

Iraqi Energy Policy in The Middle East: Development and Prospects

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Abstract

First: The general definition of the research topic: The energy policy of a number of countries, political entities, and transnational organizations as a tool for international relations in a globalizing world. Its characteristics, trends, and problems of formation, implementation, and transformation are of interest to political scientists, economists, international experts, and journalists. Energy policy is an essential element of relations in the modern system of international relations that determines its formation, implementation and development. The energy policy of some political states and transnational organizations in a globalized world is usually determined by political and economic factors affecting the transformation of energy markets and the adaptation of energy companies, industries and countries to new challenges of global development. There is more technical and technological globalization in its capitalist form. Countries strive to achieve energy security and energy independence. The Asian energy market is growing. The pace of international business in the energy sector being transformed into national borders is accelerating.

Keywords: Energy Policy, energy market, economic factors.

Introduction

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Iraq continues to face instability in the Middle East. The threats emanating from this region are largely the result of external intervention under the pretext of reorganizing the region's political landscape while eliminating so-called "undesirable" regimes. The expansion of the Islamic State terrorist group into Iraq from this country has become a serious challenge. Despite the severity of regional losses, the Iraqi authorities were able to curb the expansion of the Islamic State terrorist organization. Since then, Iraq has been

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pursuing an effective policy to restore its role in the international community. Iraq was able, in a relatively short period of time, to emerge from international isolation and achieve great success in the process of restoring its role in regional and global relations. Among the important successes of Iraqi diplomacy, it should be noted the complete withdrawal of foreign forces from the country (2011), the holding of the Arab League summit in Baghdad (2012), and the holding of a P5+1 meeting in Baghdad. (2012), complete removal of all restrictions and sanctions imposed on the country under Chapter VII of the UN Charter (2013), and establishment of a new policy towards neighboring countries.

As a historical development in the energy policy in Iraq, in 1968, the Baath Party seized power in Iraq and began socialist reforms. The economy is controlled by the state and private enterprise is also monitored. In 1972, the most important step was the nationalization of the oil industry, which was not an expression of attachment to socialist ideology, but rather a statement of sovereignty, with which control over the most important national wealth was linked. Initially, nationalization led to a financial crisis (due to the outflow of qualified foreign employees and a decline in production), but after two years oil export revenues increased 10 times. A distinctive feature of the Iraqi oil industry is its high dependence on foreign labor - before nationalization in 1972, Iraqi oil was exploited on the basis of corresponding concessions to foreign companies (mainly American and British), after which a very high percentage of foreigners worked on the basis of contracts with the oil company, Governmental Iraqi National Oil Company. Before the war in 2003, more than 50% of technical personnel in the Iraqi oil industry were foreigners.

Since the US intervention in Iraq in 2003 and the subsequent years of internal chaos and civil war, the current investment climate in the country has gradually improved. Since 2008, Iraq has already organized four rounds of licensing for oil and gas fields. After signing contracts with international organizations, Iraq once again became the second largest oil producer in OPEC. At the end of 2012, production was 3.2 million barrels, and for the first time since 1979, nearly 3.8 million barrels per day (the level before the Iran-Iraq war). In its 2012 report, the International Energy Agency (IEA) expected Iraq's oil production to reach 6 million barrels in 2020 and 8 million barrels in 2035. But more optimistic are Iraq's forecasts, which it hopes to reach 10 million barrels as early as January 1, 2020. Although such a scenario is likely because Iraq's proven oil reserves are the fifth largest in the world and have not yet been fully explored, and the cost of extracting raw materials in some of its areas is very low, the results on the ground did not match with the reality. All of these expectations resulted in more modest results, as Iraq entered the year 2023 and did not achieve these results for many reasons.

The importance of the research topic is due to the fact that recent publications and scientific studies of politicians, political scientists, economists, and journalists show that energy policy problems are interpreted in different ways, and it is more likely that the interpretations will diverge further, as the political and economic interests of countries differ in international interaction. This problem is currently multi-vector and multi-dimensional and requires further study.

The issue is urgent, because the internal energy policy solves the problems associated with the direct supply of citizens with all the necessary energy sources. For all countries, these policies, as a general rule, do not differ much, even if the country is an energy exporter or importer. Foreign energy policy, on the other hand, solves larger, more global issues. It strives to provide the country with the most necessary types of energy at the best price, and also, for example, uses energy resources for political purposes in relations with other international actors (including private business structures, both supranational and national) to support it.

The importance of the study was determined by the fact that the effective use of the competitive energy advantage (resources and geography) of Iraq in the Middle East can help achieve foreign policy goals. It is necessary to understand how such an instrument can be applied, in what cases, and to what extent it is necessary to protect its national interests. Iraq's energy resources and traffic infrastructure can be used effectively to enhance the country's role and position on the regional scene. Today, Iraq ranks fifth in the world in terms of oil reserves. Oil reserve forecasts are impressive: this figure could be higher than 200 billion barrels. The export of raw materials constitutes more than 95% of the total volume of the state's exports from financing the general government budget (90%), and the state is actively working to rebuild the energy sector after long wars, which constitutes (60%) of the GDP.

The need to study the problem is due to the fact that the modern energy policy of the Iraqi state is determined by a number of external geopolitical, political and economic factors: settlement of the situation with the Kurdistan region, formation of further internal relations. A network of regional pipelines that would allow the transfer of a potentially increasing amount of produced oil to internal and external customers, and organize the effective protection of oil pipelines from terrorist organizations; Lifting restrictions on production by OPEC.

Thus, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, due to the American invasion of Iraq, Iraq was divided into sectors that were controlled by the United States and its allies. Conditions such as the occupation regime and internal contradictions slowed the development of the Iraqi oil sector. Today liberal market reforms are being implemented in the country.

Easing sanctions allows the country's government to strengthen its position in the international oil market. Both political and integration processes can play a positive role in the growth of oil production capabilities, which once again underscores the importance of the study.

Research problem: Every scientific research starts from a specific problem that is a central question from which a group of secondary questions may branch. The problem of this research is summarized in the following question:

What is the nature of Iraqi energy policy in the Middle East? And the factors for its development and future prospects?

What are the basic repercussions of this policy at the internal and external levels of Iraq?

Research hypothesis: The hypothesis is a preliminary answer to the research problem and a claim that the researcher makes and tries to prove scientifically and is summarized as follows:

Although Iraqi energy policy in the period after 2003 was not characterized by sufficient stability in its basic tools and directions, it clearly contributed to strengthening Iraq's regional position in the Middle East and added to strengthening its economic capabilities in a way that was reflected in the result on two basic levels, the first related to supporting stability. Internal (social and economic policies), as for the second level, it was reflected in strengthening Iraq's position regionally and internationally, especially in the international energy market.

Research objective

It is an analysis of the development, trends and prospects for the development of Iraq's energy policy in the Middle East, which includes solving the following tasks:

- Identifying the basics (constants and variables of Iraqi energy policy in the Middle East, factors of its development and future prospects).

- Exploring theoretical and methodological approaches to identifying the essence of energy policy;
- Studying the geopolitical concepts of energy policy in a globalizing world;
- Identifying the peculiarities of Iraqi energy policy during the era of the former Iraqi president .
- Determining the directions of Iraqi policy in the energy sector in the context of the influence of the American factor.
- To analyze political relations in the field of energy policy in Iraq and actors in the world and Middle Eastern countries.
- Considering trends and proposing prospects for developing Iraqi energy relations in the Middle East region.

Research Methodology:

To reach acceptable scientific results and methodological conclusions for the research , the researcher followed the deductive approach that proceeds from the general to the specific to study Iraqi energy policy in the Middle East and then generalize the results. The researcher also employed a number of well-known scientific research methods, including the historical and comparative method.

The temporal and spatial dimension of research

The research focused on the historical period extending from 2003 until the present time, while not ignoring the historical dimension of this policy and its future prospects.

From a spatial standpoint, the Middle East region is the primary field for research, while not ignoring the international dimension of this policy.

The practical importance lies in the fact that the results of the study allow us to develop recommendations for the implementation of detailed energy policy for Iraq and the countries of the Middle East, as well as China, Russia, the USA and the European Union, OPEC.

The results of the study can be used in real applied scientific, educational and policy activities. In the educational field, the materials can be used when reading advanced training courses for international political scientists, as well as lecture materials for the disciplines “International Relations and World Politics,” “Comparative Political Science,” etc.

The theoretical importance of the thesis is expressed in developing possible aspects of developing interaction in the energy sector between Iraq and some Middle Eastern countries, and evaluating the results of its implementation. The researcher takes into account the influence on these processes and global actors - Russia, China, the USA, the European Union and OPEC.

Approval of the results of the thesis research.

The results of the study of the researcher were tested in the framework of participation in international and all-Russian conferences, including: International Scientific and Practical Conference “Socio-political and historical-cultural aspects of the modern geopolitical situation” (Sochi, April 27-28, 2017); 1st International Scientific and Practical Conference of Young Scientists (Graduate, Undergraduate and Students) “Youth - Science and Practice: A Look into the Future” (Kaluga, December 12-13, 2017); Third International Scientific and Practical Conference “Europe, Russia, Asia: cooperation, contradictions, conflicts” (Ryazan, April 18-19, 2018); All-Russian Scientific Conference “Foreign policy interests of Russia: history and modernity” (Samara, April 27, 2018); All-

Russian Scientific Conference “National interests and foreign policy of Russia: history and modernity” (Samara, November 30, 2018); Eighth All-Russian Congress of Political Scientists “Development Politics, State and World Order” (Moscow, 6-8 December 2018); Scientific conference 19th International “Europe in the 21st Century: The Internal and External Frontiers of the European Union” (Sobiece, Poland, February 7-8, 2019); 2nd Annual Moscow Conference of the Moscow Regional Representative Office of the Council of Young Political Scientists of the Russian Political Science Association (Moscow, April 6, 2019), 30th anniversary of the international scientific and practical conference “West and East: Prospects of History and Development” (Ryazan, April 18-19, 2019); Seventh All-Russian Scientific Conference “Foreign policy concerns of Russia: history and modernity” (Samara, April 26, 2019).

The main provisions and conclusions of the thesis research are reflected in 11 scientific publications of the author, including 3 peer-reviewed publications recommended by the Higher Certification Committee of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation.

The thesis was discussed at a meeting of the Department of Political Analysis and Management of the Federal Autonomous Higher Educational Institution “Peoples' Friendship University of Russia” on May 16, 2019 and recommended for acceptance.

Previous studies.

Nowadays, the problem of using energy policy as an instrument in international relations has been widely developed in political science. Modern approaches to understanding the essence and study of energy policy are devoted to the publications of Grachev Andrey Borisovich. They analyze the essence of the approaches to defining energy policy in today's world and the emerging events of English-speaking authors - Keogen., McAleese, Myshkina, Nye and others also present the basic principles of interdependence (mutual influence) of international relations topics.

The political and legal issues of energy policy have been thoroughly studied in the works of researchers at the International Institute for Energy Policy and Diplomacy, Gudkov and Seliverstov.

Energy policy at the international level was analyzed in the works of Varnavsky, Zhiznin, Zhukov, Malik, Popova, Bosenkova, Salygina, Savaryan, Simonia, Tomberg and others, where these materials and concepts were analyzed in the formation and implementation of geopolitical aspects of energy policy.

Covering Russian interests in the Middle East has been analyzed by Abakarov, Avtsinova, Bagdasarov, Bazhanov, Kazarinova, Soros, and Chemereva. These materials define the circle of Russian interests in the Middle East region, and show the factors of its development.

Ali, Al-Khalidi, Zeltsov, Kasayev, Pashkova wrote about energy policy in Iraq, regarding geopolitical reality. Their publications examine some of Iraq's pressing energy policy issues and show that it is pursuing an active policy to revive the role of energy in the international community.

Thus, despite a certain amount of literature on the problem under study, a comprehensive analysis of the evolution, trends and prospects for the development of Iraqi energy policy in the Middle East has not been conducted. Therefore, the issue of implementing Iraqi energy policy at the current stage is still not well understood, which has become an incentive to study it.

Structure Search:

In the thesis, we discussed an introduction, three basic chapters and a conclusion containing results and recommendations.

The first chapter: came under the title (Energy Policy as a Factor in International Relations) The theoretical and methodological basis for the research: “Methods for studying energy policy for a number of countries, political unions, and transnational organizations as a tool for international relations in The shadow of globalization: the world, its characteristics, trends, problems of formation and implementation, and its transformations in the geopolitical context.

The first section: “Energy Policy: Concept, Essence and Approach” was devoted to examining conceptual approaches to defining energy policy in the modern world.

The problems of modern energy policy in the context of globalization are multifaceted and multilayered. International relations related to their formation and implementation, which today are interpreted ambiguously, require study, clarification and search for ways to improve them. The need to study the development and prospects of energy policy of various countries in the context of globalization is dictated by the strengthening of international cooperation, the desire to develop effective solutions to energy problems in the context of geopolitical realities. An important point in international relations, taking into account energy policy, is the evolution of these interactions, which in turn requires analysis.

In the first requirement, the term “energy policy” was defined. It can be defined as follows: It is the method adopted by a particular entity (often governmental) to address energy development issues including energy conversion, distribution and use . Features of energy policy may include legislation, international treaties, investment incentives, energy conservation guidelines, taxes, and other public policy techniques. Energy is an essential component of modern economies. An efficient economy requires not only labor and capital, but also the energy needed for manufacturing, transportation, communications, agriculture, and others . Energy sources are measured in different physical units: liquid fuels are measured in barrels or gallons, natural gas in cubic feet, coal in US tons, and electricity in kilowatts and kilowatt-hours.

Thus, terms from political science are used in the thesis: (politics, energy policy, international relations, political actor, interest). The scientific concepts used do not contradict the system of principles, methods and approaches of theoretical knowledge, confirming the beginnings of practical understanding of the subject of political science, reflecting important patterns in the formation of modern research methods (methodological, institutional and comparative) and their characteristics, showing the structure of practical influence and the ratio of theoretical and applied aspects of political activity. The applied categories reinforce the proposed author's argument. The methods used in the context of the study are appropriate. Among them, comparative analysis, structural-functional analysis, social analysis, observation, participant observation. The selected methods helped to achieve the set goal and solve the set of tasks. The theoretical basis of the study is a complex tools of scientific political science and economic concepts related to understanding the specifics of international relations in the field of energy policy and interaction.

In general, we agree with the opinion of Malik, who believes that “energy policy in an expanded definition is a set of measures aimed at regulating mutual relations between entities emerging in the field of energy. The subjects of these relations can be not only states or international organizations, but also Private business structures (of a supranational or national character). In a narrow sense, energy policy is a set of actions taken by states, organizations, companies and regional authorities with the aim of ensuring energy security. Due to the fact that energy policy also concerns the provision of

primary energy resources (raw material base) and the lives of citizens, it is developed along with economic policy. An important element is also environmental policy, because the energy industry is one of the most important environmental polluters. Therefore, [energy policy] should strive to reduce this damage as much as possible. In the modern world, the strategic importance of non-renewable energy resources, in particular hydrocarbon raw materials, is significantly increasing, which is aimed at by specific measures of individual countries in foreign and domestic energy policy.

In the second section:

geopolitical aspects of energy policy. The researcher in the first section analyzes energy resources, which greatly affect the relationship between countries, especially exporters and importers of energy carriers in the form of oil and gas. Governments and organizations began to develop regulators with the aim of solving energy supply and pricing problems.

Iraq is a competitor in selling oil with a number of countries, including Russia. The Russian Federation has a number of agreements with Iraq on oil production, but this cooperation mainly concerns Iraqi Kurdistan. Therefore, it is necessary to conduct a political analysis of the current situation.

Decisions taken in the energy sector may not have any impact on the international situation from a political point of view, however, other actions that were based on political motives are able to force one or another country to completely change its position regarding any problem on the international agenda. In modern conditions, the importance of the energy factor in international relations directly depends on the relationship between the main actors in the energy field and how effectively energy is used as a manipulative tool to influence politics.

In their writings, the researchers see the definition of energetics, which, in their opinion, is "a set of topics of international relations (energy topics) linked to each other through sub-relationships in the field of energy." They also believe that the world of energy is "a complex system, which today includes three main subsystems, united by energy relations. This is a subsystem of producing states, a subsystem of receiving states and a subsystem of transit states of energy resources.

It is important to note that at one time American geopolitics found expression in the so-called Carter Doctrine of 1979, which was created under the influence of the Iranian revolution and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Carter said that the United States is ready for a military response in the event of a threat to oil exports from the Persian Gulf. For this purpose, a special rapid reaction force was created, which, if necessary, was to intervene in the Middle East - this means the US military presence in the region, although still not permanent, but potential. This doctrine is still valid as is evident in US policy towards the region. In this context, the participation of the US Navy in the protection of tankers during the Iran-Iraq war (1980-1988), starting in 1984, and the participation in the defense of Saudi Arabia against a possible attack by Iraq (since 1990), and the leadership of Desert Storm Operation, which it launched to retake Kuwait in 1991. After the Gulf War, the US military began its direct presence in the region, establishing bases in friendly countries in the Gulf region, especially in Saudi Arabia, and since 2003 in Iraq.

The second chapter - "Energy Policy in Iraq: A Historical and Political Analysis" - analyzes energy policy from 1979-2003 and after 2003 in the context of the influence of the American factor.

In the first topic, "Iraqi energy policy before 2003," it is mentioned that a year before the invasion of the United States and its allies, Iraq once again tried to use the "oil" weapon against the West. On April 7, 2002, he halted the export of his oil for 30 days, opposing Western support for the Israeli conflict with the Palestinians, and calling on other Arab countries to support the embargo. OPEC did not take any decision to cut or suspend oil

exports, as Iraqi diplomats demanded. Iraq's attempt ended in failure, although it temporarily raised the price of oil. The former regime could not count on the solidarity of other countries to the enemies of the United States. In the summer of 2002, he also tried to use economic incentives to curry favor with other countries - Turkey was invited to participate in major projects in agriculture, oil and gas infrastructure, transportation, and healthcare. In August 2002, economic projects worth about \$40 billion were agreed upon with Russia. The volume of trade with Egypt, Tunisia, Jordan and the United Arab Emirates has also increased significantly. All of these countries opposed the US invasion of Iraq (for a number of reasons). On February 15, 2003, in a desperate attempt to prevent war, among other things, he granted American concessions to exploit Iraqi oil, but this proposal was rejected. On March 16, 2003, the leaders of the United States, Britain, Spain and Portugal pledged at a meeting in the Azores to create conditions for the lifting of international sanctions, and support the reconstruction of Iraq after the war. Previously, they repeatedly repeated that this war should improve the standard of living of the Iraqi people and create basic conditions for improving their economic situation. A war soon broke out that toppled the previous regime, and on the day of its establishment, March 20, 2003, the American side stated that among its goals were lifting sanctions and providing humanitarian aid to the Iraqi people, as well as ensuring the security of Iraqi oil installations.

Thus, attention must also be paid to another feature of US Middle East policy: its incoherence. This is due to coordination problems within the US administration itself - the State Department often adopts a separate policy, and the Department of Energy conducts its own "energy diplomacy". First of all, however, the matter is complicated by the fact that politicians in the Middle East are often completely independent of the government and are implemented by large American corporations, especially oil companies. This situation was already evident in the first half of the twentieth century. Moreover, companies involved in the region expect the US government to protect their interests — and they usually get it. These companies also have a significant influence on the shaping of American policy through their relationships with senior politicians and the influence of their lobbyists. This was particularly evident in the George W. Bush administration, closely linked to oil issues.

At the same time, the United States began to pursue a more aggressive policy of energy independence from the oil fields of the Middle East than in the past. In 2006, George Bush announced a plan to reduce oil imports from this region by 70%. At the same time, because of the region's influence on oil prices in global markets, the United States is pursuing a policy of encouraging countries in this area to maximize the production and export of crude oil. Military force has become the main tool for achieving American interests in the region. The United States relied on a military presence in the region and the direct use of force. Actions taken in the field of diplomacy or economic resources were not implemented consistently - the US administration, fascinated by its military power, seemed to ignore them.

It should be noted that the United States is pursuing a somewhat ambiguous regional policy, which consists of supporting authoritarian but friendly regimes on the one hand, and in measures to overthrow hostile regimes under the slogans of human rights violations on the other hand. The real example of the policy of double standards is the treatment of the two largest exporters of crude oil - turning a blind eye to human rights violations and lack of democracy in allied Saudi Arabia, and condemning and including the others in the so-called "axis of Evil" such as Iran, a country that, after the 1979 revolution, pursued a policy contrary to American interests, but where democracy and human rights are better than in Saudi Arabia. By trying to play the role of regional arbiter, the United States has also exerted a strong influence on Israel. In its conflict with the Palestinians, the Americans were certainly involved in regional affairs only when their

economic interests were threatened by the stable supply of Middle Eastern oil, which had a decisive impact on fuel prices in global markets.

This thesis asserts the United States' contribution to protecting tankers during the Iraq War, or taking decisive action to liberate Kuwait during the Gulf War. For these reasons, US policy in the region lacks credibility.

The second topic: Iraqi energy policy after 2003 indicates that during the attack on Iraq, the strength, position and role of the United States were unprecedented in history. It is not only about absolute power, but above all about the advantage of the United States over the rest of the world and any other superpower. Since the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, the United States has become the only superpower in the world that enjoys an absolute advantage over other countries in all dimensions, with the appropriate material and political capabilities that realize the vision of the international system that supports it and is active in this direction. efforts. United States foreign policy is the gradual implementation of a conceived and publicly announced grand strategy that evolves over time, but is based on a fundamental assumption of American leadership in the world. Moreover, the American capabilities fit perfectly with the structure of the international system in its various dimensions (political, military, economic, social and cultural), allowing it to exert a profound influence on these dimensions.

As an aspect of the nature of Iraqi oil policy after 2003, it is openness to cooperation with other countries, not only with the United States, despite its great influence on the Iraqi political decision. Among these countries are Russia, China, and some other Western Asian countries. For example, Russian President Vladimir Putin indicated in the conference held In December 2017, many Russian companies operate in the Middle East. For example, Rosneft and the Iraqi Kurdistan government announced the start of a project to operate an oil pipeline in the Kurdish region, and the share of the Russian company may remain 60%. They constantly implement agreements , previously reached. On the sidelines of the X Eurasian Economic Forum in Verona, the two parties announced the start of a joint implementation of an infrastructure project to operate an oil pipeline in the Kurdistan region. The other participant in the project with a 40% stake will be Kar Group, the current operator of the oil pipeline.

The amount of payments to join the project reached \$400 million. Rosneft then planned to start an exploration and production program in trial operation mode as early as 2018.” The Russian energy company Rosneft and the Kurdistan Regional Government also agreed to build a gas pipeline to export natural gas from Kurdistan to Turkey. The investments will generate more than 1 billion Dollars and the pipeline is expected to be able to export 30 billion cubic meters of gas annually from Kurdistan . The export of natural gas to Kurdistan began in 2020, and the construction of the gas pipeline began in 2019. This is a continuation and strengthening of the contract signed between Kurdistan and Rosneft in February 2017 For the purchase and sale of crude oil for the year 2017-2019.. Gazprom Neft operates on three blocks. The production takes place in the Garmyan block from the Sarkla-1 well. In February 2016, it took over the operation of the block from its partner the WesternZagros Canadian Inc. . Since March 1, 2016, it has been the project operator. In 2015, production at Sarkala 1 reached 3,863 barrels per day. Gazprom Neft entered 2017 with production of about 5,500 barrels per day. During the year, production increased to 9,600 barrels per day. “.but after the results of the Kurdish referendum were rejected by the Iraqi government and the United States: “...the West punished the Kurds for the agreements with Rosneftogazprom. We believe that the leadership of Kurdistan made the right decision by signing agreements with Russian companies." Moreover, and Kurdistan Region Government believes that "it is necessary to further develop economic cooperation with Russia, and in the future, if possible, Kurdish businessmen should invest capitals in Russia as well. But whatever the case, it can be said that the current circumstances in Kurdistan provide an opportunity for Russia to cooperate with the region government , with a reasonable approach, and the ability of

Russian foreign policy to balance, which will not harm Russia's relations with Iraq and the countries of the region, on the contrary, we can present Russia itself as a neutral, balanced party.

Thus, contemporary energy issues related to the stability of Iraq, the Iranian nuclear program and the fight against terrorism, economic interests linked mainly to the oil fields of the Middle East, and the traditional alliance with Israel, mean that the United States cannot be expected to withdraw either militarily or politically from the Middle East. However, at the same time, the challenge will be how to shape American engagement so that anti-American trends in the region can be stopped and competition with China and India can be won by seeking to play a greater role, especially in the field of economic cooperation with Iraq and the countries of the region, and especially in the field of energy, oil and gas.

Chapter Three - "Iraq, world actors and Middle Eastern countries: formation of relations in the field of energy policy" analyzes alternatives and trends in the development of energy relations in the Middle East in the context of Iraq's role in these operations.

The first topic: Political relations in the field of energy. It appears from tracking the nature of relations between countries historically and the elements of power that ultimately constitute the elements of the state's power that energy is one of the most important of these elements. It is also very expected that this importance to us will be negatively affected in the near and distant future. It appears by tracking energy indicators. In the world, the map of countries that possess a percentage of reserves and the ability to produce various energy resources, especially oil and gas, is real as it is now for a long time, which extinguishes the sustainable association of countries that possess the largest amount of these resources and to follow an effective energy policy. Among the most important of these countries is Iraq, according to future studies, Iraq will be among the frameworks of countries exposed to holes in the field of energy, and Iraq's reserves are likely to increase significantly in the future and may advance from fifth place in the world to first place in the field of oil reserves, and the most prominent feature of Iraqi energy policy is the great openness towards markets. Asian markets are considered promising markets at the present time and in the future, which will pave the way for Iraq to increase its oil exports and increase its cultural capabilities in the energy field.

Today, the Iraqi government presents, through its competent official institutions, that approximately 67% of Iraqi oil exports go towards Asian markets, while European markets did not receive more than 20% of Iraqi oil exports. The remaining percentage belongs to the markets of the Americas, and this policy is in line with the principles of Sustainability in oil exports and the sustainability of global oil markets.

It largely allows for maintaining the stability of Iraqi oil trade. This oil policy also depends on the nature of Iraq's foreign relations on the one hand and on detailed economic analysis related to supply and demand and the needs of international markets. All of this comes within a new national strategy related to energy, the main basis of which is developing reserves and increasing investment production capacity and infrastructure related to energy transportation, including ports (such as the large port of AL-Faw), or investing in refineries and refining industries, diversifying final markets, and discovering possible opportunities to increase and diversify Iraqi oil exports. The Asian markets have received increased attention from the Iraqi oil policy, and this policy has focused greatly on supporting and enhancing status of OPEC.

As a platform to preserve the interests of Iraq and other oil-producing countries, this policy is responsible for employing the established capabilities of Iraq in the field of energy. The investment is to increase monetary resources on the one hand, given that energy is the primary source of income and to support the regional position of Iraq as it is a basic force in the field of energy on the other hand.

The second section of the third chapter: Future Prospects of Iraqi Energy Policy in the Middle East .

The task of anticipating the future is an opportunity that is not easy at all, because it deals with the unknown in a large way. To avoid neglecting the future's repercussions on the present and on the interests of Iraq, we as researchers will try, in a simplified manner, to outline the future features of Iraqi energy policy. In the Middle East during the medium future period, by focusing on the most important constants and some variables.

With regard to the constants, it is that energy resources, according to mining indicators, remain the most important and largest element in the formation of Iraq's gross domestic product on the one hand, and the most important element in financing the general government budget, and in the event It is assumed that some changes will occur in this equation, but these explanations will not be decisive during the medium future period at least, and this means that Iraqi energy policy and economic policy in general will keep this issue in mind as it continues in the process of future planning for energy policy, and one of the future features is the basic aspect of Iraqi energy policy is Iraq's continued adherence to OPEC or the preservation of its status and cohesion because it is considered an appropriate institutional framework for protecting Iraq's oil interests. Among other indicators related to Iraqi energy policy is giving the issue of energy security a priority in this policy or in national strategies related to economic security in particular. and national security in general.

However, there are some changes expected to occur during the medium future period, namely the proportion and size of Iraqi oil exports and their final destinations. This issue is constantly subject to re-evaluation according to supply and demand from one hand, and political and economic relations on the other hand. There are also plans used in accordance with the Iraqi energy policy related to strengthening the refining industries, especially in the field of oil and gas, within the framework of supporting future trends related to reducing the import rate on the one hand and supporting national industries on the other hand, and supporting industries related to the electricity sector and some Petrochemical industries . Finally, some future relations related to Iraqi energy policy indicate preliminary attempts to localize certain types of alternative energy, as Iraq, for example, in cooperation with the Saudi Petro Rabigh Company, began manufacturing two units in Basra and Diyala to produce what is known as green hydrogen, as it is one of the most important types of energy sources. Renewable alternative energy is designed to have low gas emissions, low production costs and the possibility of recycling it when it is released into the atmosphere. All of this comes within the framework of relying on advanced technology as an important element of future Iraqi energy policy .

Conclusions and Recommendations

Conclusion

The Iraqi energy policy towards the Middle East and the world is an important tool of Iraqi foreign policy to keep national interests, as it is one of the most important elements of power at the present time, based on the level of dependence on energy revenues to finance all government expenditures, including security, defense, services and wages, and based on this role at the same time, there are great challenges facing the present and future of this role. Following a successful energy policy has become one of the most important requirements for keeping Iraqi interests in the Middle East region or in the world in general. In this area, we can present a set of conclusions related to our study: -

1- Although there are many definitions related to energy policy, it is difficult to find a unified definition or agreement between researchers or institutions specialized in energy, as the concept is treated in a different way according to different references and methodologies.

2- The energy policy followed by countries, including Iraq , is one of the most important factors affecting international relations, based on its geo-economic and geo-political impacts .

3- The energy policy of some countries indicates clear problems between exporters and importers regarding prices and quantities, which led to the spread of many institutions that aim to mitigate the interests of exporters, such as OPEC, of which Iraq is one of the founders members, and the International Energy Agency, which aims to defend the interests of consumers primarily .

4- Iraqi energy policy after 2003 differed clearly from what came before it due to the introduction of new and different variables into the energy policy equation, including the American presence in Iraq and new agreements with countries, as well as managing oil wealth in a different way through licenses.

5- Energy is a major influence in political relations between countries and one of the most important elements of the state's power that results in the nature of relations between countries . The most prominent feature that distinguishes Iraqi energy policy is the great openness towards the Asian, European and American markets . This gives Iraq a distinctive role in building strong relations with countries in the world . This oil policy depends on the nature of Iraq's foreign relations on the one hand and on the economic analysis related to supply and demand and the need of international markets on the other hand.

6- The future features of Iraqi energy policy in the Middle East during the medium future period, by focusing on constants and some variables, are summarized in the fact that energy resources are the most important element in financing the government budget and the state's total dependence on them, especially oil, which is a major influence in determining the state's government budget and financing expenditures through the quantity of production , the higher the price of oil, the greater the volume of revenues through which the government can play a prominent role in distributing these revenues in a way that serves the Iraqi citizen .

7- The nature of the operational scenes and the possible changes that are expected to occur in the medium future are related to the percentage of the volume of oil exports that leads to not relying entirely on oil only by supporting industries related to the electricity sector and some petrochemical industries, as well as the localization of certain types of alternative energy, as Iraq has begun to cooperate with Saudi Petro Rabih Company which manufactures two units in Basra and Diyala to produce green hydrogen, which is considered one of the most important types of renewable alternative energy sources with low gas emissions and is characterized by low production costs and the possibility of recycling it again.

Recommendations

1 - Based on Iraq's heavy dependence on oil revenues, the Iraqi decision-maker must develop a balanced and realistic oil policy based on awareness of the capabilities and ways to employ them and develop appropriate plans to confront the challenges .

2 - It is better for decision makers and executive officials in the Ministry of Oil to adopt a balanced oil policy in terms of investment, production, marketing, and targeting final markets, based on the fact of intensifying competition between producers and consumers at the present time and in the future, and all of this is part of the Iraqi energy security policy, which is an integral part of the Iraqi National Security .

3 - An invitation is extended to Iraqi researchers , whether at the postgraduate level or at the level of other scientific and research activities in research centers or in scientific conferences , to pay greater attention to research and studies related to energy and energy

policies , and the impact of energy on Iraq's foreign relations, alliances, economic situation, and political stability.

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