The Role of Responsibility Doctrine for Supporting Iraqi Crisis, from US Military Strike to ISIS Activities

Abdolreza Alishahi[1*], Fatemeh Pakzad[2], Zahra Pakzad[3], Atieh Mahdipour[4]

[1]*PhD Political Science at Allameh Tabataba'i University, Tehran, Iran*
[2]*MSc International Relations at the University of Guilan, Rasht, Iran*
[3]*MSc International Relations at the University of Guilan, Rasht, Iran*
[4]*Bachelor of Industrial Management, Islamic Azad University-South Tehran Branch (EN), Iran*

Corresponding Author: Abdolreza Alishahi, PhD Political Science at Allameh Tabataba'i University, Tehran, Iran, Email: AbdolrezaAlishahi@atu.ac.ir

ABSTRACT

The concept of support responsibility was first introduced in 2001 in the report of the International Commission on Intervention and Governance, formally adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 2005. The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1674 and 1706 were endorsed by the United Nations in 2006, and UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon emphasized it on January 18, 2012. In this article, the authors by using the historical methodology and written and virtual sources to provide a scientific answer this question what the role of responsibility doctrine in Iraq crisis during the period from 2003 to 2017. The findings of the paper indicate that the doctrine of the responsibility for supporting the Iraq crisis during 2003 (the US occupation of Iraq) to the activities of the ISIS Takfiri terrorist group in this country more than cover and protect the Iraqi people It has become a disparity in the political, religious, and security divergence of this country and Somehow legitimized the goals of American domination in the region.

Keywords: *Responsibility for support, Iraq, USA, ISIS, Security crises*

INTRODUCTION

Along with all the advances and achievements that human kind has made in various branches of science especially in recent centuries, and every country, by my own heart, seeks to make a greater contribution to this success, another area that often Countries and the international community as a whole try to prove themselves to be successful, issues of global security include human rights and humanitarian law. After more than half a century of United Nations life, in the era that we call the age of technology and communication, there are still many people who are affected by civil wars and ethnic rifts, poverty and hunger, drought, lack of health or even the most elementary living conditions are lost.

In fact, at the current stage of action, the response of the international community to human disasters is reactive and passive. Still, there is a vacuum of the existence of a mechanism that can draw the line of a rational, yet reasonably, responsive and effective response to humanitarian crises. The end of the Cold War and the occurrence of humanitarian crises in different parts of the world have made

human rights a global focus, and the emphasis on humanitarian intervention to cope with these crises has given rise to greater national sovereignty, but the use of the great powers In this sense, in order to intervene in the internal affairs of other states in order to meet their national interests and interests, they created different perspectives on the manner, timing and legitimacy of humanitarian intervention, and as a result of the tensions that have arisen between the governments due to the deep and principled disagreement, The international community and, at the top of that United Nations, have taken steps to resolve it On the agenda of the contract. The idea of humanitarian intervention as the logic of the military intervention of one or more governments in the realm of another ruling state is more than 180 years old. For example, the intervention of Russia in Greece during the War of Independence (1821-1827), the intervention of France in Great Syria as part of the Ottoman Empire (1860), the Russian conflict in Bulgaria (1876-1876), the threat of force against Turkey by the powers A European order to stop the Armenian Genocide (1917-1894) is among the above. But the nature of the responsibility and support of the international community, and in

particular the Security Council, is in line with this doctrine, and how can we at the time of inefficiency actually provide a new, yet precise and planned solution to the appropriate replacement for the concept of the challenge Awareness of humanitarian intervention. Of course, the responsibility for supporting a completely different concept is humanitarian intervention. The set of measures to be taken under this doctrine includes three dimensions of responsibility for prevention, responsibility for responses and reconstruction responsibilities, and the most important responsibility dimension is the same prevention responsibility. Even at the reaction stage, a series of measures, including political and economic measures, etc., is envisaged, and the permit for military intervention is only given in acute conditions as the last resort and, if there are certain criteria, provided by the Security Council. The total of these actions applies only to specific offenses. In this article, the main purpose is to explain whether the doctrine of responsibility for supporting many crises in recent times, such as the Iraq crisis, has been able to function properly, or has it been slowed down? In other words, are the interests of the great powers identifying the effectiveness of the doctrine and giving it direction? The research method in this paper is the method of historical sociology. In this regard, it should be said that, in principle, the methodology of the sociology of history of epistemology, the means and the feedback of a phenomenon are examined. For example, in line with the epistemology of the functions of the Doctrine of Responsibility for Support in the Iraqi Crisis, the instruments of this doctrine in this crisis, and ultimately the rejection of this doctrine in Iraq, the region, and even the world, required the choice of this method in the present paper. Therefore, the authors have used this approach to improve the reader's minds and to get better acquainted with the functions of the doctrine of responsibility for supporting the crisis in Iraq. As to the research background, it should be noted that there are some articles in this field, such as:

Mohammad Taqi Rezaei and others in an article entitled "The Legal Basis of Intervention in the Syrian State in the framework of the New Doctrines, Theory of Responsibility for Support" have raised the issue that, in principle, the doctrine of responsibility for the support of the Great Patriotic War of the Great Authorities in the erosion and crisis in Syria Has been a major contributor to the unrest and crisis in the country rather than the peaceful resolution of the challenges in Syria Seyyed Qasim Zamani and Sorna Zahmanan, in an article titled "The Position of the Doctrine of the Syrian Security Support Responsibility", examined and explained the place of responsibility for support in the Syrian crisis, and addressed the crucial issue that the Syrian doctrine was very fragile and incapacitated. , Have acknowledged.

In his article on Libyan developments and the doctrine of responsibility for support, Parvin Dandadish believes that the legal basis of the international community's actions in Libya is a doctrine of support for the recent years in order to prevent the repeat of deadly conflicts and violations of the fundamental rights of the people and Civilians in Bosnia, Congo, Kosovo, Rwanda, Sudan and Uganda, as a norm, have been identified and accepted by at least parts of the international community. In this article, the author acknowledges that the responsibility for protection, in the light of recent regional and international developments, has gradually turned it into an international norm.

Theoretical Framework, Invasive Realism Theory

The aggressive realism or invasive realism is a structural theory and part of the school of neo classicalism, which was first introduced by John M. Merschimmer. According to its realism, this theory also claims that the turbulence of the global system causes the aggressive behavior of governments in international politics. This theory is fundamentally contradictory to the defense realism theory posed by Kenneth Waltz. This theory, while contributing to understanding and studying international relations, is also the object of some criticism (Wagner, 2007: 21). According to Mersemmer's invasive realism theory, governments are not seeking a certain degree of power, but in absolute security, they have always tried to increase their power, whose ultimate goal is to become hegemony (Mearsheimer, 2006:110). In his most important work, The Tragedy of the Politics of Great Powers maintains the current and future security of the great powers as a measure of power to turn them into hegemony. Merschimmer notes in this book that governments that do not have the proper management of power do not have the opportunity to become a hegemony in the international system, since they have laid the foundations for gaining and maintaining a

degree of power that is to survive and stay in An international system is required (Mearsheimer, 2001: 51). Merschimmer not only rejects the theory of democratic peace in general, but also believes that democracy and, in particular, liberal democracy cannot prevent war. Accordingly, a hegemonic power must act against other highly aggressive rivals, because in the anarchy governing the international order, other actors are seeking to increase their power (Hall 2003: 567).

Stochastic Concept of Support Responsibility

The Doctrine of Responsibility for Support after the Ineffectiveness of the Basic Principle of Humanitarian Intervention was introduced in the 1990s. The failure of the international community to prevent human tragedies in Somalia, the Rwandan genocides in 1995, and the military intervention in Kosovo in 1999, and after the successive failures in implementing the principles of humanitarian intervention in practice, Kofi Annan, UN Secretary-General In an endeavor to create an intellectual revolution in humanitarian interventions, in the speeches of the General Assembly in 1999 and the ensuing 2000 General Assembly in its 2000 Millennium Report, it created a major challenge for the heads of states, which should embody new thinking and design.

Founded on human rights. "I recognize the strength and importance of these issues, and I accept the principles of sovereignty and non-intervention, providing vital support to the small and poor countries, but I ask this question to critics: if humanitarian intervention is actually an offensive Acceptable gullibility is supposed to be sovereign. In that case, how should we react to the events in Rwanda and Sberbnitsa, that is, a gross violation of human rights that would harm our common humanitarian rules ... "Following the Secretary-General's request, in response to the Government of Canada, the Commission In 2000, it formed the government's intervention and sovereignty, consisting of some salaries Bread and prominent experts from different countries of the world in 2001. The Commission's report was published as the responsibility to protect (Payandeh, 2010: 346). The presentation and publication of the Commission's report focused on countries on the international scene, in particular since the report was published three months after the September 11, 2001 incident. This symmetry did not at first contribute to the promotion and acceptance of

the new idea, ie, the responsibility of supporting the international community. However, due to the efforts of the sponsors of this idea, and as a result of the efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the report of the Commission was noticed more and more, and a new definition of humanitarian intervention was placed on the agenda of the international community. As humanitarian intervention was merely a military aspect, it was based on a new idea that it was responsible for supporting a set of preventive, diplomatic, economic, and educational and rehabilitation measures, and that military intervention was considered as the last resort. The Commission also looked at the subject of interventions Humanitarianism by rejecting arguments in support of or against it, these discussions it calls out unnecessary and unnecessary and emphasizes the responsibility of governments to protect their citizens. Also, with the approaching time for the country summit to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the United Nations in 2005, and the call by many countries to reform its structure and approaches, the Secretary-General of the United Nations has appointed and appointed a high-level delegation to meet the requirements. World News and developments on the international scene provide a report to make the United Nations reform necessary. The High-Level Panel composed of sixteen distinguished and internationally acclaimed personalities, presented our 2004 report entitled "A Safer World and our Common Responsibility," in which part of the report was the emergence of international collective responsibility and military intervention with a license. The Security Council has been emphasized as the last resort to prevent serious violations of international humanitarian law when states are unable or unwilling to prevent it (Luck, 2010: 351-352).

The world summit in 2005, on the sixtieth anniversary of the United Nations, is one of the largest gatherings of history in the field of international law and international law, in which about 170 countries of the world, in order to reach consensus on various issues Legal and political issues, including the theory of responsibility for support. The final document of the Summit in paragraphs 138 and 140 fully addresses the issue of responsibility, while striving to provide a basis for previous reports by reforming the previous views of the

international consensus for responsibility. The final document provides four primary commitments for support responsibility. First, all countries have acknowledged that they have a responsibility to protect their citizens against genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. The other countries agreed to assist in providing assistance to build the capacity that countries need to meet their responsibilities. Third, in a situation where the host country clearly failed to fulfill its responsibilities, countries agreed to use all peaceful means to protect the vulnerable population. Fourth, these measures (peaceful measures)must be failed or in adequate, so that the Security Council is ready to use all necessary means, including the use of force (Bellamy, 2008: 619-620).
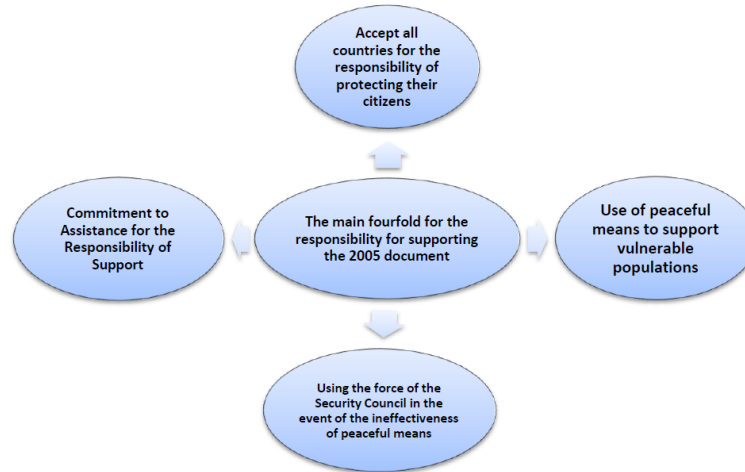
Figure1. *The main fourfold for support responsibility in the 2005 document*

The set of measures to be taken under this doctrine includes three dimensions of prevention, responsibility for responses and reconstruction responsibilities, and the most important responsibility dimension is the same responsibility for prevention, even at the reaction stage, a set of measures, including political and economic measures, etc., is envisaged and the permit Military intervention is only given in extreme situations as the last resort and, if there are certain criteria, provided by the Security Council. The total of these measures applies only to specific offenses (Gierycz, 2010: 114-115). In April 2006, the Security Council approved a resolution on the protection of civilians in armed conflict, whose executive clauses represent a reaffirmation of the outcome document of the Summit on the responsibility for protection. This process continues through a resolution in August 2006 on Darfur's ongoing expansion of hostilities. On January 12, 2009, Ban Ki-moon also released a report entitled "Implementation" The doctrine of responsibility is the support of this first comprehensive United Nations Secretariat's comprehensive responsibility for support, which is in line with the Secretary-General's commitment to implementing this doctrine. The document describes a strategy with three pillars: government support, international assistance and empowerment, and timely and definitive responses, which should take place in the context of the implementation of the responsibility for support. On July 17, 2010, Bank Mon published its second report on sponsorship, entitled "Risk, Valuation and Support Responsibility." This report has well documented the risks and assessments of the UN's risks and capabilities.

THREE DIMENSIONS RESPONSIBILITY FOR SUPPORT

- The responsibility to prevent human catastrophes addresses the root causes and the direct causes of the occurrence of these catastrophes. At the 2005 World Summit, the international community agreed that prevention should be a top priority in any attempt to protect people against human disasters.

- Responsibility for the response is raised to the relevant country at a time when preventive measures have not been reached and the human disaster will occur to a large extent. In this case, the responsibility of the international community will arise if the government does not or cannot or does not act responsibly.

- Responsibility for reconstruction is the third aspect of the responsibility of support, which seeks to establish institutions in the post-war country in order to achieve lasting peace in that country. In the theory of this aspect, the responsibility for supporting other aspects is less disputed, and at the 2005 World Summit, the remit was not reinstated; instead, the Reconstruction Commission was approved (Chandler, 2009: 31-32).

MEASURES OF MILITARY INTERVENTION IN SUPPORT OF

- A military strike to protect human lives is only allowed if a large number of people in a country, in the wake of incompetence or state demand, are at risk of losing their lives (or taking place), or signs Genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes, or ethnic cleansing;

- In the humanitarian intervention, the correct intention is necessary. The main purpose of the interventionist government should be to stop the suffering of the victim's people;

- Humanitarian intervention should be completely biased and impartial, not political and selective;

- No military occupation by foreign forces: The United Nations resolution also stipulates that intervention does not include military occupation by alien forces;

- The military intervention as the last option is only justifiable when all non-military options are used to prevent and resolve conflicts and crises peacefully. Action in this framework is the last possible solution, subject to the condition of proportionality and necessity, in proportion to the scale, intensity and duration, with a reasonable perspective, and the probability of success of the military operation to support the people and its consequences should not be worse. From non-intervention;

- Humanitarian intervention by the United Nations Security Council, which is undoubtedly the main institution for the creation, consolidation and use of power in the international community (Badescu, 2011: 87-88).

Steps to Formation, Development and Development of Responsibility to Support

First, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan's address to the General Assembly in 1999:

Following the failure of the international community to prevent human tragedies in Somalia in 1993, Rwandan genocides in 1995, and military intervention in Kosovo in 1999, and successive failures In implementing the principles of humanitarian intervention in practice, In implementing the principles of humanitarian intervention in practice, Second, the Government of Canada's initiative in the formation of the International Commission on Intervention and Rule of Law in 2000; Third - Preparation of a more secure global report and our joint responsibility by the High-Level Selection Board of the Secretary-General in 2004:

The UN Secretary-General has commissioned a high-level mission to assess the most important threats to global peace and security in the years to come and present clear and practical proposals for an effective collective action to mark the 60th anniversary of the United Nations in 2005 in the presence of the leaders. The High Representative, composed of sixteen prominent international figures, presented his report with one hundred and one proposals, emphasizing the emergence of international collective responsibility and military intervention with the permission of the Security Council as the last resort for Preventing gross violations of international humanitarian law when governments are able or willing to In general, the High Representative's report is a much wider area than the report of the Commission (Dadandish, 2012: 171-172). Fourth, the Hashad and eight-page report of the Secretary-General entitled "Further Freedom to Development, Security and Human Rights for All" in March 2005: Kofi Annan based on the High Representative's report after talks with governments, United Nations officials, and comments and suggestions. Popular organizations released their report entitled "Further Freedom to Development, Security and Human Rights for All", which called for governments to take action against threats such as massive human rights abuses and other violent acts against citizens of large scale. He emphasizes that he also urges countries to embrace the responsibility of their support Emphasizing that the primary responsibility for the protection of the citizens of a country lies with the same government and that the international community must maintain a hierarchy in its support process that can begin from humanitarian action and endeavors as the

last resort. Use of military forces. The Secretary-General's report was ultimately subject to modifications approved by heads of state in 2005 (time and time, 1395: 632).

FIFTH-APPROVAL OF THE FINAL DOCUMENT OF THE SUMMIT IN 2005

The summit of the world's nations, on the 60th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, is one of the largest gatherings of history in the field of international law and international law, in which about 170 countries in the world, in order to Bringing together consensus on various legal and political issues, including the theory of responsibility for support, and the doctrine of responsibility was welcomed by the leaders of the world. Therefore, the tallest step in line with the official mandate of this doctrine was taken out in the outcome document of the Summit in September 2005, and in paragraphs 138 and 139, those participating in the 60th General Assembly agree to be responsible for protecting human beings against violations Four major international crime genocide crimes, crimes against humanity, war crimes and ethnic cleansing.

This global consensus is a great success for the advocates of this doctrine. VI. Approval of Security Council Resolution 1674 by the Security Council in 2006 in confirmation of responsibility for support: The Security Council endorsed the provisions of paragraphs 138 and 139 of the Summit by adopting a unanimous resolution on the protection of civilians in armed conflict in 2006.

The resolution, which was adopted after six months of long negotiations, is one of the most important resolutions of the Security Council that for the first time the Security Council laid down standards for humanitarian intervention and explicitly accused the United Nations of the support and commitment of the United Nations in this Relationship refers. The Security Council endorsed two resolutions of 1738 and 1894, respectively December 2006 and November 2009, entitled Protecting Civilians in Armed Conflict.

The deliberate targeting of civilians and other persons protected by armed conflict was a gross violation of rights. Human beings are considered as a threat to international peace and security (Asadzadeh and Haghandi Manesh, 2016: 19-21). Seventh - New Secretary-General's remarks

by Mr. Ban Ki-moon in Berlin in 2008. Responsibility for support: Responsibility is not a conceptual support for humanitarian interventions, but a positive perception of sovereignty means responsibility. The foundation of this thesis is that the responsibility of governments is crucial to respond decisively and timely, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, to protecting people and civilians against crimes and crimes, which can provide a range of measures such as Peaceful measures include, in accordance with Chapter 6 of the Charter of Military and Military Measures, Chapter 7, or the use of regional arrangements in accordance with Chapter 8 of the Charter. He denied that it was solely responsible for the support of the Western governments and the plans of the two former secretaries-general of the United Nations, namely, Petras Ghali and Kofi Annan, as well as the African Union Act of 2000 in relation to the right of the Union to intervene in a State Party following its decision Its assembly is mentioned in gross violations of human rights such as war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity (Arashi, 2013: 84).

Eighth, the 2009 Ban Ki-moon report on the realization of responsibility for support: In his 2009 report Ban Ki-moon noted the need to develop a comprehensive United Nations strategy to enforce this responsibility and to prevent abuse of that concept. Emphasizing the prevention of this strategy and, finally, resorting to a flexible action tailored to the specific circumstances of each case, in the event of failure of preventive measures, stated its three fold basis as follows:

- The responsibility of governments in protecting their nationals against the crimes under consideration.
- International Assistance and Capacity Building.
- The timely and decisive response of the international community.
- The Secretary-General's report was discussed at the UN General Assembly in late July, but despite substantial debates, there was no substantive and substantive resolution (Bellamy and Williams, 2011: 110-111).

In sum, the contribution of the Commission's report to the creation and promotion of this doctrine can be summarized in four main axes:

The first achievement of the commission is to create a new atmosphere for discussing the issue of humanitarian intervention and the right to intervene. The commission does not start the discussion with the right word, but goes beyond the word and speaks of responsibility. The commission believes that in today's world and in the current century, when it comes to massacres, ethnic cleansing, genocide, rape and other organized crime, and the possibility of coping with it or even preventing it by the international community, the attention is not left to the truth, but the starting point of the discussion should begin with more boldness.

What gave this courage to the Commission is focusing on the people who need this support, as well as the regrettable consequences that may have been caused by the international community's procrastination. Indeed, if it is to speak of the truth, this right is the right of victims of these crimes to be protected. The second achievement of the commission, which is closely related to the previous one, is to change the notion of sovereignty from control to responsibility. But the point to be respected and the report emphasizes is the starting point for responsibility, where the primary responsibility for protecting the people of each country lies with the same country. This issue highlights the priority and priority aspect of support. The point

is that countries are less concerned about their sovereignty. Of course, this is not the end of responsibility, when a country cannot or cannot play a role, the international community will take the second step, in order to choose and act on the appropriate means, according to the circumstances. However, most of the discussions that focus on support are centered on the second axis of this responsibility, but the country's own responsibility is to protect its people. Another achievement is to clarify that what will mean the responsibility for providing support in practice for the ruling government in the primary responsibility and for the international community at the time of the inefficiency of the ruling state.

In this regard, the Commission's effort is to understand that responsibility for conceptual support extends beyond military intervention and includes a series of obligations: the responsibility for preventing crimes, the responsibility for responding to them at the time when a set of Includes proposed and mandatory responses, and ultimately the responsibility for rebuilding after a military intervention. The last report, the answer to this question is inevitable, when will the most severe response, military action, be the appropriate response? (Ghaderi and Ghorbannia, 2013: 203-205).
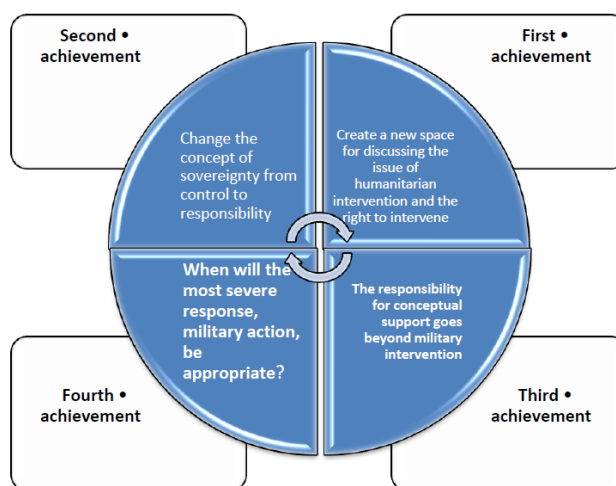
Figure2. *Results and Outcomes of the Report of the International Commission on Intervention and Governance in 2001*

HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION THEORY

The three exceptions to the threat or use of force set forth in article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter of the Nations, and are as follows:

- Security Council authorization under Chapter 7;

- Individual and collective defense under article 51 of the United Nations Charter;

- Satisfaction with the threat and use of force in the territory of a state. These exceptions are set out in the charter and create legitimate conditions that may interfere.

These exceptions are set out in the charter and create legitimate conditions that may interfere with the use of force and to intervene within a state-based system. It was only after World War

II that international law focused on a state-centered system that focused on the rights of individuals. Here may be the idea that the fourth exception is intended to protect the emerging people. As Peter points out, with the international human rights system after the Holocaust and the Second World War, the international legal system relied more on the importance of protecting human rights and the rule of law and human rights, although this theory was balanced, But the issue was raised in a way that humanity and human rights are important, and anyway, regardless of the legal focus on the rights of individuals, humanitarian intervention does not have a clear place in the United Nations Charter. Benjamin commented that since the United Nations Charter, humanitarian intervention was considered illegal, although the United Nations Charter does not forbid it.

Despite the fact that unilateral humanitarian intervention is often labeled as illegal or illegitimate, and is due to the fact that there is no need for humanitarian intervention, except for the authorization of the Security Council under Chapter 7 (the proposal states that humanitarian intervention under one exception) Separately, according to the defenders of intervention, it is based on maintaining international peace and security. Because of the lack of authorization and supervision by the Security Council for humanitarian intervention, many opponents argue that the cost of intervention and misuse of probability is far greater than its potential benefits on the pretext of humanitarian purposes. Hence, the inability to study the consent of the Security Council before the intervention has become a kind of puzzle in contemporary international law systems. Such a failure led to a report from the International Commission on Intervention and Rule of Law, which advocated the creation of a similar principle for intervention as a liability, based on the exception of Chapter 7 of the Charter (Rezaei et al., 2015: 200-2002).

STATUS OF DOCTRINE FOR SUPPORTING US-OCCUPIED IRAQ (2003-2012)

After the September 11th terrorist attacks, the United States launched an aggressive policy to achieve goals like the fight against terrorism, opposition to the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and, more importantly, to address the state of the state and non-conforming nations to the global order.

Accordingly, it initially occupied Afghanistan easily and then for some time, a new front in the Middle East opened up against the Ba'athist government in Iraq. Following the military strike that took place after three weeks in 2003, the Iraqi state was conquered and the rule of Saddam Hussein was overthrown. Bush, in his annual congressional proclamation, congratulated the Iraq war on the success of Middle East democracy establishing democracy in the region is one of its general goals and policies, and promised to double its funding for the Middle East in support of the American liberalization and political climate in the region (Farahani, 2005: 95). Ramesh Takoor, commissioner of the International Commission on Intervention and State Governance, argues that in a post-9/11 world, a resolution on a consensus on standards of support for civil servants would make state work more difficult for a mercenary intervention that is merely They do their best to hide in the humanitarian cover. Meanwhile, opponents claim that Security Council approval under Chapter 7 is a necessary condition, so that unenclosed intervention of the Security Council is a violation of international law (Weiss, 2009: 147).

In relation to the unilateralism of the Bush Doctrine and humanitarian issues, there are two apparently distinct concepts that help explain how this period of mistrust is the doctrine of support for responsibility. How has he shown this lack of confidence in supporting the Doctrine of Responsibility for Support? In practice, the Bush doctrine, with the use of humanitarian justification for using force, has slipped the doctrine of responsibility backed up. The development of the Bush doctrine, with the escalation of tension between altruistic and security interests, has shifted away from the main issue of protecting civilians in the context of humanitarian intervention. Thus, the actions of the Bush administration in intervening in Iraq, on the one hand, were essentially suppressed by the United States and, on the other hand, harmed the newly emerging liability doctrine. Bush's actions undoubtedly led to a reduction and inertia of the real responsibility for support (Andrew and Jarvis, 2013: 225). Evans argued, for example, that a license to unilaterally intervene in Iraq significantly impacted a devastating impact on the norm of responsibility, because it was contrary to the main thrust of this doctrine, and also led to the flare of critics of the Doctrine of Responsibility

for Support Believed that the doctrine was intended to serve the interests of the great powers to grant permission for more freedom of intervention in the affairs of the more fragile states. Another critique of the doctrine of responsibility is to support the fact that it may be applied to the third. The clearest example is the introduction of the "axis of evil" for a United States-led unilateral attack on Iraq. The United States used the norm to protect Saddam Hussein and the Ba'ath regime for serious human rights violations in order to legitimize the invasion of Iraq. The United States certainly was the percentage of legal justification for the support in Iraq. The American goal was to justify political or moral use of force in the Iraq war (Hideo, 2009: 21). Bush, in a 2003 World Press release, said in 2003 at Fort Hood, the largest US military base in Texas, "We have to operate. US action for the liberation of Iraq. Inevitably, in response to questions about his imperialist operation, Bush said that we had the duty of protecting the Iraqi people, which implicitly referred to the responsibility of support. Bellamy shows that the occupation of Iraq has led to the credibility of the idea, namely, the responsibility of the sponsor. This is because of the fact that advocates for a massive use of force in the United States have tried to legitimize their actions by using a language similar to the responsibility to protect the prevention of their interventions. The result is that responsibility for prevention is one of the dimensions of responsibility Support is often mistakenly applied. The Bush administration binds support for "the right to unrestricted intervention." Rice, who played an important role in the Bush administration and the neoconservatives, undermined efforts to deepen the consensus on the role of support for support as an important concept in the war in Iraq. The Bush administration's approach to the responsibility of protecting it was directly related to limiting US commitments to this norm. Certainly, the definitive effects of the Iraq war were a direct consequence of the events and crimes that took place in Darfur. Due to intervention in Iraq, the credibility of the United States as a model of the implementation of this norm had diminished, so the international community failed to respond effectively to the crisis in Darfur due to lack of consensus. The Bush administration's decision to refrain from intervening in Darfur's humanitarian crisis in 2005, along with the international community, resulted in damage to this norm. The role of the United States as a

dominant country means, in order to obtain its fundamental privilege, to allow it to escape multilateral obligations to the doctrine of responsibility. The Bush administration has disregarded Darfur's crisis when it was faced with genocide, ethnic cleansing or the like (Magnuson, 2010: 96-98). In the case of Iraq, it should also be acknowledged that the United States justifies its military operation by stating that Iraqis possess weapons of mass destruction. He also emphasized the use of force against Iraq under the supervision of the Security Council. However, it was difficult for the US to make use of force consistent with international law. The failure to take responsibility for preventing the war in Iraq was another justification for the United States, which was opposed to the Iraqi opposition in the wake of the Iraqi war. Takur, a member of the International Commission on Intervention and Sovereignty, states: "Since the coalition forces In Iraq, they have failed to find any weapons of mass destruction, the protection of man has become the only way left in justification of the US-led Jedagh to overthrow the dictator of Saddam Hussein."A regime change was the real objective of the war in Iraq. The Iraq war The United States has been shifting its policy towards shifting responsibility Give Yer Indeed, the use of the doctrine of US accountability for justifying the "war on terror" has been damaged to the norm of the responsibility doctrine. Therefore, it should be acknowledged that the US military intervention in Iraq and the occupation of this country did not support the doctrine of responsibility, but also other purposes and objectives.

Realizing the Idea of the Greater Middle East and Liberal Democracy:

One of the most important goals of the occupation of Iraq by the US forces, which was initially based on the responsibility of supporting the country, but which went on to prove its true nature, was the realization of the great American Middle East. And the realization of a kind of liberal democracy. As the overthrow of Iraqi government in the direction of the great Middle East project and the transformation of Iraq into a democratic and liberal democratic model for all the Middle Eastern countries was promoted (Eddie, 2005: 16).

The Stabilization of US Hegemony

Another important point about US incentives in Iraq the US Government's National Security Strategy document of 2002 states that time has

come to reassert the role of US military power, we need to build capacity beyond any challenge. As a result, the best defense has been a good and proper attack so that the military hegemony of the US government is expanded. Also, from the context of the text and the actions of the Bush administration, Barber described Barber as a cabinet that had the temptation to play the role of the empire: "The Bush administration, by resorting to the right to unilateral action, preventive struggle and regime change, The struggle and war with the anarchy and the chaos of terrorism were necessary, undermined "(Blum, 2004: 53). The struggle and war with the anarchy and the chaos of terrorism were necessary, undermined "(Blum, 2004: 53).

US Statehood on Iraqi Energy Resources

In this regard, some other studies show that the main reason for the war on Iraq and the removal of Saddam by the United States, which was sealed with the responsibility of support, was the domination and control of its energy resources, and the benefits Many of the energy generated by investing in Iraq's oil fields has controlled Iraq's oil production capacity as a major component of US military intervention in Iraq. Ahmed Saif looks at the issue from another angle and argued that supplying oil, maintaining the hegemony of the dollar, and using oil weapons against other imperialist powers would be the direct cause of the invasion of Iraq, and that the goals of the US government would be worthless (Mokhtari, Knowledge Nia and Qasemi, 2015: 190-191).

Supporting More Israeli Policies and Controlling Shi' A Activities in the Region

One of the main concerns of White House politicians is the security concerns of the Quds occupation regime and the implementation of various policies aimed at restricting Shiite activity in the region. This issue can be considered, on the one hand, as a subset of the Great Middle East. This issue is the aftermath of the political upheavals in the West Asia region called "Islamic Awakening" and the intensification n of anti-colonial activities in countries such as Iraq, Syria, Yemen, Tunisia and Egypt. The growing threat of the spread of Shi'a influence, especially the Islamic Republic of Iran, The potential of the United States has been to the point where the occupation of Iraq

and Afghanistan, under the pretext of responsibility for humanitarian support and interventions, can be seen in the direction of isolating Iran and exerting all-out pressure on it (Guney and Gokcan, 2010: 28)

Doctrine on Supporting Responsibility in the Iraqi Crisis during the Operation of the Terrorist-Takfiris Islamic State

The experience of the Libyan crisis and humanitarian intervention in that country, which was broadly interpreted by the Security Council resolution 1973 (2011), showed that the theory of humanitarian intervention, in its more evolved form, namely, the responsibility of support, could be exploited by the great powers for Providing limited political interest, providing geopolitical goals and changing the regime. Libya's experience effectively cuts down on the pace of development of the humanitarian intervention norm and the theory of responsibility for support. There have also been some cases of humanitarian intervention that took the negative reaction of the international community. Following the intervention of the United States in Panama, the international community rejected the US justification for intervening to restore legitimacy, and the United Nations General Assembly, in resolution 240/44 of 29 December 1989, referred to the flagrant violation of international law, sovereignty, and sovereignty. The territorial integrity of states condemns the US action (Rezaei et al., 2015: 213). With the Syria and Iraq, the Associated Press once again took on the responsibility of supporting the struggle against the terrorist activities in the two countries. According to the authors, the responsibility to support ISIS has also been in line with the US political, security and economic interests in the region and in the pursuit of the hegemony of the country. In other words, the United States did not just take responsibility for ISIL, but also contributed to the escalation of ISIL's terrorist activities, and only when the aftershocks of the terrorist activities of the group reached the borders of the United States and Western Europe in the prevailing The international coalition attacked ISIL's positions in an interrupted manner.

Terrorist-Takfiri Group of ISIL and Political-Security Crises in Syria and Iraq

ISIL is one of the fundamental groups that, with the advances that has taken place in Iraq, has

called itself an "Islamic state in Iraq and the Levant" and has made the region a multimodal equation. ISIL is a group of al-Qaeda members who, in terms of ideological and intellectual tendencies, as well as the behavioral dimension, are alike with al-Qaeda; however, the behavior of this terrorist group over the last decade, especially recent years, has shown that this group Compared to al-Qaeda, it has more radical thoughts and more violent acts. Although ISIS is currently the product of the Syrian crisis and the spread of regional disputes and disputes since 2011, its roots and the process of strengthening it are related to the post-Saddam regime in Iraq, that is, since 2003. In fact, the beginning of the formation of ISIS during the Iraq war and occupation by the United States (Tajik, Alishahi and Majidi Nezhad, 2014: 262).

Initially, ISIS seemed to continue its activities in a particular territory (Syria), like the Taliban and al-Qaeda, but with the spread of ISIL activities in the Caucasus, Europe, Africa and other regions, the threat was gradually tangible It turned out When Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, a self-proclaimed ISIL caliph, claimed Islamic caliphate, and with massive media propaganda, ISIS achieved significant success in recruiting forces from around the world, Regional powers such as the Islamic Republic of Iran, Russia, Turkey and the People's Republic of China have expressed their deep concern over the spread of ISIL's fundamental ideas in their countries. This became more tangible when the scope of ISIL's activities reached Central Asia and even East Asia (Alishahi, Tajik and Forouzan, 2017: 179-180).

United States, Doctrine of Support Authorities and ISIS Issue

With the formation of an IS-Takfiri terrorist group in the West Asia region and the growing and growing crisis in the region, US policies in dealing with this group can be divided into two distinct phases. The first phase, in which the United States, with silence and even tacit support from this terrorist group, was seeking to dismantle the Assad regime in Syria and isolate the Shiites in Iraq.

In the next phase, the United States supported the opposition and supported ISIL instead of supporting the Syrian people. At this stage, the United States opposed public opposition to Russia and the Islamic Republic of Iran rather than resolve the ISIL crisis, and secondly, when the scope of ISIS terrorist activities extends

beyond the borders of the United States and Western Europe In the end, he formed an international coalition to fight ISIL.

A. First, silence of the United States, tacit protections from ISIL and international statements against the Syrian and Iraqi governments: At the start of ISIL's terrorist activities in Iraq, the United States is opposed to the policy of defusing Bashar al-Assad and his withdrawal from power in Syria. Not only did not put ISIS in terrorist groups, but later secret documents were published by Wiki Leaks of England and some other American security agencies that ISIS, in fact, was a US-based West Asian region. There are a lot of documents in this regard; here we will refer to several examples:

In the memoirs of former US secretary of state Hillary Clinton, we can find the US-backed document of ISIL. In his memoir, he acknowledged that "we created ISIS to divide the Middle East." Another book says: "We were supposed to meet with our European friends on July 5, 2013 (July 14, 2013)" Islamic State ". I traveled to 112 countries to explain the role of the United States and an agreement with some friends about the recognition of the Islamic State immediately after its formation, but everything about us collapsed "(McKernan, 2016: 3)."Republican Senator Rand Powell also considered American misconduct and excessive intervention in Syria to create a safe haven for terrorists in the Middle East and anarchy in northern Iraq. He interviewed the CNN news agency, one of the reasons for strengthening ISIL was to send US arms to its allies in Iraq, saying: ISIS was united in Iraq, we were to reject the forces that are loyal to the Damascus government in Syria and the other opponents In Iraq, we gave militants arms and made a safe place for these people in Syria; I think our involvement in Syria has led to the current situation in Iraq."In the case of Edward Snowden, a former NSA contractor against intelligence agencies in the United States," the intelligence agencies of the United States, Britain and the Zionist regime in the formation of the so-called Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) "They formed the ISIL group in Operation" Bee Nest ". According to the disclosed documents, the ISIS group was formed to support Israel, and the purpose of the" Bee Nest "operation was to form a group with Islamic slogans that extremists from around the world, and based on Takfiri thought, arms to the

opposing states Israel's existence symptoms (Tsang, 2014: 2-3) Weardwright Woodson Judge believes that the Americans were aware of the movement of takfiri Ba'athist terrorists to Mosul. Americans are well aware of where the arms are made from, from Saudi Arabia and from the Gulf of Aqaba to Jordan, and militants are being deployed extensively from Israel to these areas. To be B. Second: Aftershocks of ISIL activities in Europe and the United States and the formation of an international coalition in the form of a doctrine of responsibility for support:

Following the advent of ISIL's military operations in June and July 2014, some countries decided to intervene in the urban war that took place in Iraq and Syria. The rapid achievements of ISIL in Iraq and Syria, combined with brutal violence, were the reasons for this dream. Different countries, for various political reasons, at various levels and degrees decided to attend these complicated situations. After the ISIL activities fell outside the control of the United States and the Germans, and the terrorist operations of this group crossed the borders of countries such as France, England, Germany and the United States, the United Nations, as well as the media of the West and the Middle East, called ISIS a terrorist organization The United States, Britain, Indonesia, Australia, Canada and Saudi Arabia have described the organization as a foreign terrorist organization.

The United Nations and Amnesty International have also accused the organization of violating human rights. The United Nations and a number of leaders from all over the world, including France, the United States and Britain, called ISIS a danger beyond the region, calling for this group to be included in the list of terrorists and war criminals. The United States, which now fully perceived the danger of ISIS, in a symbolic act and in support of the Iraqi government, stated that "all options are open to help the Iraqi government" (Wang, 2016: 1). Interestingly, the United Nations only after declaring that ISIS has spread all over the world and committing numerous human crimes by this terrorist group: "This group can be put on the list of terrorist groups and criminals!". On August 24, 2014, the Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution No. 2170 at its 7242 session. The resolution, under the seventh chapter of the charter of the organization, called "ISIL" as a terrorist group with an introduction and 24

articles and 6 annexes, calling for its dissolution. Recalling the previous resolutions on terrorism, the resolution calls on the UN member states to make appropriate decisions to boycott the group in the economic sectors or to put pressure on them. Nations are required to deal with these groups in accordance with UNSCR 1452 (2002), and all member countries are required to place these groups on their prohibited list of countries. The Security Council resolution called for the liquidation and dismantling of the Islamic State as well as the Nusra Front, and placed six of its supporters on the sanctions list. In the meantime, a group of countries before the resolution in their national divisions has put ISIS in a terrorist list that can be cited by the US Anti-Terrorist Office, the British Government Office, and the National Anti-Terrorism Agency of Indonesia (Humud, 2017: 14). These measures took place when the western and important parts of Iraq, such as Mosul, Anbar province and its major northern parts, were completely occupied by ISIL. It took at least two years to declare such a resolution until the formation of an international coalition to fight ISIL. On the other hand, attacks on ISIL positions or so-called American humanitarian interventions against ISIL in Iraq took place in two ways. First, the United States only bombarded ISIL positions in Iraq, which prevented the group from engaging in terrorist activities in US-led areas in areas such as Mosul and Erbil. Indeed, US action was not in the form of responsibility, but preventive measures and protection of military areas and military bases in parts of Iraq. Second, the formation of an international military coalition against Isis is more than a counterbalance to the growing influence of the Shiites of the region and Russia, rather than the implementation of the Doctrine on Responsibility for Humanitarian Aid and Intervention. In other words, the United States and other regional allies such as Turkey, the occupation regime of Quds, Saudi Arabia and the European Union, were well aware of the fact that the invasion of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Lebanese Hezbollah, Russia and other united Iran militias in the danger zone It would be larger than ISIS, therefore, with preventive policies and military presence, they tried to create a kind of balance of power in the region.

CONCLUSION

In this paper, the writers' efforts to provide a solid and scientific response to this question have essentially been the question of the concept

of the responsibility of support in the Iraq crisis during 2003, the occupation of the country from the United States to the present era of the era of the activities of the terrorist-paramilitary group of ISIL How is it in this country? After the September 11 incident, the United States launched widespread military action in different parts of the world in the fight against terrorism and eradicating this phenomenon. From a military strike to Afghanistan until the occupation of Iraq and the demise of the Baathist country. But the reality is that such an intervention, although "humanitarian intervention", has been a bit overwhelming for the imperialist goals and hegemony of the United States, as opposed to the United Nations goals. Finally, it should be added that the authors believe that the military intervention in Syria and Iraq and the equipping of opposition to the government, contrary to the fundamental principles of international law, the United Nations Charter, the Declaration of Principles of International Law on Friendly Relations and Cooperation Between Governments and Other International credentials whose teachings are well documented today in customary international law; therefore, the use of force, with the permission of the United Nations Security Council, or with reference to Article 15 of the United Nations Charter, lacks a legal right to defense. It is contemporary in international law and insists on the necessity of unlawful interference with the council, the international system Lee's legal order prior to the adoption of the Bill, back. Humanitarian intervention without a Security Council license has much negative security, political, moral and legal implications, especially for developing and poor countries, which supporters of the theory are unable to respond to. On the one hand, it should be acknowledged that the formation of an international anti-ISIL coalition and the bombing of the positions of this terrorist group is more than a correlation of the implementation of the responsibility to support a balance of power and close regional competition with Russia and Shi'a resistance.

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