



 sciencedo

BALTIC JOURNAL OF LAW & POLITICS

A Journal of Vytautas Magnus University

VOLUME 16, NUMBER 3 (2023)

ISSN 2029-0454

Cite: *Baltic Journal of Law & Politics* 16:3 (2023): 2891-2904

DOI: 10.2478/bjlp-2023-00000214

External Determinants of Political Development in Iraq and its Effects After 2003

Zaid Ali Husain

University of Babylon-College of Education for Human Sciences

Farah Salim Rabit Alsultani

University of Babylon-College of Education for Human Sciences

Received: December 21, 2022; reviews: 2; accepted: January 10, 2023

Abstract

Political development is one of the concepts that has taken a wide range of attention from specialists because of the major roles it plays in the transition from a state of underdevelopment and stagnation to a state of launching and moving towards overcoming the crises of the relationship between the rulers and the ruled. And if attention is focused on the crises of political development, then the ways to overcome them are considered a major problem that many countries have suffered and suffer from, due to the persistence and frequency of these crises in the societies of the developing world. And its importance theoretically and practically, we will address in this research the external determinants of political development in Iraq by addressing the determinants at the regional level and then the international level, and because of their effects on the internal political situation in Iraq and its development policy.

Introduction

External determinants are considered one of the most important obstacles facing countries and their political development, because of their direct or indirect effects on the destabilization or stability of those countries, especially if these regional countries have military, economic, commercial or other power, as is the case with Turkish influence and exerting pressure to control Sources of water resources, in addition to other countries that have another weapon, and it is the weapon of the sectarian followers, as is the case of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Islamic Republic of Iran, and the events that led to the extension of their influence within Iraqi politics and even the military and security system, especially

the Islamic Republic of Iran and its leadership of many armed factions that It operates outside the Iraqi military institution and is managed exclusively by the Iranian administration, as well as the political role after these factions worked to obtain some joints of government through participation in parliamentary elections to allow them to exercise their duties legitimately and achieve their negative programs for the Iraqi political situation and political development.

First: the research problem

- 1- What is political development?
- 2- What are the determinants and what is their negative role in political development in Iraq?

Second:-Research hypothesis

- 1- The goal in political development lies in an attempt to employ the foundations and foundations that advance human societies and take them towards progress and progress.
- 2- They are the factors that have a significant impact on bringing about change, and have a negative role on political development by weakening the political, military, economic and even sovereign process of Iraq.

Third: - Research objective

Knowing the external determinants that affect the process of political development in Iraq, highlighting them and the possibility of developing solutions to them, in order to achieve political development and achieve political stability for Iraq.

Fourth: Research Methods: The research relied on several approaches, the most important of which are the functional approach and the historical approach, in addition to the power analysis approach.

Fifth: Research Limits

Spatial borders: It is the borders of the study area (Iraq), which is located on an astronomical site between latitudes (37.22-29.5) north and longitudes (48.45-38.42) east. The west is Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, and the west is Syria and Jordan.

As for the temporal limits, they are determined by the period between (2003-2022).

First: regional determinants

1. Iran

It is clear that Iran belongs to the category of countries with regional ambition, which means that it is one of the countries whose total capabilities - such

as location, size, resources and knowledge - do not qualify it to play a role at the global level, but at the same time it possesses regional ambition and capabilities, and once Iran emerged as a political unit, it remained Its foreign policy is linked to the nature of the geographical location it occupies. As it puts it in contact with Arab and Islamic countries, which have its weight and political, economic and strategic weight. When we observe the Iranian-Arab relations in particular, we find that this relationship faces a strategic dilemma represented in Iran's sense of cultural isolation. As a result of the Persian national composition, and the Shiite sect adopted in it, which created for it a complex of opposition to the Arabs and hatred for them, in addition to the historical Iranian military superiority causing more Arab concern about Iran's tendencies in the region. Returning to Iran's position in relation to neighboring countries, we find that there are two geographical circles Two main areas are the focus of Iranian attention, the first is represented by the countries of the Caucasus, the Caspian Sea, and Central Asia, located in the north of Iran, while the second consists of the Arab Gulf countries, and is located in the south, and the importance of these two areas for Iran lies because of the cultural and sectarian extension they possess represented in the Shiite sect, And economic wealth represented in oil and natural gas reserves (1).

Iran is a neighboring country to Iraq from the east, with a border length of 1,300 km, and they have civilized, religious and social ties since their existence. Which made them of military and political importance to the greed of the great powers, as they are the vital artery and the engine of the world economy (2).

Iraq occupies an important place in Iranian thinking, as Iran's current policies towards Iraq are still affected by the devastating war with Iraq that lasted from 1980-1988. The war between Iraq and Iran, which Iranian officials described as "sacred defense," was a pivotal event for the Islamic Republic. (3), Then a kind of calm followed after the second Gulf War in 1991 and continued until the fall of Saddam's regime and the US occupation of Iraq in 2003. The holding of elections and the arrival of a Shiite government to the regime from the opposition parties that were present in Iran led to expanding the horizons of cooperation with Iraq, as well as supporting the nascent government on the one hand, and at the same time striving to expand its influence in Iraq by having a number of factions that threaten The stability of Iraq and the unity of its land politically and economically, so the Iranian behavior was characterized by clear duality by taking Iraq as an arena for settling scores with the United States of America and thwarting its project in it. Thus, Iran is starting in terms of its national interests and Iraq does not mean anything to it in particular by questioning the independence of the Iraqi government's decisions from the American decision. (4).

We can define the Iranian role in Iraq and its impact on political development based on the following:

- 1- Iran supported the federal project to ensure its continuity and influence in Iraq through its penetration into the southern Shiites of Iraq (5).
- 2- Despite the old problem of demarcating the borders and waterways between Iraq

and Iran, the latter changed the courses of many rivers, including the Karun River, which flows into the Shatt al-Arab and turned it into the Iranian depth, and used water as a pressure card and a geopolitical weapon against Iraq.

- 3- Enacting legislation that preserves water resources and its interference in Iraq's internal affairs, as well as displacing the residents of the border areas to take over their lands and weaken agriculture in Iraq by deliberately cutting off all border tributaries that flow into the Tigris River, and this in itself is an international violation of all international laws and norms regarding water. International (6). Which affected the weakness of agricultural activity on the disruption of the Iraqi economy after the drought that prevailed over 70 thousand dunums and the displacement of the population of these areas (7).
- 4- Iran has drained the hard currency from Iraq by flooding the market with cheap goods of poor quality and selling natural gas at several times the price of what is sold internationally.
- 5- Iran's interference in the internal affairs of Iraq, specifically in the political and military process, and its delay in the political process in the formation of the Iraqi government and political decision-making, by having an authoritarian influence in the Iraqi government, controlling it and directing it according to its own interests, what meets its needs and serves its interests. Iran was able to control many internal affairs through its organization of many Islamic parties and its support for them (8).
- 6- Iran worked to prevent disloyal Islamic parties and Islamic parties from reaching Iraqi power and marginalizing their presence in Parliament.
- 7- Trying to consolidate their relations with many Iraqi forces to ensure that they stand by them in the event that America takes any hostile decision or policy against Iran (9).
- 8- Expanding its political and military influence in Iraq and expanding the sphere of influence to ensure its survival as a regional power in the region and to prevent Iraq from returning as a pro-American power by creating a regional environment that serves all its goals and reducing and weakening the foreign presence and remaining the only superpower in the region (10).
- 9- Iran turned religion into a tool that it used for its intervention at the level of politics, references, and parties through which it formed its most prominent influence. Iraq is considered the trump card for Iran of great importance, strategic depth, and a rare partner in the doctrine, and it worked to combine funding, political support, and training to expand its influence and exploit it in achieving its interests. Its foreign policy is clear and religion is the most prominent factor in its features (11).

A summary of the foregoing, it can be said that Iraq's proximity to Iran represented an important determinant in building the state in Iraq after 2003, despite the positive positions that Iran was taking, such as supporting Iraq in its war against the terrorist organizations of ISIS in 2014, and this thing cannot be

We deny it, but turning Iraq into an arena to thwart the American project in Iraq and the region in itself is the weakest decision-maker's options and the weakest state institutions in building real political development.

1. Türkiye

Turkey is the neighbor neighboring Iraq's northern borders, which has a close relationship with Iraq since the Ottoman times, as the social, religious and ethnic ties were the strong link in linking the two neighboring countries, but the entry of politics between any two relations spoils their content, no matter how strong and solid they are, as the relationship between Iraq and Turkey has been destabilized since the events The Iraq war on Kuwait in 1990, which Turkey considers a point of concern and fears for the Turks, and as a result, Turkey cooperated with the United States of America, forming the tripartite aggression alliance against Iraq, to show the tension in the relationship between the two countries and Turkey's intention to exploit Iraq's conditions, the deterioration of its conditions, and the crisis it is going through after the imposition of the sanctions that were imposed It has to achieve its interests in the region (12), after which the Turkish hostility to Iraq is represented by many problems, the most important of which are the following:

First: the water problem.

The water problem is one of the most important problems that occurred between Iraq and Turkey. It was recently added to a group of pending political, security and economic files and problems between the two countries, which increased the complexity and stumbling block in the process of building the Iraqi state and a major factor in displacing the good relationship between the two countries by not liquidating the outstanding files between the Iraqi government - Turkish, as the national rivers Tigris and Euphrates were considered international rivers after the Treaty of (Lausanne) in 1933. Which is the first in the process of dividing water between the three countries (Syria, Iraq and Turkey) (13),

Many major countries, such as Britain and France, sought to intervene in resolving the Iraqi-Turkish water problem, but Turkey had a different opinion, and if it apparently agreed with all parties, it did not abide by any of the solutions to the water divisions agreed upon and concluded in the agreements and treaties. Therefore, Turkey has worked to establish many water projects, dams and water channels such as (Keban Dam - Qarqaya Dam - Ataturk Dam - Urfa Tunnel) (14),

The reason for Turkey's insistence on establishing these projects at the headwaters of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, which would harm the economy of the Iraqi state and upset the balance of agricultural production by controlling the release of water quantities of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, is due to several considerations, the most important of which are the following (15)

1- Turkey insists that it does not recognize the Tigris and Euphrates rivers

internationally, as it considers them transboundary rivers and not international, and they are not covered by the 1997 Convention on the Law of the Use of International Watercourses for Non-navigational Purposes.

2- Its complete rejection of dividing the waters of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers between (Syria-Iraq-Turkey).

The Tigris and Euphrates rivers are considered one water basin, rather the Euphrates River is only a tributary of the Shatt al-Arab tributaries due to its confluence with the Tigris River.

4- Turkey's failure to recognize the entitlement of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers to Syria and Iraq, since the legally acquired rights are not recognized internationally.

5- Turkey clings to the pretext of the lack of international law that guarantees the division of international transboundary waters between countries.

Therefore, Turkey considers that the water war on Iraq is a very profitable economic pressure card, given that Turkish water is its economic wealth and Iraq is oil, to barter Iraq for water for oil, which is seeking to practice water war on neighboring countries to establish its new empire with its water weapon and restore its hegemony over the region (16),

secondly: Turkish military bases.

Foreign bases in the land of a country are a determining factor for the stability of the state, especially if the state suffers from sectarian, national, and ethnographic conflicts. Therefore, these military bases represent a source of threat to the stability and prosperity of the state. As the work of the military bases is a platform for military maneuvers and a transport site for peacekeeping forces and the provision of humanitarian aid in all countries in times of war and peace and even in times of natural disasters, as the presence of these bases in a large way on the borders of a country creates a major crisis and the emergence of an external force that can work on Destabilizing the security and sovereignty of the state or controlling the internal and external problems of the state as it is the hidden force that helps countries abroad until foreign military bases have become one of the most important devices for organizations such as NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) and the European Union. The presence of military bases in the border areas of the state for long periods of time is a major cause of political, social and environmental problems (2) and this gives a great impression of the host country as being weak and unable to protect its security and sovereignty and the loss of control over part of its lands to other countries.

This is what happened with the advent of the Turkish forces, their concentration in northern Iraq, and the incursion into its lands, taking advantage of the weakness of the Iraqi state and the decision-makers to take decisive and deterrent decisions against the Turkish intervention in the internal affairs of Iraq, the deployment of its military forces and the building of its military bases, and when it entered Iraqi lands in the northern regions (in Mosul and Bashiqa) in the year

2015 Turkey claimed that these forces were found to train the Kurdish Peshmerga forces, and certainly the reason is not real to justify its military presence because it is an explicit attack by Turkey on the sovereignty of the Iraqi state for the presence of the Turkish army trained and equipped with the latest weapons, tanks, war and military equipment, organized and prepared, ready to launch military strikes on northern Iraq (17), which led Iraq to submit an official protest paper to the UN Security Council to protest against the entry of the Turkish army into Iraqi territory and the construction of military bases. However, Recep Tayyip Erdogan stated that the entry of the Turkish forces is with the knowledge of the Kurdistan Regional Government and with prior agreements between the two parties without the knowledge of the Iraqi central government. However, the President of the Kurdistan Region.

He denied what Erdogan said, and this is a clear and blatant attack on the sovereignty of the State of Iraq (18), as the Iraqis went out with protest marches and large demonstrations protesting against Turkey's violation of Iraq's sovereignty and its entry into Iraqi territory.

The entry of the Turkish forces into Iraq and the Turkish intervention caused a lot of reactions for many Arab and foreign countries, as Russia declared that the Turkish intervention in the internal affairs of Iraq violates the sovereignty (). Iran supports Iraq and stands by it against Turkish interference (11). And the UAE held an emergency meeting of the Arab countries to discuss the Turkish intervention in Iraq (9). The President of the Arab League stated that the Turkish interference in Iraqi internal and external affairs is a (blatant) interference and is totally and completely rejected (10), while the White House statement regarding the entry of Turkish forces into Iraq was a violation of the sovereignty of Iraq. Iraq, and the consequences will be dire.

The organized Turkish bombing of Iraqi Kurdistan began after the approval of the Turkish Parliament after allowing the use of the Turkish army in military operations outside Turkey's borders for one year. specified.

As we can outline a set of goals of the Turkish presence in Iraq, the most important of which are the following. (19),

- 1- Ensuring stability and maintaining Turkish national security from the oppression of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (B.K.K), which is stationed in the (Qandil) mountains at the (Iraqi-Turkish-Iranian) wormhole triangle, which is the main starting point for the operations of the PKK.
- 2- Ensuring protection for the Iraqi Turkmen who are stationed in the rich and disputed oil province of Kirkuk between Arabs, Kurds and Turkmen. Turkey considers its defense of the Turkmen and Kirkuk as Iran's defense of the Shiite component and Saudi Arabia, Qatar and the Emirates of the Sunni component.
- 3- Securing the protection of the oil pipelines extending between Kirkuk and the port of Ceyhan, and working on extending the natural gas pipeline with the help of the Kurdistan Regional Government.

Nevertheless, there is no Turkish decision or intention to withdraw the Turkish forces from Iraq, even if Erdogan's government has changed and another new government has replaced it, because this matter is considered a matter that affects the security of the Turkish Republic and is something agreed upon by all the Turkish parties, and it cannot be changed or prejudiced, and that the only and radical solution is to remove the forces Turkishness from Iraq is to expel the PKK from Iraq, which is considered a source of threat to the national security of the Turkish Republic, after which there is no justification for any Turkish military or civilian presence in Iraq.

In addition to Turkey's support for some terrorist organizations, sheltering those wanted for justice and members of the dissolved Ba'ath Socialist Party, Turkey is considered a strong and important determinant in impeding political development in Iraq.

3. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

The Iraqi-Saudi relations witnessed many and different events at all political, social, economic and religious levels, with regional and international interventions that punctured the harmonious fabric between the two countries, especially after the occupation of the former Iraqi president, Saddam Hussein, of the State of Kuwait, which is a point of decline in relations between Iraq and Saudi Arabia, and the latter's claim for the funds that supported Saddam Hussein in His war against Iran and its occupation, which was considered a gift to Iraq at the time, which amounted to about (18) eighteen billion US dollars (1)

Soon, Saudi Arabia changed its policy towards Iraq, fearing for its interests and lands from the progress of the Iraqi forces in Kuwait, which led to its allowing the international forces and the American occupation to enter Iraq and deploy the American armed forces in Iraqi cities across its lands to stop the progress of the Iraqi forces in invading Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia became a supporter of the international coalition forces Which ended with the expulsion of Iraq from the State of Kuwait and the occupation and bombing of Iraqi cities by American forces at the time. The situation continued as it is until the year 2002, in which it was necessary for a breakthrough for those tense relations between the two countries and the conclusion of reconciliation between them. Which Iraq presented by not invading and invading Kuwait of its lands, which was followed by the dissolution of the tense relations between Iraq and Saudi Arabia and their breakthrough for the first time.

And the estrangement continued from 1991 until 2022 because of the policies that Saddam Hussein's regime was pursuing, and after the American occupation of Iraq, he did not seek to reform those relations or open the axes of communication and dialogue with all countries of the Arab world, especially the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, but everyone is in a state of anticipation of the Iraqi situation after The occupation, which is a negative point in improving the level of relations between Iraq and neighboring countries (1)

As the rift that took place between Iraq and Saudi Arabia was due to the

mutual accusations between the two parties, as Saudi Arabia accused that the arrival of the Shiite component to power in the Iraqi governments that were formed after 2003 is sectarian, as it constitutes a source of threat to its security and stability in the region, while the Iraqi government has accused Saudi Arabia of being the financier. For the terrorist groups and the supporter of those armed forces and Wahhabi movements in Iraq and the region.

(2) Al-Khazraji 2019

However, Saudi Arabia has begun to think of having a role in the Iraqi political process, so it worked on the unanimous parties of the Iraqi political forces at one table in Cairo in 2004 to establish a national reform project that works on the basis of reconciliation and building the Iraqi state in a way that serves all ethnicities without discrimination among them through Providing assistance in the reconstruction of Iraq in the amount of one billion US dollars, but the Iraqi politicians did not turn the old page and started a new one, due to the accusations against Saudi Arabia of its support

For terrorism and its adoption and embedment 'among the ranks of the people, as well as Saudi Arabia's obstruction of Iraqis in obtaining a visa to enter Saudi lands, as well as Saudi laboratories' support for the dissolved Ba'ath Party and armed terrorist groups that worked to sabotage Iraq after the occupation, and the terrorists' terrorist military operations destabilized the security and stability of most Iraqi cities and sowed division and sectarianism And the killing and displacement of urban residents, especially in Mosul, Anbar, Karbala, Baghdad, Babel, Diwaniyah, Najaf, Basra, booby-trapped cars, hand grenades, explosive devices and explosive belts.

Summarize it with several points

1- The US invasion of Iraq in 2003 (the change in the regional balance of power)

The American invasion of Iraq is a major historical event in the political history of Iraq and the countries of the Arab region. This event caused an imbalance in the balance of Arab regional powers and even Iran, and then turned to non-Arab countries, which made it possible to create a new strategic environment that helped Iran maneuver in the region easier (9) although The existence of a close relationship between Iran and the Iraqi Shiite government from a long time ago, which raised the fears of the United States of America about Iran's regional expansion in the region after Iraq, as the presence of American military forces in Iraq made it a regional power.

The Saudi view of the nature of the political system in Iraq after 2003.

After America's occupation of Iraq and its entry into a new political and legal

phase, especially after the approval of the permanent Iraqi constitution in 2005 and the formation of a new Iraqi government for the first time according to a new election law, the features of the new Iraqi political system and how to distribute ruling positions among the components of the people (Shiites, Sunnis and Kurds), as the component attended The Shiites gained power due to the Shiite political forces that they possess with the support of the Iranian side, which led to a change in Saudi Arabia's foreign and domestic policy towards Iraq and its withdrawal from its support for it and its abandonment of it. (12)

3- The rise of the terrorist variable.

The escalation of acts of violence and rebellion in western and northwestern Iraq by terrorist organizations against the new government in cooperation with the Baath Party and Al-Qaeda organization missed the opportunity for Saudi Arabia to achieve reconciliation with Iraq to end the differences and the frequency of bilateral relations between the two countries, as Saudi Arabia has become the biggest enemy of Iraq and the first accused in its financing of the groups terrorists, arming and supporting them (13)

And that these were not only accusations, but it was confirmed for the presence of more than 350 Saudis among the fighters of terrorist groups inside Iraqi territory, as several reports indicated that about (45%) of the foreign Sunni fighters in Iraq are Saudis (14).

This led to the closure of all discussion axes that Riyadh wants to put forward in resolving the differences with Baghdad, despite the denial of all accusations leveled at it by the Iraqi government, which led to the expansion and deepening of the differences between Saudi Arabia and Iraq and justification for the expansion of Iranian influence in Iraq by some political forces. .

4- Political developments in Iraq and Saudi Arabia.

The Saudi Crown Prince, Mohammed bin Salman, changed his policy towards Baghdad, seeking in every way to improve those relations between the two countries, especially after the ascension of Haider al-Abadi, the head of the Iraqi government, to the hierarchy of power, who in turn took a national stance towards the outstanding political issues between all of Iraq's neighbors, which led to the establishment of Saudi Arabia appoints its first ambassador to Baghdad after severing relations for more than 25 years (17)

Therefore, the occupation of Iraqi cities by ISIS is a violation of the sovereignty of the Iraqi state, its lands, and human rights, for what it has done of sabotage, destruction, looting, killing, slaughter, and spreading terror and fear among the entire population. The military forces and the popular crowd After the religious fatwa launched by the religious authority, Sayyid Ali al-Sistani (may his life be long), Iraq did not recover from all the crime and sabotage that resulted from ISIS's occupation of different regions of Iraq except after long suffering that

hindered the process of economic and political development and state-building. Saudi Arabia has an impact The great and profound deterioration of the political, economic and social conditions.

Second: International determinants

United States of America

Today, America is considered the world's superpower and the engine of world decisions and events. By its alliance with the major and superpowers in the world, it has made itself in the position of the mother and the whole world under its tutelage by virtue of its economic, political, social and military power. Fulfillment of its promises and no commitment to its decisions other than what they pour into its interests, as America is the first enemy of Arabs and Muslims in general and the Middle East region in particular, and the one who was most stunned by America's enmity is Iraq, which has a distinguished strategic location that enjoys the attention of American decision-makers, as it considers it as an inexhaustible oil well that allows it to survive and exist Military in the Middle East region and winning the ranks of the largest number of hostile countries and punishing them and their center of launch from Iraq and its control over the entire Middle East region, as most of its policy is its unilateralism with decisions related to military intervention in countries with which it has economic interests in order to preserve the security and safety of its interests more than security and safety these countries.

And with the expansion of America's interests in the world and the strength of its connection and commitment in the theaters of its operations, it began here to mobilize and involve its allies in its planned and systematic theaters, starting from the international consensus on establishing a new vision that transforms countries and the world as a whole and becomes a global system in which America is the leader of this system and presides over it politically, economically and militarily ().

America has succeeded in this unanimity because it failed to achieve this international consensus on Iraq, not for the sake of Iraq, but rather out of fear of America leading the position, its domination and arrogance over them, and America's role of God in the Middle East ().

If Iraq's strategic importance to America, after Iraq's war on Kuwait in 1991, culminated in its policies towards Iraq in several matters, the most important of which is the following ().

- 1- America continued its escalation against Iraq, especially in the international security resolutions of Article VII, which work to reduce the size of Iraq in light of the conditions of the international blockade imposed on Iraq.
- 2- Reducing the role of the Iraqi political system internationally (politically, economically, and diplomatically), isolating it, and questioning Iraq's intentions to offer peace and reconciliation in the region.
- 3- It exploited the events of September 11, 2001 and the circumstances that

coincided with it and linked global terrorism to Iraq.

- 4- Its pre-planning for the occupation of Iraq and its announcement of a plan crowned with a picture of quiet principles for an American policy that precedes the American invasion of Iraq by two years.

America invaded Iraq on 3/15/2003 and replaced the Iraqi army and security forces responsible for maintaining security and stability in Iraq and made the state without sovereignty or a system to rule it (), opened the Iraqi borders to terrorist groups in the absence of law and supporting terrorism and spreading them throughout Iraq and made Killing, terror and fear prevailed among all and made Iraq arenas for rivalry and fighting and allowed countries to intervene in Iraq and the activity of armed groups after the collapse of the state's prestige and the proliferation of weapons.

unlawful between armed and outlaw groups and factions to ensure their survival for reasons of protecting Iraq ().

Its control over Iraq's oil, which comes second after Saudi Arabia, which is estimated at about (200) billion barrels, equivalent to (15%) of the world's reserves, and its theft, which is the most important American energy source, which allows it to dominate Iraq, revive its economy, secure compensation for its losses in wars, and make Iraq's economy is in the grip of its hand and it controls it however it likes and pours into its interests ().

The identity and sectarian tragedies spread by America in Iraq have led to the outbreak of conflicts that have shaken the spirit of security and internal stability. Sunnis, Kurds, Turkmen, Sabians, and Yazidis) and made the fighting among themselves, and the destruction of the infrastructure following the terrorist acts and the war that was waged on Iraq, which cost Iraq huge sums of money for reconstruction.

It is clear from the foregoing that America was the impact of the black foot and the worst in impeding political development in Iraq because of what it did of destruction, ruin and plundering of the state's wealth, which was under the auspices of the Coalition Authority ().

Conclusions

- 1- The study showed the negative Iranian role towards Iraq on all political, military, sovereign and economic levels.
- 2- The study showed the negative role played by the United States of America in order to weaken Iraq and push back the paths of good governance capable of achieving comprehensive political development in general and political development in the country in particular.
- 3- The study showed the negative role produced by the security agreements, which was a major reason for the violation of Iraqi sovereignty by America, Iran and Turkey.
- 4- The study showed the negative side because of the extremist sectarian extension and the terrorist organizations it produced, which were a major cause of destabilizing security in Iraq.

Sources

First: Books:

- 1- Ali Reza Nader, the role that Iran plays in Iraq. Is there room for cooperation between Iran and the United States of America? A RAND Corporation View, 2015.
- 2- Ramzi Salameh, The Water Problem in the Arab World, Possibilities of Conflict and Settlement, Manshaat al-Maarif, Alexandria, Egypt, 2001.
- 3- Hussein Juma and others, The American Strategy in Iraq and the Region, 1st edition, Iraq Center for Studies, Baghdad, 2008.
- 4- A group of authors, The War on Iraq, 1st Edition, Center for Arab Unity Studies, Beirut, 2007.

Second: The letters and dissertations:

- 1- Muhammed Kashish Khashan Al-Musawi, The impact of Iraq's geographical and political location on the future of its relationship with the countries of the new Asian sphere, Master's thesis (unpublished), College of Arts, University of Kufa, 2011.
- 2- Hamida Abd al-Hussein Muhammad, a geopolitical analysis of Iraq's relations with the Arab neighboring countries, PhD thesis, G.M., College of Education for Girls, University of Kufa, 2016.

Third: Research and periodicals:

- 1- Muhammad Odeh Al-Agha, The Political Geography of Iran and its Impact on its Regional Ambition, available at: <https://arabi21.com/story/835471/>
- 2- Ali Reza Nader, the role played by Iran in Iraq. Is there room for cooperation between Iran and the United States of America? The RAND Corporation view.
- 3- Batool Halil Al-Musawi, Iraq in the Iranian strategy after the American occupation of Iraq, Journal of Al-Mustansiriya Center for Arab and International Studies, No. (25), 2008.
- 4- Mahmoud Al-Shammari, Iraq's damages from the water crisis with Iran, 11/26/2021, available at www.iranwaire.com.
- 5- Ammar Mari Al-Hassan, Turkish-Iranian competition to control Iraq after 2003, Dar Al-Kutub Al-Ilmya for printing, publishing and distribution, Baghdad, 2014.
- 6- Ali Ahmed, Iran is worried about the emergence of a regional role for Iraq that adheres to a close relationship with America, 2011, available on the website, www.freeiraqvoice.com.
- 7- Abd al-Amir Hadi, and Zahir Abd al-Zahra al-Rubaie, Iranian political motives and goals towards Iraq after 2003, University of Basra, College of Education for Human Sciences, Dhi Qar University Journal, Issue 14, March 1, 2019.

- 8- Dr. Mona Hussein Obaid, Iraqi-Turkish relations and their impact on the stability of Iraq, University of Baghdad, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Issue (60).
- 9- Qabas Natiq Muhammad, Turkey and the Water War 'Journal of the College of Political Sciences' University of Baghdad, College of Political Sciences, Issue (10), July 1993.
- 10- Sobhi Ahmed Zuhair Al-Adly, The International River, Concept and Reality in Some of the Rivers of the Arab East, Beirut, Center for Arab Unity Studies, 2007.
- 11- Dhafer Dhafer Husban, The Water Problem between Iraq and Turkey, International Papers, University of Baghdad, Center for International Studies, Issue (173), January, 2009.
- 12- Turkish forces invade Iraq, Russia Channel website, March 5, 2016, Back Machine website.
- 13- Erdogan refuses to withdraw Turkish forces from Iraq, Al-Hurra TV website, March 5, 2016, on the Wayback Machine website.
- 14- Akhbar Al-Iraq Al-Youm, an Iranian exhibition on the Turkish military intervention in Iraq, Good Press, 12-22-2015.
- 15- The UAE calls for an emergency Arab meeting to discuss the entry of Turkish forces into Iraq, (Watan) channel, 4-17-2017.
- 16- Al-Arabi describes the Turkish intervention in northern Iraq as "al-Safer", Masr Al-Arabiya TV, 5-31-2020.
- 17- A UN official, Turkish intervention in Iraq is a violation of sovereignty, Masr Al Arabiya Channel, 5-31-2020, Wayback Mission.
- 18- Turkish Military Bases in Northern Iraq: State Necessity or Expansionist Considerations, Rawabet Center for Research and Strategic Studies, <https://rawabetcenter.com/archives/149066>.
- 19- Enas Abdel-Sada Ali, The Impact of External and Internal Determinants in Building the Iraqi State, published research, Baghdad University Journal, College of Political Science.