



## John Biden Government Policy Withdrawing United States of Peace Army in Afganistan in 2021

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<http://dx.doi.org/10.18415/ijmmu.v9i7.3835>

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### **Abstract**

The US government's policy of Joe Biden to withdraw his troops from Afghanistan was a policy that had been planned for the previous two administration periods. The troop pull-out dates back to the Obama administration's period when it drew small numbers of US troops to Afghanistan. In addition, the Donald Trump administration also briefly discussed the withdrawal of these troops until the Doha agreement was formed in February 2020. The United States government under Joe Biden has a full policy of US peacekeepers from Afghanistan. This research uses the theory of Rational Choice and Foreign Policy and qualitative research methods. The findings in this paper reveal that there are four reasons why the United States withdraws troops from Afghanistan, namely the first basis of the 2022 Doha agreement; secondly the more irrational the Military Industrial Complex in this case is the consideration of military costs; third, Afghanistan's inadequate natural resources so that the economic interests of the United States have not been maximized since the return of the Taliban to Afghanistan; fourth, the interests of the United States in the Indopacific related to the increasing power of China in the Indopacific.

**Keywords:** *Military Withdrawal Policy; United States of America; Afghanistan*

### **Introduction**

Changes in the policy of a country is a natural thing to happen. These changes are usually due to the political interests of a country being faced with a big dilemma and the main thing is usually caused by a change in government or a change in leadership in that country. This policy change occurred in the United States government system. In 2020, the United States held a general election which was won by Joe Biden and Kamala Harris by a margin of 264 votes and Donald Trump 214 votes (Liputan6, 2020). On January 20, 2021, the new President of the United States (US), namely Joseph Robinette Biden Jr or Joe Biden. Under President Joe Biden, the US is expected to return to the old US foreign policy, namely a policy of multilateralism that emphasizes diplomacy. This policy is considered important by the world because during the leadership of US President Donald Trump, the US was considered to have suffered a setback due to US foreign policy which emphasized unilateralism so that the US lost its credibility as a major actor in world politics. (Lisbet, 2021).

Joe Biden continues to focus on canceling a number of Trump policies, including the controversial transgender military ban. In addition, President Joe Biden also issued a Memorandum of freezing ratification of a number of rules made in the final days of the Trump presidency, an executive order rejoining the Paris Agreement on climate change, an executive order to promote racial equality, announcing an end to the ban on US entry from countries. Muslim majority, an executive order requiring the wearing of masks on federal properties, an executive order coordinating the government-wide Covid-19 response, and one of the new policies issued by the United States government, namely the withdrawal of United States peacekeepers in Afghanistan (Kompas.com, 2021).

The withdrawal was carried out on April 14, 2021. The policy issued by President Joe Biden regarding the withdrawal of peacekeepers in Afghanistan caused Afghanistan to be again controlled by the Taliban. The initial purpose of this withdrawal is to end the war in Afghanistan which has been going on for 20 years. (Roml.id, 2021) in addition to ending the war, this policy is carried out to be a sign that this is a new era of United States foreign policy. In addition, the author argues that this withdrawal was carried out because the United States had spent quite a lot of money on military assistance in Afghanistan, there had been quite a lot of American soldiers who had been sent to Afghanistan and many had fallen victim to attacks by the Taliban. In accordance with the theory used, namely rational choice which uses a rational actor model where the model represents an attempt to link action with reasonable calculations (Dougherty, 1990) and the rational actor model is the Rational Actor model which explains that a foreign policy decision is a result of objective cost-benefit analysis. (T. Allison, 1971)

Joe Biden also stressed that his decision to withdraw all troops from Afghanistan was to stop a war that had progressed far beyond its original goal of punishing the Taliban for ties to Al-Qaeda after 9/11. The United States experienced the tragedy of the worst terrorist attack known as the events of 9/11. The cause of the tragedy was the Al-Qaeda attack that destroyed the twin buildings of the World Trade Center (WTC) and the Pentagon. (Ni Wayan A.Si, 2021). Currently the United States mission in Afghanistan has been completed as stated by President Joe Biden. The President of the United States said that our Mission in Afghanistan is not supposed to build a nation. (CNN, 2021). After President Joe Biden's policy of withdrawing United States peacekeepers in Afghanistan within 10 days, the Taliban group had taken control of Kabul, on August 15, 2021, this group had captured the capital of Afghanistan (Merdeka.com, 2021). Thus, to further explain the various reasons why the United States in the Joe Biden administration withdrew peacekeepers from Afghanistan?

### ***Theoretical Framework***

To be able to analyze more deeply about the reasons for the United States to the Joe Biden government withdrew peacekeepers from Afghanistan, the author uses the theory of Rational Choice and Foreign Policy.

#### **Rational Choice**

According to Graham T. Allison, decision making can use the theory of Rational Choice which is categorized into 3 models. What are commonly called Allison's Three Models, namely:

1. The Rational Actor Model Some foreign policy analysts think about and explain government behavior in terms of the Rational Actor Model or the "Classic" Model, in which policy choices are seen as deliberate actions of unified governments based on logical means to achieve goals. - specific purpose. The model represents an attempt to relate actions to reasonable computations (Dougherty, 1990).
2. The Organizational Process Model The Organizational Process Model views government behavior less as a matter of deliberate choice and more as the independent outcome of a few large organizations, which are only partially coordinated by government leaders. The Organizational

Process Model that Allison prefers 8 is the model of Herbert Simon, which is based more on the concept of bound rationality than the concept of comprehensive rationality, and is characterized by factoring or separation of problems, i.e. separating parts of the problem into various organizational units, of various types. satisfactory behavior” as described above, limiting the search to only the first acceptable alternative, and avoiding uncertainty or risk through developing short-term feedback and corrective procedures. Organizations act to solve the most pressing problems first rather than developing strategies for dealing with long-term problems.

3. Bureaucratic Political Model Based on the Organizational Process Model, but instead of assuming control by the leaders above, the Bureaucratic Political Model hypothesizes that there is intensive competition between decision-making units, and foreign policy is the result of bargaining between components of a bureaucracy. The players are guided not by a consistent strategic master plan, but by conflicting conceptions of national, bureaucratic, and personal goals. At one time one group may triumph over other groups fighting for different options. However, often other groups that use different directions produce a resultant or combination of decisions that are different from those intended by an individual or a group. The results depend not on the justification for the policy or on routine organizational procedures, but on their strengths and relative bargaining skills. (Dougherty, 1990)

In this study, the author uses the first model to analyze the phenomenon that occurred in the United States so that it withdraws its military troops in Afghanistan, namely the Rational Actor Model. This theory was developed by Graham Allison in 1969 in an article entitled conceptual models of foreign policy and the Cuban missile crisis, and later developed into a book entitled *Essence of decision: Explaining the Cuban missile crisis*. In his book there are three models for understanding the decision making of a foreign policy. One of the models is the Rational Actor model which explains that a foreign policy decision is the result of an objective cost-benefit analysis. (T. Allison, 1971) Graham Allison reveals four main frameworks for understanding how a foreign policy can be formed.

The first is the national actor. Basically, every country has specific and measurable interests and objectives. In determining its interests and objectives, a country usually adjusts to its national security (security interests). So in other words the state seeks security and other broader goals. Then RAM also sees that the state is a rational actor which is analogous to the behavior of a reasoned and coordinated individual. (T. Allison, 1971)

Second is options are options. Options are options available to achieve interests and objectives. However, before options appear, there is always something called the problem. The actor must respond to various problems that are accepted by the state. The emergence of problems begins with the existence of threats and opportunities always come. Threats are things that can threaten the interests of a country. however, the emergence of threats also always raises opportunities. Namely other opportunities to overcome this. This opportunity is an option for all countries. In an option that is owned by the state, it certainly has its own costs and benefits. Cost is the cost that must be spent to perform an action. And the benefit is the benefit that is obtained from an action taken. So the rational actor mode performs an objective cost-benefit analysis based on the available options and proceeds to choose what option can maximize the best utility of the state. (T. Allison, 1971)

The third is the consequences. When an action based on the existing options has been implemented it will create a consequence. The various consequences that exist are usually thought out in advance and become the consideration of rational actors. These consequences can be positive and can also be negative (T. Allison, 1971)

Fourth is action as rational choice. Rational choice means maximizing the value obtained. So a rational person will choose the alternative that ranks highest in terms of goals and suggestions. There are few consumers to understand this. First, the relevance of action to values and goals. The second assesses

the existing action options. The third estimates the consequences of each action option that can be taken. And lastly, the net value of any existing consequences. (T. Allison, 1971).

## **Foreign Policy**

Foreign policy is a strategy or plan of action made by state decision makers in dealing with other countries or other international political units, and controlled to achieve specific national goals as outlined in the terminology of national interests (Olton., 1999). The foreign policy carried out by the government of a country is aimed at achieving the national interest of the people it governs even though the national interest of a nation at that time was determined by who was in power at that time (Mas'ood, 1994). According to Rosenau, the notion of foreign policy is the effort of a country through its overall attitudes and activities to overcome and benefit from its external environment. (James N, 1976) According to him, foreign policy is aimed at maintaining and maintaining the viability of a country. Furthermore, according to Rosenau, if we examine a country's foreign policy, we will enter a broad and complex phenomenon, including internal life and external needs, including internal and external life such as aspirations, national attributes. , culture, conflicts, capabilities, institutions, and routine activities aimed at achieving and maintaining the social, legal, and geographic identity of a country as a nation-state.

## **Research Methods**

The approach that will be used in this thesis is a qualitative approach that emphasizes library research techniques or library research. The data obtained are valid data obtained from print media in the form of books, journals, magazines, newspapers, and documents. In addition, it is also obtained from internet media such as official sites and news sites. And at the end the author writes a conclusion in the form of a general statement.

## **Discussion**

### **Dynamics of United States Foreign Policy in Afghanistan**

The beginning of the first invasion of Afghanistan by the United States. The first US invasion was Operation Enduring Freedom Afghanistan (OEF-A) on October 7, 2001. (Service, 2020) stated that this US operation had the support of its allies such as the Northern Alliance, an ethnic Pashtun anti-taliban force. The result of this operation was that the Taliban lost the town of Mazare Sharif on 9 November 2001, and on 9 December 2001 the Taliban fled from Kandahar (Relations., 2020). The United States continued military operations from 2003 to 2005 through Operation Anaconda. This operation was the largest and most structured ground attack involving a number of ANDFS (Thomas., 2020). In 2011 and then the US changed its focus by hunting down the leader of Al-Qaeda, namely Osman Bin Laden with the Neptune Spear Operation strategy in the Afghanistan-Pakistan border region. The result of a joint operation involving US coalition forces and the CIA was the successful assassination of Osman Bin Laden on May 2 in Abbotabtan Pakistan (Hardiyanti, 2018).

The year 2011 was a turning point for the US which influenced the subsequent US policy changes in Afghanistan. And with the success of the United States in repelling the Taliban from the chair of the United States leadership, relations between Afghanistan and the United States are getting better and the United States has also provided a lot of assistance to Afghanistan, such as military assistance and so on. However, the relationship between the United States and Afghanistan has actually been established since 1921 at which time Afghanistan was recognized by the United States after General Wali Mohammad Khan paid a visit to the White House. After that, in 1934 the exchange of a series of official missions and correspondence led to the establishment of full diplomatic relations between the two countries (Asia., 2015).

The dynamics of the foreign policy of the United States and Afghanistan can be seen clearly with several periods of government whose foreign policy tends to be involved in problems in Afghanistan.

1. The dynamics of US foreign policy in Afghanistan during the leadership of George Walker Bush. George W. Bush became the 43rd president who was sworn in on January 20, 2001 during the 2000 general election after which Bush was re-elected for the second time in 2004. (Shani, 2019). In 2001 President Bush was faced with a complex problem concerning his relations with Islamic countries. The September 11 terror case, double standards, democratization issues have become a political orientation that is closely related to United States foreign policy under the leadership of George W. Bush (Resume).

During the reign of George W. Bush, several policies were issued, namely the Global War on Terror policy, which made the United States legal to initiate the movement against terror groups. The next policy, namely the National Security Strategy policy or commonly referred to as the Bush doctrine, is a United States security policy. The United States experienced attacks on the World Trade Center (WTC) towers and the pentagon in New York and Washington DC. And the tragedy of the WTC at that time became an issue of terrorism in America. This attack was a suicide attack carried out by hijacking 2 Boeing 767-223ER planes that crashed into the WTC building and the pentagon. (Nugraha, 2015).

On September 14, 2001 the Authorization For Use of Military Force (AUMF) officially became a legal part of United States law. In this AUMF, the president of the United States can legally use everything needed to fight against any nation, organization, or group of people suspected of planning, authorizing, carrying out, and financing the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks. In addition, AUMF is also legalized to prevent terrorist attacks in any form to the United States. With this authority, the United States immediately launched its mission to eradicate various forms of terrorism in countries that have the potential to become hiding places for terrorist groups, such as Afghanistan and Iraq (Hafizh, 2018).

With the issuance of the Global War on Terror policy, the United States carried out the first invasion in Afghanistan. The United States invaded Afghanistan because Al-Qaeda at that time was in the country under the protection of the Taliban regime. The Taliban was formed by Mohammad Omar with a national-Islamist ideology. The Taliban group was founded in Afghanistan in 1996, headed by Mullah Mohammad Omar. In the government of George W. Bush the involvement of the United States army with the aim of fighting and destroying terrorist groups.

2. The dynamics of the United States' foreign policy in Afghanistan during the leadership of Barack Obama. In this policy, the President of the United States, Barack Obama, emphasized that: that the fight against terrorism is a long-term policy. Therefore, Obama prefers diplomacy by using the concept of Smart Power in fighting the Taliban. (Mila, 2015) In 2011 the United States issued a policy for the withdrawal of troops in Afghanistan. This withdrawal was based on the success of the United States in killing the leader of al Qaeda, namely Osama bin Laden. With the death of the leader of Al Qaeda, the United States mission in Afghanistan has been completed. (Tampanawas, 2018) and in 2014 the United States issued an announcement that all United States missions in Afghanistan had been completed.

During the leadership of Barack Obama, relations between Afghanistan and the United States were well established, even during their stay in Afghanistan. The United States has contributed greatly to the formation of government and security forces in Afghanistan. A new government was then formed to replace the Taliban. Since the beginning of his election as president, Barack Obama has thought that there must be a change in military strategy so that the Afghan government can defeat the Taliban by itself. (Kirana, 2019). The United States' first strategy was to appoint a new military command, General Stanley McChrystal. After taking office, Stanley asked to increase troops by 40,000 thousand and promised to direct the training of Afghan military forces to fight the Taliban. The election of Barack Obama gave a new color to the

dynamics of United States politics. During the administration of Barack Obama, many cooperated with allies in the Afghan region to jointly overthrow the Taliban (Obama, 2008).

In addition to appointing new commands and carrying out military operations, Obama's other military policies are sending military troops to Afghanistan, training Afghan soldiers and establishing United States military bases in Afghanistan. (Hardiyanti, 2018) By prioritizing diplomacy and the methods used are more strategic, the target to catch terrorists can be done. As a result of this strategy, Obama succeeded in cooperating with the alliance and the Afghan government itself. All of this can be seen in the contents of the agreement in a white paper published on March 23, 2009 (Gita, 2012).

However, after this government was established and the Taliban were no longer in power, the United States was very disappointed with Afghanistan because the Afghan government was filled with corruptors who made them distrustful of the Afghan people and this government could not get Afghanistan out of the shackles of poverty (Tamponawas, 2018). Thus one of the reasons the United States withdrew its troops in 2011. The United States escalated the US-led war in Afghanistan. But Obama has since brought home the additional 33,000 troops he sent to the theater of conflict. He also committed the US to hand over security missions to Afghan forces by the end of 2014, in a bid to end a war that began more than a decade ago.

3. The dynamics of the United States' foreign policy in Afghanistan during the leadership of Donald Trump. During the Donald Trump administration, the relationship between Afghanistan and the United States was not much different from the leadership of Barack Obama. It's just that during the leadership of Donald Trump, in his policies, he prioritized hard power. This can be evidenced by the decision to increase the military invasion of Afghanistan (Robertson, 2017) in 2017 at the beginning of the Trump administration as sending 3,500 troops to Afghanistan, bringing the total United States troops in Afghanistan to 14,500 (Michell, 2017).

Most US troops in Afghanistan advise local troops and some are assigned counter-terrorism officers against groups such as the Taliban and ISIS. At that time the President of the United States Donald Trump did not give a time limit for the United States military to engage in the conflict in Afghanistan. In fact, the people of the United States are getting tired of the conflict in Afghanistan because there is no victory in this long-running war. But for Donald Trump to withdraw from Afghanistan in a hurry will create a vacuum and will later be filled by terrorism groups. (Voa, 2017)

Afghanistan's deteriorating security conditions are the reason for President Donald Trump to send additional US troops to Afghanistan. According to Gen. John Nicholson where it needs additional international troops to break the stalemate with the Taliban. US military advisers have stated that a small and long-term withdrawal of troops and numbers is the best policy for Afghanistan. During the Trump administration, there were negotiations between the Taliban and the United States in Qatar. The negotiations between the two were not widely publicized but clearly gave a clear picture to the international community and the Afghan government that the Trump Administration was looking for a way to achieve peace in Afghanistan (Dadabaev, 2020). The Trump administration views the negotiations as a global withdrawal strategy from Afghanistan and Syria. The aim of the policy was to reduce the involvement and costs of the United States in Afghanistan.

However, these talks were suspended in September 2019 because President Trump canceled a visit by a Taliban delegation to finalize the deal at Camp David (Hughes, 2014). The cancellation was due to the Taliban killing one of the United States soldiers (Baker, 2019). The continuation of negotiations with the Taliban over the past few years, represented by Zalmay Khalilzad as the United States envoy, resulted in the signing of the agreement between the United States and the Taliban in February 2020. After the signing, the United States reduced its military forces in Afghanistan to 8,600 troops (M. Mashal, 2020) however there is an assumption that Quetta Sura will use his second agreement as a tactic to get the

United States to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan so that the Taliban can easily overthrow the Afghan government (SG Jones, 2020)

The agreement between the United States and the Taliban is that America is required to withdraw all of its military forces from Afghanistan, its allies and coalition partners including all non-diplomatic civilian personnel, private security contractors, trainers, advisors, and other support services within fourteen months (Gul, 2020). In addition, the agreement also addressed the release of prisoners by the Taliban and Afghanistan. The Afghan government has released more than 4,400 Taliban prisoners, according to the country's National Security Council. The Taliban say it has released more than 800 members of the Afghan security forces, but the government says the actual number is less than 600 because the other hostages released were civilians. Thus, the dynamics of agreements and negotiations continued but did not produce significant results.

### **Reasons for the United States to Withdraw Military Troops in Afghanistan During the Joe Biden Administration**

During the Joe Biden administration the policy of withdrawing US peacekeepers from Afghanistan was realized by the United States government. The withdrawal was made with various previous considerations made during the Donald Trump administration. During the Joe Biden administration this policy was continued and realized. The Donald Trump administration signed the agreement on February 29, 2020.

### **Doha Agreement**

Peace to Afghanistan between the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan which is not recognized by the United States as a state and is known as the Taliban and the United States. The peace agreement has four parts, namely:

1. Guarantees and enforcement mechanisms that will prevent the use of Afghan land by any group or individual against the security of the United States and its allies.
2. Guarantees, enforcement mechanisms, and announcement of deadlines for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Afghanistan.
3. After the announcement of guarantees for the full withdrawal of foreign troops and schedules before international witnesses, and guarantees and announcements before international witnesses that Afghan soil will not be used against the security of the United States and its country. ally, the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan which is not recognized by the United States as a state and is known as the Taliban will start intra-Afghan negotiations with the Afghan side on March 10, 2020, which corresponds to 15 Rajab 1441 on the Hijri Month of the calendar and Hoot 20, 1398 on the Hijri Solar calendar.
4. A permanent and comprehensive ceasefire will be on the agenda for intra-Afghan dialogue and negotiations. Participants in the intra-Afghan negotiations will discuss the date and modalities of a permanent and comprehensive ceasefire, including a joint implementation mechanism, which will be announced in conjunction with completion and agreement on Afghanistan's future political roadmap.

According to the analysis of the authors of the Doha Agreement to be a solution for withdrawal from the United States. Despite the fact that it was negotiated and signed by the former president, it served as a gateway for Biden to withdraw from Afghanistan under the right circumstances. America's changing interdependence was also the reason for the withdrawal. The interdependence between the Afghan police and ISAF was dissolved because ISAF was deemed finished. Finally, international institutions also played a role in America's withdrawal. The goals set by NATO and the United Nations have been completed and the decision to withdraw was made in union with NATO (Hillevi, 2022).

## The More Irrational Military Industrial Complex

The military-industrial complex (MIC) is an informal alliance between a country's military and the arms industry that supplies it, seen together as vested interests that influence public policy and opinion. The driving factor behind this relationship between the government and defense-minded companies is that both sides benefit, one side gets the weapons of war, and the other gets paid to supply them. The term is most often used in reference to the systems behind the United States military. (Samson, 2018) MIC was originally popularized by the Former President of the United States, Dwight Eisenhower who is also a former member of the military.

The military industrial complex was one of the reasons why the United States withdrew its troops in Afghanistan. According to the author, why MIC has become one of the reasons for America's military industrial complex has begun to be irrational, which should be profitable for the United States and the facts on the ground are the opposite. The United States has built military bases and supplied so many weapons in Afghanistan but the United States has actually suffered losses for the establishment of military bases in Afghanistan. During the 20 years of war in Afghanistan the United States has cost Afghanistan 2.26 trillion (Tegu, 2021).

The military costs of the United States must bear the costs of Afghan refugees in their military bases and the costs incurred are 9.83 trillion. The military department said that refugee costs would increase because some 19,500 Afghans are still under the care of the United States. . Thus, the total costs incurred between 2001 and 2019 based on official data reached US\$822 billion. That number does not include spending in Pakistan, where the US has set up a military base for combat operations related to Afghanistan. Based on a 2019 Brown University study of spending in Afghanistan and Pakistan, the US has spent about US\$978 billion.

The study noted that it is difficult to review overall costs because methods of calculation vary between US government departments. The calculation method also changes over time so the total cost estimates differ. Britain and Germany sent the most troops to Afghanistan after the US spent US\$30 billion and US\$19 billion respectively on operations there. Despite withdrawing nearly all of their troops, the US and NATO pledged US\$4 billion a year until 2024 to fund Afghan military. More than half of the expenditure (US\$88.32 billion) is spent on building the Afghan security forces, including the Army and Police.

About US\$36 billion dollars were given to governance and development. While some of the funds are used for anti-drug efforts and humanitarian assistance. In a report to the US Congress in October 2020, Afghanistan's reconstruction effort monitoring agency estimated that about US\$19 billion was lost between May 2009 and December 31, 2019. Because it had more to lose than gain, the MIC was one of the reasons the United States pulled out of Afghanistan. In accordance with the theory adopted by the author, namely the rational choice where foreign policy is the result of an objective cost-benefit analysis. (T. Allison, 1971).

## Mining and Oil in Afghanistan does not benefit the United States

Another consideration that emerged as the reason for the withdrawal of US troops from Afghanistan was the issue of economic interests. The US government estimates that Afghanistan contains substantial reserves of minerals, oil and natural gas, which are collectively referred to as extraction. According to estimates made by the Department of Defense Task Force (DOD) on Business Operations and Stability (TFBSO) in 2010, the value of Afghanistan's mineral deposits is about \$900 billion (Established, 2014). Natural wealth owned by Afghanistan, the *first* is copper, based on the report from the Ministry of Mining and Oil of Afghanistan in 2019, this country has a potential of copper of 30 million tons. Meanwhile, based on the roadmap of the Afghan mining sector published by the ministry,



there are also 28.5 million tons of copper in porphyry deposits that have not been found, so that when totaled, the copper potential in Afghanistan reaches 60 million tons. (Vidiya, 2021).

*Second*, Afghanistan's Ministry of Mining and Petroleum said its country has reserves of 1.4 million tonnes of rare earth metals, high-value elements that are essential for electronics and military equipment. Thus making the United States need the oil. *Third*, iron ore, in 2019 it was reported that Afghanistan is rich in iron ore. Diaman reserves as much as 2.2 billion tons of iron ore whose value can reach USD350 billion. The *four* gold and metals Afghanistan is estimated to have gold reserves that are not so large, only 2.7 tons or worth USD 170 million, but the Afghan Ministry of State stated that Afghanistan has a wealth of metallic minerals such as aluminum, tin and zinc in various regions.

*Fifth* is oil and natural gas which borders countries rich in hydrocarbon resources, Afghanistan also has large oil and gas reserves. The country has reserves of at least 1.6 billion barrels of oil and 16 trillion cubic feet of gas and about 500 million barrels of liquefied natural gas. Based on the 2019 report, oil reserves reached USD107 billion or around Rp1,498 trillion. Looking at the potential of Afghanistan's natural wealth, this is the reason for the United States to enter Afghanistan (vidiya, 2021). But the return of the Taliban in Afghanistan and re-lead the country automatically makes the mines under the auspices of the Afghan government owned by the Taliban. So therefore there is no reason for the United States to be in Afghanistan anymore because mining and oil in that country can no longer be managed. The United States has no advantage to stay in the country. President Joe Biden can also look at the experience of previous presidents in mining and oil management in Afghanistan where these two presidents failed. So the choice to withdraw troops in Afghanistan is the right decision for Joe Biden.

### **United States Wants to focus on the Indo Pacific Region**

Political competition between the United States and China is another reason to withdraw troops from Afghanistan. Thus, the focus of the United States' foreign policy was largely shifted to the Indo-Pacific region. The United States' security and economic interests are abundant in the Indo-Pacific. The emergence of China with its economic and military power in recent decades has made the United States a geopolitical and geostrategic vulnerability in the Indo-Pacific (Bendini, 2016). United States Secretary of State Antony blinken paid a visit to the Indo-Pacific region on February 8, 2022. This visit was aimed at reminding the world that Washington's long-term strategic focus remains on the Asia-Pacific region. In addition, the meeting was to reassess the commitment to counter China's growing economic and military coercion (Dwina, 2022). Areas that are important to the United States' security and economic interests in the Indo-Pacific are Southeast Asian countries which have begun to be dominated by China. One of the trade routes in the Indo-Pacific is the South China Sea area which is controlled by China and is still controversial with a number of countries in Southeast Asia. If the South China Sea as a whole is included in China's territory, it will cause a threat to the United States' trade route.

### **Conclusion**

The reason for the withdrawal of United States troops from the United States peacekeeping force to the Joe Biden government is an interesting phenomenon to analyze. In the previous administration period there had been various political talks and initiations to withdraw troops from Afghanistan but the Joe Biden administration at the beginning of the inauguration had concluded to withdraw troops completely from Afghanistan. Based on Graham T. Allison's theory, decision-making based on Rational Choice is divided into three models, namely: (1) Rational Actor Model Some foreign policy analysts think about and explain government behavior within the framework of the Rational Actor Model, which sees that the United States' policies take these policies. based on the current president of the United States, Joe Biden. The policy is a deliberate act; (2) The Organizational Process Model The Organizational Process Model views government behavior less as a matter of deliberate choice and more as the independent outcome of a few large organizations, which are only partially coordinated by government

leaders. The United States peacekeeping policy is a rational policy taken from a parliamentary decision; (3) The Bureaucratic Political Model is based on the Organizational Process Model, but instead assumes control by the leaders at the top. The troop withdrawal policy is part of the result of political competition in parliament which is sure to be controlled more by the democratic parties. The democratic party is the dominant party in the United States parliament because Joe Biden, the current president of the United States, comes from the democratic party.

In addition, if analyzed using foreign policy theory, then the policy is an action to achieve its interests. According to Rosenau, the notion of foreign policy is the effort of a country through its overall attitudes and activities to overcome and benefit from its external environment. According to him, foreign policy is aimed at maintaining and maintaining the viability of a country. Thus, the policy was taken for the sake of the interests and future of the United States' politics both domestically and internationally.

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