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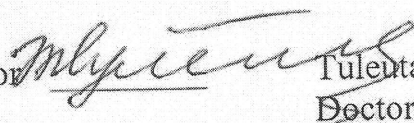
**CONSEQUENCES OF THE NATO WITHDRAWAL FROM
AFGHANISTAN**

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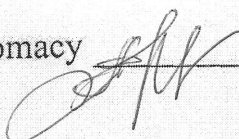
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ABBREVATIONS

NATO	–North Atlantic treaty organization
ISAF	–International Security Assistance Force
RSM	–Resolute Support Mission
US	–United States
TAPI	–Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India
UN	–United Nation
CASA	–Cantral Asia South Asia
ISIS	–The Islamic State of Iraq and Al-Sham
SDR	–Special Drawing Rights
USAID	–United States Agency For International Development
IMF	–International Monetary Fund
NGO	–Non-governmental Organizations
ETIM	–The East Turkistan Islamic State
ANSF	–Afghan National Security Forces
PRT	–Provincial Reconstruction Teams
UNICEF	–Unites Nation International Childern’s Emergency Fund
TTP	–Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan
CIA	–Central Intelligence Agency
APTA	–Afghanistan Pakistan Transit Agreement
ISI	–Inter-Intelligence Agency
AQ	–Al-Qaeda
CNPC	–China National Petroleum Corporation
BSA	–Bilitaral Security Agreement
USD	–United States Dollar
BRI	–Belt and Road Initive
ISKP	–Islamic State – Korasan Province
WB	–World Bank
SRO	–Stabilization and Reconstruction Operation

INTRODUCTION

The military intervention of NATO in Afghanistan was its first mission out-of-area according to the Article 5 of its charter, more ever in December 2001; base to the United Nation, 1386 resolution of Security Council International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) established for the security of post-Taliban Afghanistan [1]., in 2010 for the first time the decision to withdraw US/NATO troops from Afghanistan made at the Lisbon conference, decided that US/NATO forces will leave Afghanistan after 2014 and will gradually transfer security responsibilities to afghan security forces and after 2014 NATO's mission changed into Resolute Support Mission (RSM), which was a non-combat mission in accordance with the UN Security council resolution 2189, and just limited to training, consultancy, air and logistic support of afghan national security forces, In contrast, NATO forces remained in Afghanistan until 2021, finally after lengthy negotiations between the Taliban and Americans, both sides reached an agreement and signed the Doha agreement, which have paved the way for US/NATO to withdraw its forces from Afghanistan at the end of August 2021.

In December 2001, in the Bonn city of Germany, the United Nations-supported an international conference, in which all concerned parties of the Afghan conflict participated, except, the Taliban and Hezb-e Islami party, this conference aimed to take appropriate steps and make the decision about post-Taliban Afghanistan, concurrently, in this conference Hamid Karzai was selected as the head of interim government of Afghanistan, furthermore, in the 2002 emergency Loya Jirga, which was organized for the official ceremony of transferring power from previous president professor Burhanuddin Rabbani to Hamid Karzai, No members of Taliban and Hezb-e Islami were invited to participate [2].

On December 5, 2001, a Peace Agreement was signed at the Bonn conference, according to the decision of the conference, the UN-mandated international peacekeeping force under the name of ISAF in Kabul and its surrounding areas to keep the security, From August to October 13, 2003, base to the UN Security Council resolution 1510 (UNSCR), NATO officially expanded its role in Afghanistan and took the command of the ISAF mission till 2014 [3].

As the withdrawal of US/ NATO forces from Afghanistan is hot talk, a decisive and important issue for Afghanistan and the region, it become an interesting field for the researcher to write essays, articles, books, works of literature, research paper, reports regards the withdrawal of US/NATO, nevertheless, to analysis the reasons of withdrawal, implications including impacts on political, economic and security stability of the region and Afghanistan and which may cause and create critical challenges, thus to find out these critical challenges, particularly, it was needed to look more deeply into the past 20 years and discuss the past situation, in this context, it was so significant to make analytical research.

Maybe there is a considerable amount of literature, and research, which has been conducted to specify the consequences and challenges after the withdrawal of NATO troops from Afghanistan to global security, furthermore the criteria that differ this research from others are, that this study discusses various aspects of withdrawal to address new Events, changes, challenges and implications that Afghanistan has faced after the withdrawal, and the subsequent collapse of the state and its implications on the economy, trade, security, health, banking and more important the interaction of the new government with the international community are discussed, somewhat that we are mainly focusing presence of NATO after 1990, who authorized the NATO to go to Afghanistan and was this withdrawal voluntarily or as a result of pressure, so, therefore, it is very important to research to explain the recent challenges created after this withdrawal in 2021.

The purpose of the project

- To explain the **existence** of NATO after the collapse of the former Soviet Union
- To explain who authorized NATO to undertake this important mission.
- To explain the withdrawal of NATO troops from Afghanistan, was it voluntarily or as a result of pressure.
- What would be the possible consequences and challenges of this withdrawal to the security of the region and Afghanistan?
- What would be the possible solutions for the challenges created after this withdrawal?

Expected results

- The existence of NATO after 1990 will be described.
- The strategy of US/NATO against terrorism and narcotics will be analyzed.
- The different aspects of the withdrawal of NATO from Afghanistan will be explained.
- The challenges created after the withdrawal of NATO will be discussed as possible solutions.

Research question

This study will investigate the possible consequences of NATO and US withdrawal from Afghanistan and the region. To achieve this goal, the following question will be answered: what were the strategic goals of US/NATO in Afghanistan? What was the reason that US/NATO decide to withdraw their troops from Afghanistan? What would be the possible consequences and challenges of this withdrawal for Afghanistan and the region?

Practical significance

As a practical matter, the fate of the world's security and stability is linked to the existence of NATO, particularly, after its involvement of NATO on the global war against terrorism is remarkable, which began with the military intervention in Afghanistan.

LITERATURE REVIEW

For the first time, the decision to withdraw US/NATO forces from Afghanistan was made at the Lisbon conference in 2010, in which concerned parties decided that US/NATO forces will leave Afghanistan after 2014. After this decision, gradually the transfer of security responsibilities to Afghan national security forces was started, at the same time, NATO's mission changed into a resolute support mission (RSM), which was a non-combat mission following the UN security council resolution 2189, just limited to the training, consultancy, air and logistic support of national security forces of Afghanistan, in contrary NATO's forces remained in Afghanistan till 2021, after lengthy negotiations between the Taliban and Americans, both sides reached an agreement and signed the Doha agreement. A Part of that agreement was the withdrawal of US/NATO forces from Afghanistan.

The strategic weakness of US/NATO (counter-terrorism and narcotic, state-building) in Afghanistan, which left behind a weakened and poorly functioning state, automatically this condition puts impacts the security, economic and political situation of central Asia, which is a strategically important region of Russia. Russia considers that the presence of US/NATO was an obstacle to the intra-afghan political settlement, as the withdrawal might open the door for negotiations to find the political settlement of the intra- Afghan conflict. Russia will have to play a second-tier actor role [4].

The NATO withdrawal from Afghanistan is due to the real-world importance and reduction of US national interest in Afghanistan, as they pay attention to the power changing structure in Asia, hence this withdrawal arises global questions and could have global consequences [5]., furthermore the presence of NATO troops is not important, rather than to financially support the Afghan government, one of the US strategic goals in Afghanistan to open the southern transportation corridors for central Asian states, to reduce the influence of Russia and China on this important strategic region, additionally, the US intended to secure Afghanistan for the transit trade, as to put an end to the financial reliance of Afghanistan on foreign assistance. The stance of Russia after the withdrawal of US/NATO, Russia wants to keep away central Asia region from the threats (drug trafficking, terrorism, spread of radical ideology) that comes from Afghanistan [6]., the expansion of NATO to the east, kremlin had to take this issue series; as it becomes a challenge to the national security of Russia in the future[7]., After US/NATO withdrawal in 2014, the insecurity affects the wider region, so the continuation of this situation will compel Russia and china to take appropriate measures because this region is historically the influence area of Russia and China and will determine the new balance of power [8].

One of the key objectives of US/NATO in Afghanistan, was the establishment of an effective and democratic government, after withdrawing U.S/NATO troops, a small number of troops will remain to train Afghan Security forces and conduct counterterrorism operations, due to the numerous reasons the US/NATO failed to

achieve that goal [9]., eventually after the withdrawal of NATO troops in 2014, the region will face with a power vacuum, the US must encourage the regional countries for economic integration, in which Afghanistan will have a four-way status between these countries, so economic cooperation will lead to regional stability. As currently, these countries are following different goals, hence this is the biggest obstacle in front to their effective regional cooperation [10].

The report reviews Obama's policy and the effects of withdrawal on the political and military aims of the US in Afghanistan[11]., For nearly two decades the US supported the Afghan government with billions of dollars, but the result was the collapse and on August 15, 2021, the Taliban once again entering to Kabul, questions have been raised by the member of congress, regards the US policy in Afghanistan, this report will look back to the related question and consideration of congress members for future implications [12].

On December 19, 2018, President Donald Trump announced the full withdrawal of US/NATO troops from Afghanistan, negotiations between the Taliban and the senior American envoy have been started for a political settlement, what will be the possible consequences of withdrawal [13]., After the withdrawal of NATO in 2021, the fall of the Afghan state and transfer of power to the Taliban are discussed[14]., After twenty years the NATO leaving Afghanistan, international humanitarian organizations are concerned about the consequences of the geopolitical move [15].

When the Biden's administration announced the decision to withdraw the international forces from Afghanistan by the end of August 2021, NATO's foreign and defense ministers held their first meetings with United States Secretary of State Tony Blinken and Secretary of Defense Lloyd Austin, they said that there is no other option, 'In together, out together' but some of the NATO member countries were unhappy with the decision of withdrawal [16]., Some questions regarding the withdrawal of NATO from Afghanistan are answered, which was a source of concern for some Western powers and argues that the security vacuum will be filled by China [17]., the assessment of causes and the consequences of the strategic failure of NATO in Afghanistan and the withdrawal marks, as the failure of Western state-building efforts in Afghanistan [18]., Accordance to the Article 5 of the statute of NATO, since 1995 the growing role of NATO in different missions have been examined (especially in the Greater Middle East)region, where the US has significant interests, the report argues that it seems that NATO, becomes a global security organization in terms of future membership [19]. The withdrawal of U.S. troops from Afghanistan may produce new security threats, as well as economics and will open a new chapter of relations for regional countries [20]., After the withdrawal of US/NATO from Afghanistan, China will more likely to Invest in the Natural Resources sector of Afghanistan, as china was discomfort with US's long-term presence in Afghanistan, eventually, this will increase china's influence in Afghanistan [21].

After the NATO withdrawal from Afghanistan, they have to leave behind a government that can secure Afghanistan and can provide sustainable development [22].,

What would be the scenarios after the withdrawal of the US/NATO and realities on the ground that will help to have a prediction about Afghanistan's future [23]., Because of Russia and China, the main reason for the US withdrawal from Afghanistan is pursuing its global strategy, but both are serious concern the about Western failure and regional security [24]., the report invites the neighboring countries of Afghanistan to actively take part and become the strategic partner of Afghanistan after the withdrawal of US/NATO in 2021 [25].

On April 14, 2021, President Biden announced that up to 30 August 2021, all US/NATO forces will have been withdrawn, following the decision of withdrawing US/NATO from Afghanistan., The possible consequences and outcome of the US withdrawal on different parts of the Afghan government [26]., this study aims to find out the legal justification of the US/NATO interference in Afghanistan and its implications on different aspects of Afghan society [27]., The impact of NATO withdrawal from Afghanistan on the security situation of Afghanistan and the region, the thesis argues that the withdrawal of NATO forces from Afghanistan will lead to a significant deterioration in the security situation and will have a problem for the security of Afghanistan's neighbors [28].

Finally, all the above research papers, articles, reports, and books, on one hand, have covered the prospects of regional countries and challenges about the withdrawal of NATO troops from Afghanistan, which might be a problematic issue for their future.

On the other hand, some scholars have conducted studies about the possible consequences of NATO withdrawal from Afghanistan, indeed these studies are conducted during the time, in which US/NATO was present and had just planned their exit from Afghanistan, as well as some of them, do not cover the subsequent exit of US/NATO troops and their implication on the different aspects of Afghan society and region, hence it was important to do research and cover the recent consequences and challenges that happened after the complete withdrawal from Afghanistan.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research methodology is the most important part of a study, which allows the researcher to understand what data should be collected, where should be collected, and how to analyze and design the collected data to find the solution for the research problem. The research methodology selected for this study is a qualitative approach that is explanatory and case study. The strategy designed for collecting data is document analysis and The research method designed for this master project is library-based study, Naturally, the research that is based on library, secondary data is used to analyze the issue, so using this method will give us this ability to search and analyze the issue in Books, research articles, newsletters, literature review, and internship possibilities, etc. the method which is used for data analysis is the content method of data; the Time scale, this research started in 31, august, 2021, and it has taken nearly one year.

In this study, physical resources such as computers, the internet, papers, desk, and print, are used. Also, this research needs human resources (supervisor and researcher) and time resources (nearly one year). Indeed this study explains the US/NATO military intervention, objective, and the reason behind the withdrawal of NATO and analyses the possible consequences, and challenges for Afghanistan and the region. Finally, the study will be ended by finding key recommendations for all stakeholders of the 20 years of conflict in Afghanistan.

CHAPTER ONE

Analysis and result of the study

NATO is one of the two military organizations of the cold war era, it aimed to protect the US and Europe against the threats posed by the soviet union, today as a practical matter the fate of the world's security and stability have a close link with the existence of NATO, particularly the involvement of NATO in the war on terror is remarkable, which started from the military intervention of Afghanistan.

NATO in Afghanistan

Following the 9/11 terrorist attacks the United States former U.S. President George W. Bush declared a “Global War on Terror”; he said “America will use all its sources in hand to conquer and defeat this enemy. This battle might take time and resolve, but we will not make mistake about it, we will win.” and launched a military campaign under the name of in Afghanistan, this could be considered as a strategic change in the foreign policy of United States toward Afghanistan, raised Afghanistan from the lowest ebb of Washington to the highest post in foreign policy, to chive it's illegal, unjustified goals, in this campaign the US was accompanied by NATO, indeed it was NATO's first time in its history to engaged in a collective intervention outside of Europe [29]., Shortly after this military campaign an interim government(Western-style democratic government) headed by Hamid Karzai was established based on a decision of the Bonn Agreement, the responsibilities for security in Kabul, and to form a transitional government was handed over to ISAF troops, in August 2003, NATO assumed command of ISAF mission in Afghanistan until the end of 2014, after that NATO's mission changed into a new non-combat mission as Resolute Support Mission, in accordance to the UN Security Council Resolution 2189, the aim of the mission was to Reduces the external support for training, advising, air and logistic assistance of Afghan security forces, on the other hand supporting their efforts to avoid the collapse of the country and in a hope that the U.S. would be able to keep Afghanistan safe [30].

But after twenty years, On July 8, 2021, from the same room where Bush declared the beginning of U.S. military strikes on terrorist training camps in Afghanistan, President Biden officially announced the end of the war in Afghanistan and said that “our military mission in Afghanistan will be concluding on August 31, marked as the end of the military occupation, which was the longest and costly war in the modern history of America and by the spending of trillions of dollars and nearly 200,000 lives, after a 20-year, to bring peace to Afghanistan both sides (Taliban & united stated) have reached an agreement with Taliban, however handing over the government to Taliban, which the coalition forces overthrew in 2001, defined them as a terrorist organization, however by a significant part of its allies [31].

This contradiction raises serious doubts and represents the end of an era in the aspect of the US, both in the eyes of its allies and in its place in the global system, on the

other hand, the Taliban see the complete withdrawal of US/NATO troops from Afghanistan in 2021 under the leadership of the US, as victory with a major defeat [32].

Who Authorized NATO to involve in Afghanistan

After the 9/11 attacks, the United Nations Security Council had passed two resolutions and authorized the deployment of ISAF troops (resolution 1373, resolution 1368), none of the resolutions have authorized, the use of force and bombs on the non-member States for self-defense. On the contrary, the United States argues that the article 51 of the UN Charter, Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty, and The preemptive policy on war against terror were the legal bases that legitimize their military intervention and utilization of force in Afghanistan against the Taliban in 2001, furthermore In case of existence of a real threat to the global security posed by the individual, group, or states, in any part of the world, as a global superpower, they entitle to response to the insecurity of world [33].

Some opponents are against the authorization of NATOs military attack on Afghanistan and argue that NATOs military attacks and its presence in Afghanistan were illegal, consisting that they would have to use other peaceful means instead of using force on Afghanistan, and none of the Articles of the UN-authorized US/NATO to use force on the government of Afghanistan.

It is clear that NATO's provocative act in fighting terrorism had hit the popularity and international prestige of NATO in the world, due to the absence of not having a clear international strategy for Afghanistan it is worth saying the military interference of US/NATO fueled the violence in Afghanistan rather than to decrease the violence, finally, the clicked the exit option [34].

US/ NATO objective in Afghanistan

The united states have just pretended the 9/11 attacks, to go to Afghanistan and to open the door for them to follow their strategic goals, there was no other obvious cause, rather than to say that the Taliban have provided refuge and sanctuary to the leaders of Al Qaeda, which they have the claimed the responsibility for 9/11 attacks, and to prevent Afghanistan from becoming a haven or sanctuary, therefore it was needed to go to Afghanistan to eliminate the Al Qaeda and other terrorist groups.

In fact, behind the US invasion of Afghanistan were global objectives, the United States wanted to use its military presence in Afghanistan to pursue regional and international powers like China, Russia, and Iran, and to create serious risks and concerns for them. It can be said that the primary goal of the United States in Afghanistan was to compete with the world powers, so that's why Afghanistan was a secondary target for the United States. Looking at the above text the following can be significant objectives of the US in Afghanistan [35].

Counter-terrorism strategy

Since 2001, counterterrorism has been an important component of U.S. operations under the global war on terror in Afghanistan, in their security agendas the counter-terrorism was the top priority of US foreign policy, because of US, the counter-

insurgency strategy was first, as long as counter-narcotics strategy was Subsidiary, which the main aim of this strategy was to ensuring peace and stability in Afghanistan, and eliminate Taliban, Al Qaeda, and other terrorist groups operating and using the soil of Afghanistan to pose threats to the international peace and security.

In August 2021, when the Taliban once again take over Afghanistan, Zabihullah Mujahid Taliban's spokesman said an interview, that "there was no proof [bin Laden] was involved" on September 11, 2001, attacks [36].

Some experts said that Two Historical and strategic mistakes made by the US and northern anti-Taliban allies in the Bonn conference, caused and helped a strong resistance against the presence of US/NATO and subsequently weaken the US back central government, and it can be considered as one of the main reason of US/NATO failure in Afghanistan, as Pakistan boycotted the December 2011 Bonn Conference. The Following can be the mistakes that were made at the conference;

Absence of Pashtuns in post-Taliban Afghanistan

The Bonn conference, which focused on the future political structure of post-Taliban Afghanistan, and the Pashtuns, who make up a large part of the Afghan nation, were excluded from the future political process, therefore the US and its allies deprived the majority of the Afghan society of political system, as long as Precondition for a successful conference.

Anti-foreign sentiment

The US sowed the seeds of conflict in Afghanistan in the Bonn conference, in which they did not allow and invite Pashtuns who represent the plurality of Afghanistan's population, The Taliban described continuing U.S. military operations in Afghanistan as military occupation and characterized their Afghan government adversaries as puppets of foreign powers.

Distribution of key government positions among the former warlords

The former warlords were a key component of the US war on terror campaign in Afghanistan, particularly the northern anti-Taliban allies, which they have played a significant role in the ousting of the Taliban regime in 2001, therefore former warlords were incorporated into the new political structure by the name of all-inclusive government, as part of plan Bush Administration and reward to them, they have given the key government positions and handed over the government to former warlords, indeed, it was widely viewed by the nation of Afghanistan as disrespectful to their culture, religion, and traditions, because of their abusive, predatory, and corrupt behavior was like just fuelling to the Taliban revival, and became a significant 'driver of insecurity', the inevitable result, distrust on NATO-ISAF, as people are slowly but surely coming to the conclusion that their country occupied. Itself caused and assisted the return of the Taliban [37].

It is worth mentioning, that the US forces entered Afghanistan with these with local and regional strongmen and influenced warlords as alliances but the people of Afghanistan were unhappy and disagreed with the integration of such as Ismail Khan,

Gul Agha Sherzai, Ata Mohammad Noor, and General Abdul Rashid Dostum, who had a deeply destructive role during the horrific civil war 1992–1996.

Like many experts, Alex Strick van Linschoten and Felix Kuehn, said about the background of these warlords, if we examine developments after the fall of the Taliban regime, this dynamic set in motion by cultivating relations with violent warlords set the stage for renewed conflict.

Attempts that started by NATO in 2003, bringing warlords and their tribally based patronage networks into positions of power had crucially increased the distance between government and nation at the local and district level and this would continue to confound stabilize of the country through aid, reconstruction, and development assistance.

Establishment of an all-inclusive government

Part of the US strategy was to establish and support a strong western-style democratic, functional, and central state, with the following criteria.

Functionality

A functional state, that represents all segments of Afghan society and parties to the conflict, most important, does not allow the terrorist groups to reactivate while having the capacity of controlling the entire country.

Sustainability

The US realize that achievement of bringing peace and stability to Afghanistan is the objective that could be gained only at that time when Afghanistan have a functional state, therefore to prevent the collapse of the state, the US stated attempts for this purpose, on the military side a new army, police and national defense security forces were created, in the civil side, all the institute needed for state, financial, civil service, health, education, cultural institutions were also created and financially supported by international donors, it is worth to mention that, unfortunately in last 20 years the government of Afghanistan depend on foreign assistance, just half of the ordinary budget was from the national income, half other and complete development budget were based on international assistance [38].

To free Afghanistan from its dependence on international aid, the US strategy was to seek sustainable sources of income, and one of that sources was transit, it can be said that the 20 years of presence of the US in Afghanistan was to open an important region of central Asia in the south for the outer world and to settle the Afghan conflict to economic benefits via trade and transit hub, hence the implementation of regional projects such as TAPI, CASA 1000, reduces Afghanistan's reliance on international aid [39].

Counter narcotic strategy

The initial attempt to achieve the objective of bringing lasting peace and stability in Afghanistan is to eradicate and free Afghanistan from poppy cultivation, According to U.S. and U.N. estimates, that overall Afghanistan and especially Helmand province produces (more than 80% - 90%) of the world's poppy, narcotics, opium, heroin, and

related elements. In the last 20 years and before that, The illicit trade of opium played a significant role in the economic growth of Afghanistan, therefore the narcotics industry was/is the main source of livelihood and income for thousands of farmers, Afghanistan is among the world's most significant sources of illicit drugs, particularly opiates, it can be said that the US/NATO wanted to eliminate and free Afghanistan from the cultivation of poppy for gaining the following objectives [40].

As a challenge to global stabilization

From 2003 NATO's growing involvement in Afghanistan was linked to the widespread post-9/11 perception, shared by NATO capitals, that the Western Alliance needed to demonstrate its continuing relevance in the face of new and global challenges in the interests of institutional survival, 'in particular, those posed by terrorism, coalition forces first entered Afghanistan, the US have effective cooperation with other states and international organization to cut the supply of opium to the other part of the world.

Elimination of economic source of Taliban

In the past 20 years, the cultivation of poppy and drug trafficking was a key source of revenue for the Taliban, which help them to intensify and keep the war hot. In 2020, an estimated 215,000 hectares of opium and poppy was cultivated in Afghanistan, after 2001 Taliban's ban on poppy cultivation remained in force for 15 months, however, soon the cultivation of poppy re-started especially in the south 6 southern. It is worth mentioning, that the US has spent billions of dollars on countering poppy cultivation and activities, but Afghanistan produces nearly 85% of the world's illicit opium supply.

Taliban's government policy toward the cultivation of poppy

After the Taliban take over Afghanistan, on August 17, 2021, the spokesperson of the Taliban stated that their government will not stop the cultivation and elimination of drug production and smuggling in the country, until they find an alternative to opium, and are seeking international assistance in this regard. They say their countrymen are already facing economic problems, so that's why they have not decided not to grow.

On the contrary, in May 2022, the Taliban banned the cultivation, smuggling, possession, and trade of all kinds of opium in Afghanistan as the decree of their Amir.

Functioning state and nation-building

After the 9/11 attacks, the United States nation-building strategy was under the name of stabilization and reconstruction operation(SROs)in Afghanistan to rebuild the country, as the US said its best tradition of George marshal, nation-building or functioning state means the enhancement of a state's capacities, through which the boundaries of modern state congruent, the creation of the national flag, coats of the army, anthems, airline, language are included to the elements of national building, as it focuses on the state rather than the nation therefore to achieve the primary goals of national building a peaceful society is needed[41].

It is worth mentioning that the concept of the national building is interconnected with economic and political growth and the major obstacle in front of the US nation-

building strategy in Afghanistan was the forceful presence of an ambitious democratic agenda. On the contrary, after 20 years of military presence in Afghanistan, President Biden said, we had decided to end their military commitment he insisted that the US did not go to Afghanistan to nation-build, and he added that he did not regret the decision to withdraw troops from Afghanistan, but now it is up to the leaders of Afghanistan to come together, they've got to fight for themselves, fight for their nation, And it's the right and the responsibility of the Afghan people alone to decide their future and how they want to run their country [42].

What made the US/NATO withdraw and what was the reason that the mission failed in Afghanistan

The NATO's defeat was expected from the outset, the lack of a clear vision to fight against terrorism, member states' concern about the prolonging of war, and extensive personal and financial losses, all of these factors, forced NATO and United States to withdraw from Afghanistan before reaching the target. Here we will discuss the reason of failure US/NATO, which led there to withdraw from Afghanistan.

Absence of a clear vision and meaningful strategy for Afghanistan

The absence of a clear vision, comprehensive strategy, and effective mechanism for the implementation of strategy is the precondition of a successful mission, NATO's fragmented approach toward fighting terrorism, the domestic political pressures, and considerations, often extraneous to Afghanistan itself, and developments there, which shaped the commitments of individual allies to NATO's mission.

Reaching a unified strategic vision was not easy in the years that followed the manifest difficulties of meeting objectives in Afghanistan. The following constitutes the obvious reason for the lack of clear strategy of the US in Afghanistan [43].

Uncertainty in goals

From the very beginning of the US mission in Afghanistan, it was unknown that weather, they come to secure and rebuilt Afghanistan, as there was no Comprehensive approach that emphasize the integration between the military and civilian work, on the other hand, the US pursue strategic rivalry with China, Russia, Iran And use their military presence in Afghanistan to control and compete with an international partner.

Unknown period for mission

In 2010 at the Lisbon conference the United States announced that they will leave Afghanistan after 2014, until that time their exit approach was calendar-based, but after 2014 their strategy changed from calendar base to condition base, which means that they will stay in Afghanistan, till the development in the security situation, which may take unknown time to reach to that goal, this reflects contradictory in the commitment of US toward Afghanistan and world.

An unknown number of troops and personal

Since the beginning of The US mission in Afghanistan, the number of US and allied troops, contractors, and private security companies had not been known, although for the fact that not disclosing the number of troops is a military secret. However, in

proportion to the opposite side, the number of troops, armaments, and equipment is an important factor in the success of military missions. The question is the Deployment of more US troops to Afghanistan? Here are key points.

Lack of information

The US never had enough information about the number of fighters and weapons of the opposite side, which is considered a weakness of their strategic mission.

Pressure policy

When President Barak Obama to power, to win the war in Afghanistan, he deployed two brigades of fresh troops and said that it was our top priority to fight against al Qaeda and the Taliban. Indeed, it is fact, as Graeme Smith observed, that ‘every increase in troop numbers in southern Afghanistan brought a corresponding increase in violence’.

Disagreement about withdrawal deadline

The United States’ Afghan allies did not support the withdrawal deadline.

Holding responsible

To understand that the security is the responsibility of the Afghan government, they should take the ownership of their country’s security after 2009, president Obama indicated, that it must be clear that the Afghan government will have to take the responsibility for their security, and that the united states have no interest in fighting against an endless war for Afghanistan, the president understood the risks of the withdrawal timetable. It is worth mentioning, that due to the intensification of fighting and slow development in security, the US/NATO faced strategic defeat. That’s why, the US revised and changed the counter-terrorism strategy, after Stanley Mc Chrystal called for change, and the new strategy was under the name of a comprehensive counterinsurgency (COIN) campaign, Furthermore, the changes included the increases in the combat operations, especially in the south of the country, transferring of the security responsibility to the ANSF, improvement of governance at all country [44].

Strategic change in the foreign policy of the United States

National interest is an important factor in determining and changing foreign policy, national interest takes to have top priority in shaping foreign policy, after 20 years of endless war in Afghanistan, the United States argues that the world has changed and US deal with the Taliban acknowledging that the terror threat is now present in many places globally and that it makes little sense to concentrate any response to just one country, so that’s why President Biden expressed the view that it was “time for American troops to come home” and confirmed that the US would honor its commitments under the February 2020 deal.

It is worth noting, that the withdrawing of US/NATO troops from Afghanistan was a strategic change in the foreign policy of unites states, from this point of view the following can be the factors that played role in this change.

Time and Humanitarian Dimension

The two-decade endless war, intensification of the war in the country from Taliban, lack of security progress against and a rapid advance of Taliban as they controlled 40% of Afghanistan and continued to make gradual gains in last years, on one hand, the lengthy and costly war without clear result, on the other hand, high casualties and humanitarian aspect was an important part of the 20 years' war, alongside the warring parties, thousands of civilians lost their life, therefore the united states to change the foreign policy.

Contrary to the above, President Biden said that we have been to Afghanistan's war with clear goals, which we achieved and it's time to end the forever war.

Failure of democracy

After the 9/11 attacks one of the goals of US lead mission in Afghanistan was to establish a western style democratic government, one can assume, that two decades of spending hundreds of millions of dollars, resulted corrupt, incompetence, and a dysfunctional government with less capacity to provide accountability, transparency to its people and the international community, is it a democratic state, the latest electoral crises, comparatively the government, which they established in Afghanistan with democratic norms it can be said that it was not a democratic government, in china's view, the withdrawal of US from Afghanistan once again proves the failure of Western democracy, which is not a universal value [45].

Ineffective cooperation and pursuing different goals by the member states of NATO in Afghanistan

This fact must be taken into account, that the diversity of views between the United States and its European alliance about the US-led mission's objectives and purpose in Afghanistan, was a reality. Notably; this reality reflected differing views about the appropriate level of ambition for NATO in Afghanistan.

It is worth mentioning, that many nations and individuals supported the opponent's arguments, as NATO troops are ineffective at securing Afghanistan for so many reasons [46].

Common strategic vision

NATO never functioned as an effective coalition of allies bound together by a common strategic vision and clarity of objectives in Afghanistan, the growing realization among European allies that Afghanistan was not 'mission accomplished' the tension between the US focus on counterterrorism, Broadly defined, and a more ambitious set of state- and peace-building objectives held by coalition partners.

US dominant influence

in terms of decision making the US had played dominant role, but less important, was the role played by NATO and the Western-led intervention generally in stimulating Afghan nationalism and anti-foreign sentiment, especially in the Pashtun belt in the south.

Existence of multiple missions (PRT)

After 2007 under ISAF's command some 25 provincial reconstruction teams were made by multinational teams, combining civilian and military elements, led by individual nations, the (PRTs) were operating from local bases, whose role was to deliver a stabilization effect through facilitating reconstruction, security, governance, aid, and development.

In practical the Conflicting and Competing priorities amongst the member states of NATO have divided Afghanistan following their interest, the creation and operations of PRTs were always a controversial and challenging issue.

Duality of mission

Tension regarding NATO's objective of nation-building, and reconstruction and the US objective of counter-terrorism ways and means of the two missions were opposed.

Operation models and approaches

Different variety of models and approaches were adopted for PRTs operation, due to the nationally led of PRTs the degree, function of location, resources, and national styles were different. As a result, they operated with a high degree of autonomy and only loose direction from ISAF regional headquarters.

Absence of an effective mechanism of cooperation with local government

The main challenge to the creation of PRTs was the absence of an effective strategic framework for the operation of PRTs with the local government of Afghanistan, due to the PRT's respective areas of responsibility in assistance, reconstruction, and security being created by national bubbles, furthermore, such dual position of PRTs was considered as parallel government to local government, as President Hamid Karzai was against of such position of PRTs and criticized the presence of PRTs as a parallel government, as long as the PRTs, such position was critical to expanding the influence of the central government of Afghanistan, which NATO's stated ambition, like Turkey's paid more attention to communities which are Turkish origin, like Uzbeks and Turkmen, and in return treated differently than other NATO member countries [47].

Excessive reliance of the US on Pakistan in fighting against the war on terror

After 2004, the US reliance on Pakistan, as a nonmember of NATO and a strategic partner in the region, given the chance to Pakistan to play a non-combatant active role in the counterterrorism campaign and allows the US to use its airspace and land, for fighting against terrorism in Afghanistan. In 2017, following by Trump's coming to power the U.S. changed its policy toward Pakistan. In 2017, following Trump's coming to power; the U.S. has changed its foreign policy towards Pakistan and declared that our new strategy is how to deal with Pakistan, therefore the United States cannot tolerate safe havens and sanctuary for terrorist organizations on the territory of Pakistan, which have posed a serious threat to the region [48].

United States' expectations of Pakistan

The United States always wanted Pakistan was to use its influence on the Taliban, as for decades the Pakistani military and intelligence agencies actively or passively supported and provided sanctuary's on its territory to the Taliban, as the leader of Al Qaeda sought and found a haven within their borders. This position has given the Pakistani government to use the opportunity, to follow its strategic depth in Afghanistan, which is to prevent the establishment of a strong central government led by Pashtuns.

In the contrary of US expectations, Pakistan played a disruptive and destabilizing role in the state affairs of Afghanistan.

Dual policy of Pakistan

Historically Pakistan's dual policy with the world's great powers, on one hand, Pakistan relies on significant foreign aid to the US, while simultaneously aligning with China, is a dangerous game played by Pakistan. let's discuss, whether there was a chance for the US to get success policy in Afghanistan in the war on terrorism without Pakistan, the multi-polarity state system of Pakistan with a complex territory reflects that there is no single entity in Pakistan, as the author of the well-known book (*Directorate S*) Steve Coll, explains that actually, there is a state within a state in Pakistan, he indicates to the role of Inter-Services Intelligence of Pakistan, in practice no, therefore it was the US necessity to have a partner in the region, with such power, the nuclear-armed, state sponsor of terror and primary partner in the regional security matter. Indeed, the United States' foreign policy had not effectively addressed these serious contradictions towards Pakistan [49].

The legitimacy of NATO after the collapse of the Soviet Union

The January 28-29, 2004 NATO-Istanbul Summit was a milestone in the Greater Middle East Initiative, in which the Greater Middle East Initiative was transformed from an initial claim to an acceptable form by the eight advanced nations. But the question arises as to whether NATO's punishment will be used as a framework for the Greater Middle East Initiative? Most of the remaining issues of the Cold War era are security issues. Therefore, the formulation of a new NATO mission, which is one of the two important security organizations of the Cold War, is to change the nature of security. After the Cold War, four issues were raised about NATO's mission and existence [50].

Reasons for NATO's legitimacy are gone

In 1992 after the dissolution of the former the Soviet Union, there was no need for the existence of NATO, due to the mission for which NATO was created was achieved.

The current political nature of Europe has changed

Radically this situation reduces Europe's need for a NATO-style coalition. The common interests of the United States and Europe continue, but in the absence of common security threats, the scope and effectiveness of these relations are limited.

NATO's expansion

The expansion of NATO to the east has created new security problems rather than increasing member security. The argument, in this case, is that the coalition will promote democracy and civil society in these areas. NATO has died in the Cold War, at least at the national level, in support of democracy, but it has not brought democracy and human rights to any country.

Cold war ended

After the end of the Cold War, NATO programs and tools have evolved and the logic of the organization has changed. In almost all meetings, the need to reorganize and redefine the organization has been raised.

Thus, redefining NATO's tasks to use it as an effective tool had been a significant issue in the latest ten years. There are serious discussions to reorganize and conceptualize the organization in the face of changing threats. In this regard, the US approach is commensurate with the role it has assigned to the organization in the Middle East. According to this approach, after the Cold War, three major changes have taken place like threats against the West. Terrorism and the evolution of mass destruction weapons, changes in strategies related to the response to new threats, and changes in military capabilities to deal with new threats. In connection with the first issue, threats related to the use and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction have been transferred to the Middle East.

In connection with the first issue, threats related to the use and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction have been transferred to the Middle East. Concerning the second issue, it seems that the existing NATO construction is not sufficient and appropriate, in this regard, cooperation with free structures is necessary. In addition, it emphasizes the lack of speed in the organization's decision-making mechanism. The third issue is related to the changes needed for rapid response, defense against weapons of mass destruction, and immediate response the change in the issue of security is also reflected in the Middle East initiative. European opposition to the United States in Iraq and the Middle East is not just about Middle East events. In particular, the opposition of Chirac and Schroeder on January 22, 2003, shows the problems of the Atlantic Alliance. The issue of NATO security lost its focus during this period and became public in nature. In addition to the countries in the region, many countries outside the region are part of the Greater Middle East and Iraq. This opposition is due to the consequences of increasing US dominance in the region. But when the issue is considered in the NATO framework, other dimensions of the issue are also raised. First of all, we must point out that in both crises, the differences between the United States and ancient Europe stem from cultural and ideological differences, but rather from one-sidedness. In addition, many European countries are neither willing nor willing to accept a new mission to NATO. In the Cold War era, there was a common interest that was defined on the basis of a common threat. With the change of threat, the sharing of interests also ended. US-European interests should not be seen solely in terms of security. Many determinants of

US-European relations, including the continuation of the international economic system, are still in power. However, there are serious issues in the security field [51].

In long run, one of the most important determinants of the new hegemonic power in the world system is the ability to provide a military response to existing security issues. In an environment where there is no difference in economic power enough for the great powers to gain a clear advantage over each other, the use of military power becomes important. Although oil is not enough to explain the war, the value of the interests that military power has gained in the Middle East, which will play an important role in global energy interests, in the long run, should not be underestimated.

In parallel with the transformation of the organization, the need to change the scope of the mission, change location, and nature, especially in the United States, is proposed. According to this approach, NATO is the most important defense body in the United States and the European Union. But there are also claims that this defense will only be possible by extending it to the Middle East (NATO is coming to the Middle East). Although more progress than expected was made at the NATO Istanbul Summit on the Greater Middle East Initiative, important steps were taken for the future of the region. NATO Assurances emphasizes changing threats and issues arising from weapons of mass destruction and terrorism and speaks of the Organization's efforts to increase its response capacity. The development of NATO operations in Afghanistan is also an important sign that the United States itself has accepted its definition of security, but in the case of Iraq, the United States has not been as successful. NATO's decision to participate in the training of Iraqi security forces is a success, as it means NATO's involvement in Iraq, but it did not lead to a NATO initiative to establish a peacekeeping force in Iraq. The Istanbul Cooperation Initiative includes the following; Combating terrorism, combating weapons of mass destruction, securing borders to prevent arms, drug, and human trafficking, emergency disaster relief plans, training, participation of NATO therapists, exchanging security information, reforming defense, and improving relations Encourage the military and civilians, the ability to take joint action and support reform in the Middle East. To implement these decisions, the development of NATO's Mediterranean Agenda and the possibility of countries wishing to enter the Greater Middle East are envisaged. In this sense, NATO has not taken a big step for the region at this meeting. The emphasis in Bush's speech in Istanbul was not fully reflected in the decisions, at least in the military dimension of the plan for change in the Middle East, an important step for the future [52].

Russian Foreign Policy towards the West (the US and Europe) after 9/11

Although Russia's security-strategic engagement with the United States was not pleasant during the period that began with Putin and Bush in 2000, the events of 9/11 completely changed the security climate in relations between the two countries. In a statement, Putin joined the ranks of security cooperation with the United States against terrorism as the first non-Western government. In retaliation, the United States removed Russia from its list of security threats in September 30, 2001, defense review document

released by the Pentagon, thus forming a strategic framework in which Russia considers itself special. And possible conflicts with the United States were formed in connection with it. Russia's security dealings with the United States during this period can be examined under the headings of Afghanistan, Iraq, strategic weapons, and the 2002 strategic agreement between the two countries. An examination of these cases shows that Moscow's appearance was to Washington as a strategic partner in the fight against terrorism, it is worth noting that the leaders of Moscow and Washington issued a joint statement in 2002, according to which a new chapter of cooperation was provided concerning the new environment of the 21st century. This cooperation, based on common values and confronting new threats and challenges in the world, explicitly ended the enmity between the two countries. Counter-terrorism, Stability in Afghanistan, Central Asia the Caucasus and Cooperation within NATO, UN Security Council, Europe, Group 8, Middle East and Balkan Peace, Iraq Dialogue, Counter-Narcotics, Cooperation Economic and prevention of the proliferation of weapons mass destruction were considered to be the most important provisions of this framework.

Regarding Russia-NATO relations at this time, it should be noted that after 9/11, the current state of Russian-NATO relations deteriorated. , Military operation in Yugoslavia, and NATO (New Strategic Concept) ratification provides the final blow to Russia-NATO cooperation arrangements in the late twentieth century [53].

US-NATO relationship after withdrawal from Afghanistan

Questions have been raised about US-NATO relations after the withdrawal from Afghanistan to maintain transatlantic cooperation, unity, and military reliance of European on the United States. The following can be clear signs that the future of US-European relations will be severely affected [54].

Lack of consultation about withdrawal

Lack of consultation about the US-Taliban peace agreement and involvement in the decision-making process about withdrawal was a critical issue for European countries as transatlantic allies of the US. As noted above, although some European allies that “the timing and nature of the withdrawal were set in Washington” they were not consulted during the planning for the withdrawal process. Fear of the European countries is to prevent the recurrence of the refugee’s crisis in Europe.

EU strategic autonomy

After the withdrawal from Afghanistan, Some European countries raised issues about the defensive capabilities of European countries, reliance on the U.S., and increasing in the potential independency of the foreign autonomous and security policy of the EU. In this regard, President Macron is the pioneer and said that more independency and militarily capable Europe would benefit both Europe and the United States.

Europeans view withdrawal

Following the 9/11 attacks, in accordance with the in together, out together, they went to, finally, after signing the U.S.-Taliban agreement left-back Afghanistan, the European countries viewed the mission as a symbol of solidarity with the US, and most expansive military operation. Furthermore, the Taliban takeover of Afghanistan in August, concerned European countries about the longer-term consequences of the withdrawal, due to the potential of refugee flow and terrorist threats emanating from Afghanistan [55].

Conclusion

Following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the polarization of the international system allowed the United States to use NATO as a hegemonic tool for achieving strategic goals, therefore the existence of NATO itself (particularly expansion of NATO to the east, Ukraine crisis) has exacerbated global insecurity rather than international peace and security, hence the existence of NATO is viewed, as a potential threat to the global security. Additionally, when the US/NATO forces announced, their 'exit options, there is no clear international strategy for Afghanistan.

CHAPTER TWO

The challenges and consequences for Afghanistan

The Afghan government fell after the withdrawal of the United States and the Taliban take to power 20 years of war in Afghanistan ends, soon with the re-emergence of the Taliban, the United States and the international community imposed sanctions on their government, and cut diplomatic relations with the newly established government led by the Taliban, including the United States and international community, 9.5 billion US dollar international reserves of Da Afghanistan bank frozen by the US, all of which had put a negative impact on Afghanistan's economy, education, health, security, trade and banking sector [56].

It is clear that in the last 20 years the government of Afghanistan relied on global aid, especially for health and security, the situation is critical after the global aid cutoff.

On one hand, Financial and humanitarian support is very important for the government of Afghanistan; it was a vital factor for economic growth and social stability.

On the other hand, economic development creates jobs and gives the population to have more opportunities to earn more money as this helps them to get a high-quality education. In doing so, foreign investment, developed trade, and economic relations with outer partners provide opportunities for Afghanistan's economic growth.

State collapse

After the withdrawal of the US, the collapse of the state government of Afghanistan was predictable; actually, the fall of the democratically elected Afghan government was one of the scenarios implemented, due to central government in Afghanistan was already weak by the peace process, on one hand, giving the upper hand to the Taliban in the peace process satisfied them, that military victory can achieve within two to three years, weaken the US left behind a weakened, poorly functioning state and with the high level of instability, the continued violence, on the other hand, spreading of intelligence assessment and reported about the collapse of the fall of the government weakened the morale of authorities against, which these estimated that the government could collapse in six months.

The prevention of state collapse was possible if the US retained a small force, to facilitate an intra-Afghan peace agreement. According to this view, the costs of retaining such a force would have been small compared to the security risks associated with the Afghan government's collapse, therefore the US must be held responsible for future consequences, because over the past two decades the US spent billions of dollars on the Afghan government, but still Functionality of government was under question [57].

Lack of International support

For the last two years, the US has stopped air and logistic support of the afghan national army in fighting against the Taliban, therefore it caused high casualties to the Afghan forces and loss of territory to the Taliban, due to the lack of air support some

areas were surrounded to the Taliban without any resistance. The US committed to retaining a counterterrorism presence in the region and support the Afghan National Security, additionally, President Trump was always frustrated about the U.S. military mission and less military progress against the Taliban, but they did not remain committed to Afghanistan.

On one hand, it was predicted that the Afghan state will collapse in the absence of American military and financial support because in the last years the International donors stopped financially supporting of Afghan government.

On the other hand, the absence of accountability and transparency in spending and corruption in foreign assistance damaged the capacity of Afghan government, results from the loss of potential influence and legitimacy, in doing so the weakened Afghan government emboldens the Taliban and increases the risk of state collapse [58].

The Doha agreement

In early 2020, the attempts began by the United States and Taliban, to put an end to the endless wars in Afghanistan. Both sides reached and signed a historic agreement named the Doha agreement, which has established the way for US/NATO to exit their troops from Afghanistan. This agreement includes the mutual commitment of both sides, during the negotiation between the Trump administration and the Taliban the main focus was on withdrawing U.S. combat troops from Afghanistan, according to the agreement the following mutual commitments were made [59].

United States side

U.S. War in Afghanistan does not mean as a multi-generational undertaking, all US forces will be out of Afghanistan by May 1, 2021, said President Joe Biden just three months after the inauguration ceremony as president, he said the commitment of withdrawal troops was left to him with an inheritance.

Taliban side

Reconciliation and Negotiation with the Taliban were initiated several times but it failed due for several reasons... Taliban have committed to reducing violence, starting Intra-Afghan talks, and counterterrorism efforts, and not allow the use of Afghan soil in the interest of the US or its allies. However, a year later, the Doha agreement failed to have a concrete results and Afghanistan remains embroiled in violence and instability.

The key issue is the non-participation of the Afghan government in the peace process between the united states and the Taliban, as apart from the Doha agreement, the unites state has a dark history of defeat in the world, in every country in the world that has been defeated, after his defeat, he left behind with a very brutal manner and committed atrocities in those countries and he did not allow that nation to live in peace, as part of brutal acts was the state collapse scenario in Afghanistan implemented by the Special Representative of US for Afghanistan Reconciliation Zalmay Khalilzad.

From the very beginning of peace negotiations between the unites states and the Taliban, the collapse of the state was expected, therefore to prevent the collapse of the state, the ruling government of Afghanistan consistently asked the United States to

incorporate the Afghan government into the peace process and emphasized that the peace talks should be Afghan led – Afghan own, as the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan also shown its readiness to participate in the negotiations and its readiness to conclude a ceasefire with the Taliban, unfortunately, the quest of the Afghan government was ignored by the US, therefore President Trump directly ordered U.S.-Taliban talks without Afghan government participation and a desire to withdraw U.S. forces [60].

The non-participation of Afghan government in the peace process, resulted in the collapse of the state, in doing so, the US once again repeated the historical mistake of the Bonn conference, 20 years ago, the UN did not give participation to the member of the Taliban and Hizb-e Islami party of Gulbadin Hekmatyar in the Bonn conference, which sown the seeds of two decades of war in Afghanistan. The United States consisted that the second milestone of Intra-Afghan Negotiations will be between the Afghan government and Taliban, as it started, after the signing of the Doha agreement, on the other hand, although the Taliban have shown their sincerity for reaching a political settlement and technically participated in the Intra-Afghan Negotiations with the Afghan government remains unclear. Furthermore, in the first three months of 2021, the Taliban increased attacks against Afghan civilians and organized large-scale offensives, with psychological effects on the battlefield, undermining allied morale [61].

Demoralization of Afghan troops

In the Doha peace agreement the US committed to releasing in cooperation with Afghan government the prisoners of the Taliban for the beginning of the intra-Afghan peace negotiations, in fact, the Doha peace agreement had two parts, the first step the US-Taliban, and the second step intra-Afghan negotiations. Therefore the prerequisite for starting the intra-Afghan peace negotiations was the release of 5,000 Taliban prisoners, after the release from prison, the Taliban returned to the battlefield, and played a key role in the intensification of the war.

On one hand, the Taliban's upper hand in peace talks, little interest in the compromise and power-sharing deal, which American negotiators requested from the Taliban, and also Quick withdrawal of the US had weakened the position of the Afghan government in negotiations with the Taliban; therefore the Taliban systematically started offensive military operations from rural areas to the large cities, which caused political disorder in Afghanistan, this situation had strengthened the position of Taliban for military success and disappointed the Afghan government.

On the other hand, Political instability is critical for the morality, effectiveness, and sustainability of forces, which might pose challenges to the capabilities of ANSF, specifically concerning the ability to sustain high-tempo combat operations against a resilient insurgency and be a reliable counterterrorism partner with the United States, the morale of the ANSF under increasing scrutiny, given the rapid loss of territory and questions over the capabilities of the ANSF.

Although, many peaceful options could avoid the possibility of state collapse if used, like power-sharing deal, the establishment of Interim governance, and a temporary

ceasefire to reach to a peaceful settlement, the Taliban rejected them. Taliban consisted that their target is the creation of an Islamic Emirate and the end of foreign intervention in Afghanistan; therefore they will not accept any peace deal in exchange for that. If not, they will be full-blown offensive.

On August 14, President Biden said our military presence cannot make a difference if the Afghan security forces do not take the responsibility for their own country, he added that an endless American presence in the civil conflict of other countries is not acceptable for us. He once again repeated that “there never was a good time to withdraw U.S. forces, the position of August 16, 2021.

On the other side, releasing of intelligence reports, which estimated that Kabul could fall to the Taliban within 90 days, and the high abandonment of Afghan national security forces due to lack of logistic supplies and air support had forced them to leave their posts, all these on the battlefield frustrated the troops and weakened their morale. Although, a high-level officials of Afghan government refused the reports that indicate the defect of personnel to the Taliban and added the improvement in the situation, Taliban see U.S. withdrawal as a clear sign of victory.

These all resulted in the collapse of Afghan state and demoralized Afghan national security forces, The US used Afghanistan to facilitate and follow its policy of interests and at the end of 20 years of war, left Afghanistan to its fate [62].

Anti-Taliban coalition

After signing a peace agreement, without the Afghan government as a party and which scheduled the American withdrawal from Afghanistan, therefore, in the last two years Unites States stopped supporting of Afghan government, analysts observe “that this was the scenario, when in case of the falls of the peace process and state breaks down, the certain communities would rely on these warlords for protection”. Six months before the collapse of the state, President Ashraf Ghana accompanied by the top officials visited the United States, in his visit to the US, he asked the United States to back his government in fighting against the Taliban, a government established by the US and its allies, when he received a negative response, as President Biden said that it is time for Afghanistan’s leaders to come together and “fight for them, fight for their nation”, he started to organize an anti-Taliban coalition combined of former warlords and local militia leaders, the efforts aimed to bring them together, as an anti-Taliban coalition for the protection of the state collapse and defending the cities from the Taliban.

President Ghana’s this approach was widely viewed as the death of the peace process and the start point of the civil war, as armed pro-Government militia leaders, because of fear that this local leader will protect their interests rather than defend the Afghan Government.

Contrary to all these efforts, whatever happened on 15 august was the collapse of the Afghan government [63].

Uncertainty about US withdrawal

The Taliban assured that the departure of foreign troops is final, therefore Afghan government will ask the U.S and NATO to continue their support in fighting the war against the Taliban, in the contrary, the Afghan government does not understand about total withdrawal of the U.S from the government, as they begin to provide alternatives to the U.S for assistance and support.

These activities made clear uncertainty surrounding the U.S and its allies about the next steps, March 25, 2021, President Joe Biden, said “I can’t picture” U.S. troops in Afghanistan next year. The Afghan government expresses serious concern about the total withdrawal of the US might have potentially catastrophic effects on the future of Afghanistan.

Conditions-based approach and responsible exit

In November 2010 at the Lisbon conference, when for the first time the United States announced and scheduled their withdrawal from Afghanistan, they insisted that transferring of security responsibilities and the withdrawal of foreign troops should be conditions-based, not calendar-based. The Secretary-General of NATO expressed his concern about the coordination and non-condition-based decision of withdrawal plan, said that in this regard, they were not consulted.

On one hand, President Joe Biden said the responsible end of the war in Afghanistan, as the United States had fulfilled its promise under the Doha agreement, and we plus our allies believe that they had achieved the objectives of the campaign in Afghanistan, therefore no need for military presence, regional countries including Iran, china emphasized the responsible exit of US.

On the other hand, a Chinese diplomat indicated to the withdrawal of the U.S from Afghanistan was an ‘inescapable responsibility’, Iran the western neighbor of Afghanistan called that withdrawal of the US should be in a manner to protect the existence of the current political structure and to do not allow Taliban to seize power.

Actually, contrary to the above, the US and its allies left Afghanistan with a non-condition based approach, but in response to the above, the US said that it was the Taliban guilty to comply with the condition of the Doha agreement. However, America’s withdrawal deadline was absolute, and argued that they cannot wait to adhere to the Taliban to the conditions outlined in the Doha Agreement.

Although, the US was optimistic about the creation of a strong government in the war-torn country, Despite, the 20 years of efforts, the United States and its international partners were unable to successfully establish and built a strong Afghan government, which can address and fight with the challenges of insurgency. close allies of the United States were unhappy over the hasty decision made by him, therefore the United States and its international partners must be held accountable for the result of the power vacuum that occurred after the withdrawal and for the absence of a contingency plan to deal with the outcome of the decision to withdraw, coupled with the leadership crisis,

due to the final withdrawal of US was not condition-based, actually it was calendar-based [64].

Economic and trade situation of Afghanistan

Economic stability is the argent need of a nation, as security strategists argue that the Economy is the currency of security, after the Taliban came to power, Afghanistan faced an economic crisis and the risk of running out of cash.

Some economical experts assess short and term financial challenges and implications of U.S. withdrawal from Afghanistan, from point of economic prospects, they say, that in the last 20 years, as long as a hundred thousands of military and civilian personnel of foreign countries come to Afghanistan, and some kind of false economic growth was made by them, when left Afghanistan faced with an economic crisis, due to the economy of Afghanistan relied on their business. Developed countries owe their success to the efforts of their elites; the economic prosperity that those countries and people have achieved today is the result of the efforts of the educated and other professionals.

UN Secretary-general Antonio Guterres called on the international community to increase its financial assistance to Afghanistan to save it from economic collapse, he also called on the neighbors of Afghanistan to play a more active role in providing aid, earlier, he said, there is a need to find ways to ensure that the cash flows to Afghanistan within the framework of international law, he added that the current crisis has affected at least 18 to 24 million people, the issue should not be confused with recognizing the Taliban or handing over Afghanistan frozen financial resources to the Taliban.

Actually, in the last 20 years, there was no basic plan in terms of sustainable development of Afghanistan, which including to the dissemination of modern knowledge, fighting against poverty and joblessness, and mechanizing agriculture and livestock in Afghanistan. The withdrawal of USAID will weaken the oversight capabilities for U.S.-funded programs, grants, and contracts. The following can be the challenges that currently the economy suffers from that [64].

Legitimacy and recognition of the Taliban's government

Following international law, a state has no rights and obligations in the international system unless it is recognized by the international community, particularly the United Nation. Therefore some states and international financial institutes cutoff their assistance to Afghanistan and ignored the request of the Taliban for trade, economic, banking, and humanitarian assistance, arguing that only a recognized government has such right, that's why, these institutions want to use recognition as an instrument to held Taliban accountable for their obligations, after 24 August, World Bank had suspended funding for many development projects in Afghanistan, due to the legitimacy of Taliban's government and completely evacuated its Kabul-based staff to Islamabad.

furthermore, Afghanistan's economy, which already hit by ongoing war and was relied on international aid, has been hit even harder, this situation further increased the

level of unemployment, affected the industry and trade relations, and all international and domestic flights had been suspended, except to some countries, which are critical to the economic growth.

Frozen international reserves of the central bank

Following the Taliban takeover, in accordance with the IMF assessment conducted in June 2021, Afghanistan's central bank (Da Afghanistan Bank) had \$9.5 billion in international reserves at the US Federal Reserve; the international Monetary Fund (IMF) had suspended Afghanistan's access to its Special Drawing Rights (SDR) assets, including around \$440 million in new monetary reserves.

It is worth noting, that the Taliban not only needs international support for recognition, but also needs economical support, because the latest economic crisis has faced the Taliban with serious financial challenges, due to the 9.5 billion US dollar frozen assets are important for the economic and trade development of Afghanistan, but Donors have also already cut their support to Afghanistan, on the other hand, the U.S. further decreases its economic aid to Afghanistan, other countries are unlikely to fill funding gaps [66].

National annual budget

In the last 20 years national budget of Afghanistan funded by international donors, especially the development budget, it means that without foreign funds, they were unable to sustain Afghanistan's government public spending, in contrary they are now Taliban's annual budget is completely from internal incomes, including development budget, which is a remarkable development made by the Taliban, due to the prevention of embezzlement and corruption, transparency in collecting of taxes to avoid the usage of public funds for personal purposes. It is most important for the Taliban's government to have access to its international reserves to manage the economy, Furthermore; the Taliban's capacity to manage the economy is questionable.

Joblessness

On August 15, 2021, after the Taliban takeover and the departure of International troops have left the country with huge unemployment, the former national army, national police, and national security forces systems collapsed, hence nearly half a million member of the military forces lost their jobs, and a small number were reintegrated to the military forces of Taliban, additionally, with the closure of western countries embassies and international aid organizations, thousands of employees of these embassies and organizations have lost their jobs, as well as the thousands of female employees of former government facing unknown fate, Taliban said to them to stay at home until next order, therefore working is underway to making special procedure for female employees in governmental agencies, therefore Afghanistan's GDP has been declined. It is worth mentioning, that with so many people losing their jobs, Afghanistan's economy, which is already plagued by the ongoing long war, has deteriorated [67].

Lack of cash banknotes

Since the Taliban took control of Afghanistan in August last year, no Afghani banknotes have been printed and no Afghani printed abroad has been sent to Afghanistan. Three billion newly printed Afghanis banknotes in Poland have not been shipped to Afghanistan, as the Taliban are not allowed to take them to Afghanistan due to the imposed sanctions. Economic experts believe that the shortage of Afghani banknotes in the markets is one of the reasons, that can keep the value of the currency high, about 60 billion Afghani remained in the treasury of Da Afghanistan Bank, under the previous government, 3 billion Afghanis were in circulation in the market, but the concern is about the declining number of banknotes in the market because people in Afghanistan physically exchange Afghani banknote for buying and selling, Germany, French, Britain, and Poland were the countries that printing Afghani banknotes, but currently it is not clear where the Taliban government will print [68].

The uncertain situation of development projects

After the establishment of the new government under the leadership of the Taliban and political changes, work on many development projects, which the world bank or other foreign donors were financially supporting that has been stopped, due to the financial sanction imposed on Afghanistan and the closure of international financial institute offices in Afghanistan.

Humanitarian crisis

The humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan is due to long term wear and insecurity, Afghanistan already has the second-largest refugee population in the world, about four million people are currently internally displaced and After the withdrawal of the US from Afghanistan will likely be followed by a reduction in foreign assistance, an already dire humanitarian situation and undermining development progress. Furthermore, Afghanistan remains heavily dependent on foreign development assistance and humanitarian aid. According to some sources, the poverty rate in Afghanistan has reached 97%, which shows the depth of the humanitarian crisis.

Before the Taliban takeover, Afghanistan seriously needed humanitarian assistance, therefore the humanitarian needs of the people living in Afghanistan were not fully met in the last 20 years, due to limitations in resources, government capacity shortcomings, and long insecurity situation that has limited the humanitarian operations[69].

Humanitarian assistance

Currently, half of Afghanistan's population 18.4 million people, out of a population of 35 to 40 million were starving, and faced a severe food, water, shelter, protection, and medical services, for years, the U.S. had been the largest donor of humanitarian assistance for the Afghan population, including those displaced internally or as refugees.

Malnutrition

The UN has expressed concern that 18 million people in Afghanistan do not have access to food and that one million children are at risk of dying from malnutrition. According to a list released by the World Bank this summer, Afghanistan is already the sixth poorest country in the world, Access to health services, education, and clean water remains limited, and 5.5 million people face emergency food insecurity. According to the Ministry of Public Health, only four million women and children are malnourished and something must be done to help them as soon as possible.

Refuges crisis

Afghanistan has two kinds of refugees internally displaced refugees, Afghan refugees, and migrants to neighboring countries, on August 27, 2021, U.N. Regional Refugee Preparedness and Response Plan sought \$299 million in anticipation of half a million Afghan refugee arrivals in neighboring countries through the end of 2021. On September 5, 2021, the U.N. Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs issued a flash appeal for \$606 million to meet immediate humanitarian response gaps through the end of the year.

The US had left Afghanistan without a government, its people without protection, as well as an ingrained economic and humanitarian crisis, although since 2001, billions of dollars have been spent on development aid and assistance to Afghanistan, 90% of Afghans still live below the poverty line [70].

Education

In the education sector of Afghanistan, two administrations are working, the only way for the country to be stable and prosperous is to develop and improve the education system. The development of education in various ways can be effective in improving the general situation of the country. The most important dimension of this issue is that the level of citizens' understanding and awareness of the rights, duties, and responsibilities of society and government increases. Any development that is based on science and knowledge, we can certainly hope for its future [71].

Education system (ministry of education)

In Afghanistan's education system for the past 20 years, before the recent Taliban takeover, male and female students were studying side by side in universities and female students were not required to wear special clothing. After the Taliban takeover ministry of education of the Taliban imposed restrictions on the attendance of high school girls and Afghan women's access to education, currently both female/ male students started classes in Afghanistan and the schools were opened to them, but the fate of female students from 6th grade onwards is still unknown. Noorullah Munir, the Taliban's acting Minister of Education, said that Islamic law is not against women's education and that the Taliban government did not intend to deprive women of education. Regarding the girls' return to school and their further education, Taliban officials have said that "appropriate conditions" must be created for them before that. Although the Taliban claim they no longer oppose girls' education, The Taliban has expressed their

commitment to “upholding and guaranteeing all rights of women afforded to them by Islamic law” [71].

It should not be forgotten that the only way for the country to be stable and prosperous is to develop and improve education in various ways that can be effective in improving the general situation in the country. Afghanistan's new government encouraged people to turn to schools and universities with the slogan "Let's learn"; But over time, meeting the needs of the country's students and teachers seems to be a heavy burden and beyond the power of the government. The backwardness of school curricula in knowledge, scientific products, and the lack of adequate school buildings in Afghanistan is one of the challenges that the country's students have faced since the civil war for at least the last two decades.

Overall, however, the promotion of education was significant achievement of the pre-Afghan government. In the current situation, the Taliban's government wants the development of education and acknowledges its importance in the development and progress, and stability of the country. Afghanistan is a country with the lowest level of literacy, and is experiencing major problems in the field of education. Insecurity is one of the main problems that, like other areas of social life, damage education and victimizes it in some way every day. Therefore, one of the main missions of the current government is to reactivate the closed schools in the country. From the observer's point of view, if significant and fundamental change is to take place in Afghanistan, it is only possible through the development of education; Even the long-term fight against terrorism requires attention to improving the quality of education.

One of the important ways is that the current government should ask for help in the field of scientific reserves and educational experiences from the past of the country as well as from friendly and cooperating countries and allocate sufficient budget to education and upbringing [73].

Higher education system (ministry of higher education)

In fact in the past 20 years, before the recent Taliban takeover, Afghanistan's education system had remarkable development, currently, Afghanistan has 143 private and about 40 public universities, in which male and female students were studying side by side in universities and female students were not required to wear special clothing, Taliban said that they "would not allow mixed education (girls and boys)" and announced that teaching subjects in universities would be reviewed, Therefore the Taliban wanted to "create a sensible and Islamic curriculum that is in line with our Islamic, national and historical values and, on the other hand, can compete with other countries."

Abdul Baqi Haqqani Acting Minister of Higher Education of the Taliban Government repeatedly said they are creating the right environment for girls to be educated in universities, as long as the curriculum, he said: "Changing the curriculum of universities is inevitable. Our curriculum must be equal to Islamic standards and values to compete with the world." He emphasized the Islamic hijab once again, adding: "In the

system of the Islamic Emirate, the first step is to observe the Islamic hijab after education.

After the withdrawal of the US the big challenge for universities is the lack of experienced and specialized professors, who left Afghanistan, the separation of girls 'and boys' classes are some of the challenges that universities and officials will face, which have a great impact on the educational process of students.

Gender segregation in universities

In this plan, male and female students must study in separate classes. Students, professors, and female office workers must come to university in "full hijab." The cover should be "black, plain, loose and multi-layered to cover the whole body." In addition, makeup is forbidden for them. According to the plan, female students will be taught only by female professors, and in case of shortage, male professors will be used temporarily to teach these students. Under the plan, the Ministry of Higher Education plans to recruit more women to teach at public universities; According to the ministry, only 10 percent of public university professors are women [74].

Brain drain

After the Taliban takeover; observers say Poverty and brain drain have posed serious challenges to Afghanistan, and the departure of young people and elites from Afghanistan will cause irreparable damage to the country's economy and public development. Unemployment, poverty, and uncertain conditions are forcing educated Afghans, who are the backbone of economic growth and social development, to leave the country.

Although the Taliban had announced general amnesty to all of the previous government employees, the Americans created an atmosphere of terror and fear, and facilitated the evacuations of around 124,000 individuals, saying that the Taliban are killing people, especially those who have worked with the Afghan government, foreign embassies, international organization, as they withdrew from Afghanistan, therefore thousands of Afghans have left their country, therefore it looks like the new government faces challenges, due to the lack many technical and administrative capabilities, which this young generation have made the backbone of Afghanistan's economy and development progress over the past two decades, the mass exodus of qualified citizens and future leaders will further weaken the Afghan government's chance of survival.

Economic analyst says; Because of the recent developments in the country, countless Afghans have lost their jobs and left millions in poverty and hunger, Unfortunately, the situation in Afghanistan has educated young people and forced the elites to flee the country, which will have negative consequences for Afghanistan, Educated people, especially young people, are the scientific capital, the backbone of social development and the main drivers of economic growth," he said. Their continued withdrawal from Afghanistan will cause irreparable damage to the country's economy and development [75].

Recently the Taliban's government established a commission to work and invite all those Afghans who left their country due to the recent political changes. In terms of category, Afghanistan's two types of intellectual capital have left the country.

Administrative staff

Thousands of afghan, including senior officials of the previous government, such as ministers, deputy ministers, governors, deputy governors, and directors, as well as a large part of the country's intellectual capital, which, in addition to its academic level, has been well experienced and millions of dollars have been spent on its capabilities in the recent years.

Academic staff

Only 229 professors from three major universities in Kabul, Herat, and Balkh have left the country, Most of the professors who went abroad from these three universities had master's or doctoral degrees. For example, some professors have already gone abroad to study, and more have gone abroad in the past few months.

In the last two decades, millions of dollars were spent annually on the educational systems and professors of universities to complete the higher education abroad or inside Afghanistan. Some professors who have gone abroad to study have told me that they do not want to return to Afghanistan at this time, but that may not be the case for all of them.

In recent years, the previous Afghan government had enacted a law requiring every university professor with a bachelor's degree to complete his or her master's degree within five years. Therefore, in the universities of the country, only professors who had master's or doctoral degrees were hired.

The largest numbers of professors, who have resigned are from Kabul University, Kabul is Afghanistan's largest and most important university, and where thousands of undergraduate, graduate, and doctoral students studied before the Taliban took control. As The Taliban canceled the music department at Kabul University early in their rule and it is unclear what will happen to the college under Taliban rule [76].

Health system

Following the Taliban's takeover of Afghanistan, Afghanistan's health system collapses, due to the World Bank suspending its aid to Afghanistan, Washington has also restricted the Taliban's access to the country's gold and cash reserves, most of which are held abroad, The International Monetary Fund (IMF) has said that Afghanistan can no longer access global lending resources and that the fund has blocked hundreds of millions of dollars, Donors now say the health sector, which was largely run by internationally funded NGOs, is facing an "imminent collapse. Therefore healthcare system is on the verge of collapse and the economy relying on international aid was in crisis.

The international community should not politicize aid to the Ministry of Health and to help Afghans in the health sector based on their humanitarian slogans: "We call on the world to politicize the health sector if you are truly committed to humanity.

“What is wrong with a patient, what is wrong with a doctor? He was paid until yesterday, he was detained today, he helped to treat him until yesterday, and he was detained today, why?”

Despite all these concerns, the Red Cross Committee is responsible for the costs of 17 specialized hospitals, and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the World Health Organization are assisting the Ministry of Health in some areas, but the concerns and threats go beyond that. In addition to cutting international aid, Afghanistan's health sector also faces widespread internal challenges, such as the lack of use of vital diagnostic tools in hospitals paving the way for substandard treatment, and laboratory for testing the quality of medicines and food. Afghanistan needs twice as much equipment, medicine, and staff, and the number of patients is twice as high as in the hospital, as the number of patients had increased, in the past due to the war, roads were closed and people could not come to the hospital, but now there are many more than before, of course, it has become more difficult to take care of them [77].

Legitimacy crisis of the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan

Since 15 August, 2021, the Taliban's takeover of Kabul, The recognition of Afghanistan's new political system as the legitimate government of the country, the government has been facing the crisis of national, regional, and international legitimacy, and so far no country in the world has recognized the current government. The situation has created major problems in obtaining international assistance, visas and international travels, However; while many western countries, including the United States closed their embassies in Kabul and transferred operations to Doha, Qatar., but recently most countries are monitoring Taliban's activities domestically and internationally, to decide whether to begin diplomatic relation and recognition of Taliban's government, these states instead of recognition, pledged to continued their support for humanitarian assistance of Afghanistan , as China, Russia, Iran and other states, as long as Pakistan, have come forward and prepared to officially form diplomatic relationships with Taliban and indicated to the possibilities of Taliban's led government recognition, citing the Taliban's ability to effectively manage and secure the country, eliminating corruption and cultivation of poppy, there are other countries, which their embassies are fully functional in Afghanistan and committed to play a prominent role in Afghanistan's future, it can be said that a kind of Silent recognition is going on. United States Secretary of State Antony Blinken, said without indicating to the Taliban that an Afghan government, committed to its international responsibilities, including respect to human rights “is a government we can work with and recognize.” The following can be the reason, that the international community does not recognize the Taliban's government [78].

Taking the power by force

According to international principles, the international community only recognizes a government as its member, whenever that government takes control of a country peacefully and democratically not by force, therefore the international

community argues that the Taliban took control by force, thus they do not recognize them.

The Taliban have stated that no foreign forces, including military contractors, should remain in Kabul after the withdrawal deadline. A Taliban spokesman suggested that any foreign troops left in the country will “be at risk as occupiers.

Although, after the withdrawal, in accordance with the Doha agreement the United States committed that Instead of a military presence, they will build diplomatic relations with the new government, which will open a new chapter of relations, including diplomatic relations humanitarian and development assistance. About 650 US military forces will stay to protect the US embassy in Kabul and emphasized that withdrawing our troops does not mean ending our relationship with Afghanistan.

Taliban as the legitimate government of Afghanistan No country has recognized the current Taliban government (Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan) established by the Taliban in the wake of their takeover of Afghanistan. The United States has not stated whether it will recognize an Afghan government led by the Taliban, and observers say no decision for such recognition is expected from the U.S. government in the near term [79].

While the Taliban arguably control and govern Afghanistan at this point from a practical, or “de facto,” perspective, the international community has not accepted the Taliban as the legitimate, or “de jure,” government of the country. Pursuant to the law of nations, official recognition of a foreign government acknowledges that a government has the right to control a state’s territory and exercise sovereign state power, and makes such government responsible for meeting that state’s international obligations, including complying with U.N. Security Council resolutions, of which many currently apply to Afghanistan. Each state makes the decision to formally recognize the government of another state; recognition can occur via overt declaration or other positive statement of recognition, or be implied by the actions of the recognizing state, such as by concluding an international agreement with the government being recognized. Recognition is usually a prerequisite for the establishment of diplomatic relations. In the United States, recognized governments may sue in U.S. courts as a foreign sovereign, and benefit from sovereign immunity from suit in certain circumstances.

Under domestic law, the authority to recognize foreign governments in the conduct of international relations lies with the President, Whether or not a government is democratically elected can sometimes be an issue in the recognition practice of many states, including in some cases the United States. The question of recognition of the Taliban could be influenced if the Taliban seek accommodation with or appoint to government posts officials of the former Ghani administration (though they did not do so in the caretaker government announced on September 7, 2021). Such a step could be seen as a counterweight to any illegitimacy problems the Taliban may face by having taken power from a democratically elected Afghan government. The Taliban have long sought recognition as a legitimate governing entity, and some observers maintain the

group has improved its foreign policy apparatus since first governing Afghanistan from 1996 to 2001 [80].

Some states and international organizations might wish to use recognition as a tool to hold the Taliban accountable for Afghanistan's obligations under international law, such as conditioning recognition on such compliance or withholding diplomatic relations until such conditions are met. Only a recognized Afghan government can request foreign assistance, including military and humanitarian aid and economic assistance from international financial institutions.

Taliban for its global reputation and to establish itself as a legitimate leader, and to undermine the Afghan government's authority, many Western countries, including the US, hectically evacuated their embassy staff from Afghanistan after the Taliban's takeover, the Russian embassy in Kabul, with more than 100 employees, have continued its work as usual and Russian diplomats have received direct assurance from the Taliban that they would be safe -same assurance was given to China and Pakistan.

Absence of contingency plans for the collapse of the Afghan government

Although the Taliban many times show that they wanted to lay down their weapons and reintegrate into afghan society, Just in the aftermath of Karzai's appointment, in 2001, a Taliban delegation met with Afghan President Karzai, expressing their willingness to lay down their weapons in exchange for immunity and presented him a letter, possibly signed by their supreme commander Mullah Omar, outlining how the group could disband peacefully President Bush said that no nation should negotiate with terrorists [81].

Conclusion

Unilaterally, irresponsible and reckless withdrawal of the US from Afghanistan and declaring the end of the war without an effective coordination with its allies, uncovered the unreliability, of a globally discredited, war-lost America, disappointed its allies, and increased the cost of occupation and the loss of trust and support of his people.

Additionally, the withdrawal of the United States from Afghanistan further exposed the cunning and deceitful face of the United States to the world, proving that it is foolish to believe in the friendship of the United States the United States claims that it has come to Afghanistan to undermine peace, reconstruction and security, In contrary, the US left Afghanistan, even without government, devastated the region, therefore the 20 years military presence of US also made it clear that they were here to achieve their nefarious goals.

On one hand, since 2001 the United States fought in Afghanistan under the name of the global war on terror against the Taliban and ousted the terrorist regime of the Taliban, due to sheltering the leader of al Qaeda and other terrorists. On the other hand, finally, after 20 years once again handed over the fate of the Afghans to the Taliban, who was responsible for the civilian casualties and terrorist acts in the United States according to UN reports.

CHAPTER THREE

The consequences for neighboring and regional countries

It is widely acknowledged that the U.S. withdrawal is a crucial factor in a shifting security environment, the direction, outcome, and implications for regional security. In 2001, when the Taliban was ousted, the reactions of the neighboring countries of Afghanistan were on cooperation and non-involvement in Afghanistan's internal affairs. On December 22, 2001, Afghanistan's six neighboring countries gathered in Kabul and signed Declaration on Good Neighborly Relations.

On December 24, 2002, it endorsed the UN Security Council Resolution 1453, and they committed to build Constructive bilateral relationship based on territorial integrity, mutual respect, friendly relations, cooperation, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, but each of the neighboring countries developed different policies regarding the security problems arising from Afghanistan. In this part, the prospects and challenges of neighboring and regional countries to the security issues arising from Afghanistan will be discussed [82].

Neighboring countries after the withdrawal, challenges, and prospects

Three neighbors of Afghanistan (China, Iran, and Pakistan), and two regional powers (Russia and India) possess nuclear weapons, destabilization of Afghanistan may cause great damage to the security of the region, therefore, the stabilization of the entire South Asia region depends on the stability of Afghanistan.

About the absence of U.S/NATO forces, the common view and prospect of regional countries toward Afghanistan is the fear of destabilization, civil war, and the spillover of insecurity beyond Afghanistan's borders, due to the power vacuum left by the US, tensions have been raised that Pakistan will likely increase its influence and intensify proxy war with India in Afghanistan due to established ties with the Taliban.

After the Taliban's takeover, How will regional countries engage with the Taliban and why? As most regional actors have established contacts with the Taliban, possibly factors that may encourage neighboring countries to engage with the Taliban [83].

National interest

In accordance with national interest is needed to ensure stability in the region, therefore pragmatic approach can shape the Taliban's strategy and even domestic behavior.

Friendly attitudes

Perceived benefits of insecurity will be outweighing rather than the necessary costs of stability, therefore a friendly relationship is urgent with the Taliban's government.

The revival of IS

Regional countries must realize that if external actors do not reach an agreement with the Taliban, resolution of the crisis will be impossible; hence it will pave the way to the revival of IS.

Challenges for the regional development projects

Although most of the regional projects are still not implemented, therefore stability in Afghanistan would offer opportunities for cooperation in the field of energy, transportation, and trade between central Asia and South Asia, such as electricity and energy, (CASA-1000- which will carry gas and electricity from Kirghizstan and Tajikistan to Pakistan and India), the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, which will be built new railways and highways), TAPI which carries gas from Turkmenistan to India through the territory of Afghanistan, once these regional projects completed, could change the energy map of the region.

The new silk route, the name of the old Silk Road, includes creating a condition for the enhancement of trade ties between central Asia and South Asia, infrastructure construction of transportation routes for raw materials and goods.

Multilateral Frameworks

The geostrategic location of Afghanistan is as a division among china, Russia, India, Iran, Pakistan, and other regional power, therefore the intersection position of Afghanistan between central and south Asia, the Middle East and the Far East, can provide a real opportunity for effective cooperation for them, like APTA.

First Tier countries

The regional aspects of the Afghanistan conflict have two tiers of state actors, Pakistan & Iran, and Second China, India, Central Asia, and Russia.

Pakistan

Following the 9/11 attacks, Pakistan declared its support to the U.S. in its fight against Al Qaeda Pakistan arrested hundreds of Al Qaeda militants and opened Pakistani airspace to the U.S forces. Historically, after the establishment of Pakistan in 1947, the relationship between the two countries had ups and downs but the general mood of the relationship was problematic, Pakistan has played an active and, by many accounts, disruptive and destabilizing role in Afghan affairs for decades. Afghanistan's former leaders, along with many U.S. and Western officials, attribute the Taliban's existence—as well as its strength and endurance over the past two decades—to either the active or passive support of Pakistan's military and intelligence services, including allowing the Taliban to maintain safe havens on Pakistani territory.

Pakistan is a vital country for the security of Afghanistan, even though the roots of the problematic nature of the relationship between Kabul and Islamabad are historical, it has recently been observed that regional and external powers have shaped the relationship. There are four main elements of the tension between Kabul and Islamabad.

Duran Line

The legitimacy of the Durand line as an international border is the bone of contention and a controversial issue, after the Taliban's takeover of Afghanistan the speculation about the Durand line rose.

Pashtun population

Pakistan's second-biggest security concern for Afghanistan, an important Pashtun population in today's Pakistan is separated from its companions in Afghanistan. Pakistan perceives a Pashtun nationalist government in Kabul as a strategic threat to its existence; Pakistan perceives a Pashtun nationalist government in Kabul as a strategic threat to its existence.

Rivalry with India

The most important factor shaping Pakistan's perception of Afghanistan is its struggle with India, Pakistan's struggle against India is a determinant factor in its relations with Afghanistan, India should see to Afghanistan through the lens of Pakistan's security interests.

Taliban's victory may pose other challenges for Pakistan

Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP or Pakistani Taliban) conducted numerous domestic terrorist attacks in Pakistan that cost thousands, The Afghan Taliban have, as part of their takeover, freed thousands of prisoners from Afghan government jails, including some high-ranking TTP figures and a reported 780 fighter, The Pakistani Taliban, which is distinct from but has significant ideological ties to the Afghan Taliban, seemingly have renewed their "allegiance to the Islamic Emirate" in Afghanistan. The two groups reportedly have been described as "two faces of the same coin" by top Pakistani security officials [84].

After the withdrawal Taliban's relationship with Pakistan

In the absence of U.S. and NATO forces, Pakistan will likely increase its influence in Afghanistan due to established ties with the Taliban. India's recent decision to revoke Kashmir's semi-autonomous special status has escalated tensions, and Pakistan could retaliate through intensified proxy violence in Afghanistan. After the Taliban take over, the first high-ranking Pakistani official to visit Afghanistan was the chief of Pakistan's lead intelligence agency, Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), leading to speculation that he had "brokered" a subsequent power-sharing arrangement among Afghan Taliban leaders. Five days later, CIA Director William Burns was in Pakistan to consult on Afghanistan with both Pakistan's Chief of Army Staff and the ISI chief, Pakistan's security establishment, seeking to prevent the establishment of a pro-India government in Kabul, apparently continues to view the Afghan Taliban as a relatively friendly and reliably anti-India element in Afghanistan. Pakistani leaders claim that their influence over the group is limited. Many observers see the Taliban's takeover as a substantive triumph for Pakistan, bolstering its influence in Afghanistan and, correspondingly, advancing its decades-long efforts to limit Indian influence there. These developments provide Pakistan with possible advantages as regional powers attempt to gain influence in South and Central Asian politics.

Pakistan's Ambassador to Afghanistan Mansoor Ahmad Khan confirms that Islamabad was in contact with the Afghan Taliban: "Our special envoy was in contact with them in Qatar, and Mullah Baradar and other leaders of the Taliban held talks with

us there, although Pakistan will only recognize the Taliban “according to international consensus,” remarks by Prime Minister Imran Khan to the effect that Afghan nationals have “broken the shackles of slavery” and that the Taliban are “not a military outfit” but rather “normal civilians” suggest Pakistan wants to legitimize a Taliban-led government in Afghanistan, Pakistan expects the Taliban to fulfill its pledges of forming an inclusive national government, respecting its commitments and obligations of upholding human rights, particularly those of women and minorities, and honoring counterterrorism guarantees given to the international community under the Doha agreement, including action against Al-Qaeda (AQ) and the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), as the ideologically partner of Taliban, at present, Pakistan claims to seek the establishment of an inclusive government in Afghanistan and it vows to be “responsible partner for peace and security in Afghanistan [85].

Pakistan’s view on US withdrawal

Pakistan criticized and remained concerning about the sudden announcement of the Biden administration’s withdrawal without reaching a political settlement in Afghanistan. Islamabad feared Washington’s unilateral withdrawal would jeopardize the initial gains of the Doha Agreement 2020 and may push Afghanistan towards a civil war. At any rate, the Taliban’s takeover has once again created a new set of challenges and opportunities for the region depending on how the situation evolves, the US policy failures in Afghanistan, some of that anger is likely to be redirected at Pakistan.

Iran

Iran is generally regarded as a neighbor with a negative impact on Afghanistan's security, Iran was always suspected that the U.S. may use its forces in Afghanistan to surround or attack Iran. Due to this strategy, Iran strongly opposed to the signing of the U.S.-Afghanistan BSA. Iran’s main Afghan strategy is anti-Taliban. Iran considers a Taliban regime in Afghanistan as an ideological threat to its regime, due to the 1998 conflict, in which 11 Iranian diplomats were killed in an attack by the Taliban on Iran’s Mazar-e Serif Consulate, the Taliban denied the responsibility and almost came into the direct war.

Iran sees the U.S. military withdrawal from Afghanistan, as an opportunity for long-lasting peace in Afghanistan. Iran supports the proposed plan for the creation of a transition council to transfer power; the following can be the possible topics between Iran- afghan relations to discuss [86].

Iran’s rivalry with Saudi Arabia

The prevention of a strong central an exclusive Sunni government led by Pashtuns, dominance influence after withdrawal, and Iran's contribution to Afghanistan sought to balance the dominance of sitting in Pakistan, are signs of rivalry between Iran and Saudi Arabia in Afghanistan, as Iran sponsored by its foes: the host country, Saudi Arabia and the U.S. During the civil war of the 1990s, Iran backed the Rabbani Government, primarily dominated by ethnic Tajiks. After the government's collapse in 1996 and confronted with a hostile Taliban regime, Iran facilitated the establishment of

the anti-Taliban coalition, 2012 Saudi Arabia's construction of a new Islamic center in Kabul, is a good example of the rivalry between Iran and Saudi Arabia, since the Saudi project was said to be an answer to Khatam al-Nabyeen Islamic University, built-in 2006 by a Shia cleric with the alleged support of Iran.

Both Iran and Saudi Arabia try to control each other's influence in Afghanistan and limit the other's ability to shape Afghan domestic politics. Despite all those concerns neither Iran nor Saudi Arabia considers Afghanistan as its main foreign policy priority. Iran has made it clear that it is against the U.S. military in Afghanistan [87].

Counter Narcotics strategy

Nearly 50 % of narcotics produced in Afghanistan cross the Iranian border, for this reason, Iran harshly criticizes the international coalition's failure to control the production in Afghanistan.

Transportation infrastructure

Iran's key infrastructure projects are best suited towards this goal, reshape of the game after withdrawal toward its favors, to forget worries about strategic encirclement by American, troops the American presence as a threat in its backyard, the policy of Tehran has adopted (strategic hedging) prepares itself for variety of outcome, Iran will intervene more heavily in the Afghan affairs.

At the troika meeting, the Iranian foreign minister said that the global community should work together on the wrong policies of the US and NATO, the release of frozen money, and the humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan.

Iran's support of minorities

Iran sees the Taliban as a major enemy to its Shi'ite ideology, Iran's interests in Afghanistan include preserving its historic influence in western Afghanistan, and protecting Afghanistan's Shia minority (the Hazaras), Some have speculated that Iran, as it did during the 1990s, might support Afghans in northern, western, and central Afghanistan against the Taliban, particularly if a Taliban-led government expresses hostility toward Tehran. Other analysts argue Iran is unlikely to oppose the Taliban, to avoid further instability, and will continue to seek accommodation with the Taliban.

Refuges flow to Iran

After the Taliban's takeover of Afghanistan hounded thousand of people of Afghanistan went to Iran, after the US withdrawal from Afghanistan, Iran's biggest concern was the flow of refugees into Iran, as already Iran hosts millions of documented and undocumented Afghan refugees.

IS as a threat to the national security of Iran

Iranian officials met with the Taliban numerous times after 2018, including hosting a senior Taliban delegation in Tehran in February 2021. U.S. officials have also alleged that some Taliban fighters have received arms and other support from Iran. Iran has covertly aided elements within the Taliban, particularly those based in Western Afghanistan. In the last three years, Iran has publicly acknowledged such contacts and

even hosted the Taliban for talks in Tehran, recently in January 2021. However, Iranian officials argue that this policy is driven by threats posed by the Islamic State [88].

Second Tier countries

Central Asia

Afghanistan and the Central Asian countries share a common regional security complex, in which the security developments affect all parties. In this sense, it can be argued that there is security interdependence between Afghanistan and the Central Asian countries basically due to the fact that nearly one-fourth of Afghanistan's borderline is with Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan. In addition, there is a cultural and historical connection between the Central Asian countries and Afghanistan; since Tajiks, Uzbeks and Turkmens, have their co-ethnics among the Afghan population in the northern sections of the country, Major security threats that can emanate from Afghanistan to central Asian countries.

Smuggling

Smuggling of humans, narcotics, and weapons from Afghanistan after the withdrawal of the US remains the top concern of central Asian countries.

Extremist infiltration

Some experts made clear that one of the elements of the US strategy beyond Afghanistan borders was the independence of central Asia, and shifting the geopolitical game to a totally new level, which covers the central Asian countries, therefore these countries had shown their readiness to develop a constructive dialogue and practical cooperation with the new government of Afghanistan [89].

Taliban attack

Maybe the most remote threat for the Central Asian states emanating from Afghanistan is a direct Taliban attack. In the past, the Taliban showed no interest in launching a direct attack against Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, or Uzbekistan. The Taliban struggles to take control of Afghanistan; therefore, it was assumed that there is no possibility of a direct Taliban attack. The Taliban defines its policy as “do no harm not accept harm” which assures the Central Asian states.

Refugee flow

After the Taliban takeover, one of the main concerns of central Asian countries is the refugee flow to these countries.

Involvement in the conflict in Afghanistan

It is quite unpredictable what would happen if the Taliban manages to overthrow the Afghan government. Especially after it allowed NATO non-military supplies to Afghanistan in 2009.

Against those threats, the Central Asian countries have several viable options including; sealing their borders, establishing non-military or military buffer zones, and direct negotiations with the Taliban in September 2020 after the opening of the Doha-based Afghan peace negotiations, the head of the Taliban's political office, Mullah Ghani Baradar, offered public assurances to Uzbekistan.

Kazakhstan

Overall the central Asian countries and particularly Kazakhstan's territory are cut off from international seas, therefore access to the international ports is a significant need, hence Afghanistan's geostrategic location can provide transportation routes and transit hub to these countries. Bilateral Possibilities of cooperation between Kazakhstan and Afghanistan.

Transit hub

Afghanistan can provide a transit hub to the Kazakhstani government to have access to the international seas, and to organize and open direct access to the markets of Pakistan, India, and the Middle East, through bilateral agreements.

Multilateral Frameworks

Afghanistan is strategically important for the Central Asian states that do not have direct access to the international sea, the openness of Central Asia through Multilateral Frameworks, such as the new silk way to South Asia.

On the contrary, Moscow prevents the entrance of a third countries as it has the strategic mission of security issues and isolation of central Asia. The general strategy of the US was to exert influence on Russia and China through alternative routes, the influence of global and regional power and the way to maritime ports, opening the region into the southern, US policy rebalances of power in central Asia, the balance of power between China and Russia in the energy sector.

Russia

Russia has a tumultuous history of involvement with Afghanistan; the 1979 Soviet-Afghan war resulted in a humiliating military defeat to an Islamist guerrilla force, backed by the U.S. and Pakistan, and left post-Soviet Russia wary of future involvement with Afghanistan. Since the withdrawal of U.S. and NATO combat forces from Afghanistan, Russia has increased its engagement in the Afghan issues.

Moscow's primary motivation in Afghanistan is to address the security threat to its southern flank, Russia remains concerned about the ISIS-Khorasan Province's growing influence in Afghanistan, as well as the spread of opium and other narcotics from Afghanistan into Central Asia. Secondly, Moscow aims to actively fight against U.S. interests in a type of zero-sum strategy. Russia views Afghanistan as an arena of competition with the West and will likely expand its geopolitical interests in the region once U.S. and NATO forces make a complete withdrawal.

Since Intra-Afghan negotiations began Moscow has maintained relations with a variety of stakeholders to ensure a leading role in any post-conflict political settlement. Despite Russia's historic opposition to the militant group, the Kremlin has established ties with the Taliban in recent years to counter ISKP. There is evidence that Moscow has financially supported Taliban violence and developed cross-border weapons supply networks with the militant group. Building a cooperative relationship with the Taliban and other political parties will ensure that Moscow's interests are secured in a post-U.S. Afghanistan.

The west must solve its own problems, the 20 – year failed US-NATO mission and the implementation of foreign policies and values in Afghanistan, said Russian foreign minister Sergei Lavrov, speaking at the troika summit in china. So they are responsible for the current economic crisis and have to bear the financial cost of getting out of this predicament, government seeks to build constructive relations with the Taliban [90].

An ambivalent policy of Russia in Afghanistan

From Russia’s perspective, the Taliban takeover of Afghanistan has included expressions of both satisfaction and concern, as the Taliban conquest is markedly different from when Taliban forces took over the country in the mid-1990s. Russia’s ambassador to Afghanistan reported from a recent meeting with the Taliban that they see relations with Russia as very friendly and have taken up guard outside of the Russian embassy. A Taliban spokesperson claimed that they have “very good relations with Russia.” The contrast with Western reactions, seeing the Taliban’s ascendance as a marker of defeat in the conflict, places Russia’s strategy in stark relief the main strategy of Russia was to prevent the involvement of the third parties in the region, non-regional power, US influence, security issues, central Asia border with Russia and the sphere of influence, transportation remains the main tool, face security challenges.

Russia has viewed Afghanistan through the lens of a U.S. strategic security interest that must be undermined to prevent NATO expansionism. At the same time, strained relations between the U.S., the EU, and Russia on other global issues (e.g., from NATO enlargement to the proxy war in Ukraine and Syria) have indirectly wedged Moscow’s policy towards Afghanistan. As such, Russia’s current posture towards the U.S. presence in Afghanistan can best be described as ambivalent. While Moscow sees the long-term presence of NATO in Afghanistan as a serious threat to its regional interests, it has also warned against the risks of a sudden and hasty U.S. military exit which might destabilize regional security, especially in the fragile Central Asian states. Russia’s primary security interest in Afghanistan is to curtail the spread of terrorism and radical Islam, including ISIS, into Central Asia and Russia [91].

Russia’s triple challenges

Expansion of NATO to the east, Islamic extremism in the south, and demographic in the Far East, as the gas pipeline and new silk way were against the policy of isolation of central Asia, which isolation and maintaining the security of central Asia is part of Russia’s foreign policy.

The west is declining and the east is rising

Russian officials said they have no intention of evacuating the Russian embassy in Kabul and that Taliban forces pledged to provide security for Russia’s embassy and personnel.

Zamir Kabulov a Russia’s presidential envoy for Afghanistan argued that in fact Taliban movement is more capable of holding negotiations with Russia than the outgoing Kabul’s “puppet” government, If it is compared to the credibility of colleagues

and partners, The fact that we have made a dialogue with the new government in Afghanistan that is an asset of the Russian foreign policy that we use long-term interests of the Russian Federation. Besides, most recently on July 8–9, 2021 Russia has active negotiation with the Taliban in Moscow, in the negotiation Taliban asked to remove their names from the UN Security Council’s sanctions list. Meanwhile, the Russian President Putin called on the international community that the Taliban had taken de facto control of Afghanistan, in order to avoid the destruction of the Afghan state. At a recent press conference with Angela Merkel, Vladimir Putin said, “The Taliban movement currently controls virtually the entire territory of the country, including its capital. These are realities.” He added, “We should act based on these very realities, not allowing the Afghan state’s breakup.” It appears that Moscow prefers that Afghanistan remain a unitary state and is unlikely to support opposition groups, Moscow had opened channels with the Taliban as far back as 2015 and has held multiple rounds of inter-Afghan talks in the capital since 2018. While Russia had justified this re-engagement based on a common goal, Russia has lost economic influence in Central Asia, chiefly to China, but it remains the principal security guarantor in the region, with the most experienced and best-positioned military [92].

Russia’s view about US withdrawal

The U.S. withdrawal, beyond a palpable degree of *schadenfreude* and the visible dent to U.S. international prestige, the messy U.S. withdrawal casts the painful history of Soviet defeat in perspective. After the Soviet withdrawal in 1989, Mohammad Najibullah’s forces fought for another three years, even winning early battles. His regime collapsed in large part because the Soviet Union itself dissolved in late 1991, and Russian support was no longer forthcoming.

In contrast, Afghan National Defense and Security Forces units folded rapidly without logistical and political support from Kabul, while Ghani’s government melted away faster than most anticipated [93].

China

Afghanistan shares a mountainous 47-mile-long border with China’s Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, there were no official relations between Beijing and Kabul, Following the U.S. military operation, China was concerned about two topics regarding, the first one was the possibility of Islamic groups infiltrating or affecting its Muslim Uyghur Xinjiang region. The other topic was the natural resources of Afghanistan. China is interested in Afghanistan because of its rich minerals.

Localizing the conflict

The Chinese biggest concern in the presence of US/NATO troops in Afghanistan was the enlargement of the Afghan conflict beyond its borders, in order to engage its neighboring and spillover the impact of destabilization to the region. Beijing has been positioning itself as the up-and-coming dominant economic power in South and Central Asia, natural resources. In 2011, China National Petroleum Corp (CNPC) signed an agreement with Afghanistan to develop oil fields in the Amu Darya region. The

agreement included drilling and building an oil refinery in Faryab and Sar-e Pul. It is the first international oil production agreement Afghanistan signed with an international company. In Chinese prospect of the withdrawal of the US from Afghanistan seems like if the US concentrating its resources on the conflict in the indo-pacific, china's policy differs from Russia's, interest in the isolation of central Asia remains the common goal of China and Russia, and both do not want to allow the countries outside of central Asia to put influence in this strategically important region, China core interest is the security of its own border, the greatest threat for china is the ETIM- separatist. China is committed to solving problems created by the west [94].

After the withdrawal of the US china's investment will be increased, china hosted three meetings of the foreign ministers of Afghanistan neighboring for regional concuss first in September, October, the march of 2021, and the visit of the foreign minister of china from Kabul on the march, 24, 2022. Concurrent, the special representative of Russia visited from Kabul, therefore China has been concerned about his goals in Afghanistan regarding the development of its western economically weakened provinces. In this regard, china shows interest to have access to raw materials and new trade routes that connects China to Central and South Asia and Iran. It is clearly emphasized in the 12th Five-Year Strategic Plan (2011–2015). In addition, China has a special interest in Afghanistan's stability and extensive investments in natural sources, roads and pipelines, and oil [95].

Afghanistan's 3.5 billion copper of naynak-largest foreign investment, having access to such treasures on its doorstep would be a considerable boon for Beijing in its quest to make China the world's leading economy. Part of Afghanistan's appeal to China's Communist rulers lies in its geographical location at the heart of Central Asia, making it crucial to the success of Beijing's ambitious plan to control international trade through its Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), China has already made inroads in neighboring Pakistan, where the two countries have agreed a \$62 billion package for construction of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, which has become a key element of the BRI as Beijing seeks to deepen and expand its trade links across Eurasia and Africa, Railroad mining and extraction, also one Belt one Road initiative connects Hairitan border of Afghanistan to the eastern and central coastal province of Jiangsu [91].

Post-withdrawal

After the Taliban proclaimed victory, China's government sent a strong signal that it intends to treat the organization as the legitimate government of Afghanistan, although it has not recognized it as such as of September 17, 2021. The power vacuum left by the US and the Security threats emanating from Afghanistan after the withdrawal of US/NATO remains at the top priority for China. Uyghur separatists and the security of Xinxiang province are the biggest sources of concern for China, after the withdrawal, as in September 2017, china made a mountain brigade in the Badakshan province of

Afghanistan, and in 2019 China made another military base in Tajikistan in the strategic route of the Wakhan corridor.

The silent player in the region, the U.S. withdrawal, and the Taliban takeover have afforded the PRC an opportunity to criticize the United States and question Washington's credibility with allies and partners[96]. Since the Taliban's takeover of the country, China has demonstrated an unprecedented level of positive reception, political endorsement, and diplomatic support for the Taliban. However, there are ferocious debates ongoing in China as to what the best strategy is moving forward vis-à-vis its poor, unstable, and destabilizing neighbor. Beijing has not moved to recognize the Taliban, or the Taliban-led regime, yet. However, such recognition is implied in the many messages Beijing has sent. On Aug. 18, the Chinese foreign ministry spokesperson subtly commented that recognition of a government must wait until after the government is established, implying that, after the Taliban establishes its government, China's recognition will ensue; Beijing appears to have concluded two preliminary assessments about the future. The first is about the Taliban's victory and its sustainability. The second concerns the Taliban's improved behavior. China sees the Taliban as becoming more rational and pragmatic, based on the group's recent outreach to neighboring countries and the policies it has announced so far, including its vow to respect women's rights. The implication of the two assessments is that Chinese leaders believe the Taliban is here to stay and is no longer as radical and extremist as it was 20 years ago. Translating this belief into practical policies, Beijing will likely give the Taliban the benefit of the doubt and endorse the group as long as it does not repeat anything outrageous, especially regarding its support for terrorist groups. Indeed, terrorist threats are the most significant concerns Chinese leaders have in Afghanistan. The fact that other countries, such as Russia, share similar views about the Taliban reinforces China's position. As well as its preference for building peace through economic development, Strategists see Afghanistan as a golden opportunity for China to expand its influence and replace the United States as a responsible and effective leader to help the country. As argued by Zhou Bo, a retired People's Liberation Army senior colonel, China is ready to step in to fill the void left by the United States and exploit Afghanistan's natural resources and critical location for the Belt and Road Initiative. In this blueprint, if China treads carefully and supports the Taliban at this opportune moment, there is a potential for China to engineer and create useful loyalty in Afghanistan as a strategic asset. China's "constructive involvement" in Afghanistan, but with a thoughtful approach against hasty decisions to the country.

Today the hostility between China and the United States, China's eagerness to use Afghanistan, a U.S. sore spot, for a sense of superiority and advantage is evident, as Foreign Minister Wang Yi's Aug. 29 phone call with Secretary of State Antony Blinken attests. During the phone call, Wang lectured on "the need to engage Taliban and lead it in a positive direction." However, significant actions remain to be seen. China might move faster than Western countries to embrace a Taliban regime, but major investments,

political and economic, will depend on the emergence of sustainable stability and the true colors the Taliban reveals [97].

China's view of US withdrawal

The U.S. failure and messy withdrawal are quite significant in China's view; on the one hand, China has left no stone unturned in its efforts to undermine Washington and the democratic model it tried to implant in Afghanistan. For China, the failure of the "Western model" once again proves that Western democracy is not a universal value, let alone a successful one. The U.S. power and role are destructive rather than constructive, this is critical for China as an important validation of its argument for an alternative system. On the other hand, China also perceives the failure of the United States as an opportunity for China to demonstrate that its own agnostic approach to political systems and governance, as well as its preference for building peace through economic development, might be a better approach toward failed states than the militarized nation-building the West has attempted. In Beijing's view, if China could rebuild and stabilize Afghanistan China's model would be proved superior and, consequently, China would be proved superior to the United States as a global leader [98].

India

India's Afghanistan policy has been shaped by its rivalry with Pakistan. The reason behind India's presence in Afghanistan is to limit Pakistan's influence. During the Afghan civil war between 1992 -1996, India supported the anti-Taliban Northern Alliance. India considered the Taliban's sheltering Al Qaeda a major threat to herself, When the Taliban came to power in 1996; India had to close its diplomatic missions in Afghanistan. India considered the collapse of the Taliban regime as an important strategic gain, and India also welcomed the U.S. and NATO military, After 2001, Indian presence and visibility in Afghanistan significantly increased with a large embassy in Kabul and four consulates, and Afghanistan has been trying to establish close ties with India in order to benefit from India's huge economy, Afghanistan signed a SPA with India in 2011. The agreement entrenched Pakistan's fears by giving India an official role in Afghanistan's security by training ANSF personnel. Since 2011, India has trained thousands of ANSF personnel including Afghan Special Forces members.

In December 2015, Prime Minister Narendra Modi visited Afghanistan to open the India-funded parliament complex in Kabul, which was built with Indian financing. In June 2016, Prime Minister Modi visited Afghanistan again and inaugurated a friendship dam, also known as the Salma Dam. Visited India to demand sales of Indian military equipment which would help Afghanistan strengthen its border with Pakistan. In May 2016, India signed an agreement with Iran and Afghanistan, according to which India would pledge to invest \$500 million in Iran's Chabahar Port. When completed will increase the volume of trade between India and Afghanistan. By using the port India will also bypass the Pakistan route. In addition to the port deal, Iran, India, and Afghanistan agreed to establish a land transit-and-trade corridor. The India and Pakistan engagement in Afghanistan reflects their bilateral relations. The main purpose of both India and

Pakistan is to keep the influence, Pakistan considers, Afghanistan as necessary for continuing its strategic depth against India, India also seeks to eliminate Pakistan's strategic depth by becoming Afghanistan's ally, both Pakistan and India have strong strategic interests in Afghanistan's, While neither Pakistan nor India has a conventional military presence in Afghanistan, the competition continues through support for armed groups and terror attacks by proxies.

India is focused on ensuring the stability of the current political order in Afghanistan and preventing state collapse or the Taliban's monopoly of power. This struggle between the two countries makes Afghanistan a battleground for proxy wars. Some writers, such as Dalrymple go as far as to argue that the Indo-Pak rivalry is at the very core of the current war in Afghanistan. India was in favor of the U.S. continuing its presence in Afghanistan, an opinion repeated by Prime Minister Modi, during his visit to Washington in September 2014 [99].

Infrastructure projects

In 2001, India had begun to take part in the reconstruction of Afghanistan and by spending 3 billion USD made it the fifth-largest donor country, India also has a keen interest in securing access to and greater connectivity with Central Asia, which Pakistan presently obstructs.

Although India does not have a relation with the Taliban, India has closed its diplomatic mission since the Taliban's takeover and yet has not shown its desire to engage with the Taliban's government. India appears to be the only neighbor that has not engaged the Taliban, but in the last 20 years the contribution of India's rehabilitation of Afghanistan, therefore it is still unclear whether India will have a diplomatic relations with the Taliban or not, also their support for in completed projects, including the Chabahar port [100].

India's view on US withdrawal

New Delhi remained concerned about the exit of the US from Afghanistan and the Taliban takeover because their primary goal was the presence of US/NATO in Afghanistan, due to the threat of destabilization.

CONCLUSION

Finally, after the dissolution of the former soviet union, the polarization of the global system had faced NATO with an identity crisis, due to the objective for which the NATO was created achieved, therefore there was no need for the existence of such a military organization, simultaneously, United States effectively and skillfully managed the critical situation and retained NATO to use as a hegemonic tool for achieving its strategic goal, Therefore, today the existence of NATO, itself (particularly expansion of NATO to the east, Ukraine crisis) has exacerbated global insecurity rather than peace and security; hence today the existence of NATO is widely viewed, as a potential threat to the global security.

After the 9/11 attacks the united states and its allies started the new game under the name of the global war on terror, to fight against all those who seek to export terrorism and a war against those governments that support the shelter, hence in 2001 invaded to Afghanistan, although some regional powers and neighbors of Afghanistan welcomed, helped, and cooperated the united states, allowed the United States to use their airspace and territory, the only reason behind the tolerance of the 20 years US-led Western military presence in the region was the Taliban, nevertheless some regional power felt discomfort with the long term military presence of US in Afghanistan, consider it as a source of concern and threat for their national security.

From the beginning of the counter-terrorism war in Afghanistan till the end, the objective of the US in Afghanistan was nuclear, although the United States emphasis on fighting terrorism, and narcotics, establishing a strong and inclusive central government by democratic standards, rebuilding and modernizing, bringing peace and security to Afghanistan, nevertheless it pursued unknown goals in Afghanistan, alongside advancing strategic competition with Russia and China in more favorable geographies, the United States realized that achieving these goals is no an easy task, so it unified its European allies to take an active part in the campaign under the name of fighting terrorism, and convinced them that fighting against terrorism is for the sake of worlds peace and security, not for the sake of the united states.

Though the UN security council had approved (not use of force) the attack to Afghanistan, and the United States come to Afghanistan in a coalition, on the one hand, to imposed financial and human resources of this war on its allies, and to use the 9/11 attack as an excuse and legal channels, and to show to its allies that international order and security were threatened and endangered by the 9/11 attack, during twenty years the United States spent millions of USD for fighting terrorism, rebuilding of comprehensive government, despite the US excessive spending in Afghanistan, the goal pursued was not achieved, but after twenty years later, the United States withdrew, leaving Afghanistan and its people in a precarious economic and humanitarian condition, its government collapsed, and its security situation worsened and with a very low profile with its allies and international partners, what could not be achieved through 20 years of

struggle, thousands of lives lost and trillions of dollars spent on “war on terror”, could be achieved.

first Historical and strategic mistake made by the international community which played a major role in the failure of the United States in Afghanistan was the absence of Pashtuns in the post-Taliban government and the Distribution of key government positions among the former warlords, more ever lack of clear and comprehensive strategy, Common strategic vision and regional support for fighting against terrorism, Duality of mission, strong government, effective mechanism of cooperation with local government, lack of economic programs that can create permanent jobs for afghan people, inconsistencies in the fight against terrorism and the pursuit of various goals by its allies are among the causes of the America's failure.

additionally, in 2021 after signing the Doha agreement, the US/NATO announced, its sudden and unilaterally withdrawal from Afghanistan without a clear international strategy for post-US Afghanistan and publically declaring the end of the war was without effective coordination with its allies, hence it uncovered the unreliability, a globally discredited, war-lost America, and disappointed its allies and increased in the cost of occupation and loss of trust and support of his own people.

Contrary to the above, the US left Afghanistan, even without a government, devastating the region. On one hand, since 2001 the US fought for 20 years under the name of the global war on terror against the Taliban in Afghanistan and overthrown the terrorist regime of the Taliban in 2001, due to sheltering the leader of al Qaeda and other terrorists, although American-led Western world with the strong support of entire Islamic world was against the Soviets because the soviet union invaded on Afghanistan.

On the other hand, the US/NATO entered Afghanistan with the full support of the West and no rejection of the Islamic world, and finally once again handed over the fate of the Afghans to the Taliban, who was responsible for the civilian casualties and terrorist acts on the United States according to UN reports, and finally, it can be said that Afghanistan as not the goal, rather than the victim.

Recommendation

- The creation of all-inclusive government that represents all ethnic groups and segments of the Afghan society can see themselves in the system, based to education, experience, and professionalism with the full, equal and meaningful participation of women.
- The legitimacy of the new government, unless the international community wants long-term peace and stability in Afghanistan and beyond its borders, they must recognize the newly established government to open its permanent diplomatic mission around the world for a friendly relationships between member states of the UN.
- As soon as possible the frozen international reserves of Da Afghanistan bank must be released so that the government would be able to control the ongoing humanitarian and economic crisis.
- Taliban must open the doors of negotiation with all those political leaders and senior government officials, who left the country due to the latest political changes and wants to come back.
- The international community must emphasize and hold responsible the United States for the current economic and humanization crisis since in the last two decades the United States had spent billions of dollars on the destruction of Afghanistan, and it must spend more than that on the reconstruction of Afghanistan.

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APPENDIX-1

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The idea of the project	Consequences of the NATO withdrawal from Afghanistan
Problem situation (case)	<p>The diplomatic way is the common way to end the war; historically every war in the world is ended by a peace conference. The united states had fought for 20 years in Afghanistan to win the war by force, but after 20 years it realized that war is not the solution to Afghan conflict, hence it decided to negotiate with the Taliban and selected a peaceful way in order to achieve the peaceful settlement, we must remember that it was not an easy decision to them, it was the result of the pressure of opponent side, which bravely defended their own country against the foreign invaders, who wanted to militarily occupy their country.</p> <p>After two decades of war, the world, region, and Afghanistan have taken new directions and promises toward peace and political stability.</p> <p>Research problem:</p> <p>This research aims to specify the consequences and challenges after the withdrawal of NATO troops from Afghanistan to global security, furthermore, the criteria that differs this research from other is, that the aim of the study is to discuss various part of withdrawal and to address new Events, changes, challenges and implications that Afghanistan have faced after the withdrawal, the subsequent collapse of the Afghan government and its implications on the economy, trade, security, health, banking and more important the interaction of the new government with</p>

	the international community are discussed.
Available solutions to this problem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The legitimacy crisis and recognition of the Taliban's government is the biggest obstacle to establishing friendly and diplomatic relations with the member states of the international community, as friendly relation remains the top priority of the UN, and without recognition friendly and diplomatic relations against member states of UN is impossible. - As soon as possible, the United States should release the international reserves of Da Afghanistan bank, and eased the economic sanctions on the Taliban's government, so as to enable Taliban's government to have upper hand, to manage the current economical and humanitarian crisis, which the ordinary people of Afghanistan suffers. - The international community and other financial institutes (WB, IMF) should continue their activities, as prior to the Taliban's government in Afghanistan, in order to support their uncompleted development projects. - The neighbors countries; regional and Global superpowers must stop their interference in the state affairs of Afghanistan, and leave the people of Afghanistan to

	<p>determine their own future by themselves.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- As soon as possible, The government of Taliban should declare their position about the legal status of the 1382 constitution of Afghanistan, and put an end to uncertainty, it is would be better for them to propose modifications and amendments to certain articles and do not reject completely it, as it is the best constitution in the region.- As soon as possible, the government of Taliban should open schools for girls and Pay more attention to women's rights, as well as allow them to work in government.- The Taliban should quickly establish all inclusive and strong government, in order to completely free itself from the influence of the region's countries, a government that represents all segments of the afghan society, and all appointments should be based on profession, experience and knowledge.- The Taliban's should have reciprocal and balanced relations with countries of the region, especially with Pakistan and India, efforts must made, to use all possible means to prevent Afghanistan from battleground of the rivalry of superpowers, and Pakistan's proxy wars, furthermore the Taliban should Keep the
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	<p>position according to the Durand Line as clear as ever.</p> <p>Advantages:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - after 20 years the war in Afghanistan ended, the now the people are living in peace there will be peace country-wide. - National unity among all tribes will be conducted in the country. - The political, economic, social and environmental situations will become Better. - As Afghanistan is the heart of the central asia so the strategic location of Afghanistan will be best managed for the regional economic relations. - Afghanistan will be out of the list of poor countries. - The people of Afghanistan will no more need to become a refuge. <p>Disadvantages:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Afghanistan will be Borden on the international community. - Once again the terrorist groups will come to Afghanistan. - The destabilization of Afghanistan will put a negative effect on the region.
<p>Proposed solution to this problem</p>	<p>In this research project, the solution for the current situation are written according to the international norms and standards with the role of regional countries and the international community, for current crisis of Afghanistan especially the united stated and its western allies should be held responsible, the challenges.</p> <p>Opportunities :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - International reserves of the Da Afghanistan bank should be

	<p>released, in order to manage trade and the economy.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To achieve a friendly relationship among states, which one of the primary goals of United Nations is, therefore Legitimacy crisis of the new government should be solved. - International community should urgently start their humanitarian assistance to the needy people of Afghanistan. - Regional countries should stop their interference in the state affairs of Afghanistan. - As Afghanistan is the heart of the Central Asia so due to the strategic location of Afghanistan the regional countries and the world will manage their economic relations through Afghanistan, and it would be an opportunity. - Afghanistan will witness a stable peace because regional and global security depends on Afghanistan's security. - For making a good situation for the political, economic, social and environmental these solutions give good results. <p>Risks:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - the Taliban wants to establish and maintain a government in Afghanistan in line with its ideals. - It is unclear what kind of communication style and discourse the Taliban will prefer to use with a country that has defined the Taliban as a terrorist
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	<p>organization before is very important in this aspect.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - It is clear that the Taliban needs to develop a new language, but the willingness and capacity of the Taliban to do so are skeptical due to its previous experience of ruling Afghanistan. - Pakistan is also trying to keep its influence on the Taliban - Fear of another proxy war in Afghanistan, which to protect political, economic, commercial of proxies. - internal turmoil of Afghanistan is the reason for the intervention of great powers in the country. - US strategic failure in Afghanistan will allow regional power to interfere in Afghanistan.
<p>Expected Result</p>	<p>Expected results:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The existence of NATO after 1990 will be described. - The strategy of US/NATO against terrorism and narcotics will be analyzed. - The different aspects of the withdrawal of NATO from Afghanistan will be explained. - The challenges created after the withdrawal of NATO will be discussed and possible solutions.
<p>Literature</p>	<p>I have used around 100 sources in this research such as books, articles, and newsletters.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - From Uncertainty to Strategy? Implications of our withdrawal for Afghanistan's neighbors and key partners [Report] / auth.

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