



**Mohammad Ekram Yawar**

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3198-5212>

Dr., Turkey, [ekramyawar93@gmail.com](mailto:ekramyawar93@gmail.com)

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## **The Joe Biden administration's decision to withdraw from Afghanistan and the dominance of the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan (Taliban): Plans and Strategies**

### **Abstract**

*Despite the fact that America had spent a lot of money since 2001 and after the collapse of the Taliban to advance the project of nation-building in Afghanistan; but this militant group was able to take over Kabul again on August 15, 2021. The action of the Taliban in Afghanistan was accepted at a time when Joe Biden had determined his new policy towards Afghanistan based on the withdrawal of America from this country; for this reason, many experts should know that the control of the Taliban is the result of the government's policy, which was followed by Trump before. However, another question and concern that was raised at this time was whether the steps should be taken in relation to the withdrawal of the United States from a pre-determined regional plan with specific goals and foundations, or whether it was just at the top to reduce America's foreign spending and on the basis of partisanship. Did the democratic government accept this incident? The authors of this research have tried to compare these two views based on the method of case study. The result of this study shows that despite the existence of two main views on foreign policy, different components and variables should be included in the strategy for Afghanistan, which is a multi-faceted approach. This multi-factor approach has been presented by the authors in the end.*

**Keywords:** Afghanistan, Taliban, America, Joe Biden



## Joe Biden hükümetinin Afganistan'dan çekilme kararı ve Afganistan İslam Emirliği'nin (Taliban) Hakimiyeti: Planlar ve Stratejiler

Öz

*Amerika'nın 2001'den bu yana ve Taliban'ın çöküşünden sonra Afganistan'da ulus inşası projesini ilerletmek için çok para harcamasına rağmen; ancak bu militan grup 15 Ağustos 2021'de Kabil'i tekrar ele geçirmeyi başardı. Taliban'ın Afganistan'daki eylemi, Joe Biden'ın Amerika'nın bu ülkeden çekilmesine dayanan Afganistan'a yönelik yeni politikasını belirlediği bir zamanda kabul edildi; bu nedenle birçok uzman Taliban'ın kontrolünün, Trump'ın daha önce izlediği hükümetin politikasının bir sonucu olduğunu bilmelidir. Ancak bu sırada gündeme gelen bir başka soru ve endişe de Amerika'nın çekilmesiyle ilgili adımların önceden belirlenmiş, hedefleri ve temelleri belli bir bölgesel plan çerçevesinde mi atılması gerektiği yoksa sadece Amerika'nın dış harcamalarını azaltmak için ve partizanlık temelinde mi atıldığıydı. Demokratik hükümet bu olayı kabul etti mi? Bu araştırmanın yazarları, vaka çalışması yöntemine dayanarak bu iki görüşü karşılaştırmaya çalışmışlardır. Bu çalışmanın sonucu, dış politikaya ilişkin iki temel görüşün varlığına rağmen, Afganistan stratejisine farklı bileşenlerin ve değişkenlerin dahil edilmesi gerektiğini, bunun da çok yönlü bir yaklaşım olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu çok faktörlü yaklaşım çalışmanın sonunda yazarlar tarafından sunulmuştur.*

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Afganistan, Taliban, Amerika, Joe Biden

### Introduction

Following the terrorist attacks of September 11, America determined its strategy towards Afghanistan and during the execution of a series of military operations, it captured this country and after the collapse of the Taliban, in the direction of achieving the project of nation-state building. Based on this, since 2001, the US government has spent a lot of money in various military, administrative, educational, construction and other infrastructures of the Afghan government in order to implement its plans. In fact, these plans were adopted in the direction of fighting terrorism and transforming the government and society of Afghanistan into a free political and social system, within the framework of those fundamental times of extremism, centrism and selfies. to disappear in this country and from the side of the strategy of controlling other competitors, especially China, Iran and Russia in the region (Leake 2020, p. 10-14). America's policy in Afghanistan, which started with George Bush's attack and continued during the Obama era, with a policy based on increasing and then reducing forces, entered a new phase during the Trump era, it entered a new phase did not consider this country to be the only guarantor of American national interests, but he also called the exorbitant expenses in this region as unproductive for America's foreign policy.

This policy was continued by Biden's government and Joe Biden also introduced the issue of America's withdrawal from Afghanistan as one of the most important principles of his

foreign policy towards the region. The announcement of the decision was made regarding the issue of Afghanistan when the Taliban group, which America had been fighting against for more than 20 years, was suddenly able to conquer Kabul the capital of Afghanistan again on August 15, 2021 (France website, 2021, p. 24). This takeover took place under the conditions that America did not show any significant military response against the Taliban forces.

The government's policy regarding the takeover of Kabul, created a wave of confusion and questions in front of political experts and people in various parts of the world, based on why America, after 20 years of fighting, suddenly gave way to this group. Is this issue considered a failure for the 20-year American policies in Afghanistan, or was it a strategy with specific and predetermined goals? Based on this, the main goal of the writers is to examine the two main views that should be formed in relation to the foreign policy and the control of the Taliban in Kabul and to show what arguments each of these views has. The authors use a comparative method to examine these different points of view (France website, 2021, p. 24). The necessity and importance of examining the above topic originates from this issue that by comparing the previously presented viewpoints, in addition to being aware of the basis of the analysis provided regarding the exit policy can be evaluated. A more realistic and comprehensive analysis was taken, and the future situation of Afghanistan was also included in it. After reviewing the views, the writers will give their own opinion at the end.

### **1.Review of Literature**

Considering the truth that more than two years have passed since the new developments in Afghanistan and the Taliban's domination of this country, many university studies have not been conducted in this regard and more research is needed. The work carried out at this time is for analysts and specialists, thinkers and researchers; however, the authors try to review some of the research related to the topic of this study. Madiha Afzal, during the analysis in November 2021 entitled "Biden was wrong about Afghanistan " At the Brookings Institute, he tried to show that his strategy was a mistake in the case of America's withdrawal from Afghanistan, while examining the policy. From this writer's perspective, the best strategy for Biden could be to make America's withdrawal conditional on the peace agreement between Afghanistan and more efforts to ensure the rights of Afghan women. In his analysis, which he presented in 2021 in Hindu magazine, Stanley Jani tried to examine the reason for the exit strategy from Afghanistan. From this writer's perspective, one of the main reasons for taking such an approach was to contain China. Emrah Kaya has also explained the reason for leaving Afghanistan during the analysis he made in 2021 in "Ankara Institute for Political Studies and Crisis". This writer believes that one of the major reasons for the departure from Afghanistan was the stabilization

of the region in order to achieve the goals of America. In an analysis entitled "Reasons for Accelerating America's Withdrawal from Afghanistan" which was published in 2021 in the Strategic Council of Foreign Relations, Mohammad Reza Asghari Muradi examined the issue of whether to withdraw from Afghanistan. From the author's perspective, America's withdrawal was more of a failure because after years of trying to rebuild Afghanistan, America never achieved success, and that's why the government had to decide that the forces He expelled Americans from Afghanistan. Emad Abhshanas has also presented his analysis on Sputnik about the main reason for leaving Afghanistan. This researcher believes that America left Afghanistan with a specific purpose and this exit was not without a plan and suddenly. As it has been stated, no special research paper or academic plan has been presented at this time, and most of the analyzes presented have tried to evaluate one aspect of the issue of America's exit. Based on this, the innovation of this research is that it aims to present different views in this relationship, which is mainly based on the two axes of "America's failure in Afghanistan" or "a pre-determined plan and plan". In fact, this research first provides a type of meta-analysis regarding the analyzes and viewpoints that have been raised, and in the end, it also proposes alternatives.

## **2. Research Methodology: A Comparative Analysis**

The method of comparison is considered one of the oldest and most rooted methods of research and analysis of natural and social phenomena and human thoughts, the history of which goes back to the ancient era, where thinkers are at the heart of it. Because Plato and Aristotle have thought about the diversity of governments (Steinmetz, 2019, p. 233). The comparative or applied method is considered to be one of the four main methodological approaches in science, which is important along with other methods, i.e., statistical method, experimental method, and case study method, and includes analysis and correlation analysis. It is among variables that are different or similar to each other (Steinmetz, 2019, p. 233). In general, in the method of comparison, a researcher pursues two main goals: the first goal is to find common ground between two phenomena or points of view, the second goal is to study the differences between the two phenomena or thoughts (Harsij, 2002, p. 12). The method of comparing them is used in the direction of applied investigation of natural and social phenomena, but it can also be used in the field of comparing human thoughts and analysis; In fact, as David Collier, has stated, one of the major goals of the comparison method is to evaluate rival explanations (Collier, 1993, p. 108). Based on this, the authors in this study use the method of comparative analysis to show what views they should have regarding the policy regarding Afghanistan, which is based on America's withdrawal from this country and different arguments each

perspective is presented that has been given about the reasons for leaving Afghanistan. As stated, two main views have been presented in this context: the first view considers Biden's actions and policies as confusion and strategic failure, the second view considers Biden's policy as the goals are defined and explained in advance. Based on the method of comparing the analyzes and the issues presented by both points of view, the authors have collected and explained the arguments of each and finally presented their own point of view.

### **3. Definition of Terms**

In this part of the study, we try to explain some concepts and terms for the purpose of reminding or better understanding of the readers.

#### **3.1. The Taliban and Al-Qaeda**

The Taliban is a Pakistani paramilitary group with Salafi beliefs, which has called its ideal government the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan. This group, which has formed its identity around the Pashtun traditions and manners and radical attitude of Islam, has started its activities since 1994 against the Soviet encroachment into Afghanistan (Bosin, 2009, p. 1). The current leader of the Taliban is Hebatullah Akhundzadah, who took over the leadership of this group after the death of Mullah Akhtar Mansoor. At present, the Taliban has once again managed to take over Kabul and establish the government of their choice in Afghanistan.

Al-Qaeda is another Salafist and paramilitary group that was created during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in Peshawar under the leadership of Osama bin Laden. America claims that this group launched terrorist operations against America in 2001, and the main reason for America's attack on Afghanistan was these terrorist attacks. Ayman al-Zawahri was the recent leader of the Salafi-paramilitary group of al-Qaeda. Al-Qaeda considers its goal to be based on real Islam and against American imperialism, and for this purpose, it has created different branches in different regions of the world (Armajani, 2011, p. 200-190).

#### **3.2. "Global War on Terror" Policy (GWOT)**

The policy of "War on Terror" or "Global War on Terror" is a comprehensive plan that was presented by George Bush after the events of September 11, and its basis was to find and stop terrorists all over the world. The wars in Afghanistan and Iraq were considered a part of the global war against terrorism, in which the Bush administration pursued a policy against global terrorism. This term also refers to the diplomatic, financial and other actions taken to deal with financing or safe haven for terrorists.

George Bush believed that this policy will continue until terrorism is eradicated and will become one of the main pillars of America's foreign policy. In his speech on September 20, 2001, Bush clearly stated that our war against terrorism begins with Al-Qaeda; but it does not

end here. This war will not end until every global terrorist group is found, stopped and defeated (George Bush Library, 2022).

### **3.3.DOHA Agreement**

The Doha Agreement refers to the peace talks and agreements between the US and the Taliban during the Trump era, which began on February 29, 2020 in Doha, and its main goal is the withdrawal of US and NATO forces from Afghanistan in exchange for commitments. Taliban are not threatening and protecting America's interests in the region. These meetings were the first direct peace talks between the Taliban and the Afghan government, which were supported by major powers such as China and Russia, as well as Afghanistan's neighbor, Pakistan.

### **4.A Look at the History of the Appearance of the Taliban in Afghanistan**

The roots of the formation of the Taliban go back to the Cold War and the era of Soviet domination of Afghanistan, an era in which many so-called Mujahideen groups, including Al-Qaeda, are fighting. It was in such conditions that the Taliban emerged as a radical Islamic movement and a nationalist group based on the Pashtun and other ethnic groups in Pakistan. This movement under the leadership of Mullah Mohammad Omar Mujahid and with the support of Pakistan and Saudi Arabia was able to rapidly increase the number of its forces until the fall of 1994. The original members of this group were religious students from Afghanistan who were able to take over Kandahar and then Herat until 1995. After that, until 1996, Kabul was taken over by this group and the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan was formed by the Taliban. During the conquest of Kabul, the Taliban hanged Mohammad Najibullah, the former president of Afghanistan, who ruled Afghanistan from 1992 to 1996, and after the initial victories he applied Islamic laws in all areas under his control.

Until the fall of Kabul at the end of September 1996, the Taliban had control over 22 of the 31 provinces of Afghanistan, and on this basis, this group from September 1996 to May 1997, in order to maintain its control over to take over Mazar-e-Sharif (Bosin, 2009, p. 1) when the Taliban group was struggling to expand its influence and internal struggles, some of the members of Al-Qaeda were carrying out anti-American armed operations in there were different parts of the world, among them there were attacks. which this group did in Kenya and Tanzania (1998) against the American embassy.

At this time, the main leaders of al-Qaeda, Osama bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahri, were in Afghanistan, and the United States carried out attacks on Afghan soil in order to deal with them, which caused the issue to escalate. It was the anti-American policy of the Taliban, which

controlled 90 percent of Afghanistan at that time. In response to America's attacks, the leader of the Taliban stated that "Ben Laden and Al-Qaeda are guests of the Taliban and the people of Afghanistan and the Taliban will never hand over Bin Laden to America." Also, the leader of the Taliban stated that "America itself is the biggest terrorist in the world." In the past, in 2000, al-Qaeda members in Yemen attacked an American destroyer, killing 17 of its citizens (Armojani, 2011, p. 200-190). The countermeasures of America in Afghanistan caused the policies of Taliban and Al-Qaeda to become more hostile towards America and from the side of America's position towards this group also with the establishment of the Bush administration, which was the result of the September 11 attacks and the subsequent American war in Afghanistan.

### **5. George Bush and the War in Afghanistan after 11 September**

The September 11, 2001 attack on the World Trade Center building was the beginning of a new chapter of the US foreign policy towards the Taliban and Afghanistan, because it was the government behind the attacks that Al-Qaeda claimed responsibility. Preservation of America's national security is linked to the fight against terrorism, the Taliban and Al-Qaeda (Leake, 2020, p. 10-14). After the attacks, the Bush government announced the "war on terror" policy and stated that "this war will continue until every terrorist group in the world is found, stopped and defeated" (Lee, 2003, p. 30). Based on this, in October 2001, the US government first requested the Taliban to hand over Osama bin Laden and all the Al-Qaeda terrorists to this country; when the Taliban began surrendering members of Al-Qaeda, Bush called preventive action against the Taliban in Afghanistan as the most necessary strategy of the United States to deal with terrorism attacked Afghanistan with the help of NATO forces under "Long Term Freedom Operations" based on it outside the territory of America. The result was the defeat of the Taliban in early 2002 and the formation of a new government in Afghanistan (Leake, 2020, p. 10-14). After the fall of the Taliban, the new government of Afghanistan was formed under the leadership of Hamid Karzai, and the United States later started its efforts in the direction of nation-building in this country. With this in mind, the Bush government expanded its military forces in Afghanistan over time and increased their number to 25,000 by 2007, and made exorbitant expenses in various areas. According to the report of Brown University, the United States spent about 2.26 trillion dollars in Afghanistan until 2021, which was mainly related to the budget for emergency operations abroad for the Ministry of Defense.

Also, since 2001, the United States has allocated more than 144 billion dollars to the reconstruction of Afghanistan, which includes programs and projects in the fields of the creation of the Afghan security forces, the improvement of the governance, help for economic and social

development and fight against illegal drugs. From May 2002 to March 2021, the US government also spent 88.3 billion dollars on training and equipping the Afghan army. Only these costs were incurred during this period, as many as 243,000 people were killed in the war in Afghanistan (Sabga, 2021). Based on this, although the Bush government expected that this war would end soon and the government's process construction in this country is also non-stop as a result, the reality of the war in Afghanistan progressed in a different way, and Bush left the legacy of war and conflict for future governments.

### **6.Barack Obama and the War in Afghanistan**

The expectation of the American citizens and the world public opinion was that Obama, with his democratic attitude, would be able to bring the war in Afghanistan to a conclusion as quickly as possible and subsequently withdraw the American forces from this campaign. Why? that earlier in his election campaigns, solving the problem of Afghanistan was one of his priorities the foreign policy had introduced itself and stated that "success in Afghanistan is still possible, but on the condition that we act quickly, wisely and decisively" (Davis, 2011, p. 192) on this basis. He has decided to fight this war as soon as possible it will lead to a result. Obama's main strategy was to increase and quickly return troops to America, and on this basis, in a speech on December 1, 2009, he not only announced the increase of troops in Afghanistan, but also promised which will bring the American forces home from Afghanistan by the middle of 2011; therefore, the arrival of more forces and the immediate and quick end to the US operations in Afghanistan until the middle of 2011 was the main basis of Obama's strategy around Afghanistan.

Based on this, he increased the number of American troops and in 2010, about 33,000 new troops entered Afghanistan, and in 2011, the number of American troops in Afghanistan reached 100,000 soldiers (Chatterjee, 2010, p. 3). Obama's government brought in these forces he knew most of the successes of America in Afghanistan and believed that all forces will be withdrawn soon after the great victory. From his point of view, this plan is necessary to paralyze the Taliban, train the Afghan army, create stability in the government, and then withdraw the American forces by the end of the second term of the president of the republic. After that, Obama reduced the number of troops to 8400 by 2016, but he was never able to fulfill his promise based on the defeat of the Taliban and the return of the troops to America (Kurtzleben, 2016). Therefore, the challenge of the Afghanistan war still remains for the Trump administration to adopt a new policy at this time.



### **7. Donald Trump and the War in Afghanistan**

Donald Trump was one of the main opponents of the continued presence of American forces in Afghanistan, and during Obama's time, he strongly insisted on America's withdrawal from the war.

For this reason, he emphasized in a tweet in March 2013 that "America should leave Afghanistan immediately." Trump believed that Obama's policy based on the rapid withdrawal of troops is a logical issue, and therefore America should leave Afghanistan as soon as possible because we are in Afghanistan alone, "we are wasting money" (Pramuk, 2013) with such a view, during his presidency, like Obama, "ending the war in Afghanistan forever" is one of the main principles of the policy, he declared himself, with the difference that he took more practical steps in this direction. In fact, Trump's main strategy in this direction was to make a peace agreement with the Taliban, which took place in February 2020.

This agreement had foreseen the withdrawal of American forces and its allies from Afghanistan within 14 months, and in exchange for the Taliban, it promised that it would not allow hostile actions against America and its allies from the soil of Afghanistan. In this agreement, the release of 5,000 Taliban prisoners from Afghan prisons was foreseen in exchange for 1,000 Afghan soldiers held captive by the Taliban. These talks that took place in Doha, although there was a difference of opinion, but it was recognized as the basis of Trump's foreign policy towards Afghanistan, and it showed that the position of Trump's government is close to foreign policy. Trump wanted to reduce the number of American troops in Afghanistan from 4,500 to 2,500, and then withdraw these forces completely from this country by January 15, 2021.

When Trump announced his policy regarding the withdrawal from Afghanistan, many of the political and military officials of the American Republican Party criticized this policy and the withdrawal of all forces. Americans have declared the re-emergence of the Taliban as dangerous and time-consuming from Afghanistan. For example, Liz Cheney, stated that the Taliban cannot be trusted and that America's withdrawal should be determined by the conditions on the ground, not by "arbitrary deadlines" (Shesgreen, 2021) citing the Trump administration as the reason. The failure of the presidential elections could never lead to a policy of complete withdrawal from Afghanistan. Researcher, therefore, the follow-up of the issue of Afghanistan and the withdrawal of troops should be transferred to the presidency of the republic.

Of course, after Trump's defeat in the elections and in subsequent periods, Christopher Miller, Trump's last interim defense minister, presented a different view on Trump's exit policy from Afghanistan. According to Christopher Miller's statements, Trump never wanted to completely withdraw US forces from Afghanistan, and according to the President's public promise to end the withdrawal of US forces. It was just a game that hid the real goals of the Trump administration. These goals include "persuading Ashraf Ghani, the President of the Republic of Afghanistan, to withdraw or accept the power sharing agreement with the Taliban and to keep some of the American forces in Afghanistan." According to Miller, this issue was due to the fact that America had reached this conclusion that it could carry out anti-terrorist operations with only 800 to 850 troops in Afghanistan. Miller states that Trump's failure in the elections did not allow him to implement this plan (Shesgreen, 2021)

### **9. Joe Biden and the Fall of Kabul**

Joe Biden took charge of the war in Afghanistan at a time when Trump increased the number of troops to 2500 and a peace agreement was in progress between the US and the Taliban. In such conditions, the Taliban also conducts military operations in the field in order to gain more victories (Tucker, 2021), which resulted in the control of this Salafist Islamist group over Kabul on August 15, 2021. The fall of Kabul took place at a time when Ashraf Ghani, the President of the Republic of Afghanistan, fled to the United States of America to show that America's many years of efforts to achieve the nation-building project in this country have met with failure. and the Salafist and ethnic groups in this region have a lot of power; but the ambiguous part of the events in Afghanistan was the position of the Biden government and the reaction of the American army against the Taliban's early domination of Afghanistan, which raised a wave of questions about the policies and positions of the United States regarding the fall of Afghanistan. Why did America, after 20 years of fighting in Afghanistan, suddenly open the field to the military conquest of the Taliban? Was this issue caused by the weakness of the American military forces and the weak foundations of the nation-building state in this country, or did the global and regional interests of America require such a delay? In the continuation of the discussion, we will try to explain the two main views formed in this relationship.

### **10. Different Views about Biden's Policy against the Rule of the Taliban in Afghanistan**

At the same time as the Taliban took control of Kabul and the policy of the government should be faced with this early victory, two basic views on the strategy should be formed for Afghanistan. The first point of view was based on the strategic failure of Biden and the whole

of America in Afghanistan, which criticized both the complete exit policy and the exit policy without a plan and accompanied by responsibility. The second point of view, contrary to the first point of view, calls Biden's action not an unplanned policy, but a predetermined plan and strategy, in the heart of which the interests of the American region will be better secured. According to this point of view, permission to conquer Kabul should be issued to the Taliban with knowledge and predetermined plans. In this section, we will examine each of these views.

### **10.1.A Strategic Failure**

General Frank Mackenzie, the head of the American command staff, has stated that the root of the chaos and chaos in Afghanistan goes back to the Doha agreement, based on which America decided not to get its troops out of Afghanistan. From his point of view, this agreement created a destructive psychological effect on the military forces of Afghanistan and encouraged the military movements of the Taliban.

The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the US Armed Forces also called this event a "strategic failure" that was caused by the wrong policies of the US government (France website, 2021, p. 24) in addition, reference The Central Intelligence Agency of America should also advance as much as possible regarding the state's negligence. The Taliban and their domination of the field have been mentioned in Afghanistan.

These authorities have stated that weeks before the fall of Kabul, we had warned about the possibility of the rapid collapse of the Afghan government and army, but this warning was not taken into consideration by the government. It was (NBC News, 2021) the issue that the government should deliberately solve the problem of falling. Afghanistan has not been taken into consideration or whether it is due to wrong results or from the strength of the Taliban and the cohesion of the Afghan army. Interest and party attitude should be related. Opponents of America's military intervention across borders argue that America's military presence in other countries not only secures the interests of this country, but also endangers its national interests. These issues of other countries have nothing to do with America and the only priority is the national security of America. As KATO thought, the opponents of the US military presence in Afghanistan argue that "continue to endanger the lives of US soldiers and spend billions of dollars in the hope that it will end." Van turned Afghanistan into a stable Western-style democracy, not a realistic option or a choice.

This group mentions examples from Vietnam and other regions such as Iraq, Libya, and Syria, where America's intervention has made the situation worse than better" (Galen Carpenter, 2021) In this spectrum, let's say that It was also emphasized earlier: "The time has come to end the war in Afghanistan forever", "The war in Afghanistan was never meant to be a multi-

generational action" and "We decided to attack." We entered the war with clear goals. We have achieved those goals" (New York Times, 2021). In this way, we can leave Afghanistan despite the CIA warning and awareness about the fall of Kabul. There is a mistake about the situation of the government and the army of Afghanistan. Although he considered the exit issue, he did not consider it possible for the Taliban to dominate Kabul. Although the available evidence emphasizes the first point of view, because even after the Taliban took control of Afghanistan, he strongly defended his government's positions in the process of withdrawing from Afghanistan, and he emphasized that America "no It has no vital benefit in Afghanistan except to prevent the attack on American soil. And his action was a "choice, a real choice between leaving or intensifying the tension."

Also, in support of his actions in Afghanistan, he stated that "I was not going to prolong this war forever" (New York Times, 2021) and about the Taliban's control over Kabul. His government clearly stated that "from the facts that we are dealing with now I am deeply upset, but I do not regret my decision" (Khalid, 2021). However, action should be taken, based on a hasty exit without a plan, which was highly criticized by the supporters of the American military intervention and many experts, as they noted that the government he is repeating America's mistake based on withdrawing from Vietnam.

Many believe that with this action of the government, China and Iran will expand their influence in Afghanistan and China can enter Afghanistan into its belt-tightening plan and have the upper hand in this. The country should have (Hurley and Morgan, 2021). Nilofar Sakhi, in The Atlantic Council argues that with the withdrawal of America, Russia, China and Iran are increasing their influence in Afghanistan. According to him, "the withdrawal of American forces has created more motivation for Russia to expand its military presence in the region." And "China is also evaluating the political prospects in Afghanistan" (Sakhi, 2021) Donald Trump, the former president of the United States, was also among those who strongly criticized the politics in Afghanistan and called it a big failure. Trump called the Taliban's takeover of Kabul "the biggest humiliation of foreign policy" in the history of the United States, and told his supporters that: "The failed withdrawal from Afghanistan should be the most spectacular result of shameful inadequacy."

In relation to the exit policy, Trump had to state that "this was not an exit, but a complete surrender" (Hurley & Morgan, 2021). Leon Panta, one of the veterans of the Obama administration, former director of the CIA and Minister of Defense, Aqbanshini Ameri with "Bay of Pigs". (The unsuccessful invasion of Cuba in 1961 during the time of President John F.

Kennedy) has been compared and stated that the White House should be more prepared to deal with the fall of Kabul (Khalid, 2021) the Republican Political Committee of the US Senate, while also criticizing Biden's policy, stated that the failed withdrawal of Biden's government from Afghanistan caused American citizens and allies to face the wrath of the Taliban. On the other hand, this defeat emboldens the Jihadi terrorists, and America's competitors and opponents also pay special attention to this issue because it was after the fact that China used its threatening rhetoric against Taiwan has increased and Russia and Iran have also taken this unsuccessful retreat as a sign of decreasing influence.

This committee also stated that they should try to cover up their mistake of blaming the Taliban's control over Afghanistan on Trump and his peace agreement with the Taliban (U.S. Senate Republican Political Committee, 2021).

### **10.2.A Pre-programmed Plan to Achieve Regional Goals**

Although many consider the US withdrawal plan without a plan as the reason for the Taliban's control over Kabul and even emphasized the strategic defeat of the US in Afghanistan, some believe that the fall of Kabul and the Taliban's attack on this country is a result of a planned strategy to achieve America's special goals in the region. It has been and is not possible that after 20 years of fighting in Afghanistan, America will suddenly place the government in the hands of the Taliban. This group argues that the main goal of America from this action can be to create annihilation or to form an anti-Shia Salafist government in the region in which the balance of power is at the expense of Iran, China and Russia. It will end in favor of America and its regional allies.

William Danvers, explains in the Hill publication that China, Russia and Iran benefit from the security that America created for them in Afghanistan, but the current situation of all three countries has worried them. Six (Danvers, 2021) an analysis about the recent issue of Afghanistan in Sputnik accepted, the Americans' predetermined plan to achieve their foreign policy goals against China, Iran, Russia and India has been emphasized.

In Sputnik, Emad Abshanas rejects the view that the government should withdraw from Afghanistan just because of the huge military expenses or the factional and ideological view based on the opposition to the military presence in Afghanistan. The goal and behind-the-scenes strategies regarding America's decision regarding the situation in Afghanistan He decides.

Actually, on the basis of this attitude, America has abandoned its announced policy due to high costs, but the practical policies of this country are very different from what has been stated. According to the argument of this writer: "The Americans have definitely come to the conclusion that it is better for this region to create insecurity for the neighbors" and "When

Afghanistan is unstable, it is actually the time for the activities of opposition groups." Iran, China, Russia and India will be provided and this is something that America wants it" (Abhshanas, 2021). Pirmohamed Malazhi in the Strategic Council of Iran's Foreign Relations has also presented such a point of view, and regarding the Taliban's control over Afghanistan and the position of the government, he should have stated that: "for Washington, it is only the issue of Afghanistan itself." The province is not important, but the issues of Central Asia, Iran, Uighurs and China it is more important for America in fact, America's presence in Afghanistan is aimed at containing China" (Malazhi, 2020). Stanley Jani explains in the Hindu magazine that the exit plan from Afghanistan should be a basis it was a pragmatic strategy, the basis of which was China containment. It is: "In Mr. Biden's new reality world, supporting the Afghan government or the endless fight with the Taliban does not have any purpose for America's national security; but confronting the emergence of China is vital for America's interests, because a stronger China can challenge America's global supremacy." (Johny, 2021). Emrah Kaya is another researcher who emphasizes on America's predetermined policy against the fall of Kabul. He who has presented his analysis in "Ankara Research Center for Political and Crisis Studies" states that America's withdrawal from Afghanistan is a strategic shift for regional and economic stabilization. Some of this instability was against his competitors.

From this analyst's point of view: "America believes that it can limit Russia and China with the least cost through a retreat plan that causes instability in Afghanistan." He also states that: "America is leaving Afghanistan and by reducing its costs in the country to a minimum, it is trying to stabilize the region in a controlled manner." (Kaya, 2021). Most of the analysts who consider the policy of the fall of Kabul to be a predetermined strategy, try to make this strategy as a balance of American power against Russia, Iran, and China, which are connected in the heart. A political revolution or an extremist and Salafist government will take place.

### **10.3. Writers' Point of View**

Most of the analyzes that have been made regarding the policy towards Afghanistan and the decision to leave this country have been based on a single-factor approach, so that some of this policy is simply a result of some type. The confusion of the Biden government or the long-term failure of the United States in Afghanistan has been read and some others also believe that the action should be a planned policy with specific regional and strategic goals and it cannot be considered as confusion and failure.

It is very difficult to present such views that are based on a specific reason in the field of international politics; because political phenomena happen under the influence of various

factors. Based on this, it is necessary to consider other factors and consider alternative scenarios. Such scenarios and components that are in the form of two views of "predetermined plan or strategic confusion and failure" can be considered as including these cases:

**A: A Predefined Strategy**

1. The exit from Afghanistan should be considered in order to create harmony in the region.

Security of Russia, China and Iran

2. Exiting Afghanistan in order to focus more on East Asia and containment of China.

3. Exit due to the end of successful American operations in Afghanistan at the time of the destruction of Al-Qaeda and prevention of imposing more military costs on the shoulders of America (claim of the Biden government).

**B: The Strategic Confusion of the Biden Government or the Failure of America's Long-term Strategy in Afghanistan**

1. Departure is due to a decision made in exchange for an action. (Doha peace agreement in the Trump era and the progress of the Taliban in Afghanistan)

2. Exit to reduce US costs in Afghanistan and prevent further defeat in the region.

3. Leaving with confidence in the Taliban's inability to regain control of Kabul (due to the government's misconceptions about the capabilities of the Afghan National Army)

According to the mentioned scenarios, the more realistic analysis will be to say that the government should, in the form of its partisan attitude, and considering the peace processes created during the Trump era and the advances of the Taliban in Afghanistan, acted as a kind of catalyst for the partisan policies, the exit policy as the most logical strategy is chosen.

The constant emphasis on leaving Afghanistan before the fall of Kabul, as well as the information about the possibility of the fall of Kabul and the advance of the Taliban through the authorities of the Central Intelligence Agency of America, shows that the ratio they acted decisively to make such a decision (NBC News, 2021). But whether the adoption of this policy indicates the failure of the Biden government or the long-term strategy of America in the region or whether it is a successful strategy is considered to be the future political processes and future goals. If we look at the issue from the point of view of America's nationalization project and long-term strategy, America has definitely failed in Afghanistan, because after 20 years, this goal has not been achieved, but has been witnessed. We are once again under the control of a Salafist government in this region. But in the case of the failure or victory of the policy, it should be stated that this issue will have a direct relationship with the future situation. How regional and transregional powers (especially Iran, China, and Russia) will be affected by this exit

(increase in influence or decrease in security) and this policy will affect America's hegemonic program and influence in the region. The main determinant of failure is the direction in which the future will move or the victory of the strategy should be in Afghanistan. Of course, you should consider the issue of leaving Afghanistan not as a failure, but as a specific and successful strategy on your part to end the military presence and avoid excessive American costs in Afghanistan after successful operations. The destruction of al-Qaeda is known (New York Times, 2021); although the opponents have considered it a defeat for both the government and America's long-term strategy in the region.

### **Conclusion**

The decision to be based on the withdrawal of the US military forces from Afghanistan and the early control of Kabul by the Taliban was one of the surprising facts of 2021, which is the time for the formation of my views and opinions. Differences around strategy and policy should be provided. This research tried to put these views around the two axes of strategic failure and a pre-programmed plan to achieve the goals of the region under investigation. The first point of view, which is supported by many members of the Republican Party of America, calls the fall of Kabul a strategic failure and believes that the exit without a plan and without responsibility. The government's failure should be considered as a result of its weak foreign policy towards Afghanistan. provided such a situation for formation. This point of view does not accept the re-control of Afghanistan by the Taliban and emphasizes that the return of the Taliban to Kabul means the failure of the American project in this country, which should be paid to the government. According to the arguments of this group, this defeat was a time to create negative attitudes from the supporters and regional allies of America, and it can strengthen the influence and power of America's competitors in the region. The second point of view is strongly opposed to the strategic failure and withdrawal of America just because of the wasteful spending in this country, and it insists on the predetermined plan of the government in order to achieve regional strategic goals.

This point of view states that America's withdrawal from Afghanistan and the Taliban's control over Kabul have taken shape in the direction of America's balance against China, Russia and Iran, and this balance is also in the form of regional chaos and the domination of a tyrannical government. Fee is applied to Afghanistan. In general, it is very difficult to present a single-factor analysis and emphasize on a single variable as the cause or root of the formation of a phenomenon or behavior in the field of humanities, because in the field of social sciences there are various types of we are facing a series of interconnected, unpredictable and unknown



variables that can be a social phenomenon or event under his influence. In this regard, other scenarios can be designed that include a group of influencing variables. For example, it is possible for the Biden government to understand the growing influence of the Taliban after Trump's agreements, on the basis of its party view and in order to reduce the cost of America in this country. In order to accurately analyze this topic, the influence of various factors such as the development of the Taliban in Afghanistan, the results and goals of the Trump-Taliban agreement, and Biden's political and ideological attitudes should be taken into account. The government should take advantage of the US power vacuum in Afghanistan from the Afghan army made it a case study and evaluation. This research only focused on the description of two basic and often conflicting views that were formed at this time. But other researchers can evaluate the impact of each of these topics on Biden's decision as a separate research topic or evaluate other viewpoints created at this time.

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