Iran’s ambitious economic proposals in Afghanistan, many of which require stable conditions in the future, reveals a long term focus with in the boarders of its limit that would extend Iran’s regional influence.

Iran’s economic influence in Afghanistan is most visible in western Afghanistan, namely in Herat province. Much of the city’s infrastructure including a major road connecting the Islam Killa to Iran and a proposed rail road link between Iran and Afghanistan and both the states planned to develop a railway connecting Iran with Tajikistan through Afghanistan’s Northern provinces.  

Hirat city’s electricity, partly supplied from Iran, runs non-stop for its residents, even the Afghan Capital City of Kabul experiences power shoot in most of the time.
Iranian firms have also invested in building business operations in Afghanistan. Iran’s largest automobile maker, Iran Khodro, announced in March 2009 to invest $20 million towards manufacturing plant in Heart. This commercial interest onto physical infrastructure indicates a long term perspective of Iranian economic presence in Afghanistan.

**Socio Cultural Links**

Iran’s increasing economics efforts also allow it to engage directly with the Afghasntian socio cultural and educational basis. Iran developed channel to provide educational resources to Afghans and also develop close ties with religious and ethnic minorities. Iran also has complimented its economic interest in Afghanistan to extend its educational, religious and cultural influence in the country. Iranian developmental projects in the Afghan Capital city of Kabul include one million dollars University. Additionally, existing Iranian educational institutions are building their presence in Afghanistan. Iranian officials announced in February, 2009 that Iran’s Payame Noor University will open a campus in Afghanistan and Ferdowsi University Mashed will open a campus in Heart after a Persian poet who resided in Heart during eleventh century. Iran’s influence in the field of education also focuses religious outreach, especially in western Afghanistan and funds significant educational and religious outreach programs. The Iranian Consulate in Heart, for example, funds several publications produced by the Iranian Shia clergy. However, Iranian made text disseminated in Afghanistan generated controversy not only within Afghanistan but the western countries, particularly, America blamed Iran that through such printing materials Iran praises openly militants groups such as Hezbollah and Hamas.

Iran’s also maintains ties to Afghanistan’s major Shi’I cleric: for example the leader of the Hraakat-e- Islami Afghanistan, Ayatollah Mohammad Asif Mohseni, who directs a radio station, Tamadon and a religious seminary in Kabul, Khatem al-Nabyeen is the part of a larger Iranian-sponsored agenda to spread shi’iism in the Country. While Iranian leaders have also reached out to Afghanistan’s Sunni leaders to stress the importance of Shi’i and Sunni unity to bring peace and brotherhood in Afghanistan and more importantly, to find permanent major place in the political affairs of Afghanistan and in whole the region.
Iran increasingly uses its political relation with Afghanistan to undermine U.S. interests in the region and this, specifically, remains a consistent theme in their relations with Afghan leaders. Iran’s five primary interests in Afghanistan came to the front after Haghe Conference in March 2009 on Afghanistan: the flow of refugee from Afghanistan into Iran; shared cultural, historical, and linguistic background; Security for investment in Afghanistan; border security; and the “withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan”. Iran constantly forced on the point that the presences of western foreign forces in Afghanistan has not improved the Country and claimed that those who have come from long distances are not familiar with Afghanistan and the region …solving Afghan problems needs regional tactics and lending people’s affairs to themselves.\textsuperscript{35}

Actually, Iranian efforts to fracture the U.S. relationship with Afghanistan aided tension between the U.S. and Afghanistan. Iran is keen to provide Afghanistan with an outlet for expressing dissatisfaction with the U.S., so, that Iran may find a reasonable place in the regional affairs. In such circumstances, the U.S. in particular and the West in general usually balm Iran for its continues support to insurgent activities within Afghanistan, while maintaining its long run economic and political strategy in Afghanistan. The American officials’ blames that Iran is covertly supplying arms to Afghan insurgent activities within Afghanistan while publicly posing as supportive of the Afghan Government.\textsuperscript{36}

Despite of number of issues that threaten Iranian influence in Afghanistan, including American and other foreign presence, refugee expulsion, controversial religious outreach, illicit drug trafficking, and more importantly a very serious blame on Iran’s support for insurgent activities inside Afghanistan, but the Iranian influence in Afghanistan through economic, political, religious, educational and socio-culture conduits is in progress as a part of concerted, long term effort to establish clout with its eastern neighbor and likely to preserve its regional hegemony.
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