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**THE IMPACT OF FOREIGN MILITARY INTERVENTION ON
DOMESTIC POLITICAL STABILITY OF INTERVENED STATE:
THE UNITED STATES INVASIONS OF AFGHANISTAN AND IRAQ**

Master's Thesis

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this work especially to my father, my mother and then my siblings.



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ACRONYMS

AQI	Al-Qaeda Iraq
AREU	Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit
AQIM	Al-Qaeda with Islamic Maghrib
ANSF	Afghan National Security Forces
ANP	Afghan National Police
ANA	Afghan National Army
ADB	Asian Development Bank
ADF	Asian Development Fund
AEU	Afghan Economic Update
ADU	Afghanistan Development Update
CIA	Central Investigation Authority
CPA	Coalition Provisional Authority
CERP	Commander's Emergency Response Program
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
HDR	Human Development Report
IPS	Iraqi Police Services
IGC	Iraqi Government Council
ISCI	Islamic Supreme Council of Iraq
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
ILCS	Iraq Living Conditions Survey
INC	Iraqi National Congress
KLA	Kosovo Liberation Army

MUJA	Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NERAP	National Emergency Rural Access Program
OEF	Operation Enduring Freedom
OIF	Operation Iraqi Freedom
PDFA	People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan
RGI	Resource Government Index
SIGAR	Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction
SIGIR	Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
TICPI	Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index
TNDIP	Transport Network Investment Program
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
USGAO	United State Government Accountability Office
UNAMA	United Nations Assistance Mission for Afghanistan
UNAMI	United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction

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ÖZET

İstikrar sağlama kisvesi altında gerçekleştirilen yabancı askeri müdahaleler, müdahale edilen devlet üzerinde uzun süreli, zayıf ve istikrarsız hale getiren ve hedef devletleri içinden çıkılması zor bir döneme sokan zararlı etkilere neden olmaktadır. Hedef alınan devletin sosyo-politik yapısını bozan askeri güç kullanımı, müdahale edilen ülkede siyasi istikrarsızlığa neden olur ve sonuçta hedef alınan devlette barışın bozulması dahil başka sorunlara da yol açar. Bu çalışmanın amacı, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nin, demokratik ve istikrarlı hükümetler geliştirme arayışıyla, 2001'de Afganistan'a ve 2003'te Irak'a yaptığı askeri müdahaleler özelinde, küresel güçlerin askeri müdahalelerinin, müdahale edilen devletin iç siyasetinde nasıl istikrarsızlıklar yarattığını değerlendirmektir. Bu çalışmada sunulan üç destekleyici boyut, yabancı askeri müdahalenin devlet kurumlarını nasıl zayıflattığını, ekonomiyi istikrarsızlaştırdığını ve hedef devlet içinde iç güvensizlik yarattığını incelemektir. İlk olarak, yabancı askeri müdahaleler, Afganistan ve Irak'ta olduğu gibi müdahale edilen devletin devlet kurumlarını önemli ölçüde zayıflatmıştır. İkincisi, kısa vadeli ekonomik avantajları bazen belirgin olmasına rağmen, yabancı askeri müdahalelerin, uzun vadede ekonomik kaynakların sömürülmesi, ulusal gelirlerin önemli ölçüde tüketilmesi ve adaletsizlik gibi sebeplerle devletin ekonomisi üzerindeki bozucu etkileri vardır. Son olarak, yabancı askeri müdahaleler, tıpkı ABD'nin Afganistan ve Irak müdahalelerinde yarattığı iktidar boşluğundan sonra siyasi şiddette önemli bir artışa neden olması örneğinde de gördüğümüz gibi; değişen güç dinamikleri ve artan gerilimler, militan faaliyetlerin genişlemesine ve iç çatışmalara katkıda bulunmakta ve müdahale edilen devletin iç güvensizliğini arttırmaktadır. Araştırma, bulguların genellenebilirliğini değerlendirmek ve müdahalelerin siyasi istikrar açısından farklı sonuçlara yol açabileceği koşullar hakkında bilgi sağlamak için, metodolojik olarak nitel karşılaştırmalı vaka analiziyle tamamlanan kavramsal çerçeveye dayanmaktadır. Bu çalışmada FPA'ları temsil eden üç hipotez siyasi istikrarsızlığa neden olmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Yabancı Askeri Müdahale, ABD'nin Afganistan ve Irak'a Askeri Müdahalesi, Devlet Kurumları, Ekonomik Durum, Yurtiçi Güvensizlik

ABSTRACT

Foreign military interventions under the blanket of providing stability cause long-lasting deleterious impacts on the intervened state making them weak and unstable and from which target states faced a difficult time to recover. The use of military force that breaks down the socio-political structure of the targeted state results in political instability of the intervened country which ultimately gives rise to other issues which lead to destroying peace in that targeted state. The core focus in this study was to assess that how a military intervention by global powers creates domestic political instability within the intervened state by narrowing down the lens of this study to the United States' military interventions in Afghanistan in 2001, and Iraq in 2003, that were driven by the pursuit of fostering democratic and stable governments. Supporting objectives were to examine that how foreign military intervention weakens the state institutions, destabilizes the economy and creates domestic insecurity within the target state which ultimately led to create political instability of the intervened state.

The three hypotheses, offered in this study that represent the FMIs cause political instability. Firstly, FMIs substantially weaken the state institutions of the intervened state like in Afghanistan Iraq U.S. military intervention led to fragmentation, reconfiguration and destabilization of existing institutional systems, thereby changing the political environment of both countries. Secondly, the distortive impacts of FMIs on the intervened state's economy as seen in Afghanistan and Iraq where short-term economic advantages were sometimes evident but long-term economic outcomes were largely negative because of exploitation of economic resources, substantial consumption of national revenues and inequitable distribution of resources. Lastly, foreign military intervention increases the domestic insecurity of the intervened state, as in Afghanistan and Iraq, a substantial uptick in political violence after power vacuum created by U.S. intervention. The shifting power dynamics and heightened tensions contributed expansion of militant activities and to civil conflicts in both countries. The research proffers the deep dimensions of the foreign military intervention in order to give more effective and positively constructive strategies for the intervened states. The research methodologically relies on the conceptual framework that is complemented with qualitative comparative case study to assess the generalizability of the findings and provide insights into the conditions under which interventions may lead to different outcomes in terms of political stability.

Key words: Foreign Military Intervention, U.S. military intervention in Afghanistan and Iraq, State Institutions, Economic Landscape, Domestic Insecurity

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

In the complex realm of international relations, Foreign Military Intervention¹ has long played a pivotal role. As a fundamental tool of statecraft, FMIs have shaped the geopolitical landscape since antiquity. In recent decades, they've grown increasingly vital to the intricate puzzle of international conflict (Dursun, 2012). Powerful empires throughout history have employed FMIs to expand territories, subjugate weaker states, and secure geopolitical advantages. The colonial era saw European powers harnessing military force to broaden their influence, imposing their will on local populations to exploit resources in intervened regions. Britain, for example, used FMIs to annex lands like India and swathes of Africa; France did the same in parts of Asia and Africa. In strategically important areas like the Middle East, FMIs often maintained the status quo (Westermann, 2017). These incursions resulted in displacement, resource exploitation, and colonial rule favoring the conquerors.

The outcomes of FMIs have been hotly debated by scholars, given their undeniable historical impact and multifaceted consequences. Governments have fallen, power balances have shifted, and global politics have been irrevocably transformed. Consider the U.S. intervention in World War Two which contributed to Nazi Germany defeat and cemented the United States as a superpower. Contrastingly, the Soviet Union's Afghanistan intervention in 1979 precipitated its collapse and the Cold War's end. Yet these military actions often wreak havoc leading to loss of life, instability and political polarization. For instance, the soviet's Afghanistan incursion spawned a decade long conflict and fueled radical Islamist group emergence. After the World War Two, Cold War period arouse in which the two powers of that time namely the Soviet Union and the United States got into proxy wars and foreign military interventions. The United States employed military intervention primarily to counter Soviet influence and advance its interests, intervening in Latin America and supporting coups against leftist governments. In Guatemala, the United States supported to overthrow the regime of President Jacobo Arbenz in 1954 which led to the rise of repressive military dictatorship. Similarly, in Chile, the U.S. backed ousting off President Salvador Allende in 1973 and the subsequent rule of dictator Augusto Pinochet. Both regimes committed human rights abuses

¹ FMI is an umbrella concept which is covering invasion, occupation and humanitarian intervention. I consider the U.S. military interventions to Afghanistan and Iraq as invasions but they are different. The decision of Afghanistan's invasion was made by international organization, NATO. On the other hand, Iraq's invasion was made by international coalition led by the United States.

and created lasting political and social turmoil(Grandin, 2010). Such interventions often gave rise to political repression, economic instability, cultural erasure and anti-American sentiment.

After the Cold War period, the ultimate focus of foreign military interventions was more towards on promoting democracy and human rights. History gives some prominent examples from the American intervention in Balkan states in order to remove ethnic cleansing, in the time period of 1990. On the other hand, there is also a prominent example of United Nation's intervention in Somalia with a purpose to restore political order in Somalia and also provide them aid to make them stable nation. The results show that these interventions helped to an extent like removing the regimes and introducing with democratic practices but they also led to increase in human loss, increased sectarian tensions, insurgencies and ultimately changed into political instability.

In the new millennium, the U.S. and its allies intervened in Afghanistan and Iraq to counter terrorism and support democracy. Stephen Krasner (2005) argues that FMIs' impacts can vary, promoting or undermining stability, sovereignty, democracy, human rights, and economic development. The 2001 U.S. invasion of Afghanistan, a reaction to the 9/11 attacks, aimed to dismantle the Taliban regime which had harbored Al-Qaeda terrorists. The invasion resulted in the removal of the Taliban from power and the establishment of a democratic government in Afghanistan. However, the country has remained unstable with ongoing conflict between the Afghan government and the Taliban, as well as other terrorist groups. Similarly, the US invasion of Iraq in 2003 aimed to remove the regime of Saddam Hussein and establish a democratic government in Iraq. However, the intervention resulted in significant instability, including sectarian violence and insurgency, which continued long after the US withdrew its troops in 2011.

Foreign military interventions have evolved over time to reflect changing geopolitical realities. While the reasons for intervention have often been rooted in power and strategic interests but their impacts have been far reaching and long lasting. Military interventions have led to weaken the state institutions which are the base of any sovereign state, economic instability and then increase the domestic insecurity of the intervened state with the surge in sectarian violence, political repression and the rise of extremist groups. Policymakers must carefully consider the potential costs and benefits of military intervention and weigh the potential risks against the potential gains.

1.1 Problem Statement

Foreign military intervention has been a contested issue in international relations which advocates arguing that intervention can bring about stability and improve the governance while critics argue that it often exacerbates political instability and perpetuates the conflicts. The United States' military interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq have been among the most significant foreign military interventions in recent history, yet the impact of these interventions on domestic political stability remains unclear. Therefore, there is a need for a comprehensive analysis of the impacts of American military intervention on domestic political stability in these countries, in order to better understand the complex relationship between foreign military intervention and domestic politics.

1.2 Research Question

The main research question guiding this thesis is: How do foreign military interventions impact the domestic political stability of a country, specifically within the case studies of Afghanistan and Iraq?

1.3 Hypotheses

This study proposes three hypotheses to support the argument.

1. Foreign military intervention weakens the state institutions of the intervened state
2. Foreign military intervention worsens the economic situation of the intervened state
3. Foreign military intervention increases the domestic insecurity of the intervened state

1.4 Objective of the Study

This research attempts to analyze the consequences of global powers' military interventions for promoting stability in the intervened state. I have specified this research to the U.S. military interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq to advocate democratic stable governments which ultimately resulted in political instability of the countries and led to deteriorated situation in the respective countries. The objective of this study is to find the impacts of foreign military interventions by the U.S. on political stability of Iraq and Afghanistan and will analyze and conclude whether these military interventions have been fruitful for institutional growth, economic stability and domestic security of the intervened states or not.

1.5 Significance of the Study

This research work comes up with the contributions in number of ways. Initially it mainly helps to grant to the already available literature of FMI's and their impacts on the domestic political stability of the intervened states. This research work for analyzing the impacts of two cases of Afghanistan and Iraq gives a comprehensive and comparative study by providing a holistic frame of reference that underlines the shared and divergent impacts of the United States' military intervention on two countries, to enrich the results. In addition to this, this research focusing on the three main dimensions namely institution of the state, economy and domestic security which contribute to highlight the detailed interconnection between each of them and their effect on the political stability of the intervened state in the result of any foreign military intervention. Furthermore, this research sheds light on the dysfunction of institutions as a major aftermath of the interventions so, it shifts the discourse from an often individual-focused narrative to an institutional one, emphasizing the structural impacts of foreign military interventions.

Lastly, this study offers insightful guidance for upcoming military operations. This research acts as a roadmap for decision-makers while assisting them in developing more efficient, long-lasting and thoughtful intervention strategies by clarifying the potential drawbacks and complexity involved within such military operations.

1.6 Limitations of the Study

The process of conducting research was challenging because of a number of obstacles, but the researcher looked for answers to keep going and accomplish research objectives. The first limitation that researcher faced, it sought to explore a case of a transition complicated by conflict in continuity. As a result, analysis became less rigid because deriving inferences from the collected data could become outdated as circumstances changed. In order to generate a certain degree of analysis reliability, the researcher used August 2021 as a parameter to limit the study timeframe. This suggests that the research established a foundation on which the developments that would take place beyond the research's time frame may be evaluated, particularly the potential shift in political situation of Afghanistan and Iraq.

The second limitation to the completion of the research was the difficulty in obtaining relevant data and concerns about the reliability of certain of the secondary sources used in the study. The quality of such data may vary, and it may also come with inherent biases, posing a risk to the validity and reliability of the findings. The third limitation was, while analyzing the impacts of these interventions on Afghanistan and Iraq, researcher was limited to focus on

internal factors, ignoring the neighboring state's influence during and after the intervention. Like in case of Afghanistan, neighboring countries like Pakistan and India and in the case of Iraq, especially Iran played major role to influence the intervention when power vacuum created in both countries. The last limitation is that this study focuses on two specific cases of Afghanistan and Iraq where the U.S. obtains a global power status while Afghanistan and Iraq are weaker as compared to America. While these cases provide rich data and are of significant interest, the findings may not be applicable to other cases of foreign military intervention conducted by countries who are equal in power status and when they fight results can be different.

1.7 Research Methodology

Research Design: Qualitative Comparative Case Study

Creswell (2014) describes research design as the structuring of parameters for gathering and evaluating data in a way that seeks to reconcile significance for the research purpose with economy and technique. A research design is based on the techniques which are used for collecting data and the procedures on the basis of which a data can be analyzed. In other words, research design proposes the methods and techniques to collect and analyze the data for a study.

The researcher will opt the comparative case study for this research as comparative case studies entail the investigation and evaluation of commonalities, disparities and emerging patterns between two or more instances bound by a unified theme or objective. Seawright and Gerring (2008) opines that comparing cases based on qualitative method can provide with the in-depth familiarity of each case and helps to generalize the findings. This study will follow the qualitative comparative case study in order to analyze the in-depth details of both cases of Afghanistan and Iraq to generalize the findings and it will gain in-depth insight into the circumstances in which foreign military interventions may have different effects on political stability.

According to George and Bennett (2005) qualitative comparative case study seeks to offer a comprehensive view of the cases under research taking into account the historical political, social and economic elements that shape the phenomena of interest. In this study, this approach will provide the researcher to examine the cases of Afghanistan and Iraq in their unique contexts taking into account the historical, political, social and economic factors that have shaped the foreign military interventions and their repercussion

Data Collection

a. Primary Sources

Government documents and official reports will provide insights into the objectives, strategies and evaluations of the interventions from the U.S. government's perspective in Afghanistan and Iraq. These sources will also include the U.S. Department of Defense reports and Congressional Research Service reports. With addition to this, reports, databases, and official statements from international organizations, including the United Nations, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund, were used to provide economic and social data on both countries, before and after the interventions. The United Nations documents will offer an international perspective on the interventions and their effects on political stability. Relevant documents include Security Council resolutions and reports from the UN agencies involved in the intervened countries. Lastly, news reports from Iraqi and Afghan outlets provided a local perspective on the events, offering real-time reporting and analysis on the ground during and after the interventions.

b. Secondary Sources

This research also used secondary sources such as electronic research which incorporate online material, visited sites, strategy documents, newspaper, university thesis and dissertation sites as Bryman (2012) says "internet research methods are usually economical in terms of time and they can reach large numbers of people easily, distance in son problem" (Bryman, 2012). To ensure greater reliability, the researcher only searched Google Scholar papers that had undergone peer review. Moreover, reports from media which includes, news articles and documentaries covering the interventions and their aftermath will offer additional insights and perspectives on the subject matter. Reports from think tanks and NGO's will help to understand the broader context and implications of the interventions from independent organizations engaged in research and analysis.

Data Analysis

In qualitative research, it relates to the point at which the information gathered has been properly comprehended and to ascertain whether the data is reliable (Berg, 2009). Data analysis organized obtained data into an account. In accordance with the methodologies described above, the researcher used content analysis to identify and examine patterns in the data related to the impact of foreign military interventions on political stability by focusing on three hypotheses. In addition to this, the research will compare the findings from Afghanistan and

Iraq to identify similarities and differences in the consequences of foreign military intervention on political stability. The comparison will also help to assess the generalizability of the findings and provide insights into the conditions under which interventions may lead to different outcomes in terms of political stability.

1.8 Conceptual Framework

Foreign military interventions are viewed as a source to gain political stability of the intervened state. However, regardless of the motivations behind, foreign military interventions have the potential to extensively aggravate political instability of the intervened state. Foreign military intervention can also have important ramifications for the intervened state's politics, economy and security.

Using Afghanistan and Iraq as case studies, this conceptual framework seeks to analyze how foreign military intervention affects the domestic political stability of the intervening state. The framework will focus on three dimensions of the intervened state's stability that are state institutions, country's economy and the domestic security.

State Institutions

State institution is the first important dimension which helps to examine the impact of FMIs on political stability of an intervened state as it the most integral part of any nation state. State institutions are essential for protecting democratic principles, advancing social justice and safeguard the integrity of political system of a country. In the case of any military intervention by a foreign state, foreign forces may challenge the authority and legitimacy of the intervened state. With addition to this, FMIs may also affect the law and order of the intervened state and provide basic services which can result in the collapse of government and social order of that society (Mansfield & Snyder, 2006). In order to explain the impacts of FMIs on state institutions, this study is specified to look at the weak security institutions, weak administration bodies and misrepresentation of the state which play role in creating political instability of that intervened state.

Economic Landscape

Economy is the second important dimension which helps to examine the impacts of FMIs on political stability of an intervened state as it underpins the very fabric of nations. A strong economy nurtures the growth and sustainability of a country, but literature highlights

that FMIs can destabilize the economic equilibrium of the intervened state which leads to a degree of decline in economic growth and development (Collier & Hoeffler, 2002). Foreign military intervention may also create a culture of dependency on foreign aid leading to the loss of economic sovereignty and self-determination. Moreover, foreign military intervention can lead to a loss of confidence among international investors and financial institutions, further damaging the economic stability of the intervened state. The study tends to explain three main factors that are exploitation of economic resources, consumptions of economic revenues and distribution of resources, which identifies the impacts of FMIs on the economy of intervened state and led to political instability.

Domestic Security

In the realm of international relations, domestic security often refers to homeland security that includes a range of components intended to defend a citizens, institutions and vital infrastructure of a state from internal and external threats like terrorism or natural disasters. Moreover, it is defined as “a determined national effort to reduce the vulnerabilities of the United States to terrorism, prevent terrorist attacks within the United States, minimize damage and recover from attacks that do occur” (The Patriotic Act, 2001). However, for this study domestic security particularly focuses on political violence that heightened by increase in militant activities and civil conflicts in the result of FMI and ultimately leads to political instability of intervened state.

Foreign military intervention can have a significant impact on domestic security in the intervened state. The presence of foreign military forces can escalate violence and fuel insurgency by militants and terrorism leading to an increase in domestic insecurity (Crenshaw, 1981). Additionally, foreign military intervention can create tensions and divisions among different ethnic and religious groups further destabilizing the country's social fabric. The intervention can also lead to an increase in human rights abuses and violations which further exacerbate domestic insecurity.

The conceptual framework enables a complete analysis of the impact of foreign military intervention on the domestic political stability of the intervening state. The three components in this research; state institutions, economy, and domestic security, give a framework for understanding the complex and multidimensional influence of foreign military intervention on political stability.

1.9 Plan of the Thesis

This research is divided into six chapters in order to address the research issue and confirm the accuracy of the employed hypotheses. The first chapter aims to find problem statement and research question after explaining the background of the study. It also draws a conceptual framework in order to explain the research questions more efficiently.

The second chapter is about the existing literature on foreign military interventions (FMIs) by global powers after the World War Two with their aims of interventions and their impacts on the political and economic structure of the intervened countries, which helps researcher to have clear understanding about the behavior of global power interventions and to build a framework of political instability in the intervened countries. In the second chapter researcher tries to give more accurate data about the United States' successful, unsuccessful and continuous military interventions and military operations after the Cold War through numeric data. The chapter also looks at how FMIs affect domestic security, economy and state institutions as they affect political stability.

Chapter Three and Chapter Four explore the case studies of the U.S. military interventions of Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003). These chapters first put light on the pre-intervention political, economic and security conditions of the countries respectively that were different in each case but after the military intervention by the United States with a purpose to make them a democratic state, remove terrorism and create a stable country, they faced significant challenges. These chapters then provide an in-depth description of the impact of the U.S. military interventions which played important roles that led to give rise of political instability in both countries. Moreover, both chapters highlight that FMIs resulted in establishment of a democratic governments in both countries, but the situation remained unstable, including the weakening of state institutions, economic exploitation, and increased domestic insecurity which led the political instability of the countries that also had lasting impacts on the politics, economic, and security conditions of these countries.

Chapter Five draws a comparison between the two case studies and the political instability increased by FMIs in Afghanistan and Iraq. After analyzing the cases, the researcher concludes the study by giving remarks about foreign military interventions that it cannot always end with peace rather it may have negative impacts on a country's political stability, and which furthers chaos and violence in the country and can potentially lead to generate deteriorated situation in the intervened country.

The conclusion chapter summarizes the study's findings and analyses, discusses the limitations of the study and suggests future implications and areas for further indignation. The

overall goal of this thesis is to advance knowledge of how FMIs affect domestic political stability and the United States' involvement in international conflicts.



CHAPTER TWO: THE IMPACT OF FOREIGN MILITARY INTERVENTIONS ON DOMESTIC POLITICAL STABILITY: A LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature on Foreign Military Intervention has increased significantly over the past few decades. This part of the study put light on the conflicting literature about FMIs, leading to various assessments of how effective they are at addressing political and socioeconomic crises. This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part of this literature review is to examine the military intervention cases of global powers within a specific timeframe with their aims of interventions and their impacts on the political and economic structure of the intervened countries that differ from one another. The second part of this chapter looks at how the execution of FMIs neglects the duty to create stability and affect the domestic security, economy and state institutions as the final objective of the literature analysis that helps researcher to build a framework of political instability in the intervened countries and which is also related to the study's overall purpose.

2.1. Foreign Military Intervention

Throughout the history intervention has played a crucial role in international relations either from ancient Greece to the Cold War. Morgenthau (1967) described intervention as a traditional and comprehended foreign policy tool of any country.

The term intervention means interference in a common language but according to certain diplomatic historians, it is described as some overt military actions by military forces in other countries. Intervention got its origin during the 14th century by French Lexicographers and got its use in 16th and 17th centuries while in English intervention dates back to 15th century and recorded its first use in English Oxford Dictionary from 1580s (Stefano & Jennifer, 2013). Beginning in the 16th century, the phrase “intervention” specifically denoted the exercise of military force, and James I of England used the same terminology during the early Thirty Years War (Stefano & Jennifer, 2013). In the writings of Emmerich de Vattel, intervention means unsanctioned foreign intrusions (Vattel, 1916) whereas Winfield implies intervention as an act which encourages war and it is condemned by its targets (Winfield, 1923). William Edward Hall defines intervention as the exploitation of or detriment to other communities linked with coercive foreign involvement (Hall, 1895). Under the standard International Law definition, intervention can be defined as the violation of the sovereignty of one state by another (Anthony & Lang, 2012).

Intervention is considered to be the most pronounced form of interference which results from one's purposeful attempt as one of the important scholars of international law Louis Henkin (1979) argues that any action a state takes to influence another state can be considered as intervention. It's a broader term and not only specific to one type of interference it may take into different types as Amitai Etzioni (2005) identifies three types of intervention, namely economic, ideological, and military. I will define military intervention specifically in my research which is a coercive and planned interference by an external actor with an aim to change the political order of the target country.

According to Thucydides, military intervention in civil conflicts was an old phenomenon during the Peloponnesian War, but after decolonization and initiation of rivalry between superpowers there was rise in military interventions by the foreign states which led some scholars of international relations including Hedley Bull, Hans Morgenthau and James Rosenau to examine this phenomenon during cold war era. For Rosenau military intervention is "Convention-breaking military involvement in the domestic matters of a foreign land intended at the institutional structures of the state with the purpose of changing the power dynamic between the governing and opposition groups" (Rosenau, 1969). So, for Rosenau intervention is authority oriented as well as convention-breaking and in this light intervener alter the political environment of another state.

Whereas Pearsons and Baumann define the operational definition of foreign military invasion is the deployment of armed forces from one autonomous state into the jurisdiction or territorial waters of another autonomous state, as well as other coercive military actions related to a political issue or conflict that have an impact on the political system of the target nation. (Pearson & Baumann , 2014). This defines three aspects of intervention. Firstly, military intervention is coercive in term of its methods and tools that are being used during intervention. Secondly, military intervention is an organized activity and never takes place accidentally though it results from a clear decision made by the statesmen of the intervener. Lastly, it represents to give protection or to change the political order of the political independent target for political gains.

On other hand, Regan (2002) assumes that a country intervenes to end the conflict in the targeted country when it intervenes in a conflict as a third party with the aim to provide a stable government and a stable region (Regan, 2002). Findley and Kwang (2006) argues that states intervene on the basis of interests like to back the state if they have similar interests and they support the opposition if they don't share common interests with the intervened states and ultimately they try to remove the government (Findley & Teo, 2006). Peksen (2012) argues that

if military intervention does not use massive military force than it cannot change a government, however, use of massive military forces causes a collapse of a government. Gent's (2008) studies follow the assumption of Carment and Rowlands that countries who invade are rational actors as they an intrastate conflict with a purpose to influence the negotiation process which provides them with an ability to increase their interest in that conflicting state. Gent also argues that if these states don't have any interest in the conflicting states, then they don't prefer to get involve by the intervention (Gent, 2008).

For Pickering and Kisangani (2009) states intervene militarily in order to influence the economic, social, or political conditions. In addition, scholars assert that overt military action does not always result in a stable world for democratization, economic expansion, or improvement of one's life quality instead it may lead to decrease in the quality of life of the common people in that intervened state because use of military has a potential to create instability in a state economically, politically and socially (Pickering & Kisangani, 2006).

In the context of this scholarly investigation the term "intervention" specifically denotes the act of infringing upon the territorial integrity of a foreign state. The focus of this exploration is honed on the unique dynamics of military intervention. Conceptually, foreign military intervention within this academic discourse is framed as; an act wherein military force is wielded to orchestrate a regime change within a sovereign state. The overarching aim of such an action can be twofold that is securing the strategic interests of the intervening entity or fostering peace and stability within the target state. In this discourse foreign military intervention is more blatant and overt then other forms of interventions include military aid, covert operations and economic or diplomatic penetration.

2.1.1 Military Interventions by Global Powers after World War Two

Geopolitical landscapes have been fundamentally altered by military interventions by global powers after World War II. The principal actors which include the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union (Russia today), China and France have intervened in various contexts driven by a mixture of geopolitical, ideological, security, colonial and humanitarian motivations. These interventions have had far reaching implications for the intervened countries leading to significant political, economic and social transformations.

Herbert K. Tillema and John R. Van Wingen explain in their research about military interventions after World War II by key powers included the Soviet Union, Britain, France and the United States. They spotlight the reality that all these states avoided direct military combat with each other instead they choose other weaker lands for their interests and also, they

criticized that with some interventions they do not behave according to contemporary international law and common set of international norms while violated the UN Charter which actually indicate that they fulfilled their own interests (Tillema & Wingen, 1982).

Since World War II, the British armed forces intervened for 83 times in 47 countries (Curtis, 2023). The British armed interventions were on the pattern of colonial control, covert operations and overt operations. A combination of geopolitical, colonial, security and humanitarian considerations have motivated Britain's military operations. For instance, the British military was engaged in a counter-insurgency military operation against the communist guerrilla Malayan National Liberation Army, a military wing of the Malayan Communist Party (MCP), in the previous British colony in 1948 (Stubbs, 2004). Due to its location in Southeast Asia, Malaya was strategically significant to the British and served as a vital link in their network of colonies. Malaya was important economically because of its tin and rubber industries which were essential to the British economy. Moreover, as a part of Western bloc, the British were also committed to defending these interests from the threat of communism in their sphere of influence (Kratoska, 2013).

The use of force by the United Kingdom in British Guiana, which is known as Guyana today, in 1953 is an illustration of how the British government meddled in the affairs of its colonial and former colonial territories during the post-World War II era (Palmer, 2010). The British government led by Prime Minister Winston Churchill suspended the constitution, ousted the elected government and took direct control of the province after the socialist-leaning People's Progressive Party (PPP) won the elections. In order to execute this order, British troops were sent to the British Guiana and successfully removed PPP from the government which lead to the political chaos in the country (Mars, 1982). This military intervention by British was motivated by some primary factors such as PPP was seen as Socialist oriented by Britishers and considered to be a threat for communist bloc (Palmer, 2010). Another factor was the strategic location of the British Giana as it was located near the Panama Canal, an important commercial route and the Caribbean. The British government was worried that British Guiana's communist-aligned government may endanger Western interests in the area (Mars, 1998).

Some of the striking invasions like the Suez Crisis was about keeping influence over a crucial commercial route, which had a geostrategic importance for the U.K. Britain's economic interests were seen as being threatened when Nasser nationalized the canal. In response, the British military started military intervention with the help of Israel and France as this intervention was also influenced by Britain's alliance with France and Israel (Kyle, 2011).

More recent operations have been justified on humanitarian and security grounds including those in Kosovo, Sierra Leone, Afghanistan, Iraq and Libya. In Libya 2011, the British army, intervened with the U.S. militarily and France on humanitarian ground with an aim to halt human rights abuses and mass atrocities during the civil conflict there. Muammar Gaddafi was toppled as a result of the intervention, but it also added to the chaos and civil war that have ravaged Libya since Gaddafi's downfall (Pack, 2013). Overall, United Kingdom's military interventions in the post-World War II era were an extensive synthesis of political, strategic and humanitarian factors.

Military interventions by the Soviet Union were mostly driven by to the expansion of its communist ideology in the Eastern Europe, a buffer of friendly governments on its borders and its Cold War rivalry with the America and security concerns. Firstly, it started with the suppression of reformist movements through operations in Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968 (Kramer, 2003). The decisions to interfere in Hungary and Czechoslovakia were heavily influenced by concerns about anti-communist sentiment and possible Western influence within its sphere of influence in Eastern Europe (Ghati, 2006). Establishment of communist governments in Eastern Europe changed the direction of their political systems, but they frequently lacked support among the public and were upheld by force which sparked social unrest and opposition as well as stagnant economy (Kramer, 2003).

Then the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979 to assist the communist administration in fending off an Islamist uprising. This intervention led to a protracted struggle that lasted for over ten years and caused enormous casualties and resulted in large-scale exile (Braithwaite, 2011). The main purposes of this military intervention were to defend the USSR's southern flank for granting access to ports with warm water and a desire to increase Soviet power in Asia (Braithwaite, 2011).

Since 1991, Russia started to engaged again in military interventions and these interventions are predominantly concentrated in the post-Soviet Eurasia where Syria is the only Middle East intervention beyond the post-Soviet Eurasia and most of its intervention out of 25 took place in the post-Soviet Eurasia because its great power status is linked with the regional hegemon. RAND report (2021) explained about the beginning of Russian military engagement in Georgia 2008, followed by the acquisition of Crimea as well as an assault of the Donbas region in eastern Ukraine 2014 and lastly 2015 Russian intervention in Syria and according to that report Russia sees threats to its security and national status and regional power balance coming from Eurasia and as a result, Russia has used military interventions to respond to events that threaten these interests. Russian military interventions started after 1991 were motivated

by geopolitical, domestic and strategic factors. For instance, Russia claimed to protect its citizens or Russian-speaking living in Georgia and Eastern Ukraine (Kofman, 2016).

China has taken a somewhat unique stance on military operations in the era of post-World War Two. China always follows a peaceful defensive foreign policy but on the other hand China has participated in a number of massive military operations with different goals and impacts on the intervened states. Park (2008) writes about China's offensive and dispute behavior since 1949 to 1999 in his writings. With national security, China's military interventions were also motivated by the geopolitical competition and ideological affinity.

Park (2008) says that before the Korean War, the critical space was Taiwan for the security of China, not the Korean Peninsula, but after the Korean War started in 1950, Taiwan's position in the vital space switched to the Korean Peninsula and China's justification for joining the Korean War is to defend both the peninsula and its neighbor, North Korea. China's intervention in Korea resulted in immediate and long-lasting impacts not only on the Korean Peninsula but also on the East Asia region. China claimed victory over protection of North Korea from the UN troops, but it lost many Chinese soldiers, volunteers and huge loss of life of civilians. It also impacted on the destruction of infrastructure of North Korea. This military intervention contributed for the division of Korea and this division became a continued source of conflict and tension within the country and the region (Eberstadt & Banister, 1992). The same happened with the Vietnam War as it divided a country into two pieces, North Vietnam and South Vietnam. Military interventions by China in the post-World War II was highly motivated by geopolitical rivalry with other powers mainly with the Soviets and the U.S., ideological commitment, security to its national interests and to maintain regional influence in East Asia.

In the years following World War II, France like other global powers has a long history of military interventions. For instance, in the post-World War II, France made an effort to retake control of its former colony in Indochina in 1946, which included the present-day nations of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. Due to this, there was an extended war with the Viet Minh which resulted in the French losing at the Battle of Dien Bien Phu and the end of French colonial power in Indochina (Logevall, 2012). Similarly, in Algeria, another of its former colonies, France waged a harsh war against the National Liberation Front (FLN) which fought for independence (Evans, 2007). Strategic concerns have always frequently driven France's initiatives due to which France tried to maintain control over its colonial possessions in Algeria and Indochina. Several French military interventions in post-colonial Africa have been justified frequently on the basis of preserving stability, defending French citizens and respecting

agreements with former African colonies. Countries including Chad, Ivory Coast, Mali, Libya and the Central African Republic have experienced these operations. On the other hand, as evidenced by its actions in Libya and the Central African Republic, France has also justified some of its missions on humanitarian grounds such as preventing genocide or defending civilian populations (Chafer, 2002). In sum, France's military operations have been motivated by a complex interplay of strategic, political and humanitarian factors. France's position on the world stage has been and is still being defined by these interventions.

After examining the extensive literature on military interventions by global powers, it is clear that these acts were driven by an intricate combination of ideological, geopolitical and security factors which drive global politics. Since the military intervention frequently reflected the existing global political dynamics and projected national interests of global powers, the outcomes of the interventions substantially impacted the economic, political and social landscapes of the intervened states. The interventions have led to the construction or maintenance of political regimes and frequently leaving behind contentious histories. In other cases, they led to protracted conflict and political instability. They also brought about substantial societal upheaval and economic transformation within the intervened states.

2.1.2 The U.S. Military Interventions after the Cold War

Throughout the 20th century, military interventions held a prominent position in the foreign policy of the United States and always it is examined closely because of its power position in the international politics. America uses democratization as a basis for its military interventions. Since the end of the Cold War, the United States has been involved in numerous military interventions around the world. These interventions have been motivated by a range of factors, including a desire to promote democracy and human rights, protect national security interests, and/or prevent humanitarian crises. While some of these interventions have been successful, others have been controversial and met with opposition both domestically and internationally. This study explains some of those interventions in order to understand the impact of a foreign military intervention on a state's stability.

Successful democratic transition happened in Panama with the series of U.S. military interventions in 1959, 1964 and 1989 to 1992. The last intervention by George H. W. Bush, U.S. President overthrow of Panamanian dictator and drug-smuggler Manuel Noriega. There was high level of political and social instability because of weak judicial system and also economic dislocations. A survey report suggested that democracy dropped from 69.9 to 34.3 percent in Panama due to violations of civil liberties, sporadic acts of violence, and the unsettled

issue of judicial independence (Payne et al., 2002). This literature sheds light on the fact that though efforts were made for the democratic development in Central America but not yet proven to be stable. Moreover, these achievements came at a significant cost in terms of human lives squandered and military engagements.

During the second part of the twentieth century, Middle East became a center point for the American invasions. The Gulf War in 1991 gave a signal about the U.S. military involvement in the Middle East. The Gulf War began with Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in order to seize control of the Middle East's oil supply. The United States, along with a large international coalition and the UN Security Council, insisted that Saddam Hussein leave Kuwait; but, when he refused, the United States launched a heavy bombing campaign on key targets. Samuel (2021) extracted the fact from his writings that United States won the Gulf War but lost the peace as pre-war promises to minimize sufferings were not kept. He comes up with the analysis that the Gulf War was a triumph for the U.S., but it was despair for Iraq. Samuel (2021) also raised the question about humanitarian crisis that had engulfed millions of Iraqi civilians. The strategic bombings and air campaigns by U.S though successful in expelling Iraqi forces from Kuwait, it contributed to the humanitarian crisis in Iraq. Moreover, the Iraqi defeat ended with the mass uprisings in Iraq and further worsened the humanitarian situation. Samuel (2021) concludes that the U.S. gave an idealistic perspective about clean and limited war during the conflict, but the war resulted in the mass unrest in the society, suffering of civilians and demolishing of the Iraq's infrastructure (Helfont, 2021).

Other U.S. military interventions have been less successful. For instance, the intervention in Somalia in the early 1990s, which was intended to provide humanitarian aid and restore order, was plagued by a lack of clear objectives and public opposition, and the United States withdrew its troops after suffering casualties (Williams, 2020). The intervention in Bosnia was similarly fraught, and although the United States participated in a NATO-led intervention that was intended to stop ethnic cleansing and violence, but the conflict persisted for years and contributed in continuous instability within the state.

Another intervention was the Operation Uphold Democracy in Haiti in 1994. The intervention was launched in response to a military coup that had overthrown the democratically elected government of Jean-Bertrand Aristide. The United States led a multinational force that included troops from Canada, France, and other countries, and the operation was successful in restoring Aristide to power and bringing stability to the country (Bentley, 1996).

The Kosovo War in 1999 was another military intervention in which the United States participated as part of a NATO-led coalition. The intervention was launched in response to the

ethnic cleansing and violence that was taking place in Kosovo, and it succeeded in stopping the violence and restoring stability to the region (OCHA, 2000). The intervention was controversial, however, because it was conducted without the UN Security Council authorization, and some critics argued that it violated international law.

American intervention in Syrian territory is still under question that whether it is legal or not? Because according to the UN Charter states must be stopped to use of force on any state. The Syrian civil war, which is one of the most critical and controversial conflict in the 21st century, is controversial because a lot of foreign actors are involved. One of the major powers that are active militarily in the Syrian conflict is the U.S., which supports some Syrian groups. The U.S started to intervene militarily in 2015. Sean Lee analyses in her studies that among this entire conflict the people of Syria are important, and the U.S. still fails to organize and apply the policies which could lead to stop this devastating situation. Through intensifying the militarization of the crisis and fostering a violent game that has wreaked havoc on the nation, the U.S. intervention has only increased the suffering of civilians. The military involvement, the deepening of the conflict, and the misery of citizens were caused by the American pressure on the Assad regime to withdraw from politics. Moreover, the U.S. military has persistently looked for ways to increase its military presence, despite advocating for mediation between the parties.

The U.S. intervention in Libya in 2011, intended to overthrow Muammar Gaddafi's regime, was also controversial and ultimately unsuccessful. Although the intervention succeeded in toppling Gaddafi, the country remained unstable and has been plagued by violence and political instability since then (Terry, 2015).

After 9/11, the U.S. started counter terrorism operations in Yemen against the Houthis. The U.S. invaded Yemen militarily with an aim to stabilize and unify the country by removing the terrorists' activities over the land of Yemen, but according to the Congress Research Service Report the mass killings of civilians by the Saudi-led coalition has worsened the humanitarian situation in Yemen which has raised question for the U.S. policy as well because the U.S. has been supporting the Saudi-led coalition in Yemen by selling weapons to Saudi Arabia. LaForgia and Bogdanich (2020) write in their article selling of weapons to Saudi Arabia to remove terrorist organizations from there is actually killing the innocent civilians which results in prolonging the conflict and destabilization of the country politically and economically as well (LaForgia & Bogdanich, 2020). Preve (2020) writes in his article about the U.S. involvement and the war crimes committed by the U.S. and also violation of basic human rights, killings and injured repeatedly by all parties in the conflict (Preve, 2020).

The research by Military Intervention Project at Tufts University explains that after the end of Cold War everyone was expecting from the U.S. to stop its military interventions abroad with the decrease in threats and being unipolar power in the international world, but it resulted increase in its military interventions abroad (Military Intervention Project (MIP), 2017). All the military interventions carried out by the U.S. have had varying degrees of success, and some have been controversial or unsuccessful due to civilian casualties, political opposition, and questions of legality. All the major military interventions and military operations made by the U.S. after the Cold War are shown in the table to show their success and unsuccess with numbers.

Table 1. The United States' Military Interventions and Military Operations After Cold War

NO.	Military Interventions	Successful	Unsuccessful	Continue
1.	Operation Just Cause (Panama, 1989-1990)	1	-	-
2.	Gulf War 1991	1	-	-
3.	Somalia Intervention (1992-1995)	-	1	-
4.	Battle of Moghadisho	-	1	-
6.	Bosnian War (1992-1995)		1	
7.	Operation Uphold Democracy (Haiti, 1994-1995)	1	-	-
8.	Kosovo War (1998-1999)	1		
9.	Operation Allied Force (Serbia and Montenegro, 1999)	1		
10.	War in Afghanistan (2001)		1	

11.	Iraq War (2003-2011)		1	
12.	Operation Enduring Freedom - Horn of Africa (2002-present)			1
13.	Operation Enduring Freedom - Philippines (2002-present)			1
14.	Libyan Civil War (2011)		1	
15.	War against the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (2014-2019)			1
16.	Yemeni Civil War (2015-present)		1	
17.	Operation Inherent Resolve (Iraq and Syria, 2014-present)			1

2.2. The Impacts of Foreign Military Interventions on Domestic Political Stability

Political stability is another core concept to define in order to understand the role of foreign military interventions in domestic politics. Over the years, academics and political scientists have defined and construed political stability in a wide variety of ways. It reflects multidimensionality and is capable of encompassing a variety of socioeconomic and political circumstances. Finer argues that “political stability” cannot be discussed without examining the role of military as military intervention results in two sets of forces i.e., capacity of military to intervene and the conditions in the society in which it operates” (Finer, 1988).

Different authors opted different approaches to explain this concept. Claude Ake sees political stability with reference to specific political structures or political exchanges he talks about political stability by explaining political behavior of any member of a society which affects the power distribution in a structure of society (Ake, 1975). Huntington (1968) defines political stability as “the absence of political disintegration or decay and the presence of appropriate political institutionalization.” He contends that robust institutions and widely supported processes for conflict resolution are necessary for a stable political atmosphere.

Likewise, Lipset (1969) stressed in his writings that political stability is intimately related to the degree of social and economic growth within a country. He asserted that more economic development as evidenced by an educated population and a significant middle class is an indicator in political stability. In contrast, Przeworski et al. (2000) describe that political stability also includes the peaceful transfer of power and is not solely dependent on the absence of violence or the persistence of a particular government. According to Przeworski, Alvarez, Cheibub and Limongi (2000) political stability is a situation when disputes and conflicts are handled within a recognized framework that promotes continuity and predictability in the political process.

The literature draws political stability as it is a nuanced and diverse idea that includes the absence of conflict, the existence of effective institutions, public support for political institutions and a stable economic and social growth while the absence of these factors may lead to political instability in a country. Jong-A-Pin (2008) empirically measured political instability by using explanatory factors which include, widespread civil unrest, violence fueled by politics, fragility inside regime (caused by internal elements like legislative elections) and instability of the political regime (caused by external elements like coups) (Jong-A-Pin, 2008). Aisen & Veiga also argues with the same perspective as Jong-A-Pin that political instability is linked with the regime change which is caused by external factors and within regime instability caused by internal factors such as legislative elections, and a violence index (Ari & Veiga, 2013). Odeh explains political in a way that it demolishes not only the nature of a system but also its interlinkages including its social, economic and political growth (Odeh, 2013). Sometimes domestic Political instability occurs when central government is not strong enough and it faces regime change and this regime change is linked with either by internal factors such as legislative elections or external factors such as military intervention.

Foreign military interventions can have significant and multifaceted impacts on the domestic political stability of the intervened state. After the Cold War some global powers were more concerned about pursuing military interventions in order to create regional and international stability. In this regard, the Middle East and North Africa came up with intensive revolts named as the Arab Spring. The Arab Spring itself gave an opportunity for external interventions. The Tunisian revolution served as the impetus for the Arab Spring revolts that spread to the Middle East and North Africa. The Arab Spring protests spread quickly and were successful, starting in Tunis in January and moving on to Jordan, Oman, Syria, Yemen, Iraq, Libya, and other nations by January 25. A number of the Arab Spring protests led to political shifts in Syria, Yemen, Iraq, Libya, and other states. In 2011, the United Nations Security

Council ordered to use force through military intervention by NATO against the Libyan troops to protect the civilians from the intensive attacks of the Gaddafi regime (Penketh, 2011). Moreover, Husnu Mubarak's resignation as president in Egypt and the reform of Yemen's cabinet on June 11 simultaneously contributed to political instability and economic stagnation in both nations while also igniting anger among millions of people.

Military interventions by global powers sometimes act as a destabilizing factor for the intervened state and provides reason for the eruption of other interstate conflicts. Kathman's (2010) study claims that the arrival of foreign forces may disturb the distribution of power, intensify the conflict and elongate its existence (Kathman, 2010). According to the argument, this type of interference undermines the balance of power and escalates conflict intensity as territorial factions compete for control and dominance. As discussed above, since the end of World War Two, some powerful states (U.S, British, Chinese, French, and Russia) and some international Organizations (NATO, EU) started to use military force against states or non-states targets to achieve political goals. There are some most effective impacts by any foreign military intervention which results in political instability of the intervened country which ultimately gives rise to other issues which lead to destroying peace in that targeted state.

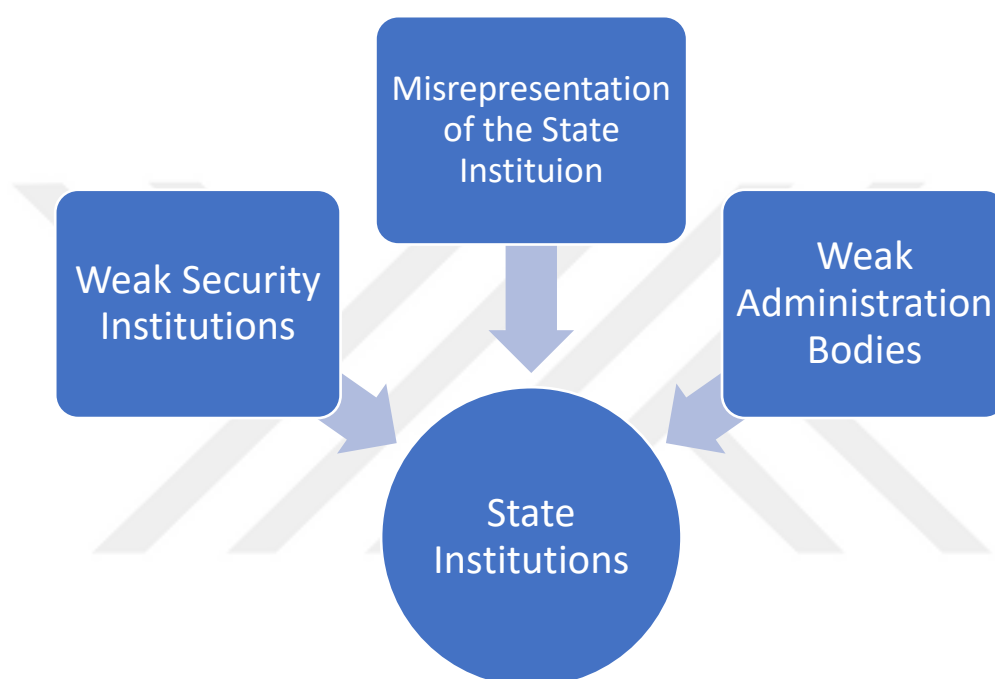
After examining the existing literature, we claim that domestic political instability in a country after foreign military intervention refers to the deterioration of political and social order that can occur when a foreign power intervenes in another country's internal affairs, particularly through the use of military force. Although this instability can take many forms such as it results in weakening of state institutions mainly security and administrative bodies, it destabilizes the economy mainly through exploitation of economic resources and last but not the least it disturbs the domestic security which prominently includes escalation of political violence, militant activities and civil conflicts. In other words, the economic, political and security environments of the intervened state are drastically altered as a result of foreign military interventions which led to prevail political instability in that intervened state.

2.2.1. The Impact of FMIs on State Institutions

Foreign military interventions can significantly influence the nature and function of state institutions within the intervened state. FMIs have the ability to cause the reconfiguration of state institutions thereby causing the destabilization of current systems and changing the political environment (Brancati & Snyder, 2011). Moreover, they can precipitate institutional fragmentation, weakening the state's administrative, security and political capabilities. While

some interventions may ostensibly aim to strengthen state institutions and they often inadvertently undermine them by creating dependencies or exacerbating existing tensions. This study focuses on the effects which particularly manifest within security institutions, administrative bodies and representative institutions that often lead to their weakening or misrepresentation which is also illustrated by conceptual Diagram 1.

Diagram 1: Conceptual Framework



2.2.1.1 Weak Security Institutions

Security institutions are essential to sustaining a country's internal and external security, upholding the law, and safeguarding the citizens from dangers. The structure and functioning of state institutions within the intervened states are significantly shaped by foreign military interventions which frequently result in considerable changes with a long-term impact. While FMIs can at times, help these institutions to grow stronger but they can also intentionally or unintentionally accelerate their deterioration especially when it comes to security institutions (Brancati & Snyder, 2011). Foreign military interventions usually involve the reorganization of state institutions which has the ability to shake up the status quo and bring about significant changes in the political environment. For instance, the Panama Defense Forces which had been significantly involved in running the state, were dismantled as a result of the U.S. intervention in Panama in 1989 (Percy, 1990). While the goal of this intervention was to restore democratic

governance, the dissolution of the Panama Defense Forces immediately created a security vacuum that necessitated intense work to develop new security institutions from the scratch.

As an essential component of the state machinery, security institutions are particularly susceptible to the destabilizing impacts of FMIs. These institutions can become fragmented, lose their institutional memory and experience power vacuums if they are systematically destroyed, reformed or even created (Wehry, 2013). This practice was also prominent in Libya, when NATO intervened militarily in Libya in 2011 as there was a significant change in security forces of Libya as well after NATO intervention. A power vacuum created in the country as a consequence of intervention and the non-state actors significantly some militias started to compete for the sake of power and to control the country. Their struggle for power led to the surge in conflict within the country among different groups and introduced a period of domestic insecurity within the country (Wehry, 2013).

Literature shows that after a military intervention by a foreign state result in troops of foreign forces to keep security and stability but this ultimately leads to increase the dependency of local security forces on the foreign forces. This dependency by local security forces of the intervened states results in weakening of local security institutions and effects the institutional development (Sullivan & Karreth, 2015). The Congo crisis during 1960's describes this phenomenon, when around 10,000 Belgian troops intervened in Congo to protect the Belgian people. Government of Congo asked for military assistance from UNSC and Ghana in order to remove Belgian forces from Democratic Republic of Congo, to prevent civil war and to maintain law and order within the country. However, this dependence on the foreign military forces undermined the capacity building of the security institutions of DRC for a long time and paved a way for continuous security institution instability (Schmidt, 2013).

Foreign military interventions sometimes may also cause fragmentation within the institutions of the intervened state. This fragmentation of the institutions negatively affects the political, security and administrative competencies of the intervened state. Institutions lose the ability to properly address security issues because they become highly decentralized and fragmented. For instance, when Algeria got independence in 1962 by French after the French military intervention, there was a huge modification in political system of Algeria with a prominent change in institutional level with the establishment of Front de Libération Nationale (FLN) as it was constructed up of many social groups, including nationalists, socialists, Islamists and secular parties. This social cluster resulted in fragmented security system that was rife with factionalism and divergent loyalties and in the wake of decolonialization, these socially fragmented security institutions together with political incompetency of this regime

became fragile to maintain domestic insecurity and led to widespread riots in 1988. As a result, although having the stated intention of maintaining stability, the intervention unintentionally helped prolong domestic unrest and disputes in post-colonial Algeria (Phillips & Evan, 2007).

2.2.1.2 Weak Administration Bodies

A state always needs a defined functional mechanism in order to communicate with its people and also to regulate rules and regulations under the state's law. This defined mechanism is run by the administration bodies which are integral part of a state with a purpose to facilitate the government and the people. The composition and structure of these bodies can vary considerably depending on the political system and governance model of a particular country. The administrative bodies particularly are prone to the impacts of foreign military interventions as they are at the center of state power and control. These bodies are responsible for implementing policies, enforcing laws and managing public services. Any disruption caused by foreign military interventions can lead to chaos, inefficiency and a breakdown of services. When foreign military interventions are deployed, the administration bodies of the involved state frequently experience significant systemic disruptions. These disruptions often result in the need for significant reorganizing, reconfiguring or even a total rebuilding of these organizations. As resources and energy are diverted away from performing their primary duties and toward institutional rearrangement, the resulting instability may lead to a dilution of administrative competence.

The American-led intervention in Haiti in 1994 is a case that draws attention to this dynamic. The bureaucratic structure of the Haiti state underwent inevitable transformation as a result of this transitional process. In order to achieve the goals of the intervention, a sizable matrix of administrative infrastructure was deconstructed, reshaped, and reconstructed. Even though it was intended to revive democratic processes, such an effort caused a series of administrative system disturbances in Haiti. As the institutions struggled with the difficulties of systemic reform and reorganization, these disturbances reverberated across the administrative bodies and precipitated a period of instability (Fatton Jr, 2002). Similarly, the 2011 NATO-led intervention in Libya precipitated a monumental shift in the nation's governance structures by facilitating the ouster of the longstanding Gaddafi regime. This significant change sparked a massive transformation in the nation's administrative framework disrupting long-standing bureaucratic practices and requiring the start of a new administrative era (Wehrey, 2013).

Foreign military interventions also influence how people view the legitimacy of the state institutions, which is another way to show how it has an impact. The legitimacy of the intervention and the efficiency of the new government may be questioned if people believe them to be puppets of a foreign force. This happened in South Vietnam, where the government suffered with legitimacy concerns despite the American military support, ultimately culminating to the overthrow of the Saigon regime in 1975 (Karnow, 1997).

In essence, while FMIs aim to instigate positive transformations, their influence often triggers unintended consequences and often result in disruption, instability, and a crisis of legitimacy, which can severely hamper the functionality and effectiveness of the state's administrative bodies.

2.2.1.3 Misrepresentation of the State Institutions

Foreign military interventions (FMIs) not only engage with the security and administrative dimensions of the intervened state, but they also profoundly impinge upon the representational character of its institutions. The term of “misrepresentation” in this context is based on the knowledge that foreign military interventions may establish institutional frameworks that are incompatible with the current social, political, and cultural fabric of the intervened state because they are infused with a foreign view of statehood and governance (Chesterman, Ignatieff, & Thakur, 2005). This misrepresentation can take place on different levels such as through distorting the state’s domestic and international reputation, undermining the political and administrative framework, and distorting demographics based on culture, ethnicity, and religion.

Foreign military interventions may unintentionally simplify or misrepresent the institutions of a state domestically and internationally. This might be as a result of the intervening power misinterpreting or miscommunicating the intricate structure of the social and political systems of the intervened state. Caplan (2005) argues that misrepresentation is typically engendered when the intervening foreign powers impose their own conceptions of institutional structure and functioning onto the intervened state, potentially resulting in institutions that are at odds with the local socio-cultural context.

The purpose of the United Nations intervention in East Timor in 1999 which supported the transition to independence after the vote, was to set up democratic and Western-style governmental institutions. However, there were problems with social legitimacy and functionality because the newly established institutions were frequently at odds with the traditional Timorese systems of government and dispute resolution (Grenfell, 2013). The end

result was a complex hybrid political order that included modern institutions established by the UN and traditional Timorese organizations, which proved difficult for stable and effective rule (Cummins, 2014).

Likewise, the administrative and political systems of the intervened state can be misinterpreted or undermined by the intervention like Libya witnessed similar dynamics following the 2011 NATO intervention which aimed to establish democratic institutions, nevertheless, the new institutions struggled to obtain support and perform well inside Libya's socio-political environment because they were based on external models and were influenced by international actors. Many people viewed these institutions as foreign impositions because they were out of step with local realities, which contributed to the state's ongoing instability (Cole & McQuinn, 2015).

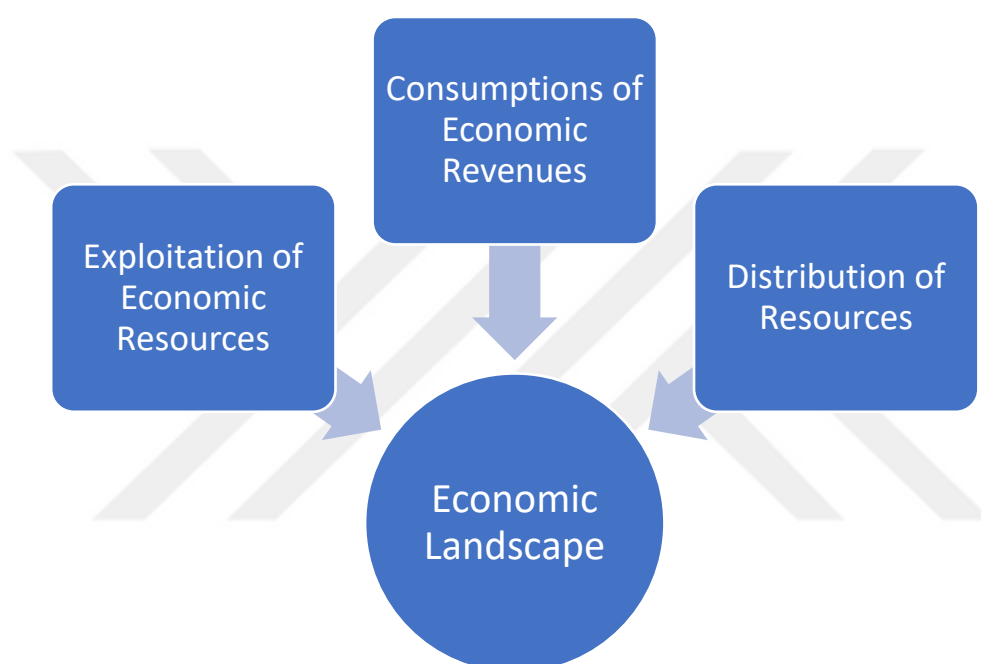
Moreover, foreign interference may also result in erroneous representations of a nation's ethnicity, culture, and religion. Mampilly (2011) argues that foreign military interventions have a natural capacity to transform the sociopolitical structure of intervening states, having a significant impact regarding the way the state's ethnic, cultural, and religious diversity is portrayed. When misrepresentation exacerbates ethnocentric, sectarian, or tribal differences within a society then it becomes very important and can lead to greater conflict in the intervened state. For instance, the NATO intervention in Kosovo in 1999 serves as a pertinent illustration of this phenomenon. NATO's support for the Kosovo Liberation Army, an ethnic Albanian group, during the conflict led to their disproportionate empowerment in the post-intervention period. This skewed representation not only intensified the ethnic tensions between Albanians and Serbs but also contributed to the marginalization of other ethnic minorities within Kosovo (Judah, 2002). In addition to this, foreign military interventions can often contribute to the loss of national identity and undermine the legitimacy of the state institutions. The perception that the administration is externally imposed and manipulated can lead to its rejection by the population and further complicating the post-intervention reconstruction process. In essence, foreign military intervention can drastically affect the representation of the state institutions of an intervened state that exacerbate existing issues and contribute to post-intervention instability.

2.2.2 The Impact of FMIs on Economy

The economy of any state ensures the welfare of the public and prosperity of that country in the region, therefore the prosperity is proportional to economic gain. In the case of foreign military interventions in a country have a wide range of economic effects that often cause the economy of the intervened state to be significantly distorted. While some

interventions might have some short-term economic advantages especially if they are successful in restoring stability and their long-term effects are frequently negative that led to escalating economic disparities, undermining sustainable development and leading to resource misallocation (De Ree & Nillesen, 2009). The profound impacts of FMIs can be evaluated by focusing on the exploitation of economic resources, consumption of economic revenues and the distribution of resources and also illustrated by conceptual Diagram 2.

Diagram 2: Conceptual Framework



2.2.2.1 Exploitation of Economic Resources

Foreign military interventions particularly those launched by powerful states with significant economic and military strength often result in the exploitation of the economic resources of the intervened state. This phenomenon may not be an explicit objective of the intervention but rather an unintended consequence of the power relationship that develops between the intervened and intervening actors. Foreign military interventions often alter the political and security conditions of the intervened states in such a way that intervening countries have a significant amount of control over the economic resources of the intervened state. Such exploitation may lead to the diverted wealth and potential economic growth away from the domestic economy of the intervened state (Bussmann, Schneider, & Wiese, 2005).

In the context of FMIs, the exploitation of economic resources often involves two forms, direct resource extraction and indirect market manipulation. Direct extraction refers to a procedure by which intervening powers gain control over and access to numerous important

natural resources like minerals, oil or gas. This resource commandeering often takes place under conditions that are disproportionately averse to the host state and causing an economic drain and depriving the state of prospective revenue sources. Moreover, due to the instability and displacement of local people, resource exploitation can also be a catalyst for environmental deterioration and societal unrest (Bussmann et al., 2005).

Simultaneously, the exploitation narrative encompasses an indirect form of manipulation which manifests in the molding of economic policies and market structures to favor the interests of the external powers. In such situations, the intervening forces which were capitalizing on their exalted position may influence economic policies that led to biased trade practices and the marginalization of indigenous industries. These effects can exacerbate economic dependency on the intervening powers that further undermining the economic sovereignty of the intervened state (Bussmann et al., 2005). For instance, during the Congo Crisis in the 1960s, resource exploitation took place in a prominent manner. The Republic of Congo saw significant external influence after gaining its formal independence in 1960, particularly from Belgium, its former colonizer, as well as other foreign entities drawn to the country's natural wealth. The economy of the Congo was crippled during this time due to the widespread mining of valuable resources like copper and cobalt, which disproportionately benefited foreign companies. This extractive dynamic poisoned Congo's economic foundation and sparked a protracted period of political unrest and conflict (Young & Turner, 1985). So, the economic fallout of FMIs can be severe, with exploitation of resources being a key driver of negative impacts. Ranging from direct extraction of natural resources to indirect economic manipulation, the intervention-induced exploitation precipitates adverse economic outcomes for the intervened state.

2.2.2.2 Consumptions of Economic Revenues

Economic revenues of a state are essential for managing the economy of a country, investing in infrastructure and social programs, sustaining the government budget and paying for public services but a country who bears a military intervention by an outside state faces a negative impact on its financial stability which significantly deplete its economic resources. The dynamics of such interventions often require significant cash to be allocated for security and military expenditures leaving less money available for important areas like education, infrastructure, and health. This resource misallocation may have long-term effects that impede societal progress and long-term economic growth.

At the forefront, a foreign military intervention usher in elevated military and defense expenditures, coupled with the widespread destruction of physical capital that creating a considerable vacuum in the economic revenues of the intervened state. Supporting this contention, Collier et al. (2003) posits that the average civil war, a common environment for FMIs, precipitates a surge in military spending amounting to approximately 5% of GDP. This resource diversion disrupts the fiscal equilibrium that shifts expenditure away from pivotal sectors notably education and health ultimately effectively eroding the state's human capital base. For instance, the 1955–1975 military operation in Vietnam required a significant amount of funding to be allocated for security and defense operations. Military spending increased as the South Vietnamese government worked to stave off both the North Vietnamese forces and the Viet Cong militants. The depleted economic revenues had long-lasting negative impacts on the Vietnamese economy since it diverted economic income that could have been used for growth of the country (Riddell, 1989).

Likewise, foreign military interventions often instigate extensive infrastructural devastation, reverberating through the economic system and which has a significant impact on the economic output of a state. The important infrastructures include amenities, public transportation, schools and hospitals that are destroyed or badly damaged as a result of a foreign military intervention. Following the intervention, it becomes necessary to allocate a sizable amount of economic resources which will have a significant cost impact on the maintenance and reconstruction of these facilities. The funds used for reconstruction could be invested in for pivotal sectors to the socio-economic development of state such as healthcare, education, research and development, thereby fostering long-term growth and development (Stewart & Fitzgerald, 2000).

Moreover, continued unrest and conflict because of foreign military intervention leads to loss of economic revenues. Tax collections may decline as a result of economic disruptions and businesses owned by state may become less productive or even closed. In addition to this, continued conflict also leads to heightened state of insecurity and causes decreased domestic and foreign investment, results in less international trade which lowers tariff income, important for stable economy of a country. A study conducted by Guidolin and La Ferrara (2007) showed that countries see a significant decline in private investment and slowing economic recovery who faces civil conflicts. This demonstrates empirically how foreign military interventions and the resulting conflicts can affect economic stability of a country over time (Guidolin & Ferrara, 2007). Overall, foreign military interventions have a significant impact on the economic income

of the intervened states that often cause their consumption to be destructive for their long-term stability and development.

2.2.2.3 Distribution of Resources

The distribution of resources can be dramatically altered by foreign military interventions which often result in inequalities and injustices. When a foreign force intervenes in a state, its economic and political environment usually changes which has an impact on how resources are distributed. For instance, a foreign military intervention might result in modifications to property rights or changes to who controls natural resources which would modify how resources are allocated (Ross, 2004).

The distribution of resources may also alter within the intervened state and which sometimes accentuates already existing economic imbalances. The strategic goals of the intervening power, its connections to domestic organizations or the reorganization of the political economy of the intervened state all contribute to this redistribution. A shift in resource allocation could increase socioeconomic disparities which foster future conflict and obstruct the state's ability to develop sustainably. Mancur Olson (1993), a political economist, also argues that distribution of resources changed by changes in political and power arrangements. These changes could favor some groups or regions over others that resulting in uneven development and widening economic gaps in the context of foreign military intervention. The French intervention in Algeria in the era of 1950, which was hampered by glaring economic discrimination serves as an example of this process. The involvement caused an unfair distribution of resources that favored the European settlers more than other groups. The unbalanced development that followed exacerbated economic inequalities and fueled societal unrest in the country (Sessions, 2015).

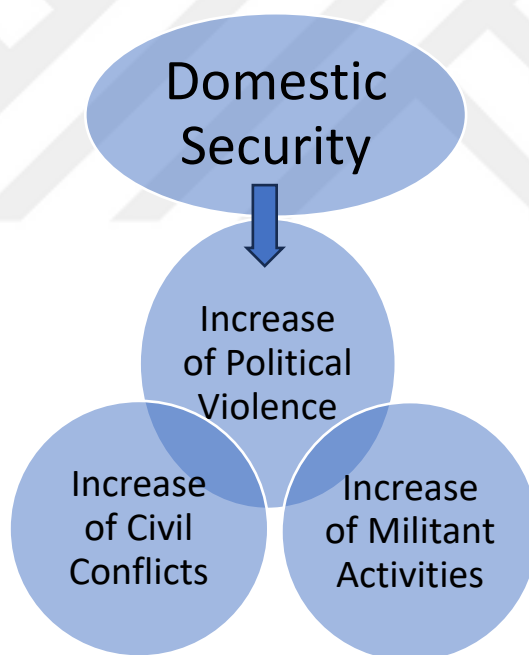
Furthermore, post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation efforts after a military intervention sometimes involve a significant inflow of funding in the form of grants and aid provided by international organizations and donor nations. Unfortunately, insufficient governance, widespread corruption and capacity shortages pose impediments to the distribution and effective use of these resources. As a result of this problematic circumstance, economic inequities that already exist are exacerbated and progress is uneven. Collier and Dollar (2002) argue that the effectiveness of government plays a significant role in the efficiency of aid. Foreign aid may sometimes elevate economic inequities and fall short of its developmental goals in environments with poor governance. The authors claim that in order to optimize the impact of aid, allocation must be prudent and based on good governance. For example, civil

war in Sierra Leone in 1991 highlights this dynamic. Despite the large inflow of aid and grants, these resources weren't used to their full potential. According to scholars, important underlying reasons were corruption, poor governance, and an inability to effectively absorb and use aid (Maconachie & Binns, 2007).

2.2.3 The Impact of FMIs on Domestic Security

Literature reflects that the situation of domestic security of the intervened state is significantly shaped by FMIs, although their main objectives are frequently to restore order or remove a perceived threat but the real effects on domestic security can be complicated. The substantial effect of FMIs on the domestic security of a country is by the increase of political violence which further escalated by the increase of militant activities and civil conflict. Diagram 3 shows the conceptual framework for this dimension.

Diagram 3: Conceptual Framework



2.2.3.1 Increase of Political Violence

Political violence considered to be the use of physical forces to harm others that is motivated by political intentions. Sometimes government uses conventional force to suppress the opposition in order to stay in power for long-time. Political violence can be in form of political assassinations, armed conflict between political parties, rape and sexual abuse as political act (Bozonelos, 2022). Mahakul explains political violence as political attacks by

groups within a political community against its regime, authorities or policies and also these are motivated by a desire to maintain political power that allow them to control over others (Mahakul, 2014).

Foreign military interventions have the potential to significantly change the political environment in a country and exacerbate political violence. This can be attributed to factors such as the disruption of existing power structures that creates the power vacuum in the country and marginalization of previous political groups and factions.

The fast overthrow of an existing power structure as a result of foreign military intervention can in fact worsen socio-political tensions and foster an environment that leads to an increase in political violence. Kalyvas (2006) argues that disruption of existing power structures can lead to the erosion of the established social and political norms that lead to increase in political violence. A major shift in the government, a conflict or a significant change in society can all result in this power vacuum. When a power vacuum develops other factions frequently compete to fill it which escalates political violence. Boas and Dunn's (2013) work on Africa provides a strong argument for this perspective, highlighting the emergence of new power players such as warlords and insurgents in the wake of intervention, contributing to an escalation in political violence.

Furthermore, excluding or marginalizing some factions or groups from the government runs the risk of inciting reactions of disengagement and enmity among these groups against government which can lead to violent opposition and contribute to political instability. On the other hand, Hartzell and Hoddie (2003) argue that power sharing agreements which aim to incorporate various factions and groups into the political process can be a crucial factor in post intervention stability. Failure to adequately share power and include all significant groups can create a sense of exclusion and marginalization of those significant groups can contribute to political conflict against the government. As Straus's (2015) studies on Africa also states that the lack of inclusivity in political processes is a potent driver of conflict and instability.

The nature of political violence can vary widely. It is further described by the surging of militant activities and civil conflicts, which is across ethnic and sectarian lines.

2.2.3.2 Increase of Militant Activities

Militant activities are the violent actions that are used by non-state actors or groups in order to obtain their goals through violence. Militant activities are also a form of political violence as these are more often associated with non-state actors and typically entail asymmetric warfare techniques. FMIs and their impact on the intensification of militant

activities is a complex and multifaceted issue within the discourse of international security. Ostensibly, these interventions aim to re-establish or ensure the continuity of stability within the intervened state, which often involves the specific objective of undermining militant groups. However, a striking paradox emerges as these interventions frequently act as inadvertent stimuli for militancy to the groups and providing catalytic impetus for recruitment and radicalization processes.

The strategies employed in FMIs to disrupt militant groups are diverse and multifaceted, typically involving direct military confrontation, targeted assassination of key militant figures and logistical disruption aimed at breaking supply chains. However, these tactics by foreign forces result in causing huge number of civilian deaths, instigated a cycle of revenge and feeding into the insurgency against foreign forces. Lyall's study (2009) on the Chechen conflict also supports this argument which demonstrate that the Russian military operations leading to civilian casualties resulted in an increase in insurgent attacks. A different but equally relevant context is the Sri Lankan civil war. Goodhand (2001) argued that civilian casualties caused by government forces during the conflict led to increased recruitment and support for the Tamil Tigers.

On the other hand, FMIs often galvanize the very militant activities they aim to suppress. Militant groups exploit the occurrence of foreign troops, leveraging them as rallying points to galvanize support, recruitment, and radicalization processes. They frame these interventions as emblematic instances of foreign aggression, posing existential threats to national autonomy or religious sovereignty (Lyall, 2010). Neumayer and Plumper (2011) also explain in their studies that sometimes foreign military interventions hit the sentiments of locals which are exploited by the militant groups of that intervened state (Neumayer & Plümper, 2011). Furthermore, Asal argues that local citizens perceive foreign military interventions as an intrusion and an effort by a foreign country to capture their assets and autonomy of life with all political, economic and social rights which motivate them to become militant and sacrifice their life for their homeland (Asal, 2006). Such framing efforts can potentiate local support for militant groups, enhancing their access to new recruits and expanding their resource base.

The French intervention in Mali in 2013 known as the Operation Serval draws a similar perspective over militant activities. There were security challenges in the Sahel and Sahara amid domestic support for France's military participation in Mali, and there was an upsurge in the activity of broad Islamist extremist groups in Mali that had links to al-Qaeda and other terrorist organizations such as Boko Haram, Ansaru and al-Shabaab (Noé, 2022). The intervention succeeded in its immediate objective of dislodging violent groups, including al-

Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa (MUJAO), from their strongholds in Northern Mali. However, in the longer term, these groups adapted to the new operational environment, switching from conventional warfare to guerrilla tactics and asymmetrical warfare. Moreover, the intervention served as a rallying point for these groups, allowing them to frame the conflict not merely as a local power struggle, but as a broader confrontation with foreign forces. Consequently, despite the initial military successes of the Operation Serval, militant activities in Mali and the broader Sahel region have intensified in the years following the intervention (Chivvis, 2016). The end results of the study reveal that foreign military interventions change the conflicting situation in a target state by opening ways for militant activities for rebels, non-state actors and government which leads to the political instability of that country.

2.2.3.3 Increase of Civil Conflict

Civil conflicts represent a form of violent contestation within the confines of a nation-state, often involving confrontation between organized entities including the government and one or multiple non-state actors. These disputes may take various types including revolutions, ethnic, sectarian or religious conflicts and secessionist movements and are often characterized by their protracted nature and high levels of violence (Fearon & Laitin, 2003).

Frederic (1974) calculates the findings from his studies that foreign military interventions propagate more civil conflicts and violence which leads to restlessness in the target state. His research also demonstrates the need for target nations to be ready for disruptions following interventions. Moreover, armed assaults, fatalities, restrictions, and demonstrations prolong the conflict, which ultimately fuels more domestic issues in the society that is being attacked (Pearson, 1974). Some scholars have reconnoitered about the renewal or increase in ethnical, sectarian and religious cleavages as the result of foreign military interventions. These issues provide the basis for contention over power and security (Dunning & Harrison, 2010). For instance, the multi-sectarian state of Lebanon experienced increased sectarian division and political power struggles following the 1970 intervention to support the Shia sect. Two parties, one pro-Western Christian and the other pro-Nasser Sunni Muslim, emerged as a result of this dispute, escalating the confrontation between the Lebanese Forces and the Lebanese National Movement and resulting in a major conflict. If the intervention is hostile in nature, then it results in a greater degree of state disruption which leads to anarchy in that state as Saikal explains that emergence of anarchy gives rise to fear and it fuels to the ethnicity issue like in the case of Syria

and Iraq where they face sectarian issue largely after experiencing military intervention (Saikal, 2000).

Foreign military interventions have the ability to upset a nation's status quo or the balance of power amongst possible groupings and increases the incentives for conflict among various groups. Furthermore, presence of foreign military intervention evidences shows that religious, ethnic and sectarian issues are connected with civil conflicts within the invaded state. This issue is highly intense in the Middle East and North Africa after the Arab Spring as the post-Arab Spring civil wars have led to many casualties and massive destruction (Ianchovichina, 2017).

Furthermore, literature shows that the escalation of competition over resources lead to civil conflict after any FMI in the intervened state. According to Berdal and Malone (2013), foreign military interventions can result in anarchy, driving different factions to compete for resource control as a way of assuring survival and establishing dominance. This resource competition can turn into a resource curse, sustaining conflict and instability in the interventionist states (De Sosya, 2000). For instance, Libya, which has rich oil reserves, experienced intensified internal conflict post-intervention, primarily driven by competition over oil resources. Vandewalle (2012) argues that the NATO intervention in Libya and the subsequent fall of the Gaddafi regime triggered tribal rivalries over control of oil fields, sparking widespread civil conflict.

CHAPTER THREE: THE IMPACT OF AMERICAN MILITARY INTERVENTION ON DOMESTIC POLITICAL STABILITY OF AFGHANISTAN

For more than 200 years, Afghanistan and the U.S. are independent states, but their diplomatic relations started from 1935 with the U.S. recognition of Afghanistan diplomatically. The U.S. has been involving in Afghanistan through a series of military interventions either to support the Afghanistan government and its people (against the Soviet Union) or against the Afghanistan government (against Taliban).

This chapter is based on the U.S. military intervention in Afghanistan in the wake of 9/11 terrorist attacks against the Taliban regime. The U.S. military intervention in Afghanistan is considered to be the longest military involvement in the history of the U.S. The 2001 U.S. military intervention in Afghanistan aimed to oust the Taliban administration, which had sheltered al-Qaeda and its commander Osama bin Laden, held responsible for 9/11 terrorist attacks. The U.S.-led coalition promised to establish a democratic government and to stabilize the country. However, the Afghan state has faced persistent political instability that was exacerbated by many factors.

The purpose of this chapter delves into explaining these factors which were prominent in fueling the political instability in Afghanistan after the U.S. military intervention in 2001. This chapter will shed light on the Afghanistan's political, economic and security situation before the U.S. invasion which was uneven because of presence of foreign forces on the ground, every time like the Soviet invasion making the country problematic and unstable. This chapter will also describe the role of the U.S. in Afghanistan before its intervention which will map out Afghanistan policy in the U.S. foreign policy that was limited before the Soviet invasion but after the Soviet invasion the U.S. reshaped its foreign policy for reducing the Soviet Union's sphere of influence in Afghanistan.

This chapter aims to examine the war on terror discourse which made Afghanistan a deadly battle ground and led to the long-lasting conflict in the country. The later part of this chapter will analyze the impacts of this military intervention on the machinery of state institution, its economy and domestic security. It will further highlight how these factors were contributing to creating political instability of the Afghan state and led to make Afghanistan a fragile state. This chapter concludes with showing Afghanistan as remains a country facing significant challenges, for a stable government and institutions, economic underdevelopment, and ongoing security threats after the 2001 military intervention by the United States resulted

in increased domestic insecurity and making the state poorest and most conflict-affected in the world.

3.1 Afghanistan before the U.S. Invasion

Geopolitically, Afghanistan is an important country because it has anchored different civilizations and it is also extended to Central Asia, South Asian and the Middle East. The Islamic Republic of Afghanistan has been subjected to interventions either internally or externally several times in the history though it has different conditions in terms of the vitality of its land which is rich in mineral resources. Additionally, it always has been a crucial place for the struggle of the sovereign powers compromising distinct aims and in their policies of balancing each other. Foreign interventions in Afghanistan can be traced back from the British involvement in the foundations process of the Afghan state who invaded Afghanistan in the 19th century with a purpose to block Russia from gaining the power, called the Great Game. The Afghani people have been resistant to foreign invaders, but some groups have been using foreign interventions to synthesize their power in the country because Afghanistan is consisting of dozens of tribes where the Pashtun tribe is one of the largest tribes of Afghanistan. These tribes all the time had some conflicts among them including some ethnic and religious issues which caused the state to become unstable.

3.1.1 Political Situation in Afghanistan

The political situation of Afghanistan has been passed through up and downs because of the absence of strong central government. In the result, presence of different Afghan communities started to practice their own social norms in which Pashtunwali is considered to be strong enough. So, the Pashtun tribes seized the power and abandoned the common federal institutions in favor of an exclusive elite authority which created political turbulence but it ended in 1880 with the rise of Amir Abdul Rahman who established the modern Afghanistan state by understanding with the British, gave supremacy to strong military and centralized the state from Kabul by suppressing ethnic identities in order to prevent powerful challenges to the ruler and this pattern of governance has continued through the 20th century with Pashtun leaders exercising almost exclusive authority.

For a state building in Afghanistan, it has undergone different phases which started from monarchical rule lasted till 1973 with the overthrow of the king Mohammad Zahir Shah by Mohammad Daoud who was also killed in 1978, so state building process was difficult for Afghanistan rulers in all time (Johnson, Maley, Thier, & Wardak, 2003). Amir Abdul Rahman

was the only one who started to suppress the tribes in order to make them weak and also institutionalizing the bureaucracy and the Afghan army that was supported by England financially in order to make Afghanistan a stable and buffer state. According to a CIA report (2010), when Afghanistan achieved its independence in the early 20th century, it started to become more stable both politically and economically. However, this minimal progress was disrupted again with some coups against the federal government and it accelerated when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979 in order to expand its communist sphere of influence. During the Soviet invasion, the president Hafizullah Amin was killed, and the Soviets replaced him with the pro-Soviet leader, Babrak Karmal (2003). However, shortly after the invasion he was replaced by his secret police chief Najibullah; a member of the communist party, People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDFA). The Soviet Union withdrew their forces from Afghanistan in the late 1989. This Soviet intervention resulted in the generation of Islamic groups known as *mujahideen*, who were fighting against the communist policies. After removal of the communist party, a civil conflict started between the Najibullah government and the mujahideen groups despite the fact that they raised their insurgency collectively against the Soviet Union. This civil conflict lasted for 4 years from 1992 to 1996 and in 1996; federal government in Kabul was overthrown by the Taliban because of popular support for the Taliban in Afghanistan.

The Taliban got success mainly because of two reasons. One is that Afghanistan has Pashtun majority population ethnically and the Taliban are mainly Pashtuns; the second reason is that they were viewed as being less corrupt and effectively able to bring about stability in the nation by enhancing its political, economic, and security conditions. After coming to power the Taliban instituted their fundamentalist Islamic ideology in the law and politics to make a strong nation-state. But after some time, the Taliban started to lose the domestic support because of the implementation of strict Islamic policies in rule and law and also against women.

3.1.2 Economic Situation in Afghanistan

In the mid 1950's, Afghanistan was at a much lower stage of economic development as compared to its neighbors. During the same period, the Soviets tried to make development plans with Afghanistan in order to give a raise to Afghanistan's economy, but it lacked with managerial and technical skills for modern economic activities. From 1950 to 1979, the country's economic growth was aided by extensive foreign assistance, mainly the Soviets and the U.S., which helped in the construction and development of roads, dams, power plants, and

factories whereas increased in irrigation projects and expanded education system but the country's economy collapsed after the soviet invasion in 1979.

The private sectors were dealing with trade, transport and manufacturing before the Soviet invasion in 1979. However, with the introduction of the communist policies when companies were nationalized, public companies became restricted to foreign trade, economic situation further collapsed. The economic landscape went worse under the Taliban government because most of the foreign aid agencies stopped their aid or some nongovernmental organizations limited their aid to meet basic humanitarian needs. Traditionally foreign aid has been one of the main sources of revenues for the Afghanistan government, especially in the Soviet era. But during the Taliban and the mujahedeen, it was mostly generated by the manufacturing of opium and heroin or also exporting precious stones. Economy of Afghanistan only increased with the progress of illegal business such as opium poppies for heroin production and smuggling goods but it was contributing to the Taliban income. With the removal of taxes on drug trafficking gave a way for smuggling of other goods which increased the corruption in Afghanistan encompasses the severe damage to the local industry led to shortage of food and ultimately inflation in the country later on in 2000, the Taliban banned the production of opium, but started again after fall of the Taliban (William, 1988).

Afghanistan has rich natural gas resources, and it was provided to Tajikistan and Uzbekistan through pipelines until the 1990s. Moreover, Afghanistan is enriched in some minerals including high grade iron, uranium, zinc, copper, lithium, gold sulfur which were sources of finance to the Taliban government.

3.1.3 Security Situation in Afghanistan

It has always been difficult to create an accurate security umbrella in Afghanistan because of the eruption of civil wars and foreign military interventions. Initially, with the eruption of the Soviet invasion in 1979, the security of the state shattered, but the Geneva Accord 1988 ended the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and the Soviet forces withdrew from the territory in 1989. This time was characterized by enduring instability, inter-factional conflict and the growth of extremist Islamist movements. Braithwaite (2011) argues that the Soviet Union aimed to support the communist government against insurgent mujahedeen groups, but it resulted nationwide insurgencies that negatively affected the security situation of Afghanistan. Later on, Afghanistan plunged into a violent civil war between different factions of mujahideen that were fighting for power and control after the withdrawal of the Soviet forces from the country. Kakar (1995) also argues that mujahideen who were united against the Soviet

army later turned against one another in a fight for power. As the result of this battle the Taliban raised into power by 1996 and gained control of the Afghan political system.

With the Taliban's rise to power, the security landscape in Afghanistan substantially changed. According to Rashid (2000), the Taliban implemented a rigid interpretation of the sharia law after seizing control of a sizable portion of the nation which resulted in violation of human rights. Rashid also argues that the Taliban's ties to international terrorist groups especially al-Qaeda further alienated Afghanistan from the international world by refusing to hand over Osama bin Laden, the al-Qaeda commander suspected of planning numerous international terrorist strikes which increased the security danger in Afghanistan (Rashid, 2000).

The geopolitical dimension of Afghanistan is also essential in assessing the pre-2001 security situation. As Roy (1999) argues that Afghanistan was exposed to external pressures and manipulations because of its strategic location in the center of the Central Asian area and its proximity to countries with their own security concerns. The status of internal security deteriorated as a result of its insecure borders which made it easier to engage in illegal activities including drug trafficking and the smuggling of weapons and militants. However, it is necessary to remember that, despite the fact that such factors made the security environment uncertain, the situation was not uniform over the entire nation. For instance, Dorronsoro (2005) argues that some regions were able to retain some degree of peace despite the general state of instability highlighting a complexity that is often ignored in generalized studies. Like after 1998, the Taliban controlled over a huge area of country and started to provide personal security to the Afghan people including road safety for travelers. But on the other hand, security situation was also getting intense because of some other factors including the emergence of new power arbitrators, some other regional militias who were ready to compete over territory and resources, but the Taliban tried to block the armed conflict by increasing the authority of the central government (Olivier, 1995).

3.2 The U.S. Intervention of Afghanistan in 2001

The U.S. foreign policy never included Afghanistan to her priority list before the invasion of Soviet in 1979 rather it was sending a small proportion of economic aid to Afghanistan. Even in the 1950s, Afghanistan asked for economic and military aid from the U.S., but its demand was declined by the U.S. government and ultimately Afghanistan tilted towards the Soviets under the leadership of Muhammad Daoud to fulfill needs of the state. Later on, the U.S. started to increase economic aid to \$500 million for Afghanistan in order to avert

Afghanistan for becoming ally of the Soviet Union and to adopt a non-aligned status during the decade of 1955 to 1965. But the U.S. aid started to decrease after 1965 as a result of the President Daoud's pro-Soviet policies.

During the Cold War, when ideological warfare started between the two poles, the communist pole started to expand its sphere of influence which started with the invasion of Afghanistan as Russia has been an aggressive and expansionist power. This intervention became an alarming step for the U.S. and its hegemony as this quest was for to get access of the Gulf oil and the warm waters of the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf, which is the center of oil and gas energy production that is also vital for the U.S. geopolitically (Inanç, 2022). After analyzing Moscow's long-term goals, the U.S. also changed its policies towards Afghanistan and placed Afghanistan in the priority list. The U.S. started to initiate covert activities in Afghanistan by aiding the Islamist groups from different tribal backgrounds against the pro-communists, and the Soviet Union called "mujahideen" and then in the 1980s the U.S. did some operations in Afghanistan on the behalf of "mujahideen" for reducing the Soviet Union's sphere of influence in the country because those freedom fighters also got an opportunity to fulfill their jihadist mission which they were also willing to do that for many years (Şahin, 2008). With this policy effort, the U.S. eventually got victory over the Soviet intervention through mujahideen. The Soviet Union lost its occupation of Afghanistan in 1988 and announced to withdraw its forces from Afghanistan. After the Geneva Accord in 1988, the U.S. also evacuated its embassy from Kabul until 2001.

This deadly war resulted in the death of over one million Afghans and ousting of over five million Afghan refugees to the neighboring countries. Moreover, with disintegration of the Soviet Union and the removal of the communist threat, the U.S. left Afghanistan with the trained mujahideen, which became another reason to create political contentions, economic difficulties and other internal ethnical conflicts led to fragile Afghan society (Dora, 2021). The federal government of President Burhanuddin Rabbani in Kabul was considered as corrupt and anti-Pashtun and overthrown by the Taliban in 1996 which again became a threat for the U.S., which led the return of the U.S to the country and to make new plans for Afghanistan.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the U.S. overlooked the region with the removal of possible threat to its hegemony by the Soviets. However, a power vacuum created with the absence of strong central power in Afghanistan caused anarchy in the country. During the Bill Clinton period, the U.S. administration tried to establish friendly relations with the Taliban with a demand to return al-Qaeda's leader, Osama Bin Laden to the U.S by offering them economic and political support in return. The Taliban had warm affiliations with al-Qaeda, and they were

providing sanctuary to Osama Bin Laden, so the Taliban refused to support the U.S. over this issue. The Taliban's shelter to Osama Bin Laden and provision of safe havens for their training camps became a central concern for the U.S. foreign policy as Bin Laden was increasing its ties with the Taliban by supporting them financially and militarily for absolute conquest of the country. This threat became clearer for the U.S. when al-Qaeda launched bombing of the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania August 7, 1998, resulted in deaths of more than 200 people (Thomas, U.S. Military Withdrawal and Taliban: Takeover in Afghanistan, 2021). This strike prompted the U.S. to strike against al-Qaeda and they launched cruise missiles on their camps in Afghanistan to target Bin Laden and to force the Taliban to expel Bin Laden, but this operation went unsuccessful. After a couple of additional unsuccessful attempts by the U.S., President Bill Clinton imposed sanctions on the Taliban by claiming Afghanistan as a state sponsoring terror (Thomas, U.S. Military Withdrawal and Taliban: Takeover in Afghanistan, 2021). According to the 9/11 Commission Report (2004), the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) posed economic and travel sanctions included an arms embargo in 2000.

3.2.1 The 'War on Terror' Discourse

A historical event that unlocked the door for wars, particularly civil wars that resulted in instability and the breakdown of global peace was 9/11 terrorist attacks against the symbols of the U.S. On September 11, 2001, four hijacked American airplanes crashed into the World Trade Center's twin towers, killing 2996 people from many different countries. An assault of this magnitude on the American soil surprised not only the superpower but the entire world. Nearly the entire world united in sorrow and support for the U.S. after this terrible disaster, but few anticipated the string of similarly horrible occurrences that would follow.

In response to the attack, the Bush Administration granted special investigative powers to the intelligence on September 17. Al-Qaeda, a militant group, was blamed for the attacks after investigators followed their communications and discovered that one of the leaders from the group was in Afghanistan. Following the attacks of September 11, President George W. Bush made demands of Afghanistan, including the surrender of al-Qaeda leaders, the closure of terrorist training facilities, and unrestricted U.S. access to those facilities, during his address to Congress. He also stated that these demands were negotiable. (Bush, 2001).

In response to the U.S. demands, the Taliban government offered the U.S. to take trial of al-Qaeda leader Osama Ben Laden within the territory of Afghanistan only on the provision of valid evidences against Bin Laden's involvement in the terrorist attacks; but the U.S. ended

up with no compromises. After the failure of negotiations with the Taliban government, President Bush addressed a speech in which he declared the war against Afghanistan and said that “most of the world is at our side. We ask for some demands, but none of them were complied with; as a result, the Taliban will now have to pay for it. United States of America is a friend to the people of Afghanistan and a friend to the billion Muslims around the world. This will be a wider war but our current focus on Afghanistan for now. There will be peace and freedom everywhere because of the enduring military operation” (Bush, 2001).

3.2.2 Major Military Operations between 2001 and 2003

Enduring Freedom is a military operation indicating the start of the ‘war on terror’, which actually started after the announcement made by the Bush Administration on 7th October 2001, which stated to the world that the U.S. and its allies had start off military action against al-Qaeda and the Taliban (Feinstein, 2001). This operation initiated with the air strikes campaign, specifically targeted anti-aircraft sites, military and terrorist headquarters, airfields and concentrations of the Taliban tanks. Moreover, the U.S. and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) paramilitary forces started to ground themselves in Afghanistan to carry out military operations against the Taliban, which resulted in the evacuation of the Taliban from the capital city Kabul and given to the Afghan forces known as the Northern Alliance which were backed by the U.S. (Walter L. Perry, David Kassing,, 2015). During this operation, the American military gave lethal blow to al-Qaeda, the Taliban and their allies against war on terrorism.

Early in December, the Taliban began to advance on Kandahar, while al-Qaeda relocated to Jalal Abad in the Tora Bora mountains. The Pentagon opted to have the indigenous Afghan mujahedeen, who had previously fought against the Soviets, fight this battle because the American military could not function in the highlands. Al-Qaeda was therefore up against Afghan anti-Taliban fighters that were supported by American Special fighters’ troops. The Tora Bora battle involving the U.S., British and the Northern Alliance forces lasted for two weeks and helped the coalition to demolish the Taliban and al-Qaeda hiding in Afghanistan’s mountainous Tora Bora region. However, they didn’t find any sign of Bin Laden, but soon the Americans believed that al-Qaeda militants had escaped to Pakistan.

On the other hand, the U.S. started another military operation coded as the Operation Anaconda started on March 2, 2002 in Shahi Kot Valley, Afghanistan. This operation involved a vast number of the U.S. forces (nearly 2000) participating in direct armed conflict with 1300 Taliban and al-Qaeda fighters in order to take control over Shahi Kot Valley and considered as

the largest operation since the Tora Bora assault by America. Though AQ stood strong and fought with the American forces, it was a success for the U.S. and many AQ insurgents were killed or fled towards other hills or Pakistan to find safe heavens. After this operation, the U.S. troops and additional special forces have not come across with this highly aggressive assault to date (Brown, 2003).

The success for the U.S. army was obvious with the substantial assistance by the Northern Allied Afghan units who were also in search for a substitute army to achieve their political aims by conventional or unconventional operations. However, they continued these kinds of military operations in order to ensure removal of the Taliban and to create political stability with encouraging economy of Afghanistan (2022).

3.3 The Impact of the U.S. Military Intervention on Political Stability of Afghanistan

Military operations by the U.S. and its policies against terrorism in Afghanistan directly lead to its physical presence in the country. Since 2001, military activities by the U.S. along with the Northern Alliance to fight against al-Qaeda and the Taliban resulted in instability of Afghanistan in many ways. The George W. Bush Administration maintained that Afghanistan's slide into instability was a result of American withdrawal from the area following the 1989 Soviet withdrawal and the U.S. Administration with its international allies decided to institute a powerful and democratic Afghan central government after the Taliban rule which was overthrown in 2001 by putting efforts on "nation-building," braced by the United Nations. When the Obama Administration took control over the Afghanistan issue made a clear stance to eliminate the safe havens for terrorist organizations in Afghanistan which were strong enough to make attacks against the U.S. soil and its allies (Katzman & Thomas, 2017).

Although the U.S. made a clear stance of promoting peace and democracy in the state, overthrew the Taliban regime and created a democratic government in Afghanistan, but long presence by the U.S. in Afghanistan militarily undermined state institutions, deteriorated its economy and increased domestic insecurity which led to the political instability of Afghanistan.

3.3.1 The Impact of the U.S. Military Intervention on Afghanistan's State Institutions

The U.S. intervention in Afghanistan was a seminal event that engendered significant shifts in the nation's political terrain. This seismic shift in governance facilitated the establishment of a new constitution in 2004, signaling the initiation of a democratic political process, a stark contrast from the authoritarian rule under the Taliban. Although there were

seeming improvements in democratic governance, but the intervention had a number of negative repercussions on state institutions and damaged the underlying framework of Afghan state institutions that quietly undermined the possibility of long-term political stability (Dobbins, 2015). Three main causes of the systemic dysfunction are the weak security institutions, weak administration bodies and misrepresentation of the state institutions.

3.3.1.1 Weak Security Institutions

The repercussions of the U.S. military intervention on Afghanistan's security institutions exhibit an intricate interplay of structural weaknesses, systemic corruption, insufficient training and role of the international community. Despite the initial goal of strengthening the security system of the country, this complex situation has ironically led to weakened security structures. A detailed examination of various scholars' perspectives uncovers the complexities and unique facets of this consequence.

The reform of security institutions after the intervention involved the establishment of a new national army, police force, and intelligence services. These efforts, while aimed at enhancing state capacity and stability, engendered multiple adverse consequences. The new security institutions were modelled on the Western standards and overlooked the historical, cultural and contextual realities of Afghanistan, leading to operational challenges and frictions with local communities (Giustozzi, 2014). The induction of a largely foreign security model replaced the existing local security structures and practices, causing a significant loss of institutional memory, a crucial aspect vital for effective local policing and security provision.

Additionally, the rapid and sometimes forced disbandment of existing security forces in the early stages of the intervention led to a temporary security vacuum in security institutions of Afghanistan. This security vacuum and institutional weaknesses was swiftly exploited by non-state actors and insurgent groups, amplifying the insecurity and undermining the stability that the intervention sought to establish (Malkasian, 2013).

Furthermore, the substantial military presence and support by the U.S. and its allies fostered a profound dependency within the Afghan security institutions. As foreign forces undertook a significant share of security operations as compared to Afghan security forces who were relegated to a supportive role which resulted in impeding their capacity building and fostering a reliance on international forces (Giustozzi, 2014). In the subsequent years, despite the ongoing efforts to train and equip the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF), this dependency became entrenched. As observed by experts, the ANSF's operational effectiveness remained heavily tied to the level of international military support. This over-reliance was

highlighted during the U.S. military drawdown beginning in 2014, which was followed by significant security setbacks as the ANSF struggled to independently carry out security operations (Oliker, 2017). As a result, fragmented security institutions, forced disbandment of existing security forces and the process of fostering dependencies on foreign forces in the course of military intervention may contributed to the weakening of security institutions in Afghanistan.

3.3.1.2 Weak Administration Bodies

The immediate post-intervention turned into a phase of existing administrative disruption and dismantlement where the underpinnings of governance were severely destabilized and this intervention dramatically reshaped the political and administrative landscape of the country by creating new administrative entities but on the other hand, it also generated a fragile thread within these institutions.

The new administrative landscape was introduced with the parallel administrative structure in which a large group of international actors and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) swiftly moved into the Afghanistan institutional system, supplementing the transitional government's efforts to provide essential services to the public. These new players played a crucial role in facilitating rapid humanitarian relief and socioeconomic development by acting as an aid to the shattered administrative apparatus (Goodhand & Sedra, 2009). In this scenario, Goodhand and Sedra (2009) argue that the parallel administrative system undermined developing domestic administrative organizations. It created a dependency syndrome rather than encouraging these institutions' natural expansion and capacity-building. As a result, domestic administrative units were forced to rely on these foreign agencies for service delivery, which severely hampered their development as independent institutions.

Expanding on this, Goodson (2005) delineates the consequences of hasty institution building, arguing that there was an emphasis on rapid deployment rather than sustainable development. Administrative bodies were often established without sufficient attention to building strong institutional foundations, leading to their functional inefficacy. The judiciary of Afghanistan, for instance, was hastily constructed with an emphasis on rapid deployment rather than sustainable development. Despite the establishment of courts and the appointment of judges the judiciary remained plagued with challenges (Chetail, 2009). It was underfunded, lacked properly trained personnel that led to limited understanding of the newly established legal framework (Thier, 2009). The centralized nature of the judiciary coupled with security challenges and lack of resources led to a justice deficit in remote areas. This situation

exacerbated people's reliance on traditional dispute resolution mechanisms (Waldman, 2008). In addition to this, Suhrke (2012) argues that the under-resourced courts, the perceived incompetency of court officials and widespread corruption led to a significant erosion of public trust in the justice system thus failing to effectively uphold the rule of law, a crucial element in a development democracy. Similarly, institutional fragility was a tangible deficit in the provision of public services as well such as healthcare, education and infrastructure (Suhrke, 2007).

Corruption within the administrative bodies poses yet another daunting challenge, as illustrated by Chayes (2016). Her research shows that the enormous influx of foreign funding, which was meant to support Afghanistan's reconstruction instead created a culture of bribery within the administrative systems. Nepotism and other corrupt practices that eroded public trust and made the state fragile prevented the provision of key public services. For instance, the Kabul Bank scandal which saw hundreds of millions of dollars funneled into the pockets of political elites, drastically reducing the funds available for public services (Felbab-Brown, 2017). These deficiencies in administration system cultivated a visible divide between the local population and these administrative entities which in turn spread popular mistrust and reduced the efficiency of public administration, contributing to the country's protracted instability and insecurity.

3.3.1.3 Misrepresentation of the State Institutions

The imposition of external, mostly Western-centric, institutional frameworks upon Afghanistan with an intend to reform and strengthen state institutions resulted in misrepresentation. This misrepresentation and the associated institutional inconsistency made Afghanistan's post-intervention period more complicated.

A centralized democratic government was established in Afghanistan under the U.S. supervision that were largely patterned after the Western bureaucratic models (Rubin, 2006). However, the attempted implantation of a centralized state structure, according to Barfield (2010), did not correspond to the ground realities and long-standing traditions in Afghanistan. The ingrained political culture, inter-tribal dynamics and the highly localized power structures that had historically shaped the governance of Afghanistan were in stark contrast to the envisioned centralized democratic model. For instance, these dynamics can be seen in the provincial governance structure, where a decentralized structure existed that allowed for a high degree of regional autonomy but later on, the central government in Kabul appointed the province governors frequently without consulting the local population and this dramatically

increased the importance of the provincial governor. There was a lack of local legitimacy because many of these selected governors were thought to be unfamiliar with the issues (Rubin, 2006).

Moreover, newly introduced centralized system questioned the credibility of these institutions because of profound disconnection between the imposed state institutions and the local population as they perceived as foreign entities, lacking in understanding and respect for local customs and norms, which in turn, affected their ability to effectively govern. As Rubin (2006) argues that the erosion of institutional credibility rendered these bodies incapable of maintaining law and order thus intensifying the existing instability.

Furthermore, the attempt to impose a centralized structure was met with resistance from local power brokers who saw their influence threatened by the encroaching central government. From Giustozzi and Ullah's standpoint, this tension was not merely a byproduct of the powerbrokers' fear of losing influence. Instead, it reflected a broader sociopolitical clash arising from the imposition of an alien governance model. The local power brokers; tribal leaders, community elders, and warlords, were not merely political figures, but they also held considerable social and cultural influence within their communities. They were seen as custodians of local customs, traditions, and social order, and their resistance to the centralization effort resonated with the broader populace, many of whom shared similar apprehensions about the new political order. So, this resistance did not just undermine the legitimacy of the central institutions, but it also fueled instability and conflict. The power brokers using their influence and resources were able to mobilize sections of the populace against the central government, leading to recurrent bouts of violence and unrest (Giustozzi & Ullah, 2006). In essence, instituting political transformations misrepresented the institutions within the local population resulting political order ended up being unstable, ineffective and short-lived.

3.3.2 Impact of the U.S. Military Intervention on Afghanistan's Economy

The varied economic effects of FMIs are most clearly demonstrated by the U.S. military operation in Afghanistan after 2001. Due to decades of ongoing violence and instability, Afghanistan's economy was predominantly rural, underdeveloped and characterized by poor productivity and dependence on agriculture for survival. Afghanistan's gross domestic product (GDP) per capita was among the lowest in the world indicating extreme poverty and financial instability (World Bank, 2022). Following the intervention, the GDP increased significantly largely due to the influx of foreign aid. For instance, Afghanistan's GDP increased at an average yearly rate of 9.4 percent between 2002 and 2012 (World Bank, 2013). Moreover, according to

a USAID (2021) report, the Afghan GDP per capita increased from \$21.80 in 2002 to \$647 in 2018. However, this strong economic surge did not help to eliminate poverty but rather deteriorated especially during 2007-08 from 34 percent to 38 percent in 2011-12 and then 55 percent in 2016-17 as mentioned in Figure 1. This apparently positive economic trend is fraught with some significant challenges for Afghanistan in term of exploiting the economic resources, consumption of economic resources and distribution of the resources that hindered sustainable economic development of the country and poverty reduction.

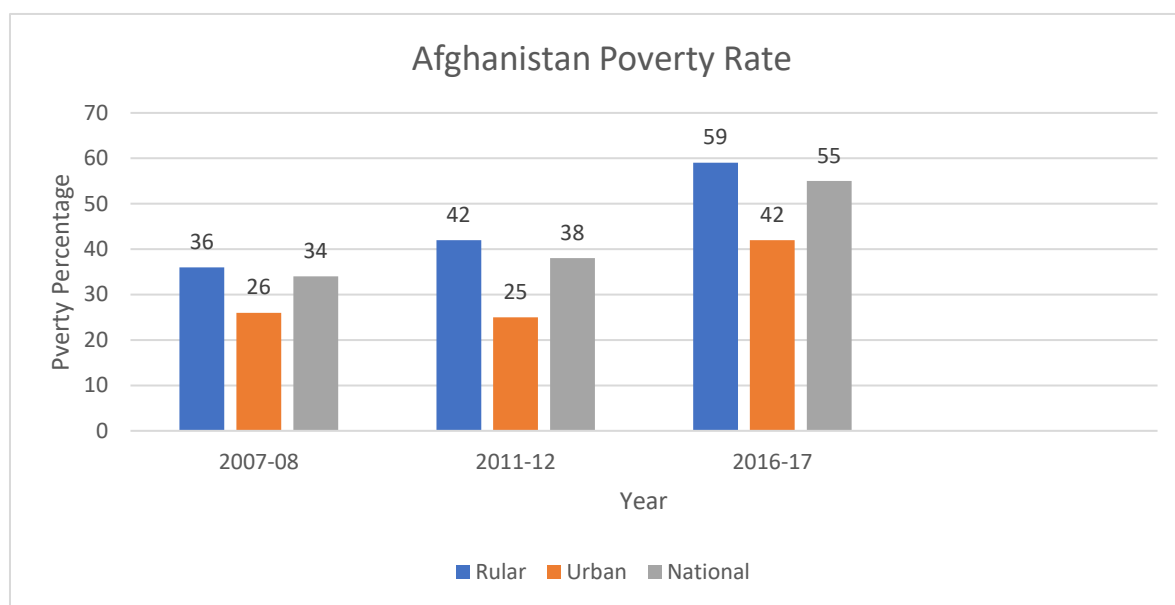


Figure 1: Source: The World Bank Group

3.3.2.1 Exploitation of Economic Resources

Afghanistan is a country which is rich in untapped natural resources such as copper, iron, cobalt and gold that became the focus of attention of various international actors following the U.S.-led intervention in 2001 (O'Donnell, 2022). After the U.S. intervention, there was a direct resource extraction process such as minerals, that became evident in Afghanistan. The discovery and use of the natural resources had the potential to spark an economic revival, draw desperately needed foreign direct investment and generate income, but it has been noted that these extraction activities were frequently conducted under circumstances that were not totally beneficial to Afghanistan with external parties benefiting primarily. This is largely due to Afghanistan's underdeveloped institutional and regulatory framework under the new centralized government (Ikhani & Corboz, 2017). So, the inexperienced Afghan bureaucrats led to contracts that undermined the long-term interests of the Afghan state and failed to bring

about the anticipated economic benefits as well (Goodhand, 2005). Similarly, Byrd and Nooran (2017) also argue that the lack of effective and transparent regulatory frameworks allowed multinational corporations driven by profit maximization to exploit these resources at minimal (Byrd & Nooran, 2017).

On the other hand, the post-intervention government supporting a market-oriented economic framework. This framework was primarily dictated by neoliberal principles, aimed to make Afghanistan into an open, market-friendly economy, thereby fostering an environment that was welcoming for FDI and global commerce (Chossudovsky, 2003). So, the imposition of these market-friendly policies, including liberalization and deregulation, opened up the Afghan economy to foreign investors but also favored the international entities and disadvantaging to local industries (Rubin, 2006). For instance, encouraging foreign investment in Afghanistan's mining sector seemed like an opportunity for growth and development but it didn't work as market liberalization is a key tenet of the neoliberal agenda, engendered significant price volatility in the absence of robust regulatory mechanisms of Afghanistan because of weak institutions. As a result, while foreign companies with the ability to navigate these challenges profited but the local economy saw limited benefits (Rubin, 2006). Global Witness Report (2016) also found that not only were mining revenues far below expectations but the sector was also fueling conflict and corruption.

Additionally, Byrd and Noorani (2017) argues about the exploitation of resources through illicit mining activities by wide range of corruption of local warlords. Some of the mining companies who got contracts were politically affiliated with the members of Afghanistan parliament or with the power lords. Particularly when shareholders of mining businesses are not permitted by law to have a contract with the government but it was convenient for power brokers and their networks to get benefit from the proceeds of mineral extraction while avoiding paying the taxes to the government, required by the contracts. According to Human Development Report (UNDP, 2020), Afghanistan received 34 points out of 100 in 2017 Resource Governance Index, which evaluates how resource rich countries control their resources like oil, gas and mineral etc. and it is due to corruption and ineffectiveness of mining industries. In sum, the exploration and extraction of Afghanistan's mineral wealth in the absence of strong regulatory institutions and amidst a climate of corruption has exacerbated economic disparities and political instability of the country.

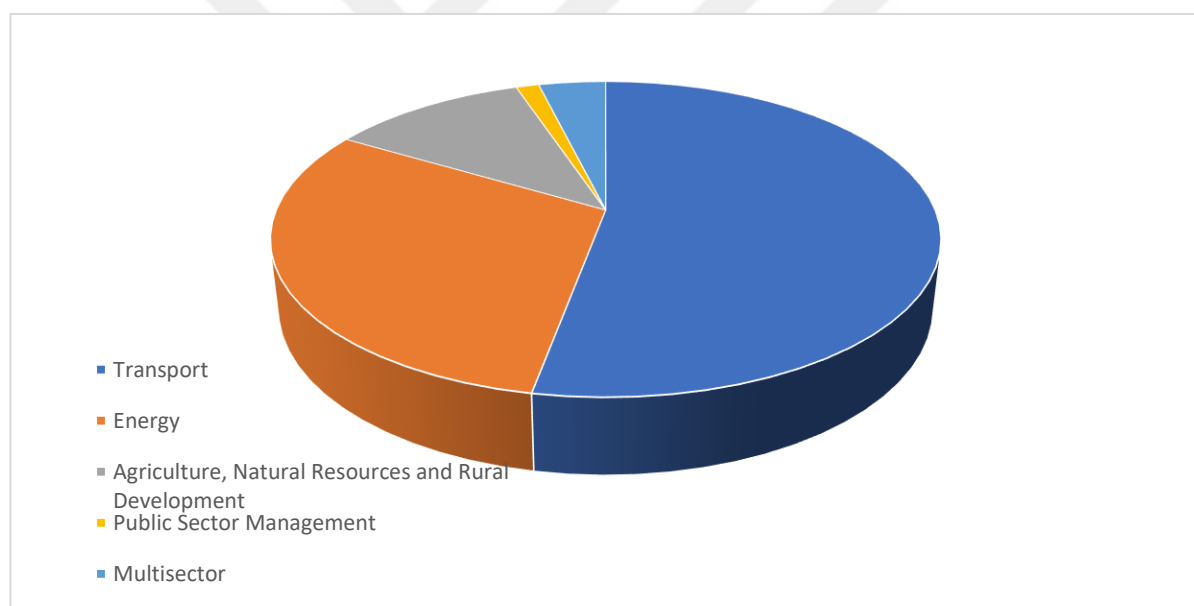
3.3.2.2 Consumptions of Economic Revenues

The monetary ramifications of the 2001 military intervention in Afghanistan were both immediate and enduring. One of the most critical impacts of this is the drastic consumption of economic revenues which have not been equally consumed by all major sectors. Given the long running war in Afghanistan, a considerable amount of Afghanistan's income has been set aside for preserving security that led to increase in military spending and the maintenance of security forces which was comprised of the Afghan National Police and the Afghan National Army as it was consist of 300,000 personnel. However, the cost of maintaining such a force which required spending on personnel, maintenance, training and logistics, became a considerable drain on Afghanistan's national revenue (Giustozzi, 2009). An assessment done by the U.S. Government Accountability Office (2011) that from 2002 to 2011; the cost of constructing, training and equipping the Afghan security forces was over \$18.8 billion. This surge in military expenditure spurred an economy largely dependent on foreign aid (Rubin, 2006). The Afghan government struggled to maintain the expense of its security forces which exceeded its overall domestic income despite the significant international assistance. The Afghan government was clearly unable of independently funding its security forces based on the severe fiscal imbalance. As SIGAR (Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction) pointed out in its 2020 report that the Afghan government would not be able to adequately fund the ANSF among other crucial expenses, without continuing donor funding. SIGAR also highlights that the US spent approximately \$88.3 billion on security related assistance from 2001 to 2020 which includes training, equipping, and sustaining the ANSF (SIGAR, 2020).

The fact that Afghanistan's security forces are dependent on foreign assistance highlights the tremendous fiscal burden that military and security costs have on the country (SIGAR, 2020). On the other hand, there was a substantial investment on infrastructure like roads, government buildings and some parts of energy infrastructure that have been destroyed during war, was also fueled by international aid and domestic revenues. For example, Transport Network Development Investment Program, launched in 2007 by the Asian Development Bank, which aimed to improve around 3,000 kilometers of roads. The ADB committed over \$1 billion from ADB's Special Funds resources to road infrastructure (2015). Furthermore, the World Bank's National Emergency Rural Access Program was also involved to rehabilitate rural access roads with a substantial investment after 2003 (World Bank, 2020). Similarly, the construction of government buildings was also due focused, which often serves symbolic purposes, representing the presence and solidity of the state.

Indeed, most part of economic revenues was consumed by security and then infrastructure which resulted in an opportunity cost of underfunded development sectors, chiefly agriculture, education, and healthcare. From 2003 to 2012, one of the main drivers of economic growth was agriculture, but despite being the backbone of Afghanistan's economy, agriculture has received little attention in the revenue consumption because of the rise in security expenditures and increased domestic fiscal challenges (World Bank, 2020). Asian Development Bank is a major contributor for budget provider of Afghanistan's assistance. During the time period of 2002-2018, the Asian Development Fund (ADB, 2019) which is part of ADB got \$4.4 billion as budget but with the majority of the funds going into transportation (52 percent), energy (30 percent), and less amount to agriculture and natural resources (11 percent), as shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Source: Asian Development Bank Procurement, Portfolio and Financial Management Department.



Moreover, although Afghanistan had achieved significant progress in terms of access to education since 2001, the gains remained fragile and uneven because of the lack of infrastructure and lack of access to higher education, as the World Bank stated in its 2021 Afghanistan Economic Update (World Bank, 2021). By 2020, there existed a distressing statistic of approximately 3.7 million children remaining unenrolled, with Afghanistan ranked as one of the nation's bearing the lowest literacy rates worldwide (World Bank, 2021). While in the healthcare, despite improvements, Afghanistan still has some of the poorest health statistics in the world. The World Bank's Afghanistan Development Update (2021) informs that

public expenditure on education; an indispensable pillar for long-term stability and growth for any nation which accounted for a mere 4 percent of the country's GDP in the 2019-20 fiscal year (World Bank, 2021).

On the other end, data from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute indicates that military spending of Afghanistan consumed 13 percent of its GDP in the same timeframe (SIPRI, 2021). The World Bank attributed these persisting challenges to insufficient public expenditures on health and education, among other factors, underlining the opportunity cost of the significant military expenditure (World Bank, 2020). This illustrates the disproportionate consumption of revenues towards Security, to the detriment of sectors fundamental to sustainable development.

3.3.2.3 Distribution of Resources

The distribution of resources is another critical facet of the economic impact of foreign military interventions that offers a discerning lens through which to examine the socio-economic landscape of Afghanistan post-2001. The intervention has deeply influenced the distribution of resources, which are actually uneven distribution of economic benefits, that created a dichotomy between the haves and the have-nots, urban and rural either by corruption or by ignoring them. The World Bank (2017) underscores that aid inflows at times constituted over 90 percent of the country's GDP. This massive inflow of foreign aid and investment post-intervention while potentially promising a lifeline for the conflict-ridden economy, invariably became entangled in the prevailing socio-political dynamics, resulting in an uneven distribution of resources that exacerbated already existing economic inequalities and regional disparities. The special consideration for particular regions and communities for resource distribution and resource misallocation as a result of corruption and inefficiency contributed to this uneven distribution of resources. Goodhand and Sedra (2010) argue that foreign aid became involved in a complex web of political dynamics despite being apparently intended for national rehabilitation and development, leading to an uneven distribution.

According to other researchers like Ghiasy, Zhou and Hallgren (2015), a sizable share of aid was sent toward politically unstable or strategically crucial locations with high levels of insurgent activity. This was done in an effort to "win hearts and minds" and undermine support for the Taliban or other rebel organizations. This strategy had the drawback of giving far less aid to areas that were considered to be less strategically important or to be reasonably quiet. A significant example of this may be observed in the contrast between Helmand, a strategically significant region that got significant aid and Bamiyan which is largely a calm province.

According to the World Bank's Afghanistan Development Update (2015), Bamiyan, one of the least dangerous provinces, only received \$156 per person in the same year whereas Helmand, a region with high levels of conflict received an estimated \$691 in aid per person. As it is discussed earlier that since security accounts for a substantial amount of expenditure, so there is a significant positive correlation between military action, foreign spending and conflict at provincial level (World Bank, 2015). Table 1. explains the classification of provinces for foreign aid spending with the level of conflict in the provinces. This politically biased system of aid allocation has serious socioeconomic consequences.

According to Fishstein and Wilder (2012), these tendencies contributed to residents of "under-aided" regions feeling marginalized and neglected which may have unintentionally fueled regional grievances and conflict. Simultaneously, the majority of foreign aid and investment directed towards Afghanistan during the intervention overlooked the rural regions, which are home to over 70 percent of the population instead focusing predominantly on urban centers. Simultaneously, the majority of foreign aid and investment directed towards Afghanistan during the intervention overlooked the rural regions which are home to over 70 percent of the population, instead focusing predominantly on urban centers (NSIA, 2019). A study by the Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit revealed that from 2002 to 2013, nearly 80 percent of all development aid was allocated to provincial capitals and major cities (AREU, 2014) which created a poverty level between rural and urban areas and rural areas and this level of poverty contributed majorly to the national poverty level of Afghanistan from 2007 (World Bank, 2022) as it is shown in above mentioned figure 1. So, the improved infrastructure like greater access to education, health and increased job opportunities were enjoyed largely by urban residents which further exacerbated regional economic and social disparities between urban and rural areas which increased the prevalence of poverty and underdevelopment in the excluded areas.

Table 1: Distribution of foreign aid within low and high conflict regions

	High conflict	Low Conflict
High Foreign aid Spending	Ghazni, Helmand, Kandahar, Khost, Kunarha, Logar, Nimroz, Nooristan, Paktika, Paktya, Uruzgan, Zabul	Badakhshan, Baghlan, Herat, Kabul, Laghman, Nangarhar, Parwan
Low Foreign Aid Spending	Badghis	Balk, Bamyān, Daykundi, Farah, Faryab, Ghor, Jawzjan, Kapisa, Kunduz, Panjsher, Samangan, Sar-e-Pul, Takhar, Wardak

Source: The World Bank Reports

To add to the complexity, the substantial inflow of aid or wealth distribution also created opportunities for corruption which further affected the distribution of resources as the capture of wealth by powerful or elite groups, especially high government officials became common thus exacerbating income inequality. There were some provinces where elite takeover of aid resources was common like in Helmand or Faryab provinces, it was viewed as wealth going to the tribes like Barakzai, Alikozai Achakzai, and Popalzai that had won the post-2001 division of political power in the region (Fishstein & Wilder, 2012). Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI, 2022) places Afghanistan near the bottom of the list, highlighting the country's endemic corruption issues. A World Bank report in 2016 explicitly acknowledged the pervasiveness of corruption in Afghanistan, suggesting that up to 40 percent of aid money intended for development projects was siphoned off due to systemic corruption and lack of oversight. This not only led to a severe diminution in the effective value of aid and undermined the credibility of the new Afghan state with its associated institutions, but also economic dissatisfaction among marginalized communities (World Bank, 2016). This uneven distribution of economic resources and wide range corruption in foreign aid have inadvertently deepened economic inequality, entrenched poverty, and fueled political instability in Afghanistan.

3.3.3 Impacts of the U.S. Military Intervention on Domestic Security of Afghanistan

The U.S. military intervention in Afghanistan undeniably set the stage for a marked shift in the country's domestic security landscape. Though intervention succeeded in toppling the Taliban regime initially, as discussed above, its ensuing consequences complicated

Afghanistan's security dynamics, often leading to negative outcomes like disrupting the status quo and significantly contributing to a protracted state of insecurity. The increased domestic insecurity in Afghanistan was result of increased political violence surged by increased militant activities and civil conflicts in the wake of military intervention by the United States.

3.3.3.1 Increase of Political Violence

Political violence has been a major driver of domestic security of any country in the literature. The U.S. military intervention in Afghanistan had some negative consequences that led to an increase of political violence in Afghanistan. The U.S.-led intervention in 2001 rapidly dismantled the Taliban regime but did not provide an immediately stable or universally accepted replacement though created uncertainty. The dismantling of existing power structures stoked tensions among various ethnic, tribal and political factions, each with their own aspirations for power in the newly liberated state as it created power vacuum in Afghanistan. According to Jones (2008), the swift military victory did not translate into a stable political transition as the Bonn Agreement in December 2001 did establish a new interim government, but it failed to fill the power vacuum effectively as the new western-styled democracy gave rise to a political climate marked by competition for power and influence which often spiraled into violent struggles.

Furthermore, disruption of traditional power structures in Afghanistan after the U.S. intervention led to the emergence of new power brokers who sought to gain influence and control over the country. A study by Giustozzi (2008) explicates this context that how the quick removal of the Taliban without a solid governance structure in place led to a violent scramble for power, exacerbating regional and ethnic rivalries that were formerly kept in check during the Taliban's rule. So, the warlords and local power brokers who had been suppressed during the Taliban regime quickly took control of vast areas, primarily in the rural parts of the country and started exerting their influence often through violent means, escalating political violence. For instance, the warlord and well-known political figure, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar who stepped up his efforts to seize control of several areas of eastern Afghanistan due to his opposition to the U.S.-backed Afghan government (2009).

On the other hand, political violence was significantly fueled by the marginalization of specific factions and groups in the post-Taliban political system. Study of Giustozzi and Ullah (2012) provides insight into this issue. They serve as an example of how local warlords and tribal chiefs who were excluded from the Bonn Agreement of 2001, which prepared the way for a new government turned to violent methods of power assertion and claim mounting in the

new political system. One of the most notable examples of this is seen in the southern province of Kandahar. The new post-Taliban political order pushed aside influential tribal chiefs, such as Gul Agha Sherzai, who had played a pivotal role in the U.S.'s fight against the Taliban. Despite Sherzai's initial alliance with the U.S., he was relegated to the periphery in the post-Taliban power structure, leading to his marginalization. Feeling slighted, Sherzai and his followers resorted to a violent contest for power (Giustozzi & Ullah, 2012). In addition to this, in the case of the Northern province of Faryab, the Junbesh-e Milli Party led by General Abdul Rashid Dostum was marginalized in the post-Taliban political order. Feeling excluded, Dostum's Junbesh-e Milli started a violent power struggle with the Jamiat-e Islami (Giustozzi & Ullah, 2012). So, the domestic security environment became more complicated as a result of the struggle for control among war lords which exacerbated the already pressing problems. The prevailed power vacuum in Afghanistan further provided ground for insurgencies and militant activities, and also enhanced ethnic and sectarian conflicts led to civil conflicts which fueled the political violence, are discussed below to enhance the concept.

3.3.3.2 Increase of Militant Activities

After the overthrow of the Taliban and making an interim government by Hamid Karzai, the U.S. forces were still focusing on the Taliban to break their supply chains. By doing so, they kept on executing military operations which were also causing civilian deaths in Afghanistan (UNAMA, 2001). In 2005, the Taliban regained power and relocated them to fight against the U.S. troops and they started insurgencies from the south part of Afghanistan. By 2006, the Taliban increased militant activities and clashes with the U.S. forces on daily basis at southern and eastern side of Afghanistan, escalating violence level, which created instability throughout the country (2021).

The violent comeback by the Taliban coincided with an increase in Afghans' hostility toward the United States and other Western nations. These anti-government groups were keen to take credit for these activities and to recruit more civilians to carry out similar missions (UNAMA, 2001). Hardcore military intervention by the U.S and also the civilian casualties from U.S. and NATO bombings ignite public outrage and often served as a catalyst for insurgent recruitment which incited the military activities in the country. According to UNAMA's annual report, 649 (41 percent) of the 1523 civilian deaths in 2007 might be traced to pro-government forces, including American the forces, also this trend was observed in 2018 with 31 percent of total civilian deaths which increased to 43 percent in 2019 (UNAMA, 2019).

In addition to this, with the surge in insurgencies, the United States increased its counterinsurgency efforts and deployed 100,000 U.S. troops in Afghanistan in 2010 in order to reduce the Taliban control and militant activities (Rob, 2010). The presence of foreign military forces in a nation is often perceived as an occupation, infringing upon the nation's sovereignty. Rothstein and Arquilla (2012) extensively discusses this in the context of Afghanistan, where the U.S. and NATO forces were increasingly seen as occupiers rather than liberators. As the U.S.-led coalition started to establish a more permanent military presence in the region, the transition from liberators to occupiers was fraught with complications. The foreign troops, in their quest to dismantle al-Qaeda, the Taliban and control territories, began to establish military bases across the country often in areas where local tribal dynamics were not fully understood or respected (Filkins, 2008). This allowed the Taliban and other militant groups to frame their cause in nationalist terms, painting themselves as the true defenders of the Afghan sovereignty (Rothstein & Arquilla, 2012). Afghan nationalism and anti-foreign sentiments allowed some Afghan nationals to join militant groups and fought against the foreign intervention. According to a 2011 Asia Foundation survey, 76 percent of Afghans think that "foreigners' presence/occupation" is the reason why people join the Taliban (TAF, 2011).

As a result, increase in militant activities or insurgencies triggered because of some motivations mainly include international occupation which captured their assets and autonomy of life, and ethno-nationalist motivation caused the restlessness in country that took part in political violence and ultimately led to create instability in state.

3.3.3.3 Increase of Civil Conflicts

The role of civil conflict in a country is a common literature in creating political, social and economic instability of the country. In the case of Afghanistan, the U.S. military intervention in 2001 caused increase of civil conflict that was triggered by some factors mainly including ethnic issues and religious or sectarian issues, and dispute over resources.

One of the primary drivers of civil conflict in Afghanistan is ethnic issues. The U.S. military intervention of Afghanistan did not initiate ethnic conflict in the country, as Afghanistan has a long history of ethnic tensions and conflicts. However, the invasion did contribute to increase in the already existing ethnic conflict between Pashtuns (the Taliban) and other ethnic groups including Hazaras, Tajiks, Uzbeks and some others. These groups have a long history of conflict and tension and created power centers to compete for politics like the Northern Alliance consisting of Hazara, Tajik, and Uzbek groups from northern Afghanistan and the Taliban which were dominated by Pashtuns. In 2001, after the fall of the Taliban regime,

the Northern Alliance was dissolved officially and its members entered to the Western coalition as an indispensable part of the Karzai's interim administration who was Pashtun by ethnicity but supporting pro-Western policies and considered the Taliban as the main target and nearly everyone joined together against them (2020). Moreover, the Taliban Pashtun's became more intense against northern ethnic groups as they believed that several of the most significant and influential ministries stayed in the hands of the Panjshiri Tajiks and this turned to major cause of their marginalization. This heats up in ethnic diversity resulted in power centers and severe clash started among Western-backed government, Afghan national security forces, pro-government militias (the Northern Alliance) and the Taliban. This fragmented society became a challenge for the Afghan interim government and the U.S., which continued to increase internal conflict in the country (Johnson, 2006). Gilles Dorronsoro argues in his report that he has visited Afghanistan numerous times since 1988, but never has he experienced the amount of mistrust and antagonism he observed in April 2009 between Pashtuns and other ethnic groups (2009).

The second major factor includes religious or sectarian issues that have also contributed to the increase in civil conflict in Afghanistan. Although having a large Sunni Muslim population, Afghanistan is the home to a variety of sects and religious organizations, including Shia Muslims who make up roughly 10-15 percent of the country's population (Barfield, 2010). The heterogeneity of Afghanistan's religious landscape, however, contrasted starkly with the Taliban's rigid religious ideology. One significant manifestation of this disparity was the inherent tension between the Sunni Taliban and the Shia Hazara minority which were primarily local at low level, but later turned to reverberate across the nation. With the overthrow of the Taliban government and creation of new pro-western interim government with the Shia majority in government, internal conflict erupted again (Fatah, 2020). As the Taliban's attempt to impose their rigid religious ideology on diverse Afghan society played a critical role in the escalation of conflict post-intervention. According to Roy (2004), the Taliban's rigorous interpretation of Islam was perceived as alien and unfamiliar by many Afghans, which led to opposition and violence. In areas with strong traditional or tribal norms or where Sufi interpretations of Islam were dominant, this tension was further exacerbated. The Taliban have targeted Shia mosques and communities, leading to sectarian violence. According to Human Rights Watch (2001), this antagonism resulted in instances of ethnic cleansing and numerous human rights abuses, exacerbating the overall conflict.

Thirdly, resource scarcity and ensuing competition form an integral part of the narrative of civil conflict, often culminating violence. After installation of the new government, the

control over resource-rich areas became a primary factor behind increased inter and intra-group conflicts, like the intense fighting between local militias, the Taliban, and the government forces over Lapis Lazuli mines in the Badakhshan province, further exacerbating the already volatile security situation in the region (Global Witness, 2016). Moreover, the scarcity of resources and their persistent demand, particularly for opium and minerals, have spurred violent rivalry among various tribes and escalated violence (Felbab-Brown, 2012). Reports from the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC, 2017) show how conflict between various factions competing for control of poppy-growing regions has been fueled by the illicit opium business. For instance, violent clashes between the Taliban and local warlords for control over the Helmand province which is one of the most fertile poppy-growing regions can explain this context.



CHAPTER FOUR: THE IMPACT OF AMERICAN MILITARY INTERVENTION ON DOMESTIC POLITICAL STABILITY OF IRAQ

The intricate history between the United States and Iraq, characterized by geopolitical interests, strategic considerations, regional rivalries and ideological differences, had strained their relations for an extensive period preceding the U.S. military intervention in 2003. In the early 1990s, Iraq emerged as a problem for the U.S. in the Middle East. The prevailing perception held that Saddam Hussein's regime posed a grave threat to regional stability, rendering Iraq a force of destabilization in its surroundings, when Iraq invaded a nearby country, Kuwait, and the U.S. had to help kick them out. After that, Iraq was punished with economic sanctions and was cut off from other countries. This was done to try to control Saddam Hussein and his government. Consequently, Iraq endured a decade of economic sanctions and international isolation as the global community aimed to contain Saddam Hussein's regime (Dodge T. , 2010).

This chapter is based on the United States' military intervention in Iraq, which is considered to be a crucial event in modern history that has had significant global consequences. This invasion started a protracted, deadly battle that cost the United States and Iraq a great deal of harm and lasted for more than ten years. The operation's goal was to eliminate any claimed weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) that Saddam Hussein's regime might have had. As a result, Iraq perceived the U.S. as an imperialist state attempting to rule the area, while the U.S. saw Iraq as a threat to regional stability (Burns, 2004). These underlying tensions ultimately erupted in the invasion of Iraq, with far-reaching consequences for both countries and the wider Middle East.

The main purpose of this chapter is intended to elucidate factors which fueled in increasing the domestic political instability in Iraq after the U.S. military intervention. In order to understand the post-intervention situation of a country, this chapter reveals the pre-war conditions of Iraq including political, economic and security situation which also got disturbed after the U.S. military intervention and ultimately led to instability of Iraq. The pre-war conditions reveal a complex and challenging political, economic and security situation in Iraq. Nonetheless, prior to the U.S. military intervention, Iraq possessed a relatively stable and functional government, albeit being a dictatorship. The country had a functioning infrastructure, including hospitals, schools, and public services, although these were often poorly maintained. Iraq was also facing international sanctions because of its invasion of Kuwait in the early

1990's, led to spark the Gulf War in 1991. These sanctions severely affected the country's economy, leading to poverty and hardship for many Iraqis but the impact of the invasion on Iraq were more controversial and long lasting not for its political stability but also for economic and security sectors.

This chapter also aims to give a thorough summary of this confrontation including the events leading up to and following the American military intervention in Iraq and its impact, shedding light on the certain factors that shaped this event. It will also analyze the military actions, the human cost of the intervention, and the effects on the Iraqi population in the early aftermath of the invasion. Later part of this chapter will discuss the long-term effects of the conflict and explain how this military intervention led to weakening the machinery of state institutions with newly introduced democratic government, exploiting its economy and resurgence of conflicts and violence that led to domestic insecurity and became a burning point for political instability of Iraq.

This chapter aims to analyze that Iraq as remains a country facing significant challenges, including political instability with economic underdevelopment, and ongoing security threats after the U.S. military intervention. Iraq had a relatively stable governance under Saddam Hussein and sectarian bloodshed was not as common as it is now, despite the fact that his system was harsh and totalitarian. However, the U.S. invasion and occupation of Iraq resulted in tremendous instability and violence in the nation, both of which are still present today.

4.1 Iraq before the U.S. Invasion

Iraq is a Muslim state in the Middle East, with 38.7 million population, 64-69 percent of which is Shia and 29-34 is Sunni Muslims. Iraq has border with nine states, sharing a longest border with Iran, Saudi Arabia and with Syria to north and northwest (CFR, 2021).

Baghdad was controlled by the United Kingdom during the First World War, later the British mandate of Iraq was approved by the League of Nations, the British mandate came to an end in 1932 and Iraq became an independent state. Abdal Karim Qasim a strong military man demolished monarchy in 1958 after a military coup, which was followed by another coup in 1963. In 1968, the Baath Party supported Ahmad Hasan al-Bakir who nationalized the petroleum company and gave limited autonomy to Kurds. He ruled the country till the rise of Saddam Hussain to power in 1979 (BBC News, 2018).

Historically, Iraq experienced some foreign interventions even before the 2003 invasion. These interventions encompass a wide array of external powers meddling in Iraq's

political, economic, and military spheres, all culminating in the fateful events leading up to the invasion. The complex tapestry of involvement by foreign actors in Iraq's affairs has weaved a perplexing narrative, marked by twists and turns that have influenced the country's trajectory in unpredictable ways. These interventions were primarily aimed at either supporting or opposing Saddam Hussein's regime, which had been in power since 1979 (Afrasiabi, 2004).

In order to understand the impact of the U.S. military intervention in Iraq's domestic political instability, it is essential to understand the pre-war conditions including its prevailing political, economic and security situation under the Baath party, especially during the Saddam Hussein's reign.

4.1.1 Political Situation in Iraq

The political situation in Iraq before 2003 was characterized by a long history of authoritarian rule. Saddam Hussein's Ba'ath Party had dominated government since 1968. As a dictator Saddam Hussein ruled Iraq with an iron fist, using brute force and intimidation to maintain his hold on power and served as both the President of Iraq and the General Secretary of the ruling Ba'ath Party. His dictatorship established its own security by occupying important state positions in order to lessen the possibility of a plot against the government or Saddam's assassination but demonstrating that the top echelons of the party had learned from the past (Dawisha, 2009). The Baath Party made significant ideological progress in a short amount of time. Marr (2004) says that the party framework relied on structured organizations, such as youth divisions for which new recruitment and indoctrination significantly increased (Marr, 2004).

Moreover, his leadership overthrew the party influence and established a one-man rule due to which political opposition was not tolerated under Saddam's regime, and political dissidents, journalists, and activists were often subject to imprisonment, torture, and execution. The Baath government in Iraq had to cope with opposition from communists, liberals, family members, rival Baathists, and Islamic extremists in addition to the opposition from Kurds and Shiites. Cordesman and Hashim explained the Iraq's situation in term of sectarian issue and their study shows domestic conflict continue, but they didn't take any intensity because of strong policies to make a welfare state which persuaded people not to rebel and also employed a vast network of informants and secret police to monitor and suppress any opposition (Cordesman & Hashim, 1997).

Iraq experienced isolation and international sanctions when Saddam was in power, which made the nation's economic and social issues worse. The regime's policies also

contributed to tensions between Iraq and its neighbors, particularly with Iran and Kuwait. These continued tension of Iraq with other regional neighboring states surged and resulted in war with Iran. This protracted and devastating conflict exacerbated the already strained relations, leaving an indelible mark on the region. In 1991, Iraq was forced to accept a ceasefire agreement following the Gulf War, which required it to disarm and allow the UN weapons inspectors to verify its compliance (Barzani, 2019). Despite these difficulties, Saddam's dictatorship was able to preserve some degree of stability by combining patronage, military power, and repression. The regime's security apparatus, which included the notorious Mukhabarat intelligence agency, was pervasive and ruthless, and opposition was met with imprisonment, torture, or execution. At the same time, the regime provided extensive benefits to loyalists, including government jobs, housing, and other perks (Al-Marashi, 2015).

In general, authoritarianism, political repression, and economic suffering were features of Saddam Hussein's rule. Thus, within this intricate web of governance, Iraq found itself ensnared in a paradoxical narrative where security and stability were achieved, albeit at the grave expense of the fundamental human rights and freedoms that should rightly be inherent to every individual.

4.1.2 Economic Situation in Iraq

The economic landscape under Saddam Hussein's rule in Iraq was characterized by a blend of achievements and setbacks, shaping the country's path towards modernization and prosperity. Upon assuming power in 1979, Saddam Hussein implemented various economic measures, aiming to transform Iraq into a thriving contemporary nation. Leveraging the abundant oil resources; Iraq witnessed substantial economic growth and modernization (Sanford, 2003). The government's policies and actions, however, superseded these advancements and helped fuel widespread corruption, inefficiency, and disastrous economic mismanagement.

Notably, the regime's efforts to modernize Iraq's infrastructure emerged as a significant accomplishment. Considerable investments were made in enhancing transportation, communication and energy networks that leading to the construction of new highways, bridges, ports and the modernization of the electrical grid. A United Nations Development Program report illustrates that, during the 1980s and early 1990s the infrastructure of Iraq was among the best in the Arab world (UNDP, 2002). Saddam's regime also expanded public services such as healthcare and education which were provided free of charge to all citizens. Consequently, literacy rates and life expectancy improved significantly, accompanied by a reduction in infant

mortality. A report by World Bank says that during 1980's, Iraq's healthcare system was one of the best in the Middle East (World Bank, 1993).

Furthermore, Saddam Hussein initiated an agricultural development campaign, investing in irrigation systems and promoting agricultural research. Simultaneously, the regime aimed to bolster industrialization by establishing state-owned factories manufacturing consumer goods like clothing, shoes, and food products. The government also invested in heavy industries, such as steel, petrochemicals, and cement, with the goal of making Iraq self-sufficient in these areas. Iraq's oil reserves played a pivotal role, serving as a vital revenue source. The government nationalized the oil industry, utilizing the profits to fund ambitious development projects. Because of this, Iraq's economy rapidly grew in the 1970s and the first part of the 1980s (Sanford, 2003).

Nevertheless, there were many difficulties for the Iraqi economy under Saddam's rule. Iraq's major reliance was oil export and also accounted for the majority of its income. Iraq's ability to export oil and participate in international markets was severely hampered by the regime's aggressive foreign policy, which included the invasion of Kuwait and then war with Iran (Alnasrawi, 2000). To fund its military activities, the nation ran up a large debt. Oil production of Iraq increased after the conflict and peaking at 3.7 million barrels per day in 1989. But the Gulf War, Iraq's oil infrastructure was seriously damaged, which caused a steep decline in production. Sanctions imposed by the United Nations after the war further restricted Iraq's ability to export oil and generate revenue (Foote, Block, & Crane, 2004).

Despite the economic challenges faced by Iraq under Saddam's regime, the government continued to prioritize military which led to further isolation and exacerbating the country's economic difficulties.

4.1.3 Security Situation in Iraq

The security situation in Iraq before American military intervention in 2003 became complex and multifaceted, marked number of security threats and challenges. Regime of Saddam was well known for its human rights abuses, inclusive torture, arbitrary arrest and detention and extrajudicial executions (Amnesty International, 2013). The regime of Saddam used weapons drastically against its own civilian population, such as predicted 50,000 to 100,000 casualties in the 1988 Anfal campaign against the Kurdish populace in northern a part of Iraq. (CIA, 2002).

Internally, Saddam Hussein's regime faced numerous security challenges, including opposition from the country's ethnic and religious minorities. Iraq is divided in different ethnicities, as Arabs in Iraq makes the largest contribution which later followed by Kurds in Iraq and thirdly Iraqi Turkmen. Though the government was dominated by majority Iraqi Arabs, so, the government of Saddam was facing discrimination problems by other ethnicities as they were feeling highly marginalized within their own country (EASO, 2021).

In term of domestic security of Iraq, the country also had problems with its neighboring countries. Iran has been a continuous problem for Iraq as they went for a war in 1980, which impacted on the security of Iraq within the region. In 1988, when war finished with Iran, Iraq found itself with another military combat which is intervention in Kuwait happened in 1990. This gave rise to first phase of Gulf War in which the United States with other coalition forces intervene in this war and helped Kuwait in order to drag out the Iraqi forces from Kuwait. In the result of this war, Iraq faced sanctions from international world on its imports and ultimately Iraq found itself in the state of instability. In the wake of the Gulf War, Iraq found itself mired in poverty and adversity. The sanctions, combined with the destruction of much of Iraq's infrastructure during the war, led to widespread poverty and hardship for the country's population (Leon, 2014).

Official reports from the United Nations and other organizations provide further insight into the general and social security situation in Iraq before the US-led intervention. For instance, a report from the United Nations Development Programme noted that Iraq is a rustic of paradoxes: one of the richest nations within the region, yet additionally one of the poorest with sizeable poverty and unemployment despite the nation's oil wealth (UNDP, 2002).

Overall, the general and social security situation in Iraq before the United States-led military intervention in 2003 became marked via more than a few demanding situations marked by some challenges that including human rights abuses, political repression, economic complication and social inequality. These challenges had been exacerbated through the invasion by the United States and expanded instability within the country as well as international sanctions imposed with the aid of the United Nations Security Council.

4.2 The Role of the U.S. in Iraq before the U.S. Invasion

The relations between Iraq and the United States were complex and strained in the years leading up to the 2003 military intervention. The two countries had a long history of difficult

diplomatic relations, and their interactions were shaped by a range of political, economic, and strategic factors.

The United States had significant involvement in Iraq before its military intervention in 2003. In the 1980s, the U.S. provided extensive support to Saddam Hussein's regime in its war against Iran (Herring, 2014). After the end of the Iran-Iraq War in 1988, the U.S. continued to engage with Iraq, but tensions between the two nations grew throughout the 1990s with the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. Throughout the 1990s, the U.S. and Iraq engaged in a complex and often adversarial relationship. In the aftermath of the 1991 Gulf War, the U.S. and its allies imposed a series of sanctions on Iraq, including a ban on oil exports and restrictions on other imports. The U.S. also established no-fly zones over northern and southern Iraq, which remained in place until the 2003 invasion and it was intended to protect the Kurdish and Shia populations from repression by the Iraqi government (Ryan & Boykin, 2010).

Throughout the 1990s, the U.S. pursued a policy of "dual containment" toward Iraq and Iran, seeking to limit their regional influence and prevent the development of weapons of mass destruction (Ryan & Boykin, 2010). The U.S. also supported opposition groups within Iraq, including the Iraqi National Congress, which was led by Ahmad Chalabi (Herring, 2014). The U.S. provided significant financial and political support to the INC, which sought to overthrow Saddam Hussein's government and establish a democratic government in its place. In the years leading up to the 2003 invasion, the U.S. intensified its efforts to pressure Iraq to comply with the UN weapons inspections and disarmament efforts. However, many observers believe that the U.S. had already decided to go to war with Iraq, regardless of whether it complied with the UN resolutions (Herring, 2014).

One of the key reasons for the U.S. intervention in Iraq was the belief that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction. The U.S. argued that Iraq was in violation of the UN resolutions and was a threat to international security. Despite extensive inspections by the UN, no such weapons were found in Iraq following the 2003 invasion (Keegan & Wheatcroft, 2004). Another reason for the intervention was the belief that Saddam Hussein's regime was supporting terrorist groups, including al-Qaeda. The U.S. claimed that Iraq had links to the 9/11 attacks and that it posed a significant threat to the U.S. and its allies. However, subsequent investigations found no evidence of a significant connection between Iraq and al-Qaeda (Keegan & Wheatcroft, 2004). Despite these efforts, relations between the U.S. and Iraq remained tense throughout the 1990s and into the early 2000s. The U.S. continued to accuse Iraq of developing weapons of mass destruction and of supporting terrorism, while Iraq denied these charges and sought to have the sanctions lifted (Keegan & Wheatcroft, 2004).

In summary, the relations between Iraq and the United States before the 2003 military intervention were characterized by tension and mistrust. The two countries had a long history of difficult diplomatic relations, and their interactions were shaped by a range of political, economic, and strategic factors.

4.3 The U.S. Intervention of Iraq in 2003

The United States intervention in Iraq was a highly controversial and polarizing event in modern history. This military campaign, officially known as the Operation Iraqi Freedom, was launched by the U.S. and its coalition partners, primarily the United Kingdom, with the objective of overthrowing the Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein and dismantling his weapons of mass destruction program. The U.S. government, under the leadership of President George W. Bush, argued that Iraq posed a significant threat to global security and that the regime had ties to terrorist organizations like al-Qaeda. However, the decision to invade Iraq was met with widespread criticism, with many questioning the legality, morality, and effectiveness of the operation. In the months leading up to the war, the U.S. and its allies engaged in intense diplomatic efforts to secure international support for the invasion. However, many countries, including key allies such as France and Germany, opposed the war, arguing that it was unjustified and could have serious consequences for the region (CFR, 2021).

The aftermath of the intervention was marked by ongoing violence and instability in Iraq, a prolonged and costly occupation, and a contentious debate over the long-term impact of U.S. foreign policy in the region. This part of research will highlight the leading cause of the American intervention and the war on terror discourse that was used to justify the intervention based on the perceived threat posed by Saddam Hussein's regime to U.S.

4.3.1 The War on Terror Discourse

The war on terror discourse was based on the belief that the U.S. was engaged in a global struggle against terrorism, and that Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq posed a significant threat to the U.S. national security. As a result, the U.S. government argued that the invasion of Iraq was necessary to eliminate this threat and to promote global security and stability (Barnes, 2011).

One of the key components of the war on terror discourse was the emphasis on the danger posed by weapons of mass destruction (WMD). The U.S. government argued that Saddam Hussein's regime possessed WMDs and that there was a real risk that these weapons could be used against the U.S. or its allies (Bush G. W., 2002). This claim was used to justify

the invasion of Iraq and to rally support for the intervention both domestically and internationally. However, as subsequent investigations revealed, the claim that Iraq possessed WMDs was not supported by credible evidence. The lack of WMDs in Iraq became a major controversy and undermined the credibility of the U.S. government's justification for the invasion (CFR, 2021). Despite this, the war on terror discourse continued to be used to justify the intervention in Iraq, with the U.S. government arguing that the absence of WMDs did not change the fact that Saddam Hussein's regime was a threat to global security.

Another key aspect of the war on terror discourse was the emphasis on the need to spread democracy and freedom throughout the Middle East. The U.S. government argued that the intervention in Iraq was not only about eliminating a threat to national security but also about promoting democracy and human rights in the region (Bush G. W., 2002). This argument was based on the assumption that democracies were less likely to support terrorism and that promoting democracy in the Middle East would help to reduce the threat of terrorism. President Bush announcing war on Iraq claimed that it was to disarm Iraq, to free its people and defend the world from grave danger. He also claimed support of more than 35 countries (Bush G. W., 2002). However, the implementation of this policy proved to be difficult. The sectarian tensions and instability in Iraq made the task of creating a functioning democracy difficult, and the U.S. faced significant challenges in stabilizing the country (Kirkpatrick, 2006).

4.3.2 American Military Operations in Iraq

The 2003 invasion of Iraq involved a number of major military operations initiated by the United States in its effort to overthrow the regime of Saddam Hussein and establish a new government in Iraq. On March 19, 2003, the U.S. launched a massive air strike on Baghdad, the capital of Iraq. The next day, ground forces invaded the country from the south, with the aim of seizing control of key strategic locations and ousting Saddam Hussein from power (BBC, 2013).

One of the first major military operations of the war was the "shock and awe" campaign, which was characterized by a heavy bombardment of Iraqi cities and military installations, with the goal of crippling the Iraqi military and destroying its command-and-control infrastructure (CFR, 2021). Following the "shock and awe" campaign, the U.S. launched a ground invasion of Iraq, with forces entering the country from the south. The main objective of this operation was to seize control of key strategic locations and oust Saddam Hussein from power. The U.S. and its coalition partners quickly gained control of most major cities and military installations, but encountered fierce resistance from the Iraqi irregular forces, including paramilitary units

and *fedayeen* loyalists to Saddam Hussein. The invasion began on March 20, 2003, and quickly gained momentum as the U.S. forces advanced towards Baghdad (BBC, 2013).

One of the key battles of the invasion was the Battle of Nasiriyah, which took place in late March and early April 2003. This battle was fought by the U.S. marines and army soldiers against the Iraqi forces in the city of Nasiriyah, which was a key transportation hub and gateway to Baghdad. The battle was intense, with heavy casualties on both sides, but the U.S. ultimately emerged victorious (BBC, 2013).

Another major military operation of the invasion was the Battle of Fallujah, which took place in 2004. This battle was fought between the U.S. forces and the Iraqi insurgents in the city of Fallujah, which had become a stronghold for the insurgency. The U.S. launched a massive assault on the city, involving airstrikes, artillery, and ground forces. The battle was long and bloody, and resulted in significant civilian casualties, but the U.S. ultimately succeeded in retaking the city (CFR, 2021). Despite the lack of evidence for the existence of WMDs, the U.S. continued to pursue its goal of regime change, and on April 9, 2003, Baghdad fell to coalition forces, effectively ending Saddam Hussein's rule (BBC, 2013).

In the aftermath of the war, the U.S. and its allies faced a number of challenges in stabilizing the country, including sectarian violence, a growing insurgency, and the emergence of al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI). The U.S. implemented a number of strategies to combat the insurgency, including a surge of troops in 2007, and the formation of alliances with Sunni tribal leaders. The war resulted in the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Iraqis and thousands of coalition soldiers, and had a profound impact on the region. It also sparked a broader debate about the use of military force, international law, and the role of the U.S. in global affairs (CFR, 2021).

4.4 The Impact of the U.S. Military Intervention on Domestic Political Stability of Iraq

The sensitive structure of the nation's domestic political stability was severely damaged by the American military invasion of Iraq. The U.S.-led coalition troops intended to topple Saddam Hussein's administration with the idealistic objective of bringing about democracy and peace. However, this intervention's aftermath gave rise to a rabid power vacuum, igniting a chaotic chain of events that inevitably accelerated the breakdown of Iraq's democratic system. The effects of this degradation are still felt across the country's political, social, and economic development, leaving behind a chaotic legacy that is difficult to fully understand. The effects of the American military involvement on the domestic political stability of Iraq have sparked

an outbreak of intense debate and enduring dispute. Proponents contend that the intervention was a crucial move and a necessary means to bring closure to Saddam Hussein's iron-fisted rule and to forge a path toward a more democratic Iraq. Conversely, critics vehemently argue that the intervention was a terrible blunder that sent shockwaves through the nation, plunging it into an anarchy of chaos and violent sectarian conflict. Regardless of the debate surrounding the intervention, there is little doubt that it had a significant impact on Iraq's domestic political stability. This section aims to highlight the U.S. direct military intervention for regime change which affected the institutions of Iraq, deteriorated economy and power vacuum created after intervention led to the increase domestic insecurity which made Iraq more instable politically.

4.4.1 The Impact of the U.S. Intervention on Iraq's State Institutions

The examination of the impact of the American military intervention on the Iraqi state institutions presents a complex puzzle of consequential events, decisions and transformations, which profoundly reshaped the Iraqi sociopolitical fabric. A major transformation was sparked by this foreign involvement, one that resulted in the destruction of preexisting political and security infrastructures and the emergence of brand-new, though unstable institutions. This study focuses on the three major systemic dysfunctions; weak security institutions, weak administration bodies and misrepresentation of the state institutions, that have negative repercussions on state institutions and are still being felt in the country's political landscape today.

4.4.1.1 Weak Security Institutions

The impact of the American military intervention on Iraq's security institutions represents a pivotal cornerstone in the analysis of the resultant spiral of instability that has become synonymous with the country. The intervention had unintended impacts on the country's security institutions, fundamentally weakening their ability to maintain internal security and order. This weakening may be attributed to sudden breakdown of existing security forces of Iraq, culture of dependency within the Iraqi forces for security operation and involvement of private security firms.

The military intervention brought the emergence of Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) that is led by the United States, implementing "de-Ba'athification," a policy that aimed to purge the Ba'ath Party's influence from Iraq's institutions (Katzman, 2009). The CPA swiftly decided to dissolve the entire Iraqi Army, a move reflecting an underestimated understanding of the local dynamics and the symbiotic relationship between the military institution and

societal structure, sowed the seeds of an endemic security crisis. Approximately 250,000 to 400,000 soldiers found themselves abruptly unemployed, fostering a fertile breeding ground for discontent (Katzman, 2009). The quick decision to disband Iraq's existing security forces and replace them with hastily-trained, ill-prepared replacements engendered a security vacuum enabled the rise of various non-state armed groups. For instance, a report by the International Crisis Group (2006) suggests that the intervention inadvertently fueled sectarian tensions, leading to the formation of various Shia militias and Sunni insurgent groups, further weakening the internal security of Iraq.

On the other hand, the development of the Iraqi Police Services (IPS) emerged as a pivotal aspect of Iraq's reconstruction strategy. However, the U.S. decision to prioritize the IPS's creation without a robust framework for judiciary and criminal system development led to unintended consequences, culminating in a law enforcement structure focused on counterinsurgency rather than conventional policing (Fishman, 2009). Fishman (2009) argues that the formation of the IPS was marked by both structural and ideological flaws. For instance, the IPS was recruited and trained rapidly, under the looming shadow of a burgeoning insurgency. The emphasis was on deploying boots on the ground rather than cultivating a professional police force capable of upholding the rule of law. Consequently, IPS units often found themselves operating as auxiliary military units rather than police forces. This transition phase saw these forces ill-equipped to confront the resurging violence and this force was viewed by many Iraqis as a sectarian institution exacerbating conflict, leading to widespread criticism and loss of public trust (Fishman, 2009).

Moreover, reports from the Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction (SIGIR, 2009) suggest that the overarching presence and the role of coalition forces in security operations bred a culture of dependency within the Iraqi forces. This culture of dependency had profound implications for the state-building process in the country. When the U.S. started to withdraw its troops in 2011, the inadequately prepared Iraqi forces struggled to maintain security, leading to a resurgence of violence and, eventually, the emergence of the ISIS (Barak, 2007).

Furthermore, this intervention saw a proliferation of private security firms, which introduced a new dynamic into the security landscape. These private firms were often contracted by the U.S. and other foreign governments to provide a wide range of security services, from personal security detail to strategic logistics and infrastructure protection. As Dunigan (2011) suggests, the proliferation of these firms and their growing role in security operations blurred the lines between private and state security apparatuses and these blurred

boundaries between private and state security entities diluted the authority and legitimacy of Iraq's security institutions. For instance, the Blackwater incident in 2007, in which Blackwater security contractors killed 17 Iraqi civilians, significantly tarnished the reputation of private security contractors and by extension, raised doubts about the broader security efforts (PBS, 2007). These doubts were further amplified by legal ambiguities regarding the accountability and jurisdiction over private security contractors, which contributed to a perception of impunity and a lack of transparency (Hurst, 2009).

In sum, the U.S. military intervention in Iraq led to the unintended weakening of Iraq's security institutions through multiple channels, exacerbating the security situation and contributing to prolonged instability.

4.4.1.2 Weak Administration Bodies

Post-intervention in Iraq had profound impacts on the administrative bodies of the state, weakening them significantly. One of the crucial decisions that had profound implications on Iraq's administrative bodies was the disbanding of the existing state institutions in Iraq which were deeply rooted in the Ba'athist regime. This decision was made by the Coalition Provisional Authority, resulted in the dismissal of numerous established government employees which include almost 30,000 civil servants (Bremer & McConnel, 2006) known as de-Ba'athification. These personnel, previously responsible for Iraq's day-to-day administrative functions, were suddenly jobless and disenfranchised. As pointed out by al-Ali (2014) that this massive human resource depletion disrupted the existing administrative systems and procedures, creating a severe vacuum in administrative expertise. For instance, the dismissal of experienced teachers and administrators, as part of policy, the disruption and looting of school systems has led to a serious disruption of educational activities across the country (Alwan, 2004).

A UNESCO report (2004) indicates that over 80 percent of Iraq's 15,500 schools were affected by robbery, dismissals of teachers and skilled staff crippled the education system. This crisis provided educational quality and opportunity achievements declined sharply in the postwar period. Similarly in the health sector, a range of medical professionals decreased drastically. According to a record by Burnham et al. (2009) there was a dramatical decrease in the physician-patient ratio, with about 20,000 doctors leaving Iraq for the reason after de-Ba'athification and they were also against the new political structure (EPIC, 2017). According to the World Health Organization (2003), dismissal of skilled medical workers and disruption of services have created a severe strain on the health system, and this has led to a severe decline

in health services and a serious deterioration in public health led to a rise in general health morality after war (Burnham, Lafta, & Doocy, 2009).

Besides, the rapid dissolution and reorganization of state institutions opened up many opportunities for corruption within the administrative bodies of Iraq. It seeped into the newly established security forces, undermining their effectiveness and credibility. A Human Rights Watch report (2011) documented cases where police and military engaged in extortion, bribery, and kidnapping. These actions undermined public confidence in the security agencies and further destabilized the country. Furthermore, corruption has had a significant impact on the delivery of public services. A UNDP study in 2013 found that corruption had significantly reduced the availability and quality of public services, from health care to education. Underfunding meant that resources for essential services were limited, which impaired their effective implementation (UNDP, 2013).

Furthermore, introduction of parallel administrative structures that involved the significant presence and engagement of international actors and NGOs in Iraq's institutional system had a challenging impact, though it intended to supplement the capacity of the transitional government to provide essential public services. One example of this parallel policy is the role of the United Nations in Iraq. According to the UN Assistance Mission for Iraq (2004) report, the UN through its various agencies played an active role in health, education and humanitarian assistance. This parallel structure was instrumental in the immediate post-invasion phase due to the Iraqi government's incapacity to deliver services but the extensive reliance on international actors to deliver essential services had created a dependency cycle that undermined the development of independent, effective Iraqi institutions and led to weakening of institutional bodies of the state (SIGIR, 2009). In essence, U.S. the military intervention has severely weakened the country's administrative bodies by undermining existing structures, creating dependency and exacerbating corruption and other issues, and sustained the weakness of these state institutions.

4.4.1.3 Misrepresentation of State Institutions

The imposition of foreign norms and structures within the clear vision of democratic and centralized state institutions was incomplete. The institution of a new political order sought to divide power among the nation's ethnic and sectarian groups to create a representative democracy. However, the application of these foreign concepts overlooked Iraq's complex socio-cultural dynamics and instead of fostering unity it entrenched divisions and strife and exacerbating the country's political instability.

Larry Diamond, a political scientist who worked as an advisor to the CPA, emphasized that try to rapidly introduce democratic principles in a society with deep sectarian divides and a history of autocratic rule led to a substantial backlash (Diamond, 2006). A key aspect of the post-2003 political structure was the concept of “*muhasasa*” or the sectarian quota system. According to Dodge (2013), this approach sought to proportionally divide political positions and state resources among the three main ethnic and sectarian groups, namely Shias, Sunnis, and Kurds. This entailed a strict quota system at the political elite level, with the division of the three presidencies along sectarian lines; that the Presidency was typically held by a Kurd, the Prime Ministership by a Shia, and the Speakership by a Sunni, following the International Crisis Group’s report in 2008 (ICG, 2008). However, the institutionalization of sectarian identities at the highest level of governance resulted in severe fragmentation of political power. Each group feeling obligated to secure its share of power and resources often operated with narrow sectarian interests in mind. This led to a zero-sum sectarian competition where the gain of one group was viewed as the loss of another (Haddad, 2011).

Compounding to this issue, these newly created institutions were often viewed by the mostly people in Iraq as a threat by the U.S. and its allies to impose upon them, rather than resulting from genuine national dialogue and this perception of foreign coercion undermined the legitimacy of these institutions and generated widespread resentment among the population (Dodge T, 2013). For example, the Iraqi Government Council, which was formed in 2003 as an interim government, faced criticism for considering it illegal for the CPA to appoint 25 IGC members who were largely the exiled anti-Saddam leaders and political figures with relatively weak domestic bases of support. This appointment process, devoid of any genuine national dialogue or broad-based inclusion, led many Iraqis to view the IGC as an American puppet government which undermined its reliability and effectiveness (ICG, 2008). This illustrates how the misrepresentation of state institutions in the post-2003 Iraq, rooted in the imposition of foreign conceptions and structures, contributed significantly to the country's ongoing instability.

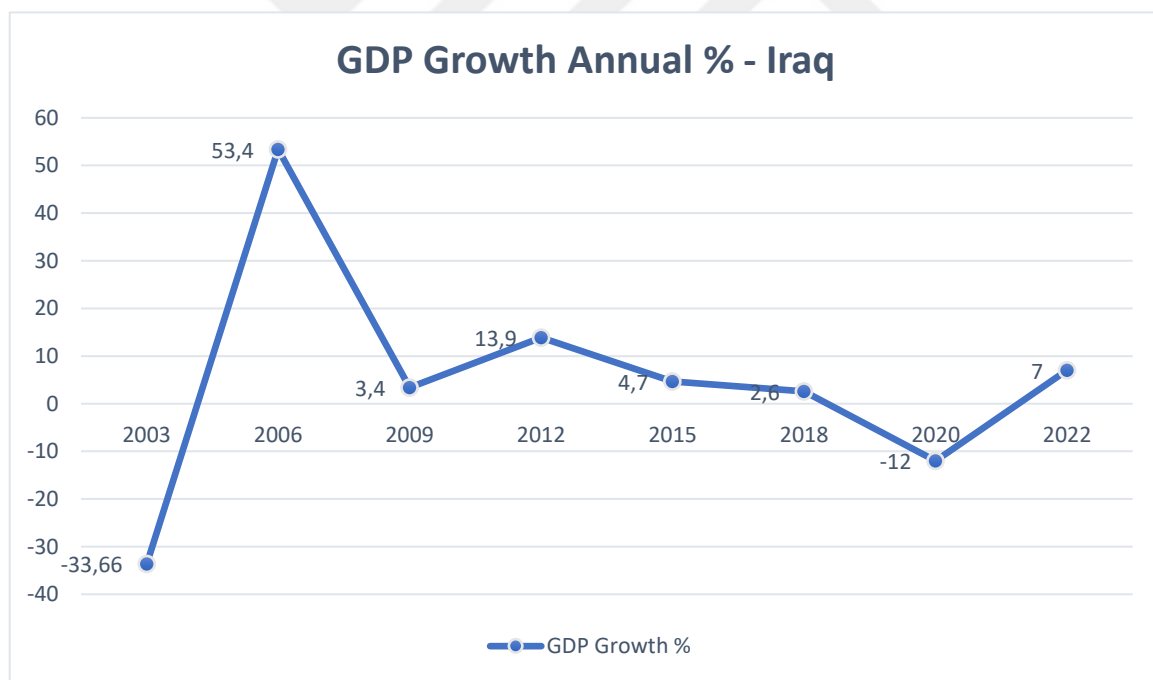
4.4.2 The Impact of the U.S. Intervention on Iraq’s Economy

Iraq’s economy has been consistently affected by the wars as Iraq has fought wars against Kuwait, Iran, Kurds, facing sanctions from the UN and finally stuck into a war in 2003. The U.S. intervention in Iraq also had a significant impact on the economy of the country. The consequences, include a variety of direct and indirect factors that influenced Iraq’s post-implementation economic pattern, are varied and complicated. The immediate aftermath of the

invasion was a major economic downturn. The invasion has severely damaged infrastructure of Iraq and disrupted the country's economic activity that led to a sharp decline in GDP.

The warfare and its immediately aftermath caused a 30 percent drop in GDP annual growth rate at the end of 2003 as shown in Figure 3. But it raised rapidly to 53.4 percent in 2004 and came down to 1.7 percent by 2005. The maintained with average of 4 percent reached to 13.9 percent in 2012 and 11.0% in 2015, dropped to -1.8 % in 2017, and again rose to 5.5% in 2019, but -12% was recorded in 2020, which was again a sharp decline in GDP percentage of Iraq (World Bank, 2020). These dramatic shifts make the market unpredictable and show that economy is not consistent in Iraq. The intervention led to an end of the stringent economic sanctions and expanded its economic activity, particularly in the oil sector, but the annual growth was stunted and stifled Iraq's economy for more than a decade (Looney, 2006). The subsequent occupation and economic restructuring efforts introduced new challenges which reshaped the Iraq's economy with significant issues arising around the exploitation of resources, the consumption of revenues and the distribution of resources.

Figure 3: Annual percentage growth rate of GDP of Iraq



Source: The World Bank national accounts data

4.4.2.1 Exploitation of Economic Resources

The Iraqi economy's dependency on oil reserves stands out as its most significant feature. During the Iraqi invasion, the exploitation of economic resources especially its oil reserves has been the subject of much debate as Iraq has the world's fourth largest proven oil

reserves and making it a key player in the global energy market (OPEC, 2023). After the U.S. military intervention, the management of these reserves changed dramatically.

As part of its broader economic restructuring plan, the Coalition Provisional Authority implemented several reforms to the oil sector. These included opening up the market to the foreign investment and restructuring the state-owned oil company into a corporation (Looney, 2006). These changes ostensibly aimed to increase production capacity and generate revenue for Iraq's reconstruction. However, these reforms facilitated the exploitation of Iraq's oil resources. According to Palast (2005), the restructuring allowed foreign firms, particularly American firms to gain access to Iraq's oil reserves on highly favorable terms instead of considering the economic conditions and developmental needs of Iraq. Similarly, Juhasz (2007) argues that the restructuring of Iraq's oil sector was designed to facilitate access to the country's vast reserves for foreign corporations, particularly American firms. Under the guise of enhancing Iraq's oil production capacity and improving the economic prospects of the country, contracts and concessions were established that disproportionately favored these foreign entities.

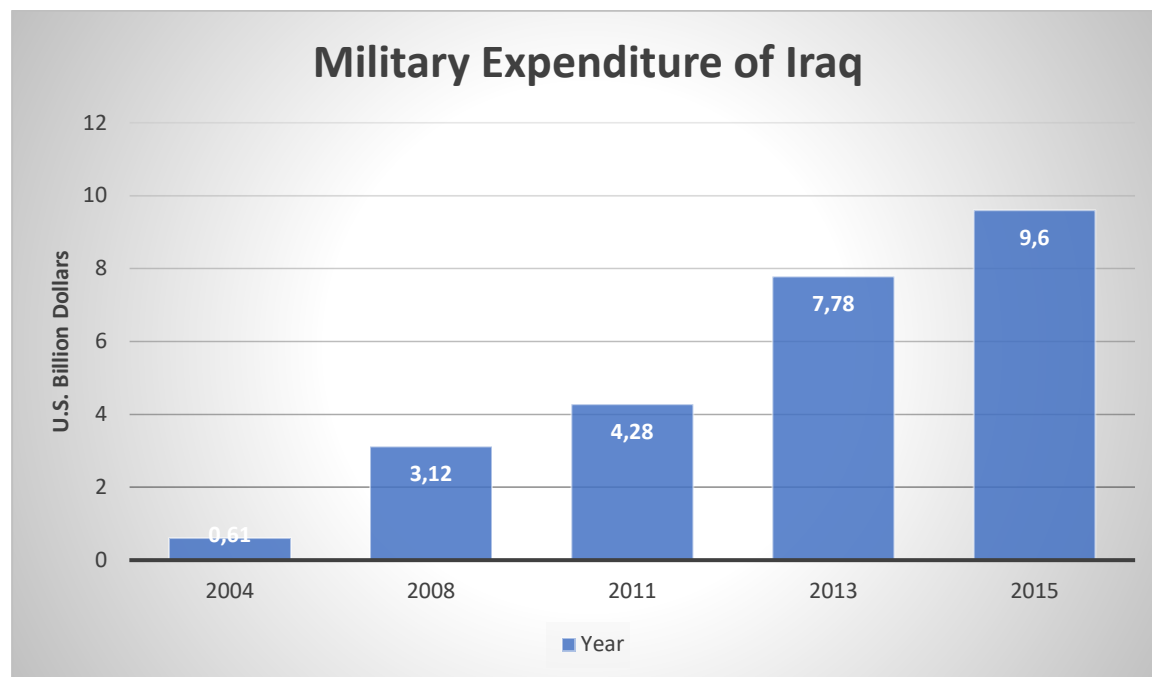
Moreover, production sharing agreements (PSAs) were utilized, which, while allowing the Iraqi government nominal control over its oil reserves, offered extensive profit margins to foreign corporations, often up to 70 percent. Additionally, these PSAs locked Iraq into long-term contracts, often up to 40 years, thereby ensuring the continued dominance of foreign corporations in the Iraqi oil sector (Juhasz, 2007). Such claims are also supported by some official reports. A report by the U.S. government Accountability Office showed that the Department of Defense could not generate \$2.6 billion in revenue from the Iraqi oil sales for reconstruction efforts (2008). So, the Iraqi oil sector have been criticized for fostering an economic system that disproportionately benefits foreign entities, largely at the expense of Iraq's long-term economic development.

4.4.2.2 Consumptions of Economic Revenues

After the invasion, the country's economic environment underwent major changes particularly as a result of the consumption of economic revenues for security and defense spending. The escalation in violence and instability during the invasion became defining characteristics of the post-intervention era prompted this increased allocation to the security domain aimed at stabilizing the volatile situation. Data from Stockholm International Peace Research Institute shows that military expenditure of Iraq raised from \$0.6 billion in 2004 to

nearly \$7.78 billion in 2013 and raised to \$9.98 billion in 2015 (SIPRI, 2020) as shown in Figure 4.

Figure 4: Military Expenditures of Iraq after the American Invasion



Source: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute

This increase in spending is indicative of the security sector's enormous consumption of Iraq's economic income. It is important to note that consumption of economic revenues for security purpose came mainly from the oil sector of Iraq and then from the foreign funding. Iraq posits the fourth largest oil reserves in the world and Iraq's crude oil production has increased dramatically in the post-invasion period (EITI, 2022). A report from IMF (2023) revealed that the Iraqi oil production increased from about 2 million barrels per day in 2003 to 3 million barrels per day in 2012 and reached to 4.6 million barrels per day in 2018 accounting for about 90 percent of the government's income (EITI, 2022). Moreover, the U.S. reconstruction funding for the Iraqi Security Forces from 2003 to mid-2008 amounted over \$20 billion while the Iraqi total contribution including revenues from oil, during the same period exceeded \$8.6 billion (GAO, 2008). This massive financial undertaking represented one of the costliest elements of the reconstruction effort with the intent to build a strong force to ensure Iraq's security independently. However, retrained ISF was unable to protect the country against external threats or even preserve internal security. This conclusion was reinforced by the ISF's glaring flaws during the ISIS rise in 2014 (Biddle, Friedman & Shap, 2012). Additionally, this

shift in Iraq's economic policy towards military and security spending adversely affected other sectors.

The decline in public spending in vital areas such as health, education and infrastructure can be seen through the official reports from IMF and the World Bank which has hampered the country's sustainable development prospects. Ultimately, this pattern of consumption not only depleted Iraq's revenues but also impaired the long-term development of the country by neglecting other vital sectors.

4.4.2.3 Distribution of Resources

The changes in Iraq's economy after the U.S. military intervention also had implications for the distribution of resources that caused economic and regional disparities among the population within Iraq. Because Iraq's economic model from a state-dominated economy to the one leaning towards the market-orientation amplified disparities within the society (Alnasrawi, 2000).

Following the U.S. invasion, reports from the World Bank (2009) exposed the economic disparity between urban-rural areas and sometimes intra-urban areas, shedding light on a crucial aspect of the problem of unequal resource distribution. As rural areas account for 33 percent of Iraq's population but accounted for 53 percent of the country's poor, clearly indicating an unequal distribution of resources between urban and rural areas. At a more local level, the distribution of resources within different sectors was highly uneven. The CPA, as part of its state-building effort, focused primarily on sectors to be of strategic importance. Most of the reconstruction effort focused on the oil industry and associated infrastructure which was seen as crucial for Iraq's economic recovery (Looney, 2006). Urban areas with access to oil such as Basra and Kirkuk experienced significant economic growth as a result of the delivery of oil funds. However, rural areas, particularly those dependent on agriculture, largely neglected and experienced economic stagnation because of infrastructure destruction and underinvestment led to fewer job opportunities and declining incomes for rural communities (FAO, 2008).

Furthermore, because reconstruction efforts mainly focused on urban areas, many rural cities lack essential infrastructure like paved roads, power, and clean water sources. Similar to urban regions, access to health and education was more constrained in rural areas. There is uneven distribution of public hospitals in Iraq majorly; rural areas had fewer health clinics and hospitals per capita than urban areas (MOH, 2012). A report by the Iraq Living Conditions Survey shows that 20 percent of the rural population had no access to healthcare as compared to only 3 percent in urban areas. Likewise, UNICEF (2010) found that literacy rate and school

enrollment in rural areas is much lower, which means that illiteracy rate is higher in rural areas (39 percent) as compared to urban areas (27 percent) which means they don't invest in rural education.

On the other hand, a considerable number of resources are being dedicated to strategically important locations and places in Iraq where insurgent activity had become most intense for reconstruction and development that again led to an imbalance in the distribution of resources and contributing to regional disparities in the country. Berman, Shapiro, and Felter (2011) highlight in their study about the disproportionate reconstruction funds by the U.S. and by the Iraqi government which were spent on the infrastructure of strategically important and highly conflicted areas such as Anbar, Mosul and Baghdad, mostly destroyed during the invasion. For instance, between 2003 and 2006, the United States provided about 650 million dollars for the reconstruction of Anbar province which was a major insurgency spot and strategically important, particularly in places like Fallujah and Ramadi (SIGIR, 2009). Moreover, the Commander's Emergency Response Program (CERP) and similar smaller programs are responsible for allocating the U.S. reconstruction funds, allowed military commanders on the ground to finance reconstruction projects on small scale in these cities (Berman, Shapiro & Felter, 2011). A SIGIR (2012) evaluation found that CERP spent about \$4 billion altogether between 2003 and 2012. It unintentionally produced an imbalance in the distribution of resources while attempting to 'win hearts and minds' in order to put an end to the insurgency and advance stability (Berman, Shapiro & Felter, 2011). Despite having socioeconomic difficulties, other areas were ignored because they were not seen as strategically important or did not experience a lot of rebel action, caused marginalization in the population.

Above all, mechanism of Iraq's reconstruction which was majorly funded by international aid and then by national resources, faced substantial corruption and mismanagement. Corruption played a major role in the uneven distribution of resources, as an official report by the SIGIR (SIGIR, 2013); estimated that approximately 60 billion dollars spent by the U.S. on reconstruction, but a significant 40 percent of the reconstruction projects assessed had major deficiencies and expenditures unaccounted for, waste and fraud due to corruption and mismanagement and ending up in the pockets of corrupt officials and contractors. For example, in one egregious case, \$40 million was assigned for the construction of a prison in Diyala Province that was never built, with funds vanishing into thin air (SIGIR, 2013). This kind of petty corruption had a disproportionate impact on the poor and contributing to the uneven distribution of resources and economic inequality.

4.4.3 The Impact of the U.S. Intervention on Iraq's Domestic Security

The removal of Saddam's regime intended to foster democracy and stability but in reality, it engendered a power vacuum that has had far-reaching implications on the country's domestic security situation. After the intervention, Iraq has witnessed an alarming surge in political violence which has been characterized by a significant increase in militant activities and civil conflicts.

This part of the study endeavors to delve into the profound impacts of the U.S. led intervention on Iraq's domestic security by focusing on political violence surged by increased militant activities by different militant and insurgent groups and civil conflicts, particularly among different ethnicities and sects present in Iraq. Utilizing a range of primary and secondary sources, it will dissect the roots of the current instability, shedding light on the implications of foreign military interventions on domestic security landscapes through the discussed framework.

4.4.3.1 Increase of Political Violence

The political turbulence that enveloped Iraq after the U.S. intervention fostered a volatile domestic security environment. As the new government established after the intervention was based on democratic principles and aimed to be inclusive of Iraq's diverse ethnic and religious groups. This formation of the coalition government was an important step in Iraq's political transition as it faced considerable challenges. The power brokers within the new government often found themselves in conflict with each other for competing interests which played a crucial role in exacerbating political violence (Bobseine, 2022). As Visser (2008) noted, the Sadrist Movement led by Muqtada al-Sadr and the Islamic Supreme Council of Iraq under the leadership of Abdul Aziz al-Hakim, often clashed over key issues and policy directions, mainly over federalism and centralized government. As ISCI, advocated for a form of federalism that would create a semi-autonomous region in the South of Iraq, similar to the existing Kurdish region in the North, the Sadrist Movement favored a more centralized form of government. This put the two major Shiite factions within the coalition on a collision course leading to the heated debates and eroded the central government's unity and effectiveness.

Similarly, there was another disagreement revolved around the integration of Sunnis into the political process. The Sadrist movement and other Shiite factions were wary of providing too many concessions to Sunnis while Sunni factions, backed by other coalition members pushed for a more inclusive policy (Bobseine, 2022). These disagreements led to political gridlock and hindered the government's ability to enact meaningful reforms and

created power vacuum. This power vacuum led to increase the sectarian divisions was exploited by militants for their activities that further destabilizing Iraq's political climate and exacerbating the conditions for political violence.

4.4.3.2 Increase of Militant Activities

The American military intervention had a significant impact on the increase in militant activities in Iraq, though the intervention aimed to establish a stable and democratic government in Iraq. However, the security situation deteriorated rapidly after the overthrow of Saddam Hussein, leading to a surge in militant activities and insurgencies by different insurgent groups (Steinberg, 2006).

The invasion and subsequent occupation created a power vacuum and violence which created conditions that were conducive to the growth of extremist groups. Robinson (2007) states in his writings about the role of U.S. in Iraq war that American troops became a major cause of insurgencies in Iraq. Similar to this Byman and Pollack (2008) also argue that Saddam's overthrow failed to bring the rebel groups unite and it did help them in their uprising and ultimately fall of Baathist regime gave momentum to some insurgent groups namely the Islamic Army in Iraq and 1920 Revolution Brigades and Mahdi-Army which were mainly nationalists and on the other hand, al-Qaeda in Iraq and Ansar-al Sunna which were mainly jihadist (Steinberg, 2006).

From 2004 onwards, Islamic Army in Iraq started to become influential for their insurgencies within Iraq. it was largely consisting of the former army and security member who were expelled during de-Bathification. They were mainly fighting against the foreign forces and the local allies of those foreign occupation. They also targeted the government officials of new Iraqi government as they considered them as a puppet government. Contrary to this, 1920 Revolution Brigades was not that much prominent for militant activities like other insurgent groups as it was majorly political of all the insurgent groups. Like Islamic Army, their members also belonged to former security forces of Iraq but they were focused to low profile militant activities (Steinberg, 2006). On the other hand, the Mahdi Army which was led by Muqtada al-Sadr who were a Shi cleric. The insurgencies by Mahdi Army against the U.S.-led coalition and the new Iraqi government intensified after military intervention, the Mahdi Army began to engage in violent attacks against U.S. and coalition forces, Sunni militants, and Iraqi civilians. One of the reasons for the increase in militant activities by the Mahdi Army was the deep sense of anger and resentment among the Shia population towards the American military intervention and the new Iraqi government, which many Shias viewed as dominated by Sunni and Kurdish

interests. The Mahdi Army presented itself as a defender of the Shia community against what it portrayed as foreign occupiers. The fragmentation within the country due to the presence of foreign troops contributed to a proliferation of attacks and violent incidents by this group which contributed to the instability in the country (Filiu, 2017).

Furthermore, another well-known insurgent group among others that emerged in Iraq after the intervention was Al-Qaeda in Iraq which later on evolved into the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (Baram, 2011). The dismantling of the Iraqi military and security apparatus after invasion left a significant number of trained soldiers unemployed and many of whom eventually also became a part of this militant group. This groups started their violent activities and attacks majorly against Shiites officials, Iraqi institutions made on western agenda, institutions of international community and the international troops that supports American policy in Iraq, in order to create a wave of chaos and instability in the country (Steinberg, 2006). In addition to this, this group also exploited the civilians' sentiments against foreign presence on their land and puppet government that was not aligned with social-cultural policies. Zarqawi, the leader of this group, increased its relation to local people and tried to pretend this group as truly group of Iraq and defenders of Islam in Iraq against western possession (Barnidge, 2016). For this reason, they started deadly attacks which caused continuous insecurity within the country. Another insurgent group called Ansar-al Sunna, which was established against Iraqi Kurdish parties in 2001 and it had mostly Sunni Arabs. This group exploited the 2003 intervention and started to increase their militant activities particularly in northern Iraq. They were also involved in deadliest attacks the new Iraqi security forces and foreign military forces stationed on Iraqi land (Steinberg, 2006).

In addition to this, a report prepared by Antiwar, based on the interviews taken from victims of the war explained the role of humiliation and revenge-seeking for the increase of militant activities in Iraq. He further added that following the invasion, the Coalition Forces took possession of certain prisons to house criminals and insurgents. So, in result, the use of heavy-handed tactics by U.S. and coalition forces contributed to the rise of militant activities in Iraq. The indiscriminate bombing of civilian areas, the use of torture and abuse against detainees and the perception of the United States and coalition forces as occupiers rather than partners contributed to anti American sentiment in the country (Antiwar, 2006). This sentiment was exploited by extremist groups to recruit new members and gain support among the Iraqi population.

After the intervention, literature witnessed a period of long-lasting violent insurgencies in Iraq that caused thousands of deaths and ultimately led to increased domestic insecurity for the Iraq people.

4.4.3.3 Increase of Civil Conflicts

Deeply rooted ethnic and sectarian cleavages which were a major factor in the conflict's emergence after the U.S. military intervention, characterized the civil war in Iraq. The country's long legacy of power conflicts, marginalization, and persecution of many ethnic and religious groups contributed to the conflict. The American invasion created a power vacuum which gave rise to tensions between different groups that leading to a deadly conflict that lasted for over a decade.

Iraq is a country with different ethnic factions. The religious and ethnic diversity in Iraqi culture, which includes sizable discrete groups, demonstrates the region's distinct demographics and socioeconomic diversities. Although Iraq has many different ethnic groups, the Arabs which are the largest in number, then Kurds who make up the second largest ethnic group in Iraq and lastly Turkmens who are in minority around 5 percent. Ethnic divisions between the Kurdish minority who are a dominant force in the country's north and the Arab majority played a significant role in creating the civil conflict. The Kurdish population had long been oppressed by the Ba'athist regime because they had shown willingness to seize political power on the other hand, Shiite Arabs were seen as threats to Saddam's authority, so he implemented "brutal policies" like displacing Shiite Arabs in the south and Iraqi Kurds in the north. This was done to control the country's ethno-sectarian demographics (Hunt, 2005). After the U.S. military invasion, they saw an opportunity to achieve their aspirations for independence. But the Kurdish state's push for greater autonomy and control over its affairs has led to tensions with the Arab-dominated central government, particularly over control of oil in the north. This contributed to the fragmentation of the country and fueled ethnic tensions (Hunt, 2005). Moreover, Kurds were the U.S. military force's most fervent allies after the invasion of Iraq. Every time the American soldiers needed assistance, they sought to provide it while the U.S. attempted to bolster them in the region (Nazir, 2006). This situation gave hike to already existing ethnic conflict within the country.

The literature argues that sectarian grievances kept past enmities alive and made sectarian identity politically relevant and useful. The sectarian divide between Iraqi Sunnis and Shiites is one of the most important causes of the conflict. Under Saddam Hussein, Sunni Muslims held most positions of power, while Shiites were marginalized and persecuted. After

the fall of Saddam's regime, Sunni Arabs lost their long-held stronghold in the country's politics as the Shiite majority gained political power and began to assert their rights. This sparked protests from Sunnis who felt excluded by the new political system that leading to violence and killed thousands (ORSAM, 2011). The Shiite-dominated government that came to power after the attack followed policies that further marginalized the Sunni minority and left Sunnis feeling excluded and resentful. The new government's policy of removing members of Ba'ath party of Saddam, from government and other positions of power disproportionately affected Sunni Muslims who were over-represented in the party. According to the literature, Sunnis swiftly mobilized following the military intervention in an effort to reclaim their lost power and privilege and to shield themselves against Shia retaliation (Haddad, 2013). This contributed to the Sunni's sense of exclusion from the new political order and fueled sectarian tensions and ultimately Iraq entered into a state of sectarian civil war by February 2006 where sectarian violence claimed approximately 4000 lives in the country (Hashim, 2007).

Furthermore, the power vacuum not only left political authority but also wealth resources which ignited intense competition among various factions within the country. The oil-rich regions of Iraq such as Kirkuk and Mosul became epicenters of conflict between various ethnic groups like the Kurds, Arabs and Turkmen. Reports from the Brookings Institution (2016) indicate the disproportionate distribution of oil resources, with major reserves located in the Shia-dominated south and the Kurdish north, leaving the Sunni-dominated regions in the center relatively resource-poor. This geographical imbalance inflamed sectarian and ethnic tensions, leading to a scramble for resource control that escalated into violent conflict. For instance, Kirkuk serves as an illustration because of its enormous oil deposits. Kurds, Arabs and Turkmen have been at odds over control of Kirkuk and its resources since each group claims historical rights to the land (Pollack, 2016).

Moreover, Iraq's water resources have also been a source of tension. Reports from the Water, Peace and Security (2022) highlighted disputes over the sharing of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, Iraq's two main water sources, waters among different regions and ethnic groups. According to a 2013 UN assessment, 38 areas in Baghdad alone recorded virtually daily incidences of confrontations, including physical clashes or verbal disputes over water (United Nations, 2013). Some areas, especially those dominated by politically marginalized or ethnically distinct groups, have been disproportionately affected by water shortages. For instance, the predominantly Sunni areas in the central and western parts of Iraq have often faced greater water stress, contributing to tensions and have significantly contributed to the local conflict (Al-Aloosy, 2021).



CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT OF THE U.S. MILITARY INTERVENTIONS IN AFGHANISTAN AND IRAQ

This chapter undertakes a pivotal task within the study's overarching inquiry, a detailed, rigorous comparative analysis of the impacts of the United States military interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq. This investigation pursues a dual case study approach as focal points of analysis due to their unique, yet resonating experiences of the U.S. military invasions in the 21st century.

Afghanistan and Iraq were chosen for their critical roles in the post-9/11 global security environment, where they became the U.S. allies and the theater of the newly declared 'war on terror'. However, while they share this overarching narrative, the countries are intrinsically divergent on a multitude of dimensions, ranging from ethno-sectarian compositions, historical legacies, state capacities and geopolitical locations to economic structures. Thus, these differences allow to engage with the rich, contextual specificities that invariably shape the effects of military interventions for this study.

Aiming to extricate deeper insights and patterns, this analysis delves into complex web of state institutions, economic landscapes, and domestic security parameters, grappling with the aftermath of foreign military intervention. Given the profound geopolitical and historical differences between Afghanistan and Iraq, one might surmise a broad variance in the repercussions of the foreign military interventions. However, an intricate and multifocal exploration might reveal unexpected points of convergence, contributing profoundly to our understanding of how foreign military interventions can reshape the political stability of a nation and leads to rise in instability.

This chapter, therefore, marks a crucial juncture in this study, where it ventures beyond isolated analysis and into the realm of comparative assessment. By contextualizing the findings from each case within the wider fabric of foreign military interventions, the study aims to bring to the fore a more intricate comprehension of the causes, manifestations, and implications of shifts in political stability to instability in the wake of such foreign military interventions. In this pursuit, the study invites the reader to engage with the complexity, uncertainty, and richness embedded within and between these pivotal case studies.

5.1 Summary of the Impact of U.S. Military Interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq

The military interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq initiated by the United States and its allies marked a significant shift in the global geopolitical landscape. The justification for these interventions was deeply rooted in the post-9/11 security policy of the U.S. with the objective

of dismantling networks of international terrorism, establishing democratic governance and stabilizing these historically unstable regions. This part of the study will summarize the impacts of the U.S. military intervention in both states.

5.1.1 *The Impact of the U.S. Military Interventions on State Institutions*

In Afghanistan, the immediate impact of the U.S. intervention was the swift toppling of the Taliban regime and establishment of a democratic government. However, the subsequent nation-building process which included the establishment of new democratic institutions and rebuilding of the country's economy, was fraught with challenges. State institutions based on the centralized democratic models remained weak as this turbulence is clearly visible in the domain of security institutions. The rapid disbanding of the Taliban left Afghanistan with a weakened and fragmented security institution, lacking the necessary structure, integration and legitimacy to maintain domestic order (Malkasian, 2013). The foreign security model disregarded Afghanistan's historical, cultural, and societal context, eroding institutional memory and causing operational friction (Barfield, 2010). This also led to temporary security vacuums, exploited by non-state actors to exacerbate instability. The dependency of the Afghan security institutions on foreign military presence inhibited their capacity building, making them weak and instable (Giustozzi, 2014).

The state institutions were further affected by the weak administration bodies characterized by the inclusion of new bodies and foreign organizations, fostering a dependency syndrome and corruption within the administration institutions which undermined the development of domestic administrative organizations (Goodhand & Sedra, 2009). Moreover, the establishment of a centralized democratic government contrasted with the deeply ingrained local political culture and dynamics of Afghanistan, compromising the credibility of state institutions led to misrepresentation of the state institutions. This imposition provoked resistance from local power brokers causing sociopolitical clashes and intensifying instability and unrest (Giustozzi & Ullah, 2006).

Iraq, after the invasion of the U.S., experienced similar institutional deteriorations. The Coalition Provisional Authority's "De-Baathification" policy induced a storm of chaos and leaving a vast power vacuum swiftly filled by certain non-state actors (Katzman, 2009). Moreover, the burgeoning influence of private security firms blurred the lines between state and private security, compromising the legitimacy and authority of Iraq's security institutions, thus weakened the security institutions (Dunigan, 2011). The administrative machinery of Iraq faced a similar misfortune, with the abrupt dismissal of numerous established government

employees, leading to a severe vacuum in administrative expertise. The administration bodies were further weakened by the involvement of foreign bodies that bred a long-term dependency cycle, and seeped corruption into the nascent systems, eroding institutional credibility, further destabilizing the country (UNAMI, 2004). Additionally, the imposition of foreign norms and structures onto Iraq's political landscape misinterpreted Iraq's intricate socio-cultural fabric. The sectarian quota system at the highest echelons of governance, rather than encouraging unity, led to severe fragmentation of political power and precipitated a zero-sum sectarian competition (Dodge T. , 2013).

5.1.2 *The Impact of the U.S. Military Interventions on Economic Landscape*

The economic impact of the interventions in both countries has been largely negative. Afghanistan, already one of the world's poorest countries in 2001 (World Bank, 2022), saw some improvements in certain economic indicators (such as GDP per capita), but these gains were heavily reliant on foreign aid and did not translate into a sustainable, self-sufficient economy because of certain factors. Neoliberal principles, under newly introduced government, embraced post-intervention, facilitated the opening of the Afghan economy to foreign investors, yet this simultaneously disadvantaged local industries. Poorly managed extraction contracts and multinational corporations' drive for profit maximization undermined Afghanistan's long-term interests, delivering limited economic benefits to its citizens. Besides, massive revenues coming from economic resources were funneled into maintaining the Afghan security forces, which consequently became a fiscal burden on the nation, underlining the opportunity cost of neglected sectors like agriculture, education, and healthcare. Moreover, distribution of resources characterized by corruption and uneven allocation exacerbating existing economic inequalities and regional disparities.

Similarly, Iraq, despite possessing the world's the fourth largest proven oil reserves, continues to struggle with economic stability. The Coalition Provisional Authority's restructuring initiatives transformed the national oil sector, opening it to foreign investment. This shift, while aiming to boost production and revenue for Iraq's reconstruction, facilitated exploitation by foreign firms. Moreover, military expenditure rose dramatically from \$0.6 billion in 2004 to \$9.98 billion in 2015, draining Iraq's oil revenue and foreign funding. This shift adversely affected public spending on health, education, and infrastructure, hampering sustainable development prospects. In addition to this, reconstruction efforts, heavily focused on urban areas and oil-rich regions, led to economic stagnation in rural communities, thereby contributing to regional disparities.

5.1.3 *The Impact of the U.S. Military Interventions on Domestic Security*

The foreign military interventions in both Afghanistan and Iraq led to significant increases in domestic insecurity. In Afghanistan, power vacuum caused by the intervention, intensified competition and violent power struggles among various ethnic, tribal, and political factions. This upheaval disrupted traditional power structures, paving the way for the emergence of new power brokers vying for control over the country's territories and resources. The intervention significantly contributed to the reconfiguration of the militant landscape, exacerbating existing local conflicts and generating new ones. The U.S. intervention did not instigate these ethnic conflicts but exacerbated the pre-existing tensions between the Pashtuns (mainly the Taliban) and other ethnic groups such as Hazaras, Tajiks, and Uzbeks. The U.S. intervention in Afghanistan generated a complex and precarious situation led to political violence that surged by civil conflicts and increased militant activity contributing to the country's increasing insecurity.

In Iraq, the newly formed democratic government though based on the inclusion of Iraq's diverse ethnic and religious groups faced eroded unity due to factional disputes and paving the way for an environment conducive to conflict. The subsequent power vacuum gave rise to an array of militant groups such as Islamic Army in Iraq, 1920 Revolution Brigades al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI), renamed itself as the Islamic State in Iraq and Sham (ISIS), the Mahdi Army and Ansar-al Sunna. Moreover, ethnic factions and especially the Sunni-Shiite divide, long held under check by Saddam Hussein, flared up into full-blown civil conflict due to the power vacuum that surge in political violence and led to domestic insecurity of the Iraqi state.

5.2 A Comparative Analysis of the Impact of U.S. Military Interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq

A comparative exploration of the experiences of Afghanistan and Iraq's post-U.S. military interventions reveals a complex interplay of similarities and differences framed by distinct contextual realities. Both countries underwent a swift alteration of political regime due to the foreign military intervention, leaving an immediate power vacuum. Yet, the peculiarities of their social, political, and historical contexts led to differentiated trajectories. While there are many similarities in how foreign military interventions have affected the two international locations, it is crucial to recognize the differences among the two interventions as their differences are related to pre-intervention state conditions, because during the pre-intervention

period, Afghanistan and Iraq were in very different states. So, this part of the study will relate the differences from the pre-intervention condition of both countries.

5.2.1 Comparison of the State Institutions in Post-Intervention Afghanistan and Iraq ***Similarities between the Two Cases***

In Afghanistan and Iraq, the dismantling of preexisting security infrastructures created a security vacuum that led to insurgency and militant activities. Despite the American efforts to rebuild security forces, both countries continued to grapple with rampant insecurity and instability. Many experienced soldiers in Iraq were marginalized as a result of the de-Baathification policy and the Iraqi military's dissolution, many of them later joined insurgency organizations. Similar to this, although the new Afghan National Security Forces was founded, it frequently lacked adequate training and the capacity to uphold security without support from abroad.

The administrative systems in both Iraq and Afghanistan were profoundly affected by the military interventions. The transitional administrations that were put in place post-intervention in both states often lacked the capacity to manage the complexities of governing. These new administrations were also fraught with corruption, which further undermined the effectiveness of state institutions.

In both countries, the misrepresentation of state institutions has been a recurring problem. In Iraq, the de-Baathification policy marginalized the Sunni Muslims, causing significant sectarian tension and discord. The new Shia-dominated government struggled with inclusivity, leading to widespread perceptions of sectarian bias. In Afghanistan, despite attempts to establish democratic institutions, many perceived the new government as externally imposed and lacking legitimacy. Ethnic, sectarian and tribal divides remained unaddressed and continued to undermine the representation and inclusivity of the new institutions.

Differences between the Two Cases

Under the Taliban, Afghanistan was considered a failed state. In Afghanistan, the task was akin to building a state from scratch because the state institutions were virtually non-existent or highly dysfunctional. In order to establish more stable institutions, enhanced security for public, widely acceptable government representations in Afghanistan needed a significant amount of international assistance. On the other hand, Iraq was a stable government under Saddam regime as he had control over various factions against the regime. Under Saddam,

institutions of Iraq were working properly and he had efficiently controlled over military and police of Iraq. After the intervention, institutions of Iraq changed from Bathification to De Bathification to make a more democratic state with democratic practices. However, this led to the removal of senior military and bureaucratic officials, which in turn fueled unrest and instability after the invasion.

The ethnic and sectarian compositions of Afghanistan and Iraq are different and have had significant influences on state-building efforts. Afghanistan is a multi-ethnic country with Pashtuns, Tajiks, Hazaras, Uzbeks, and many other groups. This diversity posed challenges for forming a unified national identity and representative institutions. The new power dynamics inadvertently bolstered local power brokers who often held diverging interests, complicating the process of centralizing authority. The interplay of these heterogeneous and often antithetical interests created a nexus of political instability that was further aggravated by systemic corruption. Consequently, this situation led to an oscillating political environment, a precarious equilibrium between emergent democratic practices and persistent old-age tribal dynamics. Moreover, tribal and ethnic loyalties often took precedence over national loyalty.

Iraq, meanwhile, is divided mainly along sectarian lines between Shia and Sunni Muslims, with a significant ethnic Kurdish minority. The post-invasion governance largely shifted power from the Sunni minority, which was favored under Saddam Hussein, to the Shia majority. This disenfranchisement incited a retaliatory response, fomenting a sectarian chasm that progressively widened in the aftermath of the U.S. intervention. The lack of a cohesive governance model that addressed these ethno-sectarian complexities further contributed to the sectarian discord. While the Iraqi political landscape began to emulate democratic structures, these structures were superficial and heavily underpinned by sectarian affiliations, starkly differing from the factionalized yet non-sectarian political dynamics of Afghanistan. This shift resulted in widespread sectarian tensions and contributed to the rise of extremist groups such as ISIS.

5.2.2 Economic Landscape in Post-Intervention Afghanistan and Iraq ***Similarities between the Two Cases***

The U.S. military intervention in both Afghanistan and Iraq had profound economic impacts, with several commonalities and differences. After the interventions, Iraq and Afghanistan experienced a significant increase in military spending that was driven by the need

to counter internal instability and external threats. This spending, mainly funded by foreign aid and oil revenues respectively, severely impacted the growth of other important sectors.

Afghanistan and Iraq witnessed a surge in foreign aid primarily from the U.S. which aimed at reconstruction and stabilization of their economies. This aid spurred temporary economic growth (GDP) and job creation in some sectors primarily in construction and services related to the reconstruction of the states. However, this dependency resulted in artificially inflated economic growth, which failed to translate into sustainable economic development and poverty reduction.

In both countries, the U.S. intervention exacerbated disparities in the distribution of resources, leading to regional imbalances and economic inequality. Besides, they witnessed high levels of corruption and mismanagement in the use of foreign aid for reconstruction. A significant proportion of the funds was unaccounted for, thereby increasing inequality and contributing to the uneven distribution of resources.

Difference between the Two Cases

In Afghanistan, decades of violence and instability severely damaged the infrastructure and economy. The country was primarily agrarian, with over 60 percent of the population engaged in agriculture for survival (World Bank, 2020). There was little industrial activity, and the infrastructure necessary for economic development was lacking. The country's overall infrastructure, banking system and other essential elements of a modern economy were either non-existent or severely underdeveloped.

On the other hand, Iraq was previously one of the most developed nations in the Middle East region and had sufficient economy based on oil before to the U.S. intervention. After the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990, the United Nations imposed economic sanctions that severely damaged economy of the country. Despite this, the country still had a functioning (albeit underperforming) economy and infrastructure, including a functioning banking system and oil sector.

The major difference lies in the economic foundation of the two countries. Afghanistan's economy, largely agrarian and underdeveloped, found itself grappling with challenges. In particular, the lack of effective state institutions, the presence of powerful warlords, and the ongoing conflict have hindered the development of the agricultural and mining sectors, thereby limiting employment opportunities and keeping much of the population in poverty. Besides, Afghanistan, despite being rich in mineral resources, didn't see the same level of exploitation or foreign exploitation of the country's resources.

Afghanistan's GDP fluctuations after the intervention were not as extreme as in Iraq. The relative steadiness of Afghanistan's growth rate was largely due to the continuous inflow of foreign aid and somehow illicit narcotics trade. However, the substantial inflow of foreign aid made the Afghan economy highly susceptible to external shocks. When aid levels decreased or were withdrawn (2014, 2015), the economy suffered significant downturns (World Bank, 2021). So, the country's economic growth didn't lead to economic stability due to reasons such as overdependence on foreign aid, corruption and lack of effective economic policies.

Iraq, on the other hand, possessed substantial wealth due to its vast oil reserves. Despite initial devastation, Iraq has since managed to increase its oil production, becoming one of the largest oil exporters globally. Nevertheless, the economic benefits of the U.S. intervention were relatively short-lived. Although the American invasion did lead to an initial increase in oil production and thus a temporary economic boom, this didn't result in the lasting economic growth or stability. Yet, similar to Afghanistan, Iraq has grappled with rampant corruption, and the heavy reliance on oil revenue has created a rentier state susceptible to global oil price fluctuations. Despite the potential that oil wealth held for Iraq, it has struggled to fully leverage it due to these challenges, preventing it from achieving a robust and inclusive economic recovery.

Moreover, Iraq's economy witnessed significant fluctuations in the GDP growth rate following the intervention. For instance, GDP growth plunged to -30 percent at the end of 2003 due to the invasion (World Bank, 2020). It rebounded to 53.4 percent in 2004 with the start of reconstruction efforts and the lifting of sanctions but fell again to 1.7 percent in 2005 as the security situation worsened (World Bank, 2020). These wide swings in the growth rate continued in the subsequent years, contributing to economic instability and poverty. While both countries witnessed economic transformations post-intervention, the nature and outcomes of these transformations were significantly different due to the contrasting starting points, the varying impacts on poverty levels, and the differing levels of economic stability.

5.2.3 Domestic Insecurity in the Post-Intervention Afghanistan and Iraq ***Similarities between the Two Cases***

Afghanistan and Iraq share a common pattern of increased political violence following the U.S. intervention. In both cases, the U.S.-led invasions were successful in toppling existing regimes, the Taliban in Afghanistan and Saddam's Ba'athist regime in Iraq. However, these military victories also resulted in power vacuums which was exploited by power brokers in both

states and led to a significant increase in political violence. Moreover, militant activities and civil conflict saw a marked increase in both countries following the U.S. intervention that fueled political violence.

Difference between the Two Cases

In Afghanistan, political violence spiked with the resurgence of the Taliban forces, targeting both Afghan and coalition forces, and also warlords. In Iraq, the political vacuum led to intra-sectarian strife among the Shia factions, like the Sadrist Movement and the Islamic Supreme Council of Iraq, who had divergent views on federalism and centralized governance. This intra-sectarian strife significantly contributed to Iraq's political violence.

During the Taliban rule, the country was already fragmented along ethnic lines, with the Northern Alliance; an ethnically diverse coalition of anti-Taliban forces, actively fighting against the Taliban rule. The country was essentially in a state of civil war, and various militant factions operated within its borders. During the post-intervention period, the U.S. and its allies faced a complex and adaptive insurgency from the Taliban and associated militant groups like the Haqqani Network. With porous borders and a challenging geographical landscape, these groups found safe havens and recruitment grounds, leading to a marked increase in the militant activities.

In contrast, in Iraq, Saddam had tight control over the country, limiting the space for militant groups to operate and also sectarian divisions were present, but Saddam's rule kept these tensions relatively contained. During the post-intervention period, the new chaotic environment gave rise to various militant groups. Al-Qaeda in Iraq, which later morphed into ISIS, exploited the political and security vacuum and the underlying sectarian tensions to gain support and establish a foothold. These groups were further strengthened by the influx of foreign fighters and the deepening sectarian divide, leading to a significant increase in militant activities.

The historic ethnic tension of Afghanistan had a frequent state of civil war. After the intervention, Pashtuns, who had formed the backbone of the Taliban, felt marginalized in the new political setup, where the Northern Alliance, comprised mainly of ethnic Tajiks, held significant power. These ethnic divisions have been further exacerbated by external influences, with different regional powers supporting different ethnic groups led to continuous civil conflicts. On the other hand, Saddam's Ba'athist regime, largely dominated by Sunni Arabs, maintained a lid on potential sectarian violence by suppressing any form of dissent or uprising as aforementioned. The newly formed government was seen by many Sunnis as favoring the

majority Shia, which led to feelings of disenfranchisement among the Sunni community. This sectarian strife divided the country into two major sects and led to increase in civil conflict within the country.

While the U.S. interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq were successful in terms of their immediate military objectives; overthrowing the regimes, but they failed to establish the long-term stability and security. Instead, they resulted in increased political violence, an upsurge in militant activities and heightened civil conflicts in both countries.

5.3 Findings of the Study

The central objective of this thesis was to critically investigate the impact of foreign military interventions (FMIs) on the political stability of intervened states. Two distinct case studies of the American interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq were employed to shed light on this complex and multifaceted issue. Three hypotheses were proposed, each targeting different aspects of state stability: institutional strength, economic prosperity, and domestic security. Upon rigorous analysis of the case studies, this research unveiled a series of key findings which significantly contribute to the broader discourse on the consequences of foreign military interventions in support of the research question and the hypotheses.

Firstly, in alignment with the first hypothesis, the findings strongly suggest that foreign military interventions impact the nature and functionality of state institutions substantially weaken the state institutions of the intervened state. It was found that FMIs often lead to fragmentation, reconfiguration and destabilization of existing institutional systems, thereby changing the political environment. The institutional fragmentation caused by FMIs weakens the effectiveness of administrative, security, and political systems. Such fragmentation, as seen in the case studies of Afghanistan and Iraq, often results in a security vacuum ripe for exploitation by insurgent or extremist groups. Foreign military interventions tend to weaken administrative bodies, creating dependencies, and encouraging a culture of patronage. In both Afghanistan and Iraq, the interventions resulted in a reliance on American resources and support, fostering a culture of dependency that undermined the self-sufficiency of these institutions. Furthermore, FMIs can lead to institutional misrepresentation, as local bodies are reshaped or depicted to align with the interveners' goals, often diverging from local customs and needs. This misalignment, was particularly apparent in efforts to instill Western democratic principles in Afghanistan and Iraq, generated further divisions and tensions.

The second hypothesis of the study established the distortive impacts of FMIs on the intervened state's economy and it has been largely supported by the research findings. While

short-term economic advantages were sometimes evident such as when interventions successfully restored stability whereas, long-term economic outcomes were largely negative in Afghanistan and Iraq. These include the exploitation of economic resources for the benefit of external actors. This exploitation under the guise of ‘development’ or ‘reconstruction’ efforts, exacerbates economic inequality and hampers long-term economic stability. It further includes substantial consumption of national revenues for conflict-related expenses, like in both cases; a large portion of the national budget was given to security and defense expenditures and limiting the funds available for social services, education, healthcare and other sectors vital for sustainable development. Furthermore, inequitable distribution of resources, majorly derived from the country’s natural resources and economic activities flowed disproportionately to select groups or regions which exacerbates social and economic disparities. Consequently, the foreign military interventions undermined sustainable development and exacerbated economic inequalities within the intervened states.

The third hypothesis stated that foreign military intervention increases the domestic insecurity of the intervened state. The research findings reveal a substantial uptick in political violence following FMIs. Rather than restoring stability, the interventions in both Afghanistan and Iraq seemed to provoke further violence, much of it politically driven. The violence is often tied to resistance movements against the foreign presence, sectarian divisions exacerbated by the destabilization, or the power vacuums created by the disruption of existing political structures. This study also found an expansion of militant activities and provided pre-existing groups with fresh recruitment narratives and opportunities. In both Afghanistan and Iraq, the presence of foreign troops served to strengthen and fuel insurgent activities, leading to prolonged periods of instability. Additionally, the research identified an increased prevalence of civil conflicts following FMIs. The shifting power dynamics and heightened tensions that often accompany foreign interventions can contribute to internal conflicts. In Afghanistan and Iraq, these conflicts have manifested along ethnic, sectarian and regional lines, further fracturing the social fabric and undermining attempts at national cohesion and peacebuilding.

The findings of this study confirm the research hypothesis that foreign military interventions, while sometimes bringing short-term stability, generally lead to longer-term instability by weakening state institutions, damaging economies, and exacerbating domestic security issues. These findings align with the research question exploring the impacts of foreign military interventions on domestic political stability. The empirical evidence provided by the case studies of Afghanistan and Iraq reaffirms these findings. The analysis also underscores the

critical need for understanding the complexities and consequences of foreign military interventions to guide future policy decisions.

5.4 Future Implications of the Study

The emanations from this comprehensive exploration that is centered on the impact of foreign military interventions upon the political stability of the intervened states, depicted by the case inquiries of Afghanistan and Iraq, spread considerably further than its initial focus. Consequent implications are multilayered, which will evolve in the coming years influenced by the multifaceted interplay of military intervention by other states.

The study lacked a detailed formulation of policy before conducting any foreign military intervention internationally. The discussed impact in this study like, weak security institutions, economic instability and increased domestic insecurity are the serious threats which can rise after a foreign military intervention, must be foreseen by policymakers. As a result, a shift in policy towards a deeper, culturally aware intervention formulation and execution can be expected. Moreover, the creation of reliable evaluation methods before the intervention that take the long-term effects of foreign interventions into account will be necessary as a result of this policy change.

The negative results of the foreign military interventions on a state's institutional, economy and domestic security as analyzed in the study have implications for global security in international relations as in the international arena, it may lead to more active discussion for the effective methods for resolving conflicts in any state. It could bring about a reconsideration of current foreign interventions related norms and practices that altering the international security strategies and possibly causing a move towards more diplomatic, peaceful types of intervention.

The study underlined instability and suffering at societal level within different groups based on secularism and ethnicity specifically in the result of foreign military intervention. Through the findings of this study, it shows that intervening states can focus on the societal structure of the intervened states which is more sensitive and can generate the comprehensive system which is more friendly to the society as reconstruction efforts after the intervention of the intervened states. To conclude, these implications of the study also provide basis to work on the other deep dimensions of foreign military interventions in order to give more effective and positively constructive strategies for the intervened states.

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