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البحوث المنشورة تعبر عن آراء أصحابما وليس بالضرورة عن رأي المجلة

2023

الشؤون المالية م. مدير علي عبد الله جابر

قواعد النشر

- لغة المجلة هي اللغة العربية والانكليزية على أن يراعى الوضوح وسلامة النص.
- ترحب المجلة بنشر البحوث والدراسات السياسية النظرية والتطبيقية ولا سيما التي تجعل من قضايا
 المنطقة والعالم محط اهتمامها، ماضياً وحاضراً ومستقبلاً، وعلى وفق الآتي:
- أن لا يزيد عدد صفحات البحث أو الدراسة عن (25) صفحة مطبوعة بثلاث نسخ مرفقة مع قرص مرن (CD)، مع مراعاة حجم الخط (14) والتباعد (1,15) ونوع الخط Simplified Arabic على ان تكون الهوامش اسفل كل صفحة مطبوعة بالطريقة الالكترونية وبحجم خط (11) ونوع الخط Simplified Arabic وتجمع بقائمة منفصلة عن المصادر في نهاية البحث.
- أن تعتمد الأصول العلمية المتعارف عليها في إعداد البحوث والدراسات وكتابتها وبخاصة التوثيق بحيث تتضمن:
 بالنسبة للكتاب الآتي: أسم المؤلف، عنوان الكتاب، مكان النشر، الأسم الكامل للناشر، تاريخ النشر، أرقام الصفحات.
 اما بالنسبة للمقالة: فتتضمن أسم الكاتب، عنوان المقالة، اسم الدورية، مكان صدورها، عددها،

تاريخها، وأرقام الصفحات.

- أن تتصف البحوث والدراسات بالموضوعية والدقة العلمية.
- أن تعتمد الترقيم العشري للعناوين الأساسية والفرعية او التنصيف المعياري العام.
- يرفق مع كل بحث او دراسة ملخصين (احدهما باللغة العربية والآخر باللغة الانكليزية) وقائمة بالمراجع والمصادر المعتمدة.
- تخضع جميع البحوث المقبولة للنشر الى نظام الاستلال الالكتروني في كلية العلوم السياسية –
 جامعة النهرين.
 - يرفق مع كل بحث ودراسة سيرة ذاتية مختصرة للباحث.
- تقوم المجلة بإخطار الباحثين بإجازة بحوثهم أو دراساتهم بعد عرضها على محكمين تختارهم على
 نحو سري من بين أصحاب الاختصاص.
- يجوز للمجلة أن تطلب إجراء تعديلات شكلية أو شاملة على البحث أو الدراسة قبل إجازتها للنشر بما يتماشى مع أهدافها.
 - لا تلتزم المجلة بإعادة البحوث والدراسات التي يعتذر عن نشرها.

 ترحب المجلة بالمناقشات الموضوعية لما ينشر فيها أو في غيرها من الدوريات وبأية ردود فكرية أو تصويب، وكذلك ترحب بنشر التقارير عن المؤتمرات والندوات ذات العلاقة ومراجعات الكتب وملخصات الرسائل الجامعية التي تتم إجازتها على أن تكون من إعداد أصحابها.

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Concentrating the Spheres of Containment and Prevention in National Security Strategy

(Utilizing Tenors and Model–Buliding in Iraq) $^{\nabla}$

Prof Dr. Ali Faris Hameed[•]

Introduction

Thinking about strategic defense fields has become of an important value in contemporary strategic writings due to considerations related to the preoccupation with them by experts and strategic planners. Further, the importance of thinking about strategic defence has increased because states need these strategies as they multiply states' ability to interact and survive. The areas related to the strategies aim to change the status quo, and therefore the logical calculations that are interconnected with the state and its survival make it risk attaching its survival to the ability of the offensive force to achieve the goals ^(••). Accordingly, the doubling of power and the state's preservation of its prestige in the international system makes it obliged to search for areas of strategic defense that can secure the scope of its action according to a security methodology that is commensurate with the movement of changes and changing priorities of interests.

Keywords: Strategy, defense, development, security

Areas and problems of strategic defence: perspective and techniques

The thinking perspective is associated with defense strategies with two basic criteria: The first criterion relates to the perspective, which is mainly related to

[⊽] تاريخ النقديم : 2023/5/3 تاريخ النقديم : 2023/6/31 تاريخ النقديم : Professor of International and Strategic Studies at Al-Nahrain University .

^{••} This view is based on the approaches of states' strategies in the international system .For more see: Robert Gilpin, War and Change in Global Politics, translated by: Omar Al-Ayoubi, Dar Al-Kitab Al-Arabi, Beirut, 2009 .p33

the methodologies of thinking and the connotations that are related to securing the defense position for the state. The desire to multiply power is the outcome of the state's conduct and performance in the system in order to maintain its survival as an influential state within the system.

The second criterion is based on the paths that are mainly related to the techniques that strategic planners use for influence. These techniques are related to the strategic planners' assessment of the capabilities and capabilities possessed by the institutions of implementing the national security strategy, as it is necessary to estimate the techniques according to the overall ability or to adapt those technologies to the resources that the decision maker can secure through strategic thinking based on the underlying strength.

With regard to the problems directly related to the strategic fields of defense, we are faced with a central question, which is why to think about the defense strategy? As the fields of defense are linked to the strategic aspect of securing capacity and certainty, measuring its effectiveness and the extent of its impact. It is in contrast to the attack requirements which can be gauged by the measurement of the target and the estimates of the power possessed by the other party. This means that the level of defense is not calculated for the different levels and areas in which the state's strategy operates. Accordingly, the hypothesis adopted by the study is that the resort of national security strategies planners to the thinking in the areas of strategic defense with a methodology and techniques commensurate with the power components available to the state increases the state's ability to manage risks and threats.

Defense strategy choices

According to the hypotheses of open war, a state can choose for itself the strategic options that are commensurate with the resources it possesses. The field of options' preference can remain present in the minds of the strategists, but the matter seems completely reversed when it comes to the state's

defense strategies. This means that the state must distinguish between the strategic defense areas to the extent that allows the other party to accept the interests on which the strategy planners work⁽¹⁾.

The assumptions of defense in the field of work within the strategic objectives are based on intellectual discussions that pertain to thinking about the status and function of the state in the international system. Theoretical frameworks of function and roles rely on the assumptions of status politics that Hans Morgenthau discusses. The status that a state seeks to attain makes the state opt to assume specific roles in international interaction that might be close to the state's function in the system or might adversely influence it to build a new function. The logical foundations in building a position depend on the related role played by the state and its supposed functions within the system⁽²⁾. The objective of applying the status policy, according to Hans Morgenthau, is to influence other countries with the power that the country actually possesses or with the power that it believes or wants others to believe it possesses⁽³⁾.

Methodologically and in connection with the issue of techniques, it can be noticed that strategic experts adhere to two types of strategies in this field: the first relates to containment and prevention, and the second relates to transforming risks into opportunities (closer to creating opportunities in a system of chaos). Hence, the strategic defense methodology, according to the data and indicators that are related to the strategic objectives and vital interests of the state, aims to think of the function performed by the state within the international system while maintaining the position of defense strategically in

⁽¹⁾Open war assumptions converge with modern technologies in thinking to face risks and employ elements of power .For more see: Zhao Liang and Wang Changshua, The Open War, translated by Dirar Al–Khidr, Nawras Center for Studies, Nowhere, 2021, p. 10 ⁽²⁾Hans Morgenthau, Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Sultan and Peace, translated by Khairy Imad, National Printing House, vol. 1, p. 112 ⁽³⁾ Ibid. p.115 order to integrate the elements of power with the intended position in the system.

The strategic defense methodology within the field of increasing power helps enabling national security institutions to consciously and deliberately prefer options by virtue of the surplus power that the state possesses. The defense methodology increases the techniques of states in managing risks and transforming threats into opportunities to influence areas of influence or vital interests.

National Security Strategy: Employing Technologies to Build Opportunities

The Iraqi national security strategy requires thinking about the options through which risks and threats can be managed, as it requires that it include broad areas of the defense strategy in order to secure the requirements of goals achievement. In the field of national security, Iraq is supposed to move in the principles of the strategy to contain the threats, and then there are two principles that strategy must have:

1- Containment: Containing threats requires the ability to deter according to certain indicators of Iraqi strength. In fact, there is a weakness in the strength indicators, which calls for doubling them through partnerships based on interests⁽¹⁾.

In the field of containment, the element of power must be considered, as Iraq is unable to impose interests or convince others of them because it did

⁽¹⁾Deterrence, according to General Andre Boufer, is the threat of force in order to prevent an opponent from threatening the interests of the state, or to change its behavior in a direction consistent with the interest of the state .For more see: Andre Boufer, Deterrence and Strategy .Translated by Akram Dairi .Beirut Dar Al–Tali'a for Printing and Publishing . 1970 .p. 47

not rely on the bargaining method .Hence, thinking about the principle of containment requires that there be partnerships based on interests in order to secure the appropriate force for influence or deterrence.

This aspect can largely coincide with regional and international policies for Iraq. The absence of a clear ally makes Iraq a conflict zone for all the forces around it. Perhaps what is worth noting here is that all the countries surrounding the neighborhood and beyond are within clear contractual alliances with the exception of Iraq.

The productive dialogues would support Iraq's position in the American strategy as a country that does not disturb security according to the American perspective of interests in the Middle East, and this matter is one of the most important requirements that establish sustainable and effective dialogues between Iraq and the United States of America, and gives Iraq double opportunities to influence the regional and international environment ⁽¹⁾. However, this influence cannot be accepted as a permanent force, since Iraq is still dealing with the logic of multiple partnerships, which does not make it in place for permanent dealing with the main powers in the international system.

In addition, the United States of America believes that the source of Iran's strength in the increase of its regional influence is the gray area, which contributes to weakening the ability of pressure to influence. As for the non-state actors in Yemen and Lebanon, the process of replacing deterrence in the US strategy needs to re-division the areas of strategic

⁽¹⁾Ali Faris Hamid, Iraq and the United States of America: Renewed Dialogue and Composite Guarantees, Al–Baydar Center for Strategic Studies, Baghdad, 2022, p. 3.

action according to strategies based on the target area and the gray area in order to ensure effectiveness in this $regard^{(1)}$.

Performance that enhances influence and containment cannot be achieved with multiple partnerships in light of an environment characterized by mistrust, which requires thinking about doubling force and containing threats according to an equation pursued by national security strategy planners.

The equation here is

One Alliance + Multiple Partnerships = Doubling the Force / Containing Threats Deterrence

2- Prevention: One of the strategic areas of defense is the availability of prevention in the national security strategy, especially in areas related to the existence of the state, such as the case with terrorism and extremism, for example .Fighting terrorism by military means has not ended the war on terrorism, which highlights the weakness of prevention techniques.

In addition to the military effort, there must be defense strategies that work to prevent terrorism, as is the case with development, which is an important indicator for measuring the decline of terrorist operations. In the governorates that witnessed reconstruction and development, indicators of terrorism declined, such as the case with Anbar, while other governorates such as Diyala and Salah al–Din are still in constant confrontation with terrorism due to weak local development policies.

The situation also applies to areas of internal fighting due to the existence of tribal conflicts and the absence of a real achievement in which the individual can move from sub-affiliations to citizenship in its political

⁽¹⁾<u>Michael Eisenstadt</u>, <u>Kori Schake</u>, and <u>David Deptula</u>, U.S. Strategy Toward Iran: Restoring Deterrence, Enabling Diplomacy, Washington institute, 2020,p.3

expression. There are attempts in some parts of Iraq, especially the liberated areas, to escalate conflict and armed confrontations, which are almost identical to the development of local policies in these areas. Radicalism and violence wane in regions that achieved economic and human development with the help of non–governmental organizations and local governments and federal institutions, which have tried to address the negative effects that contribute in spreading violence within society⁽¹⁾. The opposite is almost true in the case of regions that did not witness development policies.

Anbar City is at the forefront of the areas where development policies have helped in reducing the manifestations of violence, as the culture of maintaining stability prevails among citizens in the region, and the local government is trying to support recreational activities, services and rehabilitation of infrastructure in order to support manifestations of civility. While the indicator is regressing in Salah al-Din and Divala cities, thus it is noticed in these areas that there are renewed crises and issues of violence and fighting related to the behavior of social groups and communities. In Divlala, terrorist groups aim to spread rumours and use psychological warfare and promote civil strife, and they seek to ignite violence and fighting among the social groups in Diyala city. The weakness of government policies for the local system in some governorates, especially in Salah al-Din and Diyala city, leads to the existence of a large space for the growth of ideas related to violence, which tend to prefer options for internal fighting instead of responding to the mediation of the local government, especially with terrorist groups employing marginalization policies by managing internal contradictions. Terrorist groups, led by the terrorist organization ISIS, are

⁽¹⁾Cole Bunzel, ISIS in 2021, Al–Bayan Center for Studies and Planning, Baghdad, 2014, p.3.

trying to take advantage of internal disputes and the rejection of local government programs to renew conflict processes and be present in them.

In addition, thinking about new techniques to prevent the recurrence of terrorist acts in Iraq according to a new logic of strategic thinking requires distinguishing between affiliations and terrorist organizations, that is, between collective and individual action. Direct military effort and deterrence ⁽¹⁾.

The equation here is

Indicators of local development + good governance = decline of indicators of extremism and terrorism.

3- Coordination of interests is one of the most important techniques that strategy planners must deal with is the movement that the planner performs within the interest area. Confidence or persuasion of the counterparty of the importance of the agreement⁽²⁾.

One of the principles that must be present in the Iraqi national security strategy is the aspect that relates to the coordination of interests. It is no longer possible to deal with the forces surrounding Iraq by imposing goals, in addition to forcing others to accept the interests of Iraq requires that there be a return that can be made Reconciling him in comparison with the regional policies for Iraq.

Coordination of interests can increase its effect in the event of an increase in power and be more secure, but at the same time it can be an appropriate

College of Political Science / Al-Nahrain University, on March 14, 2022.

⁽¹⁾Commentary of the National Security Adviser, Mr. Qassem Al–Araji, in the workshop of the Department of Strategy, Areas of Strategic Defense, Methodologies and Techniques,

⁽²⁾David C. Kang, The balance of power and state interests in international relations: South Korea between China and the U.S, No5, East Asia Institute, 2007, p.4

principle in the event of the loss of the element of sufficient power. As the case with water in exchange for investments in agricultural lands in the regions of the middle Euphrates and southern Iraq. The greater the exchange of interests, the greater the possibility of coordination among them on the basis of the actual need and appropriateness of the objectives of both parties.

Thinking about the basic principles of strategic defense areas can enhance logical approaches regarding the employment of resources and improve the scopes of thinking in the options of the national security strategy and make it a methodology capable of unifying the scope of thinking about how the strategists deal with the goals related to the state and the priorities required by national interests according to the movement of changes in the strategic environment.