

### Al Bayan Observatory



A periodical bulletin to monitor Iraqi affairs in international think tanks

#### **About the Center**

Al-Bayan Center for Planning and Studies is an independent, nonprofit think tank based in Baghdad, Iraq. In addition to other issues, its primary mission is to offer an authentic perspective on public and foreign policy issues related to Iraq in particular and the Middle East region in general. BCPS pursues its vision by conducting autonomous analysis and proposing workable solutions for complex issues that concern the political and academic fields.

#### Note:

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**Since 2014** 

### **AMERICAN THINK TANKS AND MEDIA**



## Turkey's Ambitions in Iraq Play Out in Kirkuk

#### Mustafa Gurbuz



**Arab Center Washington Dc** 

https://arabcenterdc.org/resource/turkeys-ambitions-in-iraq-play-out-in-kirkuk/



According to the author, "since 2017, the escalating tone of the Turkish-Iranian rivalry in northern Iraq has exploited Kurdish schisms and further destabilized Iraqi Kurdistan. The current oil revenue crisis that is suffocating Iraqi Kurdistan will not serve American interests. The US has a vested interest in a stable, secure, and prosperous Kurdistan region, given its strategic geopolitical position and its role as a reliable partner in the fight against extremist groups. Economic instability, compounded by regional rivalries, threatens to erode the gains made in security and governance, opening potential vacuums that can be exploited by resurgent extremist elements. Washington is also cognizant of the implications of intensified Turkish-Iranian competition in the region. This not only exacerbates internal divisions among the Kurds but also has the potential to spur wider regional instability, undermining US efforts to foster a stable, unified, and democratic Iraq."

### **Budding Kurdish-UAE Relations**



Explaining Kurdish-UAE Relations, Saeed states that "some UAEbased companies have been conducting feasibility studies to explore opportunities for large-scale agricultural and livestock production in Kurdistan... Prime Minister Barzani's Cabinet has prioritized economic diversification for Kurdistan, aiming to reduce its reliance on oil. Given the progress the UAE has made in diversifying its own economy away from hydrocarbons, the Kurdistan region stands to gain valuable insights, particularly in the wake of Erbil's recent handover of control over its oil sector to Baghdad. Kurdish-UAE relations have transformed over recent years, as both Erbil and Abu Dhabi have come to recognize the importance of cooperation, driven by a convergence of political, economic, and security imperatives. Nevertheless, the growing partnership faces potential vulnerabilities coming from increasing intra-Kurdish factionalism and fluctuation of relationships with Baghdad. To maintain their relevance in the regional power paradigm, Kurdish leaders must build a unified front that represents their collective interests on the domestic and regional levels"

Yerevan Saeed



### Arab Gulf States Institute in Washington

https://agsiw.org/budding-kurdishuae-relations/

## Iraqi Provincial Elections: Electoral Chaos Undermines Prospects for Change from Within

#### Haider al-Musawi



### Washington Institute for Near East Policy

https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/iraqi-provincial-elections-electoral-chaos-undermines-prospects-change-within



Haider al-Musawi, an independent Iraqi blogger and journalist, states that "navigating the confusing Iraqi electoral landscape is just one of many obstacles in the way of reformers, but if emerging political reformist players can form a unified front, put forth a concrete political platform, and resist being coopted by ruling powers, then there is a real possibility for substantive political change in the upcoming elections." He adds: "the coalition must develop a clear and mature political platform supported by their candidates' political and professional experience. They must aim to enact real democratic change in Iraq and end the rule of might and money. If such unity can be achieved, with party leadership and candidates resolving their issues, the spirit of the October movement could finally be channeled into tangible political change at the provincial level. On the other hand, continuing the status quo will mean that Iraqis' belief in change through elections or new political movements will be further eroded."

# Addressing Iraq's Environmental Challenges: Population Growth



Khaled Sulaiman, a writer and journalist based in Canada and originally from Kurdistan, Iraq, writes about population growth and its impact on the future of Iraq. For him, "solving Iraq's demographic crisis will require immediate and comprehensive action at both the state and individual level. Without these solutions, we risk extensively harming our future generations." He concludes: "involving women in environmentally responsible management of resources could be an asset in the path to healthy reproduction. In parallel, international efforts, primarily focused on implementing specific environmental improvements, must adjust to better align with these envisioned objectives. In sum, a change in policy can avert a potential disaster—through advancements in reproductive health, putting an end to early and polygamous marriages, and raising the level of education, not to mention ensuring the freedom of women in making their own decisions in terms of reproduction. Without these solutions, we risk extensively harming our future generations."

Khaled Sulaiman



### Washington Institute for Near East Policy

https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/addressing-iraqs-environmental-challenges-population-growth

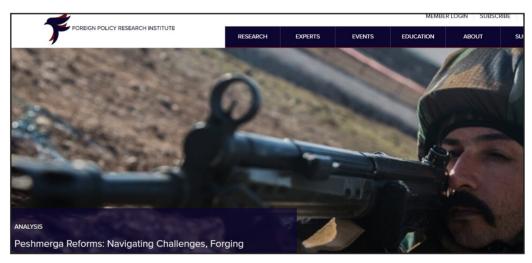
# Peshmerga Reforms: Navigating Challenges, Forging Unity

Myles B. Caggins III



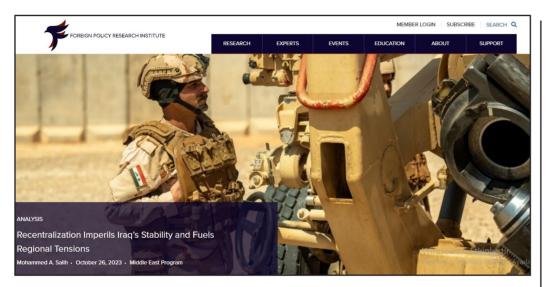
#### Forein Policy Research Institute

https://www.fpri.org/article/2023/10/peshmerga-reforms-navigating-challenges-forging-unity/



According to the author, "Iraqi Kurdistan Peshmerga reform has made some progress, but major steps still need to be taken. Internal Kurdish divisions and tensions with Baghdad have slowed down the process, preventing further professionalization of the Peshmerga and a stronger relationship with the international coalition. The consequences of failure would impact regional security from external threats and increase chances of intra-Kurdish conflict, erode US-Iraq/Kurdistan relations, and cast a pall on the economy of Iraq's Kurdistan region, due to lack of confidence from international investors." He concludes that "the delays in implementing reforms magnify the ongoing intra-Kurdish political disputes as well as historic differences and friction between Iraq's central government in Baghdad and the Kurdistan Regional Government. Amid all this, it is important to keep in mind that Pentagon leaders are keeping score, and American lawmakers may grow weary and wary of continuing to pump millions of dollars into MoPA's budget without seeing more progress with reforms"

### Recentralization Imperils Iraq's Stability and Fuels Regional Tensions



Mohammed A. Salih, a Senior Fellow in FPRI's Middle East Program and a researcher and journalist based in Virginia, United States, writes that "the Iraqi state is undergoing recentralization by Shia political elites, against the spirit and letter of the country's 2005 Constitution that envisioned a federative union. This is seen as a threat by major Kurdish and Sunni Arab groups who seek to counter such a trajectory. Recentralization will have serious consequences for domestic political stability as it will alienate large segments of Kurdish and Sunni communities from Baghdad's rule and play into the hands of jihadi groups in the long run. This reconfiguration of the state currently occurring under Iranian-aligned Shia groups in Iraq threatens regional stability as well and risks dragging Iraq into conflicts in which it has no genuine interest, with the ongoing targeting of US troops in Iraq and Syria, as a response to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, being a case in point."

Mohammed A. Salih



#### Forein Policy Research Institute

https://www.fpri.org/article/2023/10/recentralization-imperils-iraqs-stability-and-fuels-regional-tensions/

# The conflict in Gaza threatens Iraq's stability, progress in US-Iraq relations

#### C. Anthony Pfaff



#### **Atlantic Council**

https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/menasource/gaza-israel-hamas-us-iraq-relations/



C. Anthony Pfaff, a nonresident senior fellow with the Atlantic Council's Iraq Initiative and believes that "the United States should also act as a moderating influence on the conflict and find ways to avoid escalation while enabling Israel's efforts to defend itself against Hamas and its allies. While doing so will be difficult, the United States can begin by mobilizing humanitarian relief for those affected by the conflict. It should also closely monitor the conflict for potential escalation on any side and condition assistance to any partner on cooperation to de-escalate the conflict. it [the Iraqi government] can partner with the United States to ensure U.S. intentions are effectively communicated and misunderstandings kept to a minimum. Taking these steps will not fundamentally change the dynamics of the conflict nor alleviate the pressure on Israel to destroy Hamas. But it may create opportunities to mitigate the damage the conflict may cause to Middle East stability and US influence."

#### **EUROPEAN THINK TANKS AND MEDIA**



# Iraq's persistent fault line: The dangers of escalating tensions in Kirkuk

#### Hamzeh Hadad



### European Council on Foreign Relations

https://ecfr.eu/article/iraqs-persistent-fault-line-the-dangers-of-escalating-tensions-in-kirkuk/



Hamzeh Hadad states that "though Kirkuk is one province, it represents a regional fault line that can create instability throughout the Middle East. Until now, Sudani has continued to improve relations with neighbours, despite having to navigate the internal divisions of his coalition government. However, this juggling act is made more difficult when addressing legacy issues like Kirkuk. While a domestic and sensitive issue, European missions should help create the conditions for a solution by reiterating their support for Iraqi federalism and democracy. This can ease fears over Kirkuk's status within the Iraqi state, calm relations with neighbouring Turkey and Iran, and prevent harming the security operations of the Global Coalition and the NATO Mission Iraq. This will then allow all three possible scenarios for Kirkuk's future to be on equal footing before a status is chosen by the citizens of Kirkuk, via a referendum held by local government — as per the Iraqi constitution.

### "We are just trying to give our children a future" Self-reliance for Syrian refugees in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq



Since 2012, the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) has generously hosted over 260,000 refugees fleeing conflict and violence in Syria. Over the years, the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) has worked with humanitarian partners to initiate concrete policies that allow for a degree of self-reliance for a community unable to return home. The Refugee Education Integration Policy (REIP), for example, seeks to promote equitable access to education, support social cohesion, and gradually integrate children of Syrian descent into Kurdish host communities through the formal schooling system. Supported by the Swiss State Secretariat of Migration (SEM), this report uses survey data, field insights and NRC's programmatic experience to assess lingering barriers to durable solutions for Syrian refugees in Iraq. Specifically, the report assesses opportunity and vulnerability across four themes: impact of reduced aid assistance; equitable access to education; access to formal employment and income; and refugee perceptions of self-reliance and durable solutions.



NORWEGIAN REFUGEE
COUNCIL

https://www.nrc.no/resources/reports/ self-reliance-for-syrian-refugees-inkri/

# The Nexus in practice: The long journey to impact



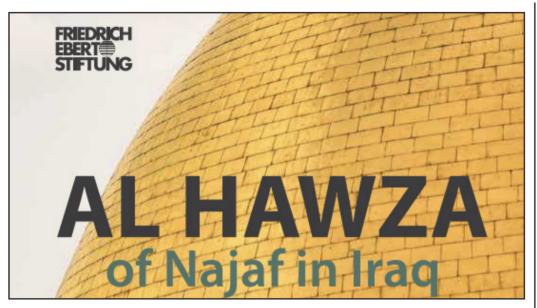
### NORWEGIAN REFUGEE COUNCIL

https://www.nrc.no/resources/reports/ the-nexus-in-practice-the-longjourney-to-impact/



With funding from the Swiss FDFA, NRC has been conducting research examining the operationalisation of Nexus approaches and its impact on Principled Humanitarian Action in five case study contexts, namely: Libya, Iraq, Cameroon, Somalia, and Afghanistan. The aim was to understand to what extent and how nexus approaches are being implemented in these fragile and conflict-affected contexts. From the research of these five diverse contexts, several different modalities for the operationalisation of Nexus approaches emerge, including a localised and area-specific nexus approach in Cameroon; transitions away from humanitarian to Nexus or Durable Solutions response and coordination structures in Libya and Iraq; and an overreliance on repeated shortterm humanitarian assistance in Somalia and Afghanistan, without sufficient complementary investments that address the underlying root causes creating needs and vulnerabilities. These diverse approaches underline that while the Nexus is a clear concept in theory, in practice, its practical implementation at country level remains unclear.

# A new railway will at last link Iran and Iraq The connection could shunt Iraq further into Iran's embrace



The current book discusses a new and old topic at the same time. Shia Islam, as a doctrine and community, has emerged as a major problematic issue since the early days of Islam and continues to be so until now, as it is considered the largest minority among Muslims in the Middle East. The book provides a general explanation of the Hawza of Najaf, as the most important and oldest Hawza in the Shia world, and the study atmosphere within it. It also explores the most significant aspects of the theory of the highest Shia authority, Ali al–Sistani, in nation–building in Iraq after 2003. Examining the political theory of al–Sistani involves its own complexities within the Iraqi context, as well as the challenges faced by his authority in light of diverse visions within the Hawzas of Qom and Najaf.



Friedrich Ebert Stiftung

https://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/amman/20688.pdf

#### IRANIAN THINK TANKS AND AND MEDIA



# Consequences of Tehran and Baghdad security agreement



In a note for Iranian diplomacy, Javad Masoumi writes: "considering that the deadline for the implementation of the Iran-Iraq security agreement expired on September 28 of this year and the recent visit of the advisor of the Supreme National Security Council of Iraq to Iran was also held in connection with the implementation of this agreement and Based on what the Iraqi authorities have said so far, the Tehran-Baghdad security agreement is being implemented and three important steps have been taken in this regard, which include: pushing back the forces opposing Iran, patrolling the border areas of Iran and Iraq, and disarming the anti-Iranian armed forces." He concludes "the implementation of the security agreement between Iraq and Iran, which resolves many of the border challenges of the two countries, is a good model for other regions, especially the South Caucasus, to establish stable security without the presence of troops. It is transregional."

Jawad Masumi



Iranian Diplomacy Website

https://tinyurl.com/yludsy4x

### Kurdistan is no longer a desirable example Reducing the attractiveness of the federal model of Iraq with corruption in the region



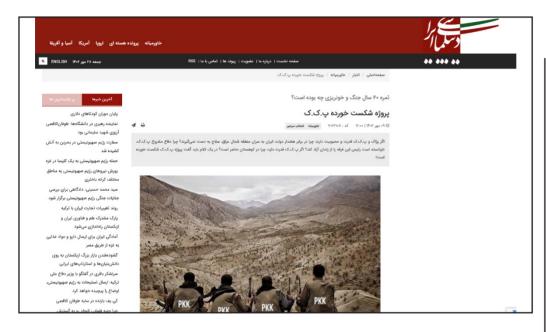
Iranian Diplomacy Website

https://tinyurl.com/ysxca537



According to the author whose name is not mentioned, "widespread corruption, with most of Kurdistan's wealth concentrated in the hands of two families, the Barzanis and the Talabanis, fuels people's discontent and diminishes the dreams of a developed and democratic Kurdistan. At the same time, the growing crackdown on journalists has undermined the Kurdistan Region's claims of being a better model than the central government in Baghdad." At the end, the author concludes that "both Iran and Turkey are angry with the presence of Kurdish armed and militant groups in the region and Erbil's unwillingness to deal with these groups. These groups, including the PKK, caused Turkey to practically occupy the territory of the region, and the above set of reasons, especially the corruption in Erbil and the lack of transparency of this local government, have made the structure model of Erbil less attractive in a federal Iraq."

# What has been the result of 40 years of war and bloodshed? The failed project of P.K.K



The unknown author writes: "If Pejak and PKK are powerful and popular, why don't they take up arms against the Iranian government's warning to the leaders of the northern region of Iraq? Why has the legitimate defense of the PKK failed to release the leader of this sect from prison? If the PKK has power, why is it present in the mountains? In one word, it must be said that the PKK project has failed!" At the end, the author writes: "The number of members of this group and the attention of its actions have faced a serious decrease and different countries have been able to curb the actions of this sect. Imaginary texts and illusions about legitimate defense will not change the fate of P.K.K. which means weakening and destruction!"



Iranian Diplomacy Website

https://tinyurl.com/ykm3zs24

# The difference between the views of Tehran and Baghdad on two important and vital projects .. Iran's big dream is a competitor for the Iraqi development road project

Seyed Ali Mousavi Khalkhali



#### Iranian Diplomacy Website

https://tinyurl.com/yq5ljd67



Ali Mousavi Khalkhali writes "the East-West project, which is very important for Iran, is not a priority for Iraqis. Moreover, they consider Iran's East-West project as a competitor for their development road. Even if this project is supposed to complement the development road project, still the priority for Iraqis is the development road, and maybe later they will think about the east-west project and connecting to Syria." He concludes that "Iran is ready to stand up to its enemies like Israel and push them back and has the necessary will to do so, while none of the countries in the region, including Iraq, Turkey, Saudi Arabia and the UAE, none of them have such a will. It is here that we find out that what caused the difference of opinion between Iran and Iraq over the Shalamcheh-Basra railway line is the difference in strategic views, which ironically are very important and vital for both sides."

# **Evaluation of Iraq's insecurity factors and its effects on** the national security of the Islamic Republic of Iran



Since there is a relationship between geographical factors and government policies, governments make policies according to the geographical situation of their country. For this reason, geopolitical studies are particularly important. In addition to examining the relationship between geographical factors and the politics of a country, geopolitics also deals with the interpretation of events and predicts the future and determines the political policy of the country. Today, one of the most important issues that make countries face fundamental challenges is geopolitics versus security. The security of people in a geographical space is dependent on the security of governments, and the more powerful and stable the governments are, the more secure they can be. One of the issues that has a fundamental position in relation to the discussion of international security is the discussion of failed governments, which pose a danger not only to its subjects, but also to international security and can challenge international security and This basis in the current decade is among the countries that are among the failed governments; The country is Iraq.

Mohamad Eisa Aansarifard,

Simin Armaqan and Alireza Astelaji

### **Territory**

QUARTERLY GEOGRAPHICAL JOURNAL OF TERRITORY

https://sarzamin.srbiau.ac.ir/article\_22961.html?lang=en

# Jurisprudential review of Iran's defense and advisory presence in the West Asian region (with emphasis on Syria and Iraq)

Mohammad Barari and Hasan Mohseni



#### Studies of Islamic Jurisprudence and Basis of Law

http://journals.miu.ac.ir/article\_8567.html?lang=en



One of the most sensitive incidents which took place in West Asia in the last decade, was the war between the resistance axis countries and the Takfiris led by ISIS. The hypothesis in this article is that the presence of a consultant is included under defensive jihad, so the ruling of the obligation of defensive jihad will apply to it. The jurisprudential legitimacy of the presence of an adviser is necessary, citing reasons such as: the obligation of defensive jihad to preserve the existence of Muslims, the religious duty of opposing the oppressor and supporting the oppressed, maintaining national security, strategic depth in the region, and preserving the sanctuaries in the countries of Syria and Iraq. The policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in relation to the presence of a consultant in the region indicates that the governance of the Shiite government based on dynamic jurisprudence.

# The role of the culture of resistance to the security threats of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the Middle East region from a constructivist perspective



The culture of resistance originated from the ideology of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, which has left a significant impact on the developments in the Middle East and West Asia. The formation of Shiite groups aligned with Iran after the revolution confirms this issue. Based on this, the current research aims to investigate the role of the culture of resistance on the security of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the Middle East and West Asia. Based on this, the current research raises the question: In what ways has the culture of resistance been able to repel regional threats against the Islamic Republic of Iran? The hypothesis is that: believing in common threats, insisting on revolutionary values and central resistance, and confronting extra-regional powers and their regional supporters, is an important part of the achievements of the culture of resistance in the Middle East region.

Ghaffar zarei, Solyman ghasempoor and Ali mohamad Haghighi



#### Journal of Regional Planning

https://jzpm.marvdasht.iau.ir/article 6094.html

### TURKISH THINK TANKS AND MEDIA



# Türkiye-Iraq Development Road could be key for Iraq's stability

### Türkiye-Iraq Development Road could be key for Iraq's stability

BY IHSAN AKTAŞ | OCT 07, 2023 - 12:05 AM GMT+3 |



Ihsan Aktaş, chairman of the Board of GENAR Research Company and an academic at the Department of Communication at Istanbul Medipol University, writes that "the Development Road Project, a collaborative effort between Türkiye and Iraq, holds substantial promise as a cornerstone for fostering stability within the Iraqi state." He asserts that "I believe that when the Development Road is completed, not only the development of Iraq but also its stability will be secured, which we will wait and see in the coming years. It is noteworthy to mention as a final word that all the roads mentioned above concerning the intercontinental traffic of all kinds in the Old World throughout history are crossing today's Türkiye. We must salute the foresight of our ancestors who realized this as they flowed from east to west, held on to this geography, and paid fortunes for it."

Ihsan Aktaş

### DAILY SABAH

#### **DAILY SABAH**

https://www.dailysabah.com/opinion/columns/turkiye-iraq-development-road-could-be-key-for-iraqs-stability



## Dollar Crisis in Iraq: An Economic Dilemma with Geopolitical Implications



The paper addresses the challenges facing the eighth government under the leadership of Muhammad Shiaa Al-Sudani. His government is encountering significant hurdles in implementing substantial reforms, primarily due to the dollar crisis and the surge in its exchange rate within the Iraqi market. The issue is further complicated by American demands, as it holds political and geopolitical implications.

Consequently, the ongoing dollar crisis presents a considerable challenge for Al-Sudani's administration. It forces a choice between advancing genuine economic reforms and potentially clashing with influential actors among the new political parties and business figures or prioritizing the stability of his government. However, this situation may also provide an opportunity for the Sudanese government to promote local production and reduce reliance on imports, especially if it manages to mitigate the adverse effects of the exchange rate increase on the vulnerable and middle-class segments of the population.

Iraq Studies Unit



The Emirates Policy Center

https://www.epc.ae/ar/details/brief/aliraq-wa-azmat-alduwlar-mudilat-aiqtisadiya-dhat-madmun-jiusiasi

# A Flash Point: Where is the Kirkuk Conflict Heading?

#### **Firdews Nadhim**



The Emirates Policy Center

https://www.epc.ae/ar/details/brief/ qabil-lilaishtieal-ila-ayn-yatajih-alsirafi-madinat-karkuk-aliraqia



The researcher delves into the conflict in Kirkuk, especially in the wake of recent events that unfolded in the city. It appears that the protests that erupted in Kirkuk, Iraq, in early September were not entirely spontaneous. They rather reflect the underlying conflicts within the Shiite "coordination framework," especially, and the broader "state administration" coalition.

What further complicates the ongoing conflict in Kirkuk is the lack of a unified Kurdish stance. The Kurdistan Democratic Party aims to expand its influence in the city and capitalize on recent events to create difficulties for its rival, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan. Consequently, it is anticipated that the Kirkuk conflict will remain unresolved for a minimum of four months, pending the outcomes of the provincial council elections scheduled for December 18.

## Iraqi armed factions and the Gaza war: messages and possibilities



The paper examines the stances of Iraqi factions regarding the Gaza conflict and how the Iraqi resistance's choices have influenced events. While all statements from Iraqi armed factions loyal to Iran expressed support for the military operation launched by Hamas against Israel on October 7, there was a clear disparity in their positions on this war. Some factions were merely observing the events, while others were actively supportive and sought to get involved.

The attacks by Iraqi factions on American military sites reflect limited engagement. The primary objective of these attacks is to exert pressure on the American side to change its stance on the Gaza conflict. Although Washington prefers not to overreact to these attacks, as long as they do not result in harm to American civilians or military personnel, there remains a possibility of escalation, particularly in the event of an Israeli ground invasion of Gaza or an escalation in the confrontation between Hezbollah and Israel.

Iraq Studies Unit



The Emirates Policy Center

https://epc.ae/ar/featured/iraqi-political-landscape

### "Al-Aqsa Flood".. strikes American bases in Iraq and Syria

#### Safinaz Muhammad Ahmed



Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies

https://acpss.ahram.org.eg/ News/21032.aspx



The author examines the sequence of events in the Gaza conflict, particularly the "Al-Aqsa Flood" operations, and their impact on Iraq and Syria. This is coupled with an escalation of events in Gaza and operations initiated by armed factions (the resistance) against American bases in both Iraq and Syria. Within this context, the author discusses three key messages concerning the military objectives pursued by the "resistance." The first message signifies Iran's endeavor to unite various and diverse factions toward a common and paramount goal, which is targeting American interests in the region. The second message serves as a reminder to Washington regarding the potential targeting of its interests in the region, particularly its two official representatives, such as the American Embassy.

The third message involves the activation of the "unity of arenas" approach by establishing an operations room connecting the resistance factions in Iraq and Syria with those in Palestine. While it is not explicitly stated at this time, the possibility of transitioning from direct support by factions in Iraq and Syria to direct involvement in the conflict is not ruled out, though it remains unclear. This could have significant consequences for these factions.

# Iran's efforts to implement the border security agreement with Iraq



The paper discusses Iran's efforts to safeguard the shared border and proceed with the implementation of a security agreement signed in March of this year. The agreement primarily focuses on securing the common border and monitoring armed movements in the Kurdistan region that pose a threat to Iranian national security. To ensure its security, Iran has resorted to intervening directly through missile strikes and tactical military operations to track and target these groups.

While the initial intent of the agreement was for the Iraqi government to assume this responsibility, it has failed to do so despite repeated warnings from Iran. Consequently, Iran has taken new security measures to enforce the security agreement and attain stability in its security. Simultaneously, both Iraqi and Iranian authorities emphasize the necessity of intensifying their efforts to accomplish the objectives outlined in the agreement.

Monitoring and translation/reports



International Institute for Iranian Studies

https://rasanah-iiis.org