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Changing strategy and foreign policy of the United States regarding Afghanistan and the new interim government of the Taliban

Abstract

The history of Afghanistan has always been accompanied by insecurity, military occupation, intra-sectarian and religious differences, foreign interventions and poverty of the society, which did not turn this country into a field to protect the interests of foreign powers. The relationship between Afghanistan and other countries such as Russia, China and Iran has always been considered in the foreign policy equations of the American governments. Occurrences subsequent to the incidents of September 11 and the military occupation of Afghanistan in 2001 removed the Taliban from power until 2021, simultaneously as the withdrawal of American troops and the fall of Afghan cities. The Taliban put the power at their disposal after two decades. The main question is how can the US foreign policy approach be explained prior to the establishment of the Taliban group? The current research, with the explanatory method according to the theory of realism, seeks to test this hypothesis that the domination of the Taliban at the top of Afghanistan's power did not mean the complete withdrawal of America from that country, but rather for various reasons such as concern about the growing power of China, heavy military expenditures, the presence of regional powers. Like Russia, China, and Iran, the failure to destroy terrorism, disagreement with the Afghan government and agreement with the Taliban can be explained.

Keywords: *Taliban, Afghanistan, America, foreign policy*

ABD'nin Afganistan ve Taliban'ın yeni geçici hükümetine ilişkin değişen stratejisi ve dış politikası

Öz

Afganistan tarihine her zaman güvensizlik, askeri işgal, mezhepler arası ve dini farklılıklar, dış müdahaleler ve toplumun yoksulluğu eşlik etmiş ve bu durum ülkeyi yabancı güçlerin çıkarlarını koruyacak bir alana dönüştürmemiştir. Afganistan ile Rusya, Çin ve İran gibi diğer ülkeler arasındaki ilişkiler, Amerikan hükümetlerinin dış politika denklemlerinde her zaman göz önünde bulundurulmuştur. Afganistan'da 11 Eylül olayları ve 2001'deki askeri işgalin ardından meydana gelen gelişmeler, Amerikan birliklerinin çekilmesi ve Afgan şehirlerinin düşmesiyle eş zamanlı olarak Taliban'ı 2021 yılına kadar iktidardan uzaklaştırdı. Taliban yirmi yıl sonra iktidarı kendi emrine vermiştir. Asıl soru, Taliban grubunun kurulmasından önce ABD'nin dış politika yaklaşımının nasıl açıklanabileceğidir? Mevcut araştırma, realizm teorisine göre açıklayıcı bir yöntemle, Taliban'ın Afganistan'da iktidarın tepesinde yer almasının Amerika'nın bu ülkeden tamamen çekilmesi anlamına gelmediği, aksine Çin'in artan gücünden duyulan endişe, ağır askeri harcamalar, bölgesel güçlerin varlığı gibi çeşitli nedenlerle bu hipotezi test etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Rusya, Çin ve İran gibi, terörizmi yok etmedeki başarısızlık, Afgan hükümeti ile anlaşmazlık ve Taliban ile anlaşma olarak açıklanabilir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Taliban, Afganistan, Amerika, dış politika

Introduction

In Afghanistan, it has a high history of lack of concentration of power and resistance against foreign aggression. For this reason, some have called it the "graveyard of empires" (Katzman & Thomas, 2010). Since the Cold War, the country of Afghanistan has always been a place of power for foreign countries such as the former Soviet Union and the United States of America, and as a result of those internal wars with the Afghan internal forces, as well as internal ethnic and religious differences and as a result, insecurity. There have been murders and rapes that have been compensated for injuries and damages for many years. He has imposed the impossible on the society of Afghanistan. All these factors together with the lack of educational facilities, religious schools and as an outcome the lack of awareness and awakening among the people of Afghanistan create a favorable time for the intervention of foreign powers as well as the rise of extremist Islamic groups. The events of September 11 and the Taliban's refusal to surrender Bin Laden to the United States resulted in their ousting from power in 2001.

The Taliban's strategy shown by this group is to simultaneously advance the expansion of influence and increase threats in the form of military operations, asking the government of Afghanistan and foreign forces, especially America, to show their power. (Mahmoudi, 2020, p. 220). The Taliban fought to regain power in Afghanistan using methods similar to irregular wars that are characteristic of many other revolutionary and insurgent movements (Perić, 2022).

The United States of America always adjusts its foreign policy towards Afghanistan according to the geography of its power, the internal policy of that country, the space that dominates the international structure, and also under the influence of its opposing or rival countries in the region. Following the occurrences of September 11, 2001, the relationship between Afghanistan and America was comprehensive and strategic, encompassing every facet of the relationship between the two nations. The key issue in learning from the war in Afghanistan is not whether the United States could have been much more effective in this war, but the truth that the United States has the strategic values of the Afghanistan mission. Therefore, the re-establishment of the Taliban in 2021, simultaneously as the withdrawal of US military forces from Afghanistan, can be considered as a historical turning point in US foreign policy, as the development in the West Asian region, South Asia and Central Asia under its influence. America, which had made the policy of supporting the government of Afghanistan and fighting the Taliban in its foreign policy agenda, on this occasion, it presented an opportunity for the Taliban to reclaim authority. Considering the strategy of different US governments against Afghanistan from 2001 to 2010, the main hypothesis of this article is tested as to why the United States does not withdraw its military forces from Afghanistan. Mode and change of foreign policy attitude towards the emerging power of the Taliban The basis of what factors can be explained? In any case, various reasons have been mentioned about the reasons for America's withdrawal, according to the theory of realism, the most important of them include curbing China's increasing power in East Asia, failure in the battle against terrorism, and the presence of regional powers, the heavy cost of military presence, agreement with the Taliban, different opinions are indicated with the government of Afghanistan. The current research seeks to explain the change in America's foreign policy attitude towards the Taliban and its exit from Afghanistan by using the explanatory method.

1.Theoretical framework:

A theory should be able to explain different events using its assumptions (Ajili, and Nima, 2018, p. 168). Considering the topic of the research, in this part, we will elucidate the viewpoint of the school of realism, Kent's theory of international politics. Waltz deeply influenced the theory of international relations. The realism developed by Waltz argues that in the international structure, the distribution of capabilities and limitations is based on the enthusiasm of the big powers that create "uniformity" in the behavior of states. According to Waltz, international relations are anarchic and there is no hierarchy filled by similar functional units. Therefore, the composition of the international system is different based on the

distribution of capabilities (Lobell, 2010, p. 2). New realism as the first important model in elucidating the behavior of big powers, with traditional ideas such as: nations acting as primary participants in international relations, the inherent anarchy of the global system, the lack of a solution, the end of war, the power balance and the protection of national interests. It was formed as a response to the catastrophe of the international system and in conflict with the philosophical foundations of idealism. Kenneth Waltz, as the most significant representative of the school of innovation, believes that governments do not pay attention to absolute profit in cooperation, and relative profit is important to them, if it is to their detriment, it will prevent cooperation and its continuation, and this is their result.

Structural realism believes that the nature of the global framework is defined based on its ordering principle (anarchy), system units (states) and the distribution of capabilities (measured based on the number of big powers) (Kenneth, 1990, p. 26). Waltz does not agree that interdependence has increased in today's world (contrary to neoliberals), even if it has increased, it does not increase interaction and cooperation, but increases the possibility of tension and conflicts. The global framework alters when there is an alteration in the principle of the organization, for example, an anarchic structure gives way to a hierarchy. In such a structure, the players who benefit most from the change (as a result of economic and technological changes over time) attempt to modify the system to align with their preferences. Indeed, it is accurate to acknowledge that states are not the sole participants in the international system, but they are the most important and the interaction between their national interests determines the actions of other actors. Meanwhile, non-governmental organizations cannot have a determining and direct effect on the international system.

Realism is faithful to the main beliefs and hypothesis of traditional realism, such as state-centeredness, axial power, balance of power, anarchy, and the integrity and rationality of countries (Fathi, 2020, p. 825). This theory considers the action of the states to be dependent on the material and structural motives of the international system and considers their behavior as an expression of their position in the system.

This theory, considering its factual basis, claims that the chaos of the world system causes the aggressive behavior of governments in international politics. (Fathi, 2020, s. 840) "Aggressive realists" believe that the goal of the states is to increase more and more power so that the state finds a hegemonic position in the international system. In contrast to "defense realists", they see the preoccupation of the states not to maximize power, but to preserve their position in the international system. Aggressive realists share this assumption that states as the main actor seek to maximize power. In other words, "governments are endless seekers of power

and influence" (Lobell, 2012-5). In these years, America tried to use the United Nations and NATO, as well as the Security Council Resolutions of 1994 and 1989, by designing theories such as preventive and preventive operations to carry out military attacks on Afghan soil.

Therefore, the theory of offensive realism explains a more complete and comprehensive look at the components of determining America's foreign behavior in the region of West Asia, especially Afghanistan, whose history goes back to the Cold War era and after that. Gives.

2. The situation in Afghanistan and the new Taliban government

In the past decades, Afghanistan has seen many political forms such as monarchy, communist system and Islamic foundation. But none of these regimes have been able to protect the individual freedoms and civil rights of the Afghan people in the way that has been emphasized in the constitution of this country and in the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Baybordi, et al, 2015, p. 11-111). All these factors along with the lack of educational opportunities, religious schools and as a consequence of the lack of awareness and awakening in the people of Afghanistan create a favorable time for the intervention of foreign powers as well as the rise of Salafi thinking and fundamentalist groups, Anti-Westernism resorting to force and violence and supporting terrorist actions, excessive and extreme violence, disregarding the role and vote of the people in the government and their right to determine their own destiny, opposition to the country's national government, denial of the right to legislate.

From the people and representatives they disregard the known international laws, regulations and procedures, opposition to human rights and Muslim women's rights, gender bias and resorting only to the appearance of the Sharia and anti-Shia in their views and actions. The thoughts and teachings of the Taliban group are dominant. Following the Soviet Union's departure from Afghanistan and the commencement of the civil conflict, the last remnants of political unity in this religious and ethnic region was where the Taliban was born (Ewans, 2002, p. 119). The Taliban was always trying to pretend that Afghanistan, without taking this group into consideration, will have nothing but war, insecurity and chaos. In fact, one of the serious damages of the Taliban's thinking is that, due to the lack of religious and political insight, this thinking has served colonialism and politicians, and the ruling system along with this thinking has lost due to the neglect of reason. It is the backbone of political wisdom and maturity. He has used it for his own benefit.

The Afghan Taliban, whose leadership is in charge of their leadership, has a close connection with the intelligence services and the Pakistani army, and the focus of the activities of the Afghan Taliban is against foreign forces, including the forces of America, NATO and it

is clear that it has a long-term strategy to destroy the central government and regain control over Afghanistan (Acharya, Buhari, SAAS and Sulaiman, 2009, pp. 96-97). At present, the new generation of Taliban, known as the New Taliban, is changing its thinking and belief, and is turning into the superior power of Afghanistan. The fall of Afghanistan's cities one by one by the Taliban in the shortest time simultaneously as the full withdrawal of the international coalition forces to the US command, the political stability of Afghanistan and the security of the borders of neighboring countries including Iran, China has been influenced.

Although this movement has made progress in many areas, it has never progressed so fast, to the extent that Ashraf Ghani Ahmadzai, the President of the Republic of Afghanistan, in a meeting with Ebrahim Taherian. Special Representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran on Afghanistan he says with dismay and surprise: "I never imagined that the Taliban would advance so quickly." The new Taliban generally entered the cities with light weapons and riding on motorcycles. Therefore, they do not have heavy and complicated military equipment. Regarding the superiority of the Taliban over the forces of the Afghan army, it should be said that shortly after the meeting between Zalmay Khalilzad, the person in charge of the Afghanistan file in the US government, with the representatives of the Taliban in Qatar, the progress of electricity the attack on the Taliban started, creating doubts and suspicions. It created a secret among the United States and the Taliban, adding to the fact that America stopped many of its security military collaboration with the government of Afghanistan, and did not include the Kabul government in the course of its exit operations from Afghanistan.

3. The United States and Afghanistan Relations

Afghanistan's relationship with America has always been under the influence of America's opposing or rival countries. American politicians factor in Afghanistan's engagement and diplomatic ties with nations like Russia, China, and Iran when making assessments and strategic decisions. Historically, the relationship between Afghanistan and America is divided into several stages: From 1919 to 1945: In this phase, the structure of the global system was multi-polar, and the relations between America and Afghanistan were purely economic in nature and economic and trade exchanges were always the axis of the relations among both the countries. 1945 to 1989: In this stage, the structure of the system between the bipolar nations and the cold war involving the two western superpowers, headed by America and in the east by the Soviet Union, continues. During this time frame, unlike the preceding period, the association between the two nations is not characterized by economic considerations, but a political nature and is accompanied by economic and military instruments. It is important here

that the side of America's relations is not the current government of Afghanistan, but the Mujahideen of Afghanistan.

1989 to 2001: This period is the period of forgetting and silence of Afghanistan by America, which leads to the existence of terrifying and extremist groups in the region and Afghanistan, of which the Islamic Emirate of the Taliban is a prominent example.

The events of September 11 undoubtedly made the United States "vulnerable" (Satari, 2002, p. 16-17) which opened the opening of a new episode in the relationship and definition of America's foreign policy towards Afghanistan. The events of September 11 led to the creation of a global coalition against terrorism, and the US government demanded the immediate handover of Osama bin Laden, the leader of the Al-Qaeda terrorist group, who was the main suspect in the September 11 attacks, from the Taliban government. The United States of America, with the support of NATO and its own countries, started the combat in Afghanistan in October 2001 and quickly detached the Taliban from the power (Farjirad, et al., 2011, p. 165). After the 11th of September, the relations between Afghanistan and America were upgraded from a normal stage to a strategic stage. In this period, the relationship between Afghanistan and America is comprehensive and includes all dimensions of the relationship between both the countries. Although in the beginning America's goal was only to fight Al-Qaeda and terrorists in Afghanistan, but America soon realizes that the war with Al-Qaeda and terrorists is without creating a state with a broad base that exists through democratic processes.. Also, the conclusion of a strategic agreement between America and Afghanistan has been on the program of the US government since 2005, which was signed in November 2013. The content of the draft of the US-Afghanistan strategic agreement is noteworthy in its contents; including the truth that it is evidently declared in the first article, the goal is the long-term presence of America in Afghanistan, and America has the right to use the entire territory of this country.

In Article 2, there is a broad definition of American forces; from the situation of the forces, both military and non-military, all property, assets and equipment, all the contractors of the US contracting party and their staff members who are in the US forces and under immunity in Afghanistan. In Article 1, According to the organized list, all institutions and assets in Afghanistan are under the control of the United States.

Based on this agreement, the management and command of military operations will be reviewed and coordinated in the joint committee. Important military bases in Shindand, Shurabak, Kandahar, Bagram and Khost will be handed over to America, and America will

control Afghanistan's air space. Tax exemption and exemption from the inspection of the Afghan government, the right to conclude a contract with any company or third country, the responsibility of using the Afghan telecommunication network, are among the other rights of Americans (Masdeghi and Fazlinjad, 2017, p. 132). This agreement, which violated the independence and national sovereignty of Afghanistan, caused reactions inside Afghanistan.

4. Influential variables in America's foreign policy prior to the rise of the Taliban in Afghanistan

The United States' foreign policy, which has an international nature, is for the advantage of the public and citizens, which is included in the country's constitution, and the president of the United States of America has the role of the main decision-making body in the country's foreign policy. Of course, the history of America's foreign policy shows that orientation and decision-making have been made with the collaboration of the legislative and executive forces, which need each other to determine goals and tactics. Although the level of influence of each of these two powers is different and distinct.

Therefore, it is natural that in critical and sensitive situations, the role of executive power is more colorful and clear. Today, the European Union and the United States do not hide the truth that they are mired in an endless and fruitless war in Afghanistan (Mojtahedzadeh, 2017, p. 30). Regarding the examination of the main roots of the change in America's foreign policy that led to the formation of the Taliban, various factors such as; The presence of regional rival powers such as Russia, Iran and especially China in East Asia, the enormous costs of the combat in Afghanistan and its effects on the budget deficit, the failure in the battle against terrorism and the Taliban group, and the erosion of the war. and the presence of America in Afghanistan and the dissatisfaction of the Afghan people, The strength of the new Taliban and the inability of America to control them, the negotiations and the peace agreement between America and the Taliban, and the end of the deadline for the presence of American soldiers, the disagreement with the government of Afghanistan in terms of economy. and the military are among the factors that can explain America's withdrawal from Afghanistan. Note that the most important of them are mentioned below:

4.1 The change of priorities in America's foreign policy from the Middle East to East Asia with the aim of controlling China

Every country is trying to gain hegemony in its surrounding area. The country of China has the characteristics of an economic power on the rise, and therefore it is necessary for the world power to prevent China from gaining the status of an enemy in order to maintain hegemonic stability (Dehshiar, 2007, pp. 39-40). Since 2012, China deepened its intervention

in Afghanistan's security issues and also played a prominent role in potential mediation in Afghanistan's reconciliation and the conclusion of educational agreements. Against Afghanistan, it was also committed to support China's stance on the South China Sea issue and China's efforts to solve this problem (Katzman & Thomas, 2010). Today, the East Asia region is considered one of the sensitive and important areas of the world, and the emergence of China's economic and military power in East Asia is the biggest threat and concern for the United States, which aims to prevent the transformation of China becoming a regional hegemony and also diminishing its global role. It is at the highest of the priorities of America's foreign policy. In the past three decades, with the increase of economic growth and military power, China has faced many reactions from major powers, the United States of America due to its extensive interests around the world, especially in Asia, more than ten Some international players are worried about the increasing power of China.

Therefore, this issue has prompted America to follow the policy of forming a coalition with the countries of the region in order to respond and create a balance against the growing power of China. From 2010, China surpassed Japan and ascended to the position of the world's second-largest economy after the United States. China's spectacular economic growth began following the economic reforms that had been on Beijing's agenda since 1978. From 1978 to 2015, China's average economic growth rate was about 12 percent, and this growth was in different economic sectors and also in different periods, including production, exports, investment, and different components. Competitiveness is evident (Taghizadeh, 2016, p. 132). At one time, the Middle East region was very important and vital for America, because part of the energy it needed for economic growth was provided from this region, and as a result, it should stay in this region and ensure the security of the region. He used to provide for himself and his partners, but now he is using the new technology of shale oil production has turned America into the first oil producer, and its existence in the region has become unnecessary and the cost of its presence is not worth it. Therefore, since America's most important rival is China, it reduces its existence in the Middle East region, especially Afghanistan, and focuses on China and East Asian countries.

From the perspective of China and the United States, both being permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, while they were each other's biggest trading partners in 2018, after Trump came to office (Trump considered China an economic enemy) and tariffs on half of America's imports from China the relationship among the two countries entered a new phase of competition and tension (Lawrence, 2019, p. 67). America's policy is to prohibit the

rise of China as a regional enemy in East Asia, with the support of such powers as India and Japan, so that by assuming the role of balancing the sector, it can be present in Guarantee this area. In the meantime, America, by concluding agreements with India, has strengthened this country against China, and additionally, it has started a strategic alliance with Japan, encouraging this country to strengthen its military force and play a greater role. International arena, an effort it has to create a balance between the power of this country and China.

America's security alliances and the establishment of extensive military relations with the countries around China, including Singapore, Vietnam, South Korea, the Philippines, and Taiwan, can also be evaluated in this regard.

Also, the North Korean missile crisis is considered as an acute security problem in foreign policy of Washington in the East Asia region, and in this direction, the White House is trying to make Beijing exercise control and put pressure on diplomats. A North Korean has come to Pyongyang through this way. It prevents him from carrying out and continuing nuclear tests (Derj and Basiri, 2021, p. 250). Therefore, recent actions taken by China in the South China Sea, especially China's attitude, including the construction of the island and the ownership claims of the resource monopoly, have caused differences in this region.

Initially, it might appear that the disagreement revolves around some rocks and islands, but the reality is different. America, which is a trans-regional country, does not have a share in these differences, but it has an active presence in this region for the reasons of countering China's rise and supporting its allies (Dehshiar, et al., 2019, p. 1). Currently, there is a 95 percent consensus among the representatives of the US House of Representatives and the senators to confront the country of China in East Asia, as well as its strong presence in international arenas. America's only concern about its existence in the East Asia region is China's gaining power, which will lead to the decline of America's hegemony. Therefore, under different titles and excuses, such as supporting the principle of freedom of sea navigation, it is present in that region. This is the character of the states that, in the face of unbalanced powers, either increase their power or look for allies to balance the distribution of power. Therefore, the approach of innovation requires America to reduce the costs of military war in the region of West Asia, especially in Afghanistan, and to focus its power and focus on East Asia and with its strategic United States, including Transfer to Japan and Korea. America is forced to rely on the policy of power balance in order to fight against the challenge of China, which is due to the military power of this country, and the rapid economic development of this country will happen. Two ways are available to balance the unavoidable increase of China's power, which will upset the regional and global balance to the detriment of America. America can focus on internal

balance and curb China's challenge or resort to external balance and balance China's emergence. From Kenneth Waltz's perspective, political balance is automatic and the system requirements demand it. America has no choice but to balance China, except that the leaders of this country think the best thinking framework (Dehshiar, 2008, p. 9).

4.2 Failure in the fight against terrorists at the same time as the new Taliban gaining strength and not being able to confront them

The United States can learn a lot about responsibility for the failure in Afghanistan, but many of them were largely beyond the control of the United States. Many factors, including Afghanistan's divisive political culture and its backwardness at every level of government and overall national development, lack of effective military and security forces related to the government, lack of government and judicial systems, effective at the local level, its internal ethnic and tribal tensions and the lack of any kind of judicial structure for the reconstruction of Afghanistan is included in the failure and withdrawal of America from that country (Perić, 2022). Both liberals and conservatives have criticized the war in Afghanistan and painted an unpleasant future for America, and although they give completely different reasons, they reach the same conclusion. The conservatives see the lack of commitment, wrongly receiving national benefits and disregarding America's global responsibilities as the foundation of the ultimate failure of Barack Obama's policy in Afghanistan, and the liberals believe that there is widespread corruption in the Afghan government and its inefficiency. The politics of the government in Kabul lacked loyalty to the central government among the soldiers and forces. The Afghan government and Pakistan's tacit support of the Taliban in Afghanistan are presented as undeniable and uncontrollable sources in the process of the ultimate failure of America's war policy in Afghanistan (Dehshiar, 2010, p. 14). In addition to the unspecified foreign financial and economic aid of countries such as Pakistan to the Taliban, their other sources of income, including the sale of narcotics, access to mines and trade, can be measured as one of the most significant factors. The cast of America pointed out against the Taliban (Perić, 2022). America imagined that by using military force, it can give Afghanistan the root of terrorism, and a victory in Afghanistan will mean the defeat of terrorism, which is considered the biggest enemy of America. The only factor that gave global legitimacy to America's presence in Afghanistan was the fight against terrorism, which aggressive realism formed the basis of America's foreign policy in the Middle East, especially Afghanistan.

America's political and military failures during the years of its presence in Afghanistan caused Washington, by admitting its defeats and acknowledging the power of the Taliban group,

which currently controls the government of Afghanistan, to establish a representative office in Afghanistan. Taliban in Qatar agreed to establish a relationship with this group. (Baybordi, Et al., 2015, p. 122).

4.3 The enormous costs of the war in Afghanistan and the deficit of the American domestic economy budget

Despite having the world's largest economy, according to the economic analysis, a portion of the financial crisis in the United States of America and other Western countries can be attributed to the expenses incurred due to military interventions in this particular country. It is in Iraq and Afghanistan (Javadi Arjamand, 2008, p. 13). Since the time of Donald Trump, America has been looking for the reduction of useless and excessive war expenses in Afghanistan, and it knows very well that the increase of military forces in Afghanistan will not only solve the problem of peace and security of Afghanistan.

Recently, the amount of war costs was released by the Watson Institute at Brown University, which has brought the total costs of the war for the United States in Afghanistan from 2001 to 2021 at 2.26 trillion dollars (SIGAR, 2021, p. 29). Hence, it is evident that the absence of direct American presence in Afghanistan, especially when that country is involved in insecurity, has been to the benefit of America and to the detriment of rival countries such as Russia, Iran, and China. America's decision based on the withdrawal from Afghanistan was made by Joe Biden, the President of the Republic of America, in the condition that the American government and society had major financial problems.

At the same time, it is possible to refer to the speech of the President of the United States of America on April 14, 2021, based on the fact that the United States will leave Afghanistan in September 2021: "Despite the threat of terrorism that is now in many of There are points for me and our leaders to hold. It is not logical to have thousands of forces in one country at a cost of billions per year. We cannot continue the cycle or expansion of our military presence in Afghanistan, hoping to create ideal conditions for withdrawal, and expect a different result (Perić, 2022). America's direct presence in Afghanistan was very expensive, financially and in terms of security risks for American personnel. This includes direct and indirect costs for everything from military equipment to homeland security and death assistance for the families of fallen American soldiers.

Some costs, such as ongoing medical care for veterans, will continue despite the end of the US military presence in Afghanistan. According to Brown University statistics on the cost

of war, September 11, 2001 in America and after that the attack on Afghanistan, which led to the defeat of the Taliban rule, it is estimated that 241,000 people have died directly in the war. In this regard, the US Congress has been trying since 2010 to, if possible, use the war military budget to eliminate some military activities in Afghanistan, including activities related to military operations and support and use of Limit ground forces (Belasco, 2011). Joe Biden, the President of the United States, while calling the war in Afghanistan expensive, the war of two decades of the United States in Afghanistan had brought 300 million dollars a day. The importance of the withdrawal of American soldiers was to a degree that the former President of the United States, Donald Trump, defined and praised Biden's decision to withdraw from Afghanistan as an "excellent and positive work" After the withdrawal of American forces from Afghanistan, Bayan announced in a statement read to the American people: "We now have what is called over-the-horizon capabilities, which include drones." Therefore, it should be remembered that most observers and analysts define the costs of America's war in Afghanistan as more extensive than the congressional budget allocation (Belasco, 2011).

4.4 The emergence of regional competitors such as Russia, China and Iran

The three countries of Russia, Iran and China in the region come to the conclusion that they can have extensive relations with one another in the type of comprehensive cooperation programs in economic, military, political, and relations. Organize new tasks in the framework of international duties. The mentioned countries need each other in terms of providing foreign capital, energy supply, as well as providing regional stability and security, and the national interests of the three countries require it, considering that they are under the sanctions and psychological warfare of America, plan joint collaborations in the form of common interests. China has a special view on Afghanistan in order to access the country's minerals in the first place. Meanwhile, Iran, which is a regional power, has its own foundation, and no other power is responsible for this power, and basically China and Russia have officially recognized Iran as a regional power.

Iran signed an agreement in 2013 to develop economic cooperation with Afghanistan, especially the export and import of goods from Iran's Chabahar port to that country (Katzman & Thomas, 2010). On the part of Russia, which has been playing a more cautious role in Afghanistan since the end of 2015, it has been seeking to curb the authority of the United States in Central Asia, although it has been tacitly accepting the existence of the United States in the region for years (Katzman & Thomas, 2010). In such conditions, the parties cooperate with each other in some areas and face serious competition in other areas. Despite the existence of

other countries above, America cannot compete and have a conflict with them. Therefore, it has no choice but to change its strategy in the region. The extensive cooperation between these three countries in the Asian region, especially in economic and military terms, has caused the United States to see their alliance and cooperation in conflict with itself and feel threatened. It seems that America accepts the power of opposing countries in the region as a regional power and does its best not to lead to tension and conflict with them, but it is looking for it to be able to He has secured his own national interests in the region. And prevent the decline of your power.

4.5 Disagreement with the current government of Afghanistan and agreement with the Taliban

One of the challenges that the government of Afghanistan has always faced is the challenge of security and stability, which has not been able to form a proper government with a real and integrated nation, and the presence of other countries in it, even without post-colonialism. It has failed to create a relative stability (Mojtahedzadeh, 2017, p. 33). "If we try to change Afghanistan, to make a different people out of them, we will surely fail." This is the speech of the English historian Michael Howard, who is from the bitter experiences of the three imperial wars. Britain is growing in Afghanistan, the inevitable consequence of Barack Obama's current policies (Dehshiar, 2009, p. 99). America's assessment of Afghanistan was that the process of state building and nation building in this country with the existence of diverse and different groups and ethnicities will never come to fruition and even the Taliban group as a part of the Afghan society. Therefore, the big western countries were not able to bring the people of Afghanistan under the control of their impossible challenge during the last three centuries. Even today, it is clear that America is not able to make them oppressive.

A constituent element of the United States policy to help create a self-sustainable Afghanistan is to encourage economic development and integration into regional business patterns, for which Afghanistan has been reliant on international aid for many years (Katzman & Thomas, 2010). Of course, the westerners have not been able to integrate Afghanistan in the international system and integrate this country into the global capitalist structure. Afghan governments have not succeeded in establishing their currency and equations in the country (Dehshiar, 2012, p. 158). Hence, one of the most significant factors mentioned as the factor of the Taliban's power in Afghanistan is the gap and difference of opinion among the government of Afghanistan and America, the most significant of which is explained below: A: America's negotiation with the Taliban: It seems that the negotiation with the Taliban was accepted by the governments of both Afghanistan and America. The mentioned agreement did not mean a definitive end to the war and violence in Afghanistan, because the main priority in this

agreement was to secure the national interests of America and the Taliban, and one of the most significant matters, including the national sovereignty of Afghanistan, was neglected. Another noteworthy point is that in this agreement, the government of Afghanistan at the time, as a primary participant in the nation, had no role and signed without coordination with it. Therefore, the main complaint of the Afghanistan government at the time to America was why it has unilaterally entered into negotiations with the Taliban group and does not include the government of Afghanistan in the process of negotiations. B: Civil rights: The Afghan government's support of the people's civil rights in the matter of killing innocent and defenseless people has always been a subject of disagreement among the parties, as well as the anger of the Americans against the Afghan government. C: Failure to deal with Pakistan: For the Afghan government, there is a serious question that America knows well that Pakistan supports the Taliban group, why Washington does not take serious restrictive measures against this country. give In fact, the issue of America's tacit support from Pakistan or lack of serious dealings with that country made the politicians of Afghanistan's government at the time pessimistic towards America, and it made people think that America does not want Afghanistan's crisis. Solve D: Political, economic, and cultural and security reconstruction of Afghanistan: The government of Afghanistan objected to America due to the lack of collaboration between security reconstruction and cultural economic reconstruction.

This slow process of economic reconstruction has led to the amplify in the power of the Taliban and the weakening of the Afghan government, and as a result, the people are dissatisfied with the government and the presence of the Americans in the country (Shafii, 2009, p. 111). In addition to the disagreement with the Afghan government, it was the issue of America's peace with the Taliban that marked a new stage for Afghanistan's political destiny. Trump, the previous president of the United States, who had put the withdrawal of military forces from Afghanistan on his agenda, started peace talks with the Taliban. Talks among the United States and the Taliban ended in February 2020 with the signing of a peace agreement among the two sides. This agreement contains elements such as the withdrawal of American forces from Afghanistan, the release of prisoners by the Taliban and the Afghanistan government, the holding of a dialogue between the Taliban and the government, the establishment of a permanent ceasefire and peace. Security in Afghanistan as well as the Taliban's lack of support from terrorist groups as the focus of negotiations between the states it was the United States and the Taliban group that apparently ended the war between the two sides and opened a bright horizon for the future of Afghanistan. The parties agreed to a gradual withdrawal based on the terms of 14 months

and the removal of military forces from the United States, its allies, and coalition partners, including non-diplomatic civilian personnel, contractors it includes private individuals, trainers, consultants and service procurement staff. The main focus of this agreement was the timing of the withdrawal of US military forces from Afghanistan and the Taliban group's guarantee of not turning Afghanistan into a base for international terrorism.

4.6 Erosion of war and direct presence in the region

One of the consequences of Barack Obama's presence in the White House is the change in Afghanistan's position in America's grand strategy. After taking over the levers of power in Washington, the democrats have brought a different understanding of how to give life to security immunity in different dimensions. In America's grand strategy, which the Ministries of Defense and Foreign Affairs have played a large role in shaping its nature; Afghanistan was centered against the eight-year period of George W. Bush (Dehshiar, 2010, p. 18). In this regard, the issue of Afghanistan became the focus of Obama's foreign policy. Although the centrality of the issue of Afghanistan and the increase of the maximum number of soldiers in the United States' foreign policy is more than in the direction of the national interests of the United States, it is for personal interests and the election campaigns of the president of the Republic of the year. 2008 and Barack Obama was a candidate.

Therefore, the increase in the number of soldiers in Afghanistan, which was started in 2008 by George W. Bush, was continued by Barack Obama, the succeeding president of the United States (Belasco, 2011). The difficulty of the war with the Taliban was to such an degree that the New York Times government newspaper reported on October 1, 2012, in an article with the title "America's Desperation to Establish Peace with the Taliban" that American soldiers hope for it. They have lost the caste of the Taliban and a political agreement is desirable. It cannot be achieved with this group in Afghanistan.

The wear and tear of the war and the ambiguity of the possibility of establishing a government in Afghanistan have caused the plan of foreigners to leave Afghanistan to face the opposition of some western authorities (Haqpanah, and Maliki, 2013, p. 17).

In any case, with the passing of years of the war in Afghanistan as the longest attrition battle in the history of the United States, the military forces with this argument should be according to the truth that "we have achieved those goals. Bin Laden is dead and gone." It has been humiliated in Afghanistan, so the time has come to end this war forever." So they left Afghanistan (Perić, 2022).

Conclusion

The United States' foreign policy, after realizing the danger of communism's penetration in Afghanistan, has paid special attention to that country, which supported the Afghan Mujahideen during the Soviet attack on Afghanistan, so that it could advance its goals and policies. implement the weakening and withdrawal of that country from Afghanistan. The important point is not the gaining of power of the new Taliban, but the alteration in the attitude of America's foreign policy and the peace agreement between America and the Taliban in order to withdraw its military forces from Afghanistan. Reggae America by following the principles and assumptions of the school of realism with Relying on the material and structural motives of the global system in this period of history explains that the most important factors are as explained below; 1- The Middle East was a vital time for America, which provided part of its energy needs from this region. Therefore, he should have ensured the security of the region for himself and his allies, but now his presence in the region has become unnecessary and the cost of his presence is not worth it. Therefore, since America's most important rival is China, it reduces its existence in the Middle East region, especially Afghanistan, and focuses on China and East Asian countries. In order to preserve its economic stability and hegemony on the world stage, America has become closer to its regional allies in East Asia and is rising to compete economically with China. Therefore, if the process of China's economic rise and growth continues without disrupting the balance of power, the United States' position will be endangered economically and it will also lose its hegemony in the world arena. 2- The United States' political and military failure in the battle against terrorism and the Taliban during 20 years of direct presence in the domestic and political scene of Afghanistan caused Washington to take a backseat from its primary position against the Taliban showed to the extent that in the direction of establishing relations with them He approved the establishment of the Taliban representative office in Doha. As it was said, America's inability to destroy the Taliban is due to the existence of social, cultural and religious roots in the Afghan society.

3- The heavy cost of the war and the direct presence of American military forces in Afghanistan is very high in terms of finances and security risks. The costs of the war in Afghanistan increased from 19 billion dollars in the 2005 fiscal year to 31 billion dollars in the 2006 fiscal year and 39 billion dollars in the 2008 fiscal year (Belasco, 2011). 4- The emergence of new economic military powers in the region with the presence of countries such as Russia, China, and also the extensive relations and cooperation between these three countries in the Asian region, especially in economic and military times it has become the United States of America, their alliance and cooperation against them. 5- The persistence of the combat and the

existence of American soldiers in the conditions where the security, economic and social situation of Afghanistan is still unstable, and the 20-year military presence of Washington, apart from war and bloodshed, will cause billions of dollars in damage to the nation, killing a large number of American soldiers and NATO members. The killing of thousands of Afghan citizens has not helped the security and stability of Afghanistan. In the end, considering America's withdrawal from Afghanistan, it is essential to see the future of relations between the neighboring countries in the West Asia region with the presence of countries like Russia, Iran and China at what level can be analyzed and evaluated? It is suggested that in the continuation of the current research, the issue of relations between countries such as Russia, China and Iran, as the three powers with influence in Asia, with Afghanistan, which have a unique and historical relationship, will be studied. Also, the decision-makers of the neighboring countries in the field of foreign policy should consider this issue that extensive commercial and economic cooperation with Afghanistan is immediately required, particularly in terms of export and import of goods from Chabahar port. There will be peace and security in Afghanistan through this communication channel.

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