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The position of Iraq in Russia's foreign policy after the year 2000 AD

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Abstract

This research deals with the foreign policy and the Russian trends towards Iraq after the year 2000 AD, the international variables that affect that bilateral relationship and the importance of the position and weight of Iraq in the Middle East and the attempt to include Iraq in the international organizations and blocs led by China and the Russian Federation such as the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, and joining the Chinese Belt and Road project to serve interests The Iraqi economy, and an attempt to extend its influence through security alliances in the region in general, and Iraq in particular, as the quadrilateral center of the war on terrorism in which Russia, Iran, Iraq and Syria participated, which strengthens bilateral relations between Iraq and Russia in accordance with the common interests of the two countries.

Keywords

United State, China, Russia, the European Union, Iraq, foreign policy, organizations.

The position of Iraq in Russia's foreign policy after the year 2000 AD

The research on the status of the state reflects the relative weight of the state in the behavior of the major state in relation to other countries, so the

research on the status of Iraq reflects the data of political behavior. constants and variables that reflect Russia's foreign policy, especially since Russia had a foreign policy toward Iraq; Because of the importance that Iraq enjoys to Russia, it is one of the most important Arab Mashreq countries, which occupies an important position in the Russian movement, and receives great attention in light of the developments taking place on the regional and international scene in the Middle East. Russia is trying to restore its previous cooperation with Iraq after the dissolution of the Soviet Union from By taking advantage of the transformations in the Middle East and the magnitude of the challenges that the region has witnessed.

First requirement: Iraq and the Russia distance year 2000 AD

Russia seeks to make its foreign policy towards Iraq integrate with its policy towards the countries of the region, as it considers Iraq a pillar of integration in the Russian role at the level of the Middle East. So it is when it places importance on Iraq in its foreign policy. VVyIn the year 2000 AD, Russian flights to Iraq were resumed and the flight ban imposed on Iraq was broken according to Resolution No. (688) (*). To protect other minorities inside Iraq, as an explicit challenge to the United States of America and its attempts to isolate Iraq and control the world, and Russia's position after the arrival of President Putin was opposed to the concept of the axis of evil(**)On Iraq, Iran and North Korea, because there is no evidence of their cooperation with global terrorist groups such as al-Qaeda, and after the occupation of Iraq in 2003, Russia has taken a firm position, providing aid to the people, resolving the crisis through the United Nations and respecting Iraq's sovereignty. did the president⁽¹⁾Previous, and despite the loss of bilateral relations between Iraq and Russia after the American occupation, the Russian support continues for the importance of Iraq in terms of proportionseTo the Russians through the Iraqi oil file and the reconstruction of Iraq, so Russia turned through:

- 1- Program extension (Oil for Food) for a period of 6 months, by endorsing Security Council Resolution No.(1483) in 2003 AD, and sent 30 Russian diplomats to Baghdad to make contacts with the Iraqi Governing Council to open representative offices for Russian companies in Iraq.

*-Numbered United Nations Resolution (688) issued on 4/5/1991 AD to maintain international peace and security; because of what he sufferseThe Iraqi people have suffered from repression in many areas, including recently in Kurdish population areas and an influx of refugeesnto a large scale. The permanent representatives of Turkey, France and Iran sent letters condemning the repression and removing threats to international peace and security. For more see: Resolutions adopted by the Security Council in 1991, Resolution 688 corresponding to 5\4\1991M, United Nations official website,p. 29,Available at the following link:<https://2u.pw/HAndP>.

*It is a term given to countries that areMBe a threat to the peace wanoof the international community, governed by dictatorial regimes and seeking to spread weapons of mass destruction (defined by Noam Chomsky:useforce in global affairs), and after the events of September 11, the Security Council issued Resolution No. (1368) to combat terrorism and classified (North Korea, Iran, Iraq, Libya, and Syria)e, Cuba, and Sudan), and at present the term is used only on (Iran, Syria)eNorth Korea, Venezuela).

¹- Nourhan Al-Sheikh, Continuity and Change in Russian Policy towards Iraq in the Post-US Occupation Period, a previously mentioned source, pg. 47-pg.48. (See also: Resolutions adopted by the Security Council in 1991, Resolution 688 corresponding to5\1991M, The official website of the United Nations, available at the following link:<https://2u.pw/HAndP>.

- 2- In 2004, the head of the Iraqi Governing Council, Iyad Allawi, visited Moscow, and President Putin issued a decision to forgive Iraq 93% of the debts, due to the deterioration of the unnamed Iraqi situation. hto Iraq to repay the debt⁽¹⁾, sellDrThe (Paris Club) approved to write off 80% of the Iraqi debt, but Russia went further than that ⁽²⁾.
- 3- Despite the deterioration of the security situation in Iraq and the targeting of the Russian embassy (*). In Baghdad, this did not prevent Lukoil from concluding agreements and memoranda of understanding and cooperation to send Iraqi experts to Russia for training on oil extraction and the formation of a special committee for cooperation in the field of Iraqi gas and oil extraction.³

Iraq is on the map of geopolitical competitionRussian-American influence in it, and Russia was opposed to the occupation of Iraq, which it sees as a strategic gain for the United States, and believes that the American occupation of Iraq opens the way for Russia to re-evaluate its relationship with Iraq and return to Iraq more effectively, especially with the growth of terrorism in Iraq and the need to International support limits the violence carried out by terrorism and confronting it. Since 2008, Russia has canceled Iraqi debts since the Soviet era, amounting to 12.9 billion dollars, in exchange for an oil deal of 4 billion dollars. In 2012, northern Iraq entered the Russian oil market, and Russia agreed to provide support to the Iraqi regime when it invaded. From ISIS and the occupation of three main provinces in the year 2014, such a terrorist threat is a challenge to Russia's efforts to approach Iraq, in addition to that this threat has coincided with a similar expansion in Syria, Russia's only ally in the Arab Mashreq.In addition, Russia has made important investments in Iraq, specifically in the energy sector.⁴⁾In this case, the volume of Russian investments in the Iraqi energy sector since 2010 amounted to more than 10 billion dollars. In 2009, Lukoil developed the West Qurna 2 field in Basra for a period of 25 years until 2024, which produces 400,000 barrels per day, which constitutes 12% of exportsTIraq's oil, including other deals, for "Gazprom Neft" in 2011, which invested \$2.5 billion in central and northern Iraq, and the acquisition of "Strawt Company"RGas" contracted for 34 years in Anbar, and "Rosoil" owns 60% of the Kurdistan oil pipelines, which is the main operational line in IraqIn 2018, the Rosneft Company announced the signing of an agreement with

²- Hana Tony, *Moscow's Flexible Alliances in the Middle East: Opportunities and Obstacles Facing Russia's Relations with Post-Saddam Iraq*, (Al-Bayan Center for Studies and Planning, Issue 17, Baghdad, 2018), p. 15.

³ - Ahmed Hussein Shuhail, *Russian Policy towards Iraq after 2003*, Political and International Journal (University of Baghdad:College of Political Sciences, Issue (36), 2008), p. 231.

*-On 6/3/2006, a Chevrolet car carrying five Russian diplomats was cut off in the Mansour district. They were attacked by al-Qaeda militants. Vitaly Titov was wounded and the other four were kidnapped. For more see: Andrei sold & irina boro, *the new nobility the restoration of Russia security state and the enduring legacy of the KGB*,

4 - Jamil Matar, *Subduing the Opponent, Western Pressures on Russia*, Arab Future Magazine, (Beirut, Center for Arab Unity Studies, No. 323, 2006 AD), p. 47.

1- Anna Borshchevskaya, *Why Russia's Great Power Game in Iraq Matters*, Article published in a Washington Institute for near east policy, Washington DC, 2020, visit time 8/8/2021, on the following link: -<https://bit.ly/366LFxw>.

the Ministry of Natural Resources in Kurdistan to develop oil and gas infrastructure, including a new gas pipeline expected to export 30 billion cubic meters of gas annually. Based on these deals, Russia enabled political action in Iraq, as oil exports Iraq constitutes 96%, and without that line that Russia mainly controls, there is no value for oil⁽¹⁾This development in Russia's position gave it the ability to further immerse itself in the region and develop through the establishment of a four-way coordination agreementWith Iran, Syria and Iraq, and holding a diplomatic ceremony to mark the passage of more than 75 years of bilateral relations, Russia seeks to revive and develop cooperation with Iraq, as it sees in it an opportunity to re-establish its role in the Middle East, which is centered on Iraq due to its realization of its position as a regional strategic balancer for international alliances, and it falls within an important Iranian path Iraqi Syrian and this is what you are nineyRussia has access to the Tennessee Quartet between these parties.⁽²⁾

The energy sector is the backbone of the Russian foreign policy tool, and its dominance over oil and gas pipelines has geopolitical implicationseLong-term gains are greater than material gains, which drives them to invest Iraqi energy and cooperate with Iraq, in addition to diplomatic activity, and Russian and Iraqi diplomats exchangingeThe visits amounted to 60 visits in the year 2009 AD, according to which Iraq obtained the status of an observer next to Lebanon in the Astana negotiations led by Russia regarding Syria, and the official visits of the political currents and their Iraqi leaders such as Muqtada al-Sadr, who is known for their opposition to the American occupation in Iraq, as stated by the "RT" channel. In 2012, and in 2019, it was followed by the visit of the head of the Popular Mobilization Authority, Faleh al-Fayyad, and despite the escalation of popular protests against the Iraqi government and the deterioration of the security situation and the closure of most foreign embassies in Iraq, the doors of the Russian embassy remained open and not only monitored the events of Moscow in the country, but also secured influence and connections ⁽³⁾.

With the assassination of Abu Mahdi al-Muhandis, deputy head of the Popular Mobilization Authority, which Iraq considered a violation of its sovereignty, Russia tried to exploit this incident, especially with the increasing calls from the political forces in Iraq for the American withdrawal supported by Russia, and this prompted the United States of America to send Ambassador Maxim Maxim andqTo cooperate in the military field as a previous step for Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov to meet with Iraqi leaders in Baghdad and Erbil, and in October 2021 with the holding of the October elections, Russia showed its support for this development, confirming its position in support of the Iraqi government. Russia is

2- Vera mironova & Mohammed Hussein, the future of Iraq's oil is Russia, article published in (foreign policy magazine, new York, on 15/11/2019),visit time 11/3/2022 6:10 pm, on the following link: - <https://bit.ly/3Ib0RHq>.

3- Taha Al-Ani, How was Russia persuaded to abandon Iraq to America 18 years ago?, article published on Al Jazeera Media Network, 2021, time of visit 8/8/2020 at 10:00 pm, available at the linkfollowing:- <https://bit.ly/3pZJ4g2> .

1- Anna Borshchevskaya, Why Russia's Great Power Game in Iraq Matters, Center for the National Interest, August 31, 2020, on the following link: <https://2u.pw/cRHIT>.

trying hard to open multiple channels of communication with Iraq and does not limit it to the energy sector and arms trade. Cyber security is a major threat facing Iraq trying to cooperate with Iraq. Especially through the Quadripartite Coordination Agreement. However, these efforts face the reality represented by the existence of "USA and the weakness of Iraq's ability, knowing that the perpetuation of its financial dealings at the external level without the approval of America because of the debts owed by Iraq⁽¹⁾. And the importance of the state reflects the integration of the political and commercial aspects. And that's what he sought Russia to entrench it with Iraq. The Iraqi market is a large and expanding market that produces many opportunities and investment, and its need is growing. Russia is striving to have a role in this market. This was reflected in the tireless pursuit of diversifying the sectors of cooperation. After oil and gas, however, cooperation was limited to the military side and the purchase of weapons. And this is what motivates Russia to open new horizons of cooperation with Iraq. Since President Putin took office, the volume of Russian exports has declined; Because of the American invasion of Iraq, Russia lost ten oil companies that were operating in southern Iraq, worth \$6 billion in 2003, and became politically restricted. The Russian companies did not return to Iraq until after the Russian-Iraqi understandings in 2008, which we will clarify the volume of exports after those understandings according to the following table:

The volume of exports between Russia and Iraq from (2010-2020) AD in millions of dollars

Table No (1)

Iraqi exports to Russia	Russian exports to Iraq/million US dollars	Year
0.2	108,271,213	2010AD
96,701	99,194,663	2011 AD
61,909	300,704,985	2012 AD
1,704,372	310,866,691	2013AD
13,612	416,739,238	2014AD
123,746	438,087,925	2015AD
9	912,240,668	2016AD
39,599	1,402,610,511	2017AD
73,761	768,323,391	2018AD
36,312	264,461,098	2019AD
397,164	127,251,513	2020AD

Source/

- 1- Foreign Trade Bulletin for the Arab Region, Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA), (New York: United Nations, No. (22), 2013),

2- Muammar Faisal, Iraq in The Russian strategy has challenges facing the restoration of influence, Rawabet Center for Research and Strategic Studies, 2021, visited on 8/8/2021, at the following link: - <https://bit.ly/3MI9rkf>.

- p.90.
- 2- The Embassy of the Republic of Iraq in Russia, Commercial Attaché, (Moscow: Department of Foreign Economic Relations/Department of European Countries, No. 151, 04/26/2021 AD).
 - 3- n. Zhirnikov, Russian Ministry of Economic Development, 3/27/2015.

The second requirement: the sale of Russia's foreign policy towards Iraq

What the study will discuss is the policy of the major powers and how they affected Russia's foreign policy towards Iraq. After the ideological struggle over spheres of influence receded and was replaced by economic bases, the Russian strategy came about its pursuit of a new multipolar world order, which began to move more in the last decade on the international scene, and this is what its behavior towards international issues and projects and the strengthening of political, economic and strategic relations with China and its concentration in the Arab Mashreq countries to protect its interests. On this basis, the new strategy for this year came to achieve results that it was unable to achieve. Russia towards Iraq, which is as follows: -

First: The missile shield project and the purchase of S-400 missiles

Russia is trying, through its foreign policy, to prove itself as an active party in international politics within a map in which there are many players and to act as a partner, not as a follower; Signs of implementing the project to establish an American anti-missile shield appeared after Bush Jr. took office in 2001, and in 2003 it began building bases in Alaska and California to protect American lands, and in 2004 it began studying the importance of involving Iraq and Afghanistan. By deploying permanent military bases, it was met by strong Russian objection at the time and threatened to withdraw from the Nuclear Power Treaty medium range^(*) for the year 1987 AD⁽¹⁾ Russia considers these moves to be the first target of this project, especially after the deployment of the Czech and Greek system, and it is not convinced by the allegations that the rogue states target Iraq, Iran and North Korea.⁽²⁾ In 2011, Germany and the Netherlands committed themselves to deploying NATO Patriot units from the system EPAA and the BMD^(*) Poland, Romania, Spain and Turkey made contributions to the missile system, and Spain hosted ships AEGIS^(*) Turkey hosts

*The nuclear treaty between the United States of America and the USSR in Washington between Presidents Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev on 8\12\ 1987 AD On 2 February 2019 AD, America announced its exit from the agreement, accusing Russia of violating it, and Russia responded to suspending its commitment to the agreement.

¹- Ahmed Alo, US missile defense shield in UrAnd the Ba: The problem is still there and the solution is postponed, the Lebanese Army Magazine, (Beirut, Al-IdlDr (277)2008, p. 126.

²- Lavrov. s. R, Curbing Russia, Back to the Future, Russia's Journal of World Affairs, (Moscow, No.(4),2007 AD), Dr.s.

*- BMD: It is the anti-ballistic missile program of the US Navy and Missile Defense Agency, and this program was developed to provide defense against short and medium-range missiles as part of America's national missile defense strategy for post-reinforcement and before re-entry interception and information is passed to US missile defense systems .

*- AEGIS BMD: It is the weapon of the United States and friendly countries of the missile defense system to transmit information to detect the target for defense in the middle of the ground path and differs in some

radarAN/TPY-2^(*)And the establishment of naval vessels that complement the systems ofSM-3^(*)With Patriot missiles deployed from US units, Japanese and Australian warships were also provided with weapons and technology to enable their participation.⁽⁴⁾In 2013, Russia announced the deployment of Iskander nuclear missiles short term In the Russian province of Kalgrad⁽²⁾.

Russia considers the American presence in Iraq in particular and the Gulf in general as a prelude to extending its influence to Iran, and then Central Asia, the Black Sea and the Caucasus, which constitute regions of importance to Russia, especially since the borders of Central Asia are linked to Turkey, a member of NATO, and this explains whyRRussia agrees to supply Turkey with a missile systems-300Russia, prompting Russia to expand its role in Central and South Asia and the Middle East in a race to contain the threat of a missile shield⁽³⁾The shift of NATO towards the Arabian Gulf and its decline in Eastern Europe in the strategic arena of America due to Russian pressure did not affect its importance as a function and tool to achieve its military strategy.⁽⁴⁾And the deployment of the American missile shield in the Gulf to mediate (Israel) the Arab region and take care of its interests and security under the umbrella of the Atlantic Alliance.⁽⁵⁾Securing US control over Iraq after 2003 on the pretext of possessing weapons of mass destruction, and spreading fears to the Gulf Cooperation Council countries to seek missile defense systems to protect them from Iranian attacks and the threat of (Israel), but the main goal is to secure America's direct control over the region And extends to Syria and Hezbollah in LebanonyAnd against Hamas in the Gaza Strip, to first eliminate the resistance to the American expansionist project in the region by subjugating the remaining elements of the resistance⁽⁶⁾And it shows the increasing missile attacks of Iran and its proxies since 2018, and it is on its way to set a new

characteristics and methods of deployment, as one of the most complex foundations of the missile defense efforts of the mid-1980syIt was created as part of the Ronald Reagan Initiative and was completed in October 2005M, Obama focused 2009MOn this system in exchange for the abolition of a missile defense site in Poland, Russian President Putin welcomed Obama's plan for the Navy's Aegis class ships.aAmerican forces to station themselves in the Black Sea, being less effective against Russian missiles.

*- AN/TPY-2: The radar product from Raytheon company tracks targets at the launch, mid- and end-of-flight stages, and is capable of detecting missiles 2,000 kilometers before they reach the target, giving an additional 60-70 seconds to confront the attacking missile. The radar belongs to a generation Advanced military radar. For more see:

AN\TPY2: Army Navy Transportable Radar Surveillance, Raytheon missiles & defense, visited on Monday 9:30 p.m., at<https://bit.ly/3iENafQ>.

*- **SM-3** Improved missiles to equip Aegis ships, enabling them to launch and remotely controland useSensors on board track and control space to target the launch.

¹- Azriel Bermant, The Russian and Iranian Missile Threats: Implications for NATO Missile Defense, Institute for National Security Studies, Memorandum No. 143, November 2014, p. p 14-20.

²- Mustafa Alawi, Asymmetric Polarity: The Transformations of Russian Policy towards the United States, International Politics Journal, (Cairo: Al-Ahram Foundation for Strategic Studies and Research, Volume (49), Issue (195), December 2014 AD), p. 105.

³- Zainab Abdel Azim, The aggression against Iraq, a map of the crisis and the future of a nation, 1, (Cairo University: Research Center for Political Studies, 2003), p. 297.

⁴- Now Grish. Donic Vidal: Translated by Ibrahim Al-Aris, 1st Edition, ((d.m.), Cordoba House, 1991 AD), p. 234.

⁵- Khalil al-Samarrai, the development of strategic conceptsaAmerica towards the Arab world,Baghdad:a housewisdom,1998 AD), p. 30.

⁶- Talaat Muslim, Beating the Drums of War in the Region 2007-2010 AD, Journal of Middle Eastern Studies, (Amman: Center for Middle Eastern Studies in cooperation with the Jordan Institute for Research and Information, No. 52), 2010 AD, pp. 60-61.

record in 2021. It declined after the killing of Major General Qassem Soleimani. And in February 2021, the Ain al-Assad base inside Iraq was bombed, and Iran announced its targeting of a ship belonging to an Israeli company in the Arabian Sea off the coast of Oman, and as stated by "Middle East Eye", the popular crowd began a truce with the United States that could lead to the protection of American forces in Iraq, but it is seen as a deal with Iran's partners to reduce the danger to the United States' partners, and that the Biden administration began to reduce American air defense. To prepare to confront the strategy of China and Russia^(*) And the Pentagon removed 8 Patriot anti-missile batteries from Iraq, Kuwait, Jordan and Saudi Arabia, and in April 2020, the Patriot batteries arrived in Iraq after the operation targeting Ain al-Assad, and in 2021 it reduced its forces to 2,500 soldiers in Iraq and announced its complete withdrawal from Afghanistan, which is indirect talks with Iran to work on a plan of action Comprehensive 2015 on the nuclear agreement in exchange for ending Saudi support in the Yemen war and removing the Houthi classification as an organizer terrorist⁽¹⁾.

NATO's vision stems from the risks facing the countries of the region stemming from regional countries such as Iran and Iraq⁽²⁾ The restrictions imposed on the level continued. The security and attrition that appeared clearly. In the first Gulf War by supporting Iraq and striking it in the second Gulf War and limiting its power against (Israel) and preventing any unified Arab or Gulf power and supporting its alliance with Turkey and making all efforts to prevent Iran from acquiring weapons of mass destruction and ridding Iraq of its strategic military arsenal⁽³⁾ As the (Israeli) party secured military superiority after destroying the Iraqi force and placing restrictions on military capabilities in the region and excluding (Israel) from any initiative or declaration to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.⁽⁴⁾

This justifies the failure of the United States of America to respond to Iraq's request in 2013 to purchase an air defense system worth \$2.4 billion with the aim of deploying it by 2020, with Iraq not giving priority to the issue of air defense during its war against (ISIS) and the slow process of supplying American weapons as an undocumented country. In its orientation and use of the defense system against its allies in the region. Iraq has received Russian systems on a regular basis

The close relationship between China and Russia represents the last line of defense to protect the world order and build a new international order that rejects the vision of a world led by the United States. The Russian-Chinese Olympic Summit on February 4, 2022 AD revealed the birth of an unprecedented strategic alliance in the energy field and the building of new sustainable international relations. For more see: Ahmed Kandil, China and Russia, are they a partnership without borders, an article available on the Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies, on February 9, 2022 AD, the date of the visit is 8/5/2022 AD, at the following link: <https://bit.ly/3BKGAJ1>.

¹- Blaise Misztal, et al., Iran's Projectile Threat to US Interests and Partners, JINSA's Gemunder Center for Defense and Strategy, July 2021, p. p 1-5

²- Mahjoub Omar, A Strategic Assessment of the Developments of the Arab-Israeli Conflict in 1997, Translations: Strategy (12), (Damascus, Arab Center for Strategic Studies, 1997), pp. 4-5.

³- Any Fuller. Ian Oleser, Myths of the Persian Gulf: Towards a Coexisting Politics with Variables, Quarterly Paper Series: Gulf Translations, 1st Edition, (Damascus, Arab Center for Strategic Studies, 1997), pp. 6-36.

³- Rashid Abu Ghaida, Multilateral Talks: Means of Regional Cooperation in the Middle East, 1st Edition, (Oman: Al-Bashir Publishing House and distribution, 1992 AD), pp. 37-38.

since 2014.⁽¹⁾ And Iraq expressed a tendency to enhance cooperation in the field of Russian armament to purchase a \$4 billion contract for the purchase of combat aircraft, and a \$1 billion contract to equip Iraq with armored vehicles. The former Russian ambassador to Iraq, Maxim Maximov, stated in Baghdad about the continuation of consultations regarding Iraq's interest in purchasing the defense system (S-400).^(*) Russia, which prompted America to threaten anyone who acquires Russian weapons, especially (S-400). Implementing strict penalties issued in 2017 known as B) CAATSA.^(*) These sanctions are enough to discourage the desire of the Gulf states and Iraq from acquiring the advanced Russian defense system, which reflects their concern about the rise of Russian technology that undermines their strategic and military hegemony.⁽²⁾ And that the uniqueness of the United States and the deployment of the missile shield is viewed by Russian foreign policy as compromising its vital interests, endangering the global strategic balance and giving America a qualitative advantage towards the Russian deterrent power.⁽³⁾ Russia plays a role in restoring its position in the international scene of events to a degree that has not reached parity and partnership, but rather is based on the principle of interest and not ideology, which changed its goals and the economic factor became the largest role in its foreign policy.⁽⁴⁾

Second: The project (the Silk Road Economic Belt and the Maritime Silk Road for the Twenty-first Century) and the Middle East. It is one of the most important projects of the open Chinese economy and linking it to the outside world. In 2013, Chinese President Jinping made a visit to Indonesia. a (Strategy of building the economic belt).^(*) And in 2014, the president put it in the priorities of the Chinese government.

Thus, it faces competition for several projects, the most important

¹- Michael Knights. Farzin Nadimi, The Dilemma of Air Defense in Iraq: Options for Policy. American, Washington Institute for Studies, article published on 12/9/2019, entry date 10/8/2021, available at the following link: <https://bit.ly/3NE9VrU>.

*It is a Russian missile defense system known as the S-400 Triumph. Prepared for promotion for S-300 in 1993. It has been in service since 2007 and is described in 2017. One of the best air defense systems currently, with a speed twice the speed of the American Patriot system, and three times its targeting. Used in Russia, China, India and Turkey.

*The Countering America's Enemies Through Sanctions Act was passed in the US Senate in 2017, signed by President Trump, and applied to Russia, North Korea, and Iran.

2- Hisham Nassiyevev, the S-400 system, This is how Putin is trying to shake the balance of power in the world, Al Jazeera Media Network, an article published on 10/22/2018, entry date 8/11/2021 AD, available at the following link: <https://bit.ly/3NE24e0>.

3- Muhammad Maiseer, The future of global geostrategic balances, a study in the strategy of the United States of America. Comprehensive Americanism and Strategies of Competing Powers, 1st Edition, (Iraq, Dar Al-Akademoun Publishing and Distribution Company, 2017), p. 388.

4- Khalil Ibrahim and others, The Impact of International Changes on the Sources of Threatening Arab National Security After the End of the Cold War 1990-2010, Journal of Human Sciences Studies, (University of Jordan - Deanship of Scientific Research, No. (2), Volume (40), 2013 AD), 368.

*- is legislation to throw China from method a. Li link the Chinese economy in Europe. And the establishment of a trade corridor linking East and West, and includes the continents of Asia, Europe and Africa, extending the overland route in (the pivotal countries such as Russia, China, the five Central Asian countries, the expansionist countries of India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Mongolia, Belarus, Armenia, Ukraine, Moldova, Iran and the sub-states of West Asia, the European Union. And the BP, Japan and South Korea), and the routes are extended by its marine of three parts (the line of Southeast Asia, the line of South Asia, the Arabian Gulf, and the West Bank of the Indian Ocean). For more see: Zhang Yun, The Belt and Road, The Transformations of Chinese Diplomacy in the 21st Century, translated by Aya Muhammad, 1st edition, (Cairo, Dar Al-Safafa Publishing, Distribution and Studies, 2017 AD), pg 241.

of which are: -

❖ **United States of America:** -US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton put forward a concept (Greater Central Asia) and the new Silk Road in the Indian Chai to link South Asia, Central Asia and West Asia and take Afghanistan as a center to protect its interests in Eurasia to weaken China and its cooperation with Central Asia and reduce the unity of the Shanghai Organization.

❖ **European Union:** -The union helped to achieve a balance between Russia and the United States in Central Asia, but it held the region's situation in the interest of the Chinese Silk Road project, as Europe was associated with the American Silk Road project and the construction of the NAPCO pipeline, which strengthened the European presence in Central Asia and neighboring countries and its influence in the region. The union put forward an alternative plan for Asia (the Asia Connectivity Strategy) to improve relations in the field of transport, energy and technology.

❖ **United Russia:** -In 2002, Russia, India and Iran proposed the "Northern-South Corridor Line" extending from India to Europe through the Caucasus, Russia and Iran to maintain Russia's traditional influence in the region, and to merge with Central Asia to build the (Eurasian Economic Union), which it seeks to use as a locomotive to extend its influence to the Soviet Union countries. Previously, despite President Putin's support for the Belt and Road plan at the 2014 conference, there were Chinese fears that affected the achievement of cooperation with China and Central Asia.

❖ **Japan:** -In 2013, President Shinzo Abe headed towards Eurasia and declared his move towards Istanbul to London, stressing Japan's position as a starting point for the Eurasian Silk Road, cooperation with countries located on the Pacific Ocean, and military presence as a measure to build a defensive line to curb China, but on a larger scale.

❖ **(India, Iran, Afghanistan):** -These countries are working to build the Southern Silk Road in South Asia by land and sea, and India is seeking to dominate the Indian Ocean to maneuver China into the pearling strategy that hinders India, and affects maritime cooperation and competition with it, which puts pressure on China strategically in the Southeast Asian region, and parallels Iran. China has another project in which it plays a pivotal role. Although Tehran welcomes the legislator, it seeks to link China's economy with Pakistan, then Iran, Iraq, Syria and Europe, and Iran is the heart of this project.

The removal of the Chinese initiative in its economic aspect carries political and strategic goals that increase China's dominance over the regions and countries through which the project passes, European countries and global markets. big Soft power is used to control countries that need visions Money, which applies to Iraq⁽¹⁾.

¹- Zhang Yun, The Belt and Road, The Transformations of Chinese Diplomacy in the 21st Century, translated by Aya Muhammad, 1st edition, (Cairo, Dar Al-Safafa Publishing, Distribution and Studies, 2017 AD), spp. 435-444. Also see: Miran Hussein, The Future of the Chinese Belt Road Project in Light

As for the Middle East region referred to in the documents, "Western China was mentioned four times as a main and pivotal link or a major partner for transportation to the European final consumer, the participating countries Turkey and Iran, the economic land route Egypt and (Israel) and Saudi Arabia's contribution through the oil trade along the way."⁽¹⁾

As for Iraq, although it is not included in the Belt Initiative, it is one of the main suppliers of China's oil and the steady trade between the two countries, and the participation of neighboring countries such as Turkey, Iran and Saudi Arabia, Iraq must benefit from its position.⁽²⁾ It is an integral part of the project due to the importance of its geostrategic location linking the continents of Asia and Europe, as the Iraqi Minister of Transport Nasir al-Shibli stated ((that Iraq will be the main station in the land and sea project, by linking the construction of the great port of Faw and signing contracts in the coming days with the implementing companies and in If completed, Iraq will be the center of the Silk Road, and then the completion of the project to link the dry canal to the port of Faw in Turkey via the railways.⁽³⁾At the same time, there is a railway line extending from Khanaqin to Baghdad, 200 km 2 from Iran, which facilitates the connection of East and Central Asia through Iraq.⁽⁴⁾And Iraq and Iran are paving the way for a project to link railways. In 2018, the Iranian Railways Director announced that Iran intends to build a line linking the Persian Gulf with the Mediterranean from southern Iraq in Basra to Abu Kamal towards Syria, and pointed out that the project is attractive to China, and in the visit of Iranian President Hassan Rouhani to Iraq In March 2019, Iran signed a memorandum of understanding on the project, and in May 2021, Prime Minister Mustafa Al-Kazemi announced that negotiations with Iran to build the railways had reached their final stages, but he did not start work on them due to the Iraqi economic situation and American pressures, meaning that the success of this connection will make Iraq part of China's economic influence and excludes Russia, which is unable to confront China in economic activity⁽⁵⁾.

That China is working to take advantage of its opportunities in Iraq by investing in schools and Iraqi energy fields and entering into commercial mediation instead of military intervention and using the veto in the United Nations alongside Russia on the Syrian war and preventing the use of American military and political force in Iraq, as this shows The Chinese project is to increase China's influence alongside the Russian Federation to accelerate the change in the direction of the international system and break the American hegemony through a soft economic policy.

of Political and Economic Obstacles, i1,(Germany, PublicationsArab Democratic Center for Strategic, Political and Economic Studies, 2019 AD), pp. 242-243.

¹- Group of authors, China's Belt and Road Initiative.. Iraq's Opportunity, (Baghdad, Al-Bayan Center for Studies and Planning Series Publications, 2018), p. 17.

²Previous source, pg.

³- Youssef Qahtan, Iraqi Foreign Policy towards Economic Cooperation with China, 1st Edition, (Berlin - Germany, Arab Democratic Center, 2021), p. 18.

⁴- Salam Jabbar, The Possible Effects of the Belt and Road Initiative on Iraq, Journal of Political Issues, (Iraq, Al-Nahrain University: College of Political Science, No. (58), 2019 AD), p. 13.

⁵- A group of authors, The Iranian Railroad Connection Project with Iraq: Its Dimensions and Geopolitical Repercussions, (Abu Dhabi: Emirates Center for Policies, 2021 AD), d.p.

Third: Russia's project for rapprochement through Iran, Iraq and Syria: The Russian cooperation with Iran, Iraq and Syria to eliminate terrorism and the establishment of the Quadruple Alliance for the exchange of intelligence information between the ministries of defense and security services of these aforementioned countries, based in Baghdad and other offices in the countries of the coalition⁽¹⁾ And Russia's entry into a confrontation line with ISIS to protect its interests reflects the high relative importance of Iraq in Russia's policy and strategy first, and then the quadripartite alliance secondly, which brought nothing but a change of geopolitics and a convergence of positions between the allied countries. Russia's interest goes beyond ISIS, and by occupying The United States allowed Afghanistan to exploit Central Asian resources in the broadest sense and bypass Russia, China and Iran, which generated a tripartite alliance that began in Syria, prompting Russia to coordinate with Iran on energy issues, the Iranian nuclear program, the stability of Central Asia and the events in Iraq, Syria and the Middle East, due to Russian-Iranian fear From the American presence in Syria⁽²⁾,

Despite the dynamics of the Russian Iranian relationship and its unstable phase, developments such as the Iranian nuclear file and the Syrian crisis have brought the positions closer, the most important of which is the American expansion at the expense of Russia and Iran, as its position enables it to control the regions of the Caspian Sea, the Caucasus, Central Asia, the Middle East and the Gulf. Which is represented by a region free of military conflicts and unsustainable to penetrate the United States of America and (Israel)⁽³⁾.

The Russian intervention in Syria came to preserve the European gas market, its naval base, and the partnership in oil and gas investment. The Syrian gate and the decline of the American role and the quest to establish a basic role in the Middle East⁽⁴⁾. It is noted that Syria is part of the surrounding area, the global waters, the southern extension of Russia, and this coalition It will be supportive of Russian influence in the Middle East, and the port of Tartus is the only naval base outside the Russian Federation, and it will remain effective, especially after the developments of the energy and natural gas geopolitics in the northern Mediterranean and its increasing presence since the year 2020.⁽⁵⁾

As for Iraq, it was supportive of the Russian role in Syria due to ISIS's challenge to Iraq and Syria, and it joined the Quartet Alliance in 2015. Russia seeks to develop its role, especially to confront terrorism and formulate its policy in the

¹- Hussam Muhammad Khudair, Iraqi-Russian Relations 2014-2018, Journal of International Studies, (University of Baghdad: Center for International Studies, Volume 19, Issue (82), 2020 AD), p. 521.

²- Nasr Muhammad, The Quadruple Alliance... Strategic interests that go beyond fighting (ISIS), an article published in the Future Center for Strategic Studies on 3/11/2015, time of visit 9/18/2021 MON the following link: -<https://bit.ly/3AmJ8JH> .

³- Nasr Muhammad, article "The Quadruple Alliance...Strategic Interests Beyond Fighting (ISIS)", a previously mentioned source.

⁴- Alexander Rar, Nasr El-Din's translation, Russia and the West, who will prevail, the National Center for Translation, a previously mentioned source, p. 231.

⁵- Nasr Muhammad, article "The Quadruple Alliance...Strategic Interests Beyond Fighting (ISIS)", a previously mentioned source.

Middle East⁽¹⁾Russia's foreign policy in Iraq will intensify in the future, as Iraq is centered on the strategy of the United States and is located in the strategic scope of Russia, which is an important axis in the strategic triad (Iran-Iraq-Syria), after the Russians realized the change in the Iraqi political decision, where Russia proposed the idea of establishing an alliance New Russian "Collective Security"⁽²⁾.

The regional variables surrounding Iraq are considered influential in Russia's foreign policy and keeping pace with international events such as the Syrian crisis and Yemen and the deployment of the missile shield in close proximity to the Russian Federation to besiege it and obstruct the restoration of its international standing. It seeks to build a multi-polar world and restructure its regional surroundings through cooperation with major and medium countries or through blocs such as the BRICS bloc.

The third requirement: -Security projects in the Middle East and Iraq

The origin of the Russian move in its regional surroundings and its close neighborhood at the level of security projects to secure its economy and prominent appearance on the international scene, is proceeding according to what is drawn by the Russian national security strategy, which reflects the perceptions of the threat and its priorities on Russia, and whose features have been determined by the Russian President since the dissolution of the former Soviet Union and is not governed by this The strategy becomes a fixed law and changes according to the data, and this is what will happenMPresenting it in the demand and its importance to Russian national security and the projects that secure this presence in the Middle East and Iraq.

The Russian National Security Strategy, as a reference to all other Russian strategies (military and foreign) that shape general Russian policy and began to restore Russia's international presence and work on building the Russian interior and promoting the economyDrOn the one hand, the escalation of the challenge on the other hand, and the overcoming of the threat of NATO expansion. At the 2012 Munich Conference, he issued the Russian national security document and directly announced that his country would not accept unipolarity. This document refers to Putin's 2007 speech, as well as confronting terrorism, the spread of nuclear weapons and organized crime, which included new risks such as environmental pollution, color revolutions and economic risks and warned of the spread of Epidemics and viruses in state wars, which made it proactive in anticipating the spread of infectious diseases such as the Covid-19 virus, and two amendments were made to it, the first at the end of 2014 AD and the second at the end of 2015 AD in line with the emerging conditions on the international and regional arena⁽³⁾On

¹- Haider Ali Hussein, Iraq in Russian Strategy, a previously mentioned source, p. 150.

²- Taha Al-Ani, article "How was Russia convinced to abandon Iraq to America before 2018", a previously mentioned source.

³- Muhammad Seif, What has the Russian National Security Strategy 2012-2020 achieved (1-2)?, an article published on Al-Mayadeen Net, on 22/7/2021, visited on 4/10/2021, available at the following link: -<https://bit.ly/3iwWGeS>.

3/7/2021, the Russian security document was issued in a more severe form than its predecessor for 2015, and cybersecurity was added to the priorities of the Russian security strategy; Because of the increase in cyber-attacks and interference in Russia's internal affairs, which reflect Russian concern about geopolitical changes and confrontation with the West; Because of the expansion of NATO, and the inclusion of the United States and its allies in the list of unfriendly countries, in addition, Russia secures its regional neighborhood from tension and conflict, and strengthens its cooperation with China and India. Technical and information development in the Gulf region through investments ⁽¹⁾.

To further clarify the Russian security policy-making, as each individual and institution is a source of the security perception formulated by the head of state and some other forces, the following design embodies (the structure of the Russian National Security Institution).

Russia puts its political decisions into existence through its vision in the form of documents issued by the official legislature institutions and expressing the strategies of the Russian state's approach. The level of strategic thought as a result of changes in the environment and the nature of perceptions and their loss of much of their power, which prompted it to find an alternative and consolidate its international and regional role to have an entrance to the exercise of an active role at the international level⁽²⁾, which shows the close interrelationship between the Russian strategy in the Middle East and the current transformations to restore its position. As a result of the American invasion of Iraq, losses and the lack of credibility of the pretexts for the invasion led to the decline of the United States' position and the warning of the multiplicity of global leadership and the rise in energy prices to seven times what they were before the invasion of Iraq led to The accumulation of Russian wealth and its exit from its financial crisis⁽³⁾ And the Russian presence in the Black Sea and the Mediterranean after the annexation of the Crimea in 2014 and the terrorist threats in the region that affected the countries of the former Soviet Union, as well as the Russian national security with its economic dimension linked to the Middle East, and here Iraq emerges as one of the most important regional parties targeted, which is located in the heart of The region, as the Russian foreign policy began to develop new strategies for dealing with Iraq from the vision that "Iraq is located within the axis of the countries in which the Russian national interests are concentrated" to play a broader role in the Middle East and began to enter the Iraqi arena after its direct presence in Syria and the strength of its relationship with Iran from The way to establish an intelligence information center in Baghdad that includes the Army Staff of Russia, Iran, Syria and Iraq to develop relations with Iraq on the one hand and stand as a

¹- A group of researchers, the Russian National Security Strategy for the year 2021 AD, analytical reading, a research paper published on the Emirates Policy Center website, dated July 27, 2021 AD, visited October 4, 2021 AD, on the following link: <https://bit.ly/3mogpyr>.

²- Tariq Muhammad Thanoun, Russian Strategic Thought in the 21st Century, 1st Edition, (Amman, House of Academics for Publishing and Distribution, 2016 AD)), spp. 10.9-20.

³- Tariq Muhammad Thanoun, Russian Strategic Thought in the 21st Century, previous source, pp. 25-29.

wall against American hegemony⁽¹⁾.

Based on this strategy which highlights Russia shows that a world sold DrCold War MBuilding multiple strategic partnerships as an alternative policy to traditional bilateral alliances to confront American unilateralism ⁽²⁾, and the establishment of important alliances that will be proposed in this regard: -

A-Shanghai Organization(*) (sco):- Prepare the organization an important aspect of regional organizations, to reThe structure of the international system and parity between the United States on the west and Russia and China on the east)³⁾ And in 2017, the members of the organization agreed to give membership to both India and Pakistan, the two nuclear rivals, and from here the triangle of power was completed⁽⁴⁾ And in the year 2021 AD, Iran was granted membership and the founding parties welcomed the organization to join, as it represents an addition to the alliance, the ribs of the power square in the east to confront the United States according to the new map of multipolarity.⁽⁵⁾ Between the strong interdependence between Russia and the Asian powers, and the rejection of the American request to join the organization, and the introduction of Iran represents a challenge to American hegemony.⁽⁶⁾ On the military and security side of the organization, it is competing with NATO despite the countries' denial of establishing a partnership on the ruins of the Warsaw Pact, and with the Shanghai Organization, the Chinese economic giant, and the Russian militarization power outperforming the American side, and specialists in military alliances warn of the emergence of new balances that dominate the international arena It could split the eastern and western camps, due to its nuclear power and enormous economic capacity.⁽⁷⁾

And Iraq's position is great for the major countries because of what it possesses Of the resources that attract major countries and regional and international organizations, and the weight of its geopolitical position linking the new Asian and Arab sites of the organization as a land crossing, and in March 2017,

1- Haider Ali Hussein, Iraq in Russian Strategy, an article previously mentioned.

2- Muhammad Moazez, The Intellectual Bases of Russian Foreign Policy since the year 2000 AD, unpublished doctoral thesis, (Baghdad, Al-Nahrain University, College of Political Science, 2021 AD), p. 234.

*- Return the roots a Convention of the Shanghai Organization for the General Convention 1996 AD, after Russia, China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan signed an agreement on security and intelligence cooperation in the region, protecting the borders of these countries and combating terrorism. In 2001, Uzbekistan joined after it was announced as an organization that gained international legitimacy.

3 Bates Jabal, China's New Tendency to Security Multilateralism and Its Implicit Examination for the Asia-Pacific Region, in: Authors' Group, Arms, Disarmament, and International Security, 1st Edition, (Stockholm: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 2004), pp. 344-345.

4- Samir Hamiaz, Russian-Chinese cooperation to confront US hegemony, the Shanghai Organization as a model, the Algerian Journal of Security and Development, (Algeria: Boumerdes University, Volume (9), No. (2), 2020 AD), p. 166.

5- An article published on Al-Jazeera website, titled with the support of Russia and China.. Shanghai Cooperation Organization approves Iran's membership, on 9/17/2021, visited 10/2021, On the following link: -<https://bit.ly/3acGUKV>.

6- Jamal Mazloun, Russian-Chinese cooperation within the framework of the Shanghai Organization, International Politics Journal, (Cairo: Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies, No. (164), 2006), p. 60.

7- Samer Deeb, The Role of Regional and International Blocs in the International Balance, Shanghai and BRICS as a Model, Unpublished Master's Thesis (Syria, Damascus University / College of Political Science, 2016 AD), p. 90.

Iraq received an invitation to join the Shanghai Organization as a partner for dialogue from the Secretary-General (Rasheed Alimo).q) and there is nothing left to Without the accession of Iraq, it has good economic potential, and Iraq's starting points meet the goals of the organization (*)Which are the following:-

1- The premises of the Iraqi constitution: on combating terrorism, extremism and secession from Articles 1, 3, 7, 8, ninth, and paragraph 37, and the premises of religions. The more there is stability, understanding, and religious and sectarian integration, the more the state stabilizes security and politically. Iraq is a multi-national country, as stipulated in Article 3 of the Constitution.

2- Security premises: Iraq is also the most important pillars of regional security and a necessary balancing factor that upsets the Arab and regional security equation. Through the 2003 war decision on Iraq, it resulted in the disintegration of the pillars of the Middle East and the spread of armed phenomena, militias and terrorist organizations that found the land of Iraq fertile for their growth, and the organization (ISIS) was Most notably, this coincides with the objectives of the Shanghai Organization for Combating Terrorism and Transnational Organized Crime.

3- **Economical premise:** The fact that Iraq is the focus of attention of the Shanghai Organization, especially Russia and China, for what it contains Of natural resources, especially oil, as it is a natural weapon that affects countries and entire empires, as well as the organization's attempt to reach the shores of the Arabian Gulf, dominated by America, and to secure energy supplies, and Iraq represents a strategic key to reach this region ⁽¹⁾.

B- BRICS group:-This partnership is an abbreviation of the letters of the countries (Russia-China-India-Brazil-South Africa), for political, economic and cultural cooperation, was established in 2001, and discussions continued to establish at the invitation of Dmitri Medvedev, and in 2009 the first annual summit of the Shanghai-based group was held, and then South Africa joined in The year 2010 AD, and among the goals of this group is the development of member and non-member states, support for global projects, as well as political goals through combating terrorism, settling international crises such as the Iranian nuclear file

*- The declared goals of the Shanghai Organization: to combat terrorism, religious and ethnic extremism, and movements separatism Combating drug trafficking and transnational organized crime, strengthening cooperation, maintaining regional security, demarcating the border between China and Russia, containing US influence in Central Asia, strengthening cooperation between countries economically and politically, establishing a joint bank to issue a single currency in the future, strengthening the role of the United Nations and reaching a rival NATO alliance.

But the goals are not The Announced: Fortifying the soft Russian-Chinese loin, encircling NATO, and exiting the military bases that created In the region after the invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq, which was evident in the evacuation of the American base in Kir Ghastan and the latter's pressure to complete the Kabul Agreement to maintain NATO bases, maintain sea ports on the Indian and Pacific Oceans, and open a sea route in the Arctic to break the American cordon to besiege Russia M The path of hostile countries and heading towards the Black Sea and getting out of targeting the American missile shield, exiting the US dollar area as a global currency, establishing a \$100 billion bank and trading in local currencies, restoring control over strategic areas such as the Malacca Strait that connects the Pacific Ocean to the Indian Ocean.

¹⁻ Jaafar Bahloul, Laila Ashour, Iraq's accession to regional organizations, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization as a model, Journal of Political Issues, (Baghdad: Al-Nahrain University, College of Political Science, No. (48-49), 2017 AD), pp. 171-190.

and liquidating the Yemen issue. In 2014, the group announced the establishment of the New Development Bank and the Reserve Arrangement Fund for Units , as a reaction to the reform of the World Bank, as it does not give China and India the right to expand their influence within this bank, as the partnership is an expression of a new power that has sparked widespread controversy to challenge the dominant financial system of Bretton Woods, and one of the reports stated titled "BRICS group can grow to 2050 AD" This conglomerate can grow by the year 2050 AD to larger than the size of the adult group, in the future Dr The equation of global economies will change in terms of the world's richest per capita share⁽¹⁾ f. The BRICS bloc is characterized by a secure economic escalation that has a better position at the international level; According to the statement of the Extraordinary Ambassador to Moscow in Beijing, "Russia, which was a pioneer in establishing the BRICS group, sees this partnership as extending cooperation with China, India, Brazil and South Africa, and accelerating the crystallization of a more stable global system for managing the economy."⁽²⁾.

Iraq's choice of an appropriate development strategy for its economy is based on the experience of an entrepreneur The BRICS is an option close to what characterizes Iraq with the diversity and multiplicity of its economic, natural and human sectors and its various other wealth compared to the resources and wealth of the BRICS countries and developing countries, whether they are high or low-income and their stages of economic development, which can be relied upon to achieve a promising economic renaissance aimed at achieving high rates of growth. economic development for the various sectors to achieve comprehensive development and reach an advanced economic level according to its economic capabilities and resources, and to reduce its dependence on the oil sector that dominates the Iraqi economy and make it a renter economy ⁽³⁾.

Table No. (2) To illustrate the Shanghai Organization and the BRICS and its effectiveness at the global level

Growth rate	GDP for the year 2018	Population of member states for the year 2018	The total area of the member states	conglomerate
2.8(6)	18(4)	3.3 billion people, or 44.53% of the world's population	30.163.600 ⁽⁴⁾	1- Shanghai Organization

¹- Ramez Salah, The Impact of the BRICS bloc on American hegemony, 1st Edition, (Germany, Arab Democratic Center for Strategic, Political and Economic Studies, 2021), p. 30.

²- Maher Bin Ibrahim, The Eurasian Project from Regional to International: The World between the Polar State and the Multipolar World Order, 1st Edition, (Cairo, Dar Al-Fikr Al-Arabi, 2014 AD), p. 235.

³- Fadel Jawad Dahesh, Esraa Hussein Silan, Iraq and benefiting from the BRICS lesson in economic growth, Al-Kut Journal of Economic and Administrative Sciences, (Iraq: Wasit University, College of Economic and Administrative Sciences, Vol. 12), No. (36), 2020 AD), p. 105 -106.

3.2 for a year (2017)	20.1(5)	3.1billion people (2)44.53% of the world's population	39,746.220 km2 i(1)20,656% of the land area	2- BRICS group
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Source/

- 1- Report for World Trade Organization, vested it on 10/10/2021 on this<https://bit.ly/3BGMhEZ>.
 - 2- Gabriel de Barros Torres, BRICS' Economic and Trade Cooperation: Perspectives on a Potential Intra- BRICS Preferential Trade Agreement, Management and Economics Research Journal, September 30, 2020, Brazil.
 - 3- A global conglomerate outperformsG7, an article published on RT Arabia, on 11/13/2019 AD, visited 10/10/2021 AD, on the following link: - <https://bit.ly/3DOY8BD>.
 - 4- Report for World Trade Organization, op. cit.
 - 5- Report for World Trade Organization, op. cit.
- Jafar BahloulIraq's accession to regional organizations, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization as a model, a previously mentioned source, p. 192.

As a result of these Russian regional and international moves aimed at protecting Russian national security from threats and proving its presence in the international scene through its pragmatic and open foreign policy without falling into direct confrontation and cooperation with all countries of the world in light of the development of its economy through Russian energy and weapons, taking into account the pivotal role of the United Nations and the sovereignty of International law and the promotion of global security and stability.

The external variableseIt influenced Russia's orientation at the beginning of the twenty-first century by implementing a strategy based on the national interest, employing its effective diplomacy and a calculated and calculated foreign policy, keeping pace with international events by contributing to international projects and commercial investments, confronting security risks and proving its presence as an influential factor, especially after the events of 11\ 9/2001 AD, it produced tremendous changes in the international system, and the factor of terrorism was a motive for countries to find international and regional blocs and organizations that would qualify Russia to play an effective role in them, and to search for a multi-polar system so that the emerging countries would have an important and influential position, especially the Russian Federation, and opened a door for them to enter Iraq with caution and steps Slow being related to the conditionpEconomic, political and military for the region in general and Iraq in particular, which proved its intelligence to reach Iraq after it was the monopoly of the United States. Options are open to Iraq to achieve development, its political and strategic situation, and to benefit from development experiences by investing its presence in these international blocs that provide it with a space of flexibility and maneuvering. Thus, Russia is trying in its foreign policy to employ the need of Iraq in order to bring

about rapprochement between the two countries and even international projects that have not been completedsIraq; it gives Russia the ability to approach Iraq to achieve its foreign policy goals.