STATE MANAGEMENT THROUGH CRISIS INDUSTRY THEORY (STUDY IN IRAQI POLITICAL BEHAVIOR AFTER 2003)

Ammar Hameed YASEIN Ph.D.

Assistant professor, , College of Political Science, University of Baghdad, Baghdad, Iraq Al - JADRIYA Complex,

Mohamed Aziz Abdel-Hassan, Ph.D.,

Assistant professor, College of Political Science,
University of Baghdad, Baghdad, Iraq Al - JADRIYA Complex

ABSTRACT

The concept of the crisis is one of the most widespread concepts in modern society. It touches one way or another all aspects of life, especially after the wide scope of its use, its application to various forms of human relations, and in all areas of dealing, starting from crises facing the individual through crises Governments and institutions, and ending with international crises.

The author of crisis management is science and art at the same time, it is a science because it is based on a scientific approach has its origins and principles and basic rules

The concept of crisis management means how to deal with the crises that occur in the political, economic and social system by employing the various scientific, administrative and legal tools to overcome them, avoid their negative effects and benefit from their positives, and they contain the crisis. Termination,

The strength of the crisis management is its fabrication and use as a means of covering up and camouflaging the existing problems or facing a state. It loses its attention to its most influential counterparts, as well as works to create and sustain the crisis to benefit from it

We can point out that crisis management is the fabrication and not the cure of the acute crisis, in order to ensure that the targeted gains from this crisis can be achieved on the one hand, and on the other to ensure that the reaction does not extend to scientifically unexplored areas, In which the fabrication of the crisis is effective against a country in a rapid and effective manner. This is in the context of achieving the results of the fabricated crisis, renewing ties and relations with a state and forgetting the past. This description naturally applies to the current Iraqi-Turkish relations, Collaboration N and the trend to zero problems with neighboring countries, dismantling the patterns of thinking AZMOUI, which characterized the relations between the two sides of the previous phase

And through our search for

The State Administration Through the Theory of Crisis Industry (A study of Iraqi political behavior after 2003) we concluded that some put a description of the management of the Iraqi state as a possible exercise, based on the idea that

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politics is the art of managing the potential, as it is an exercise based on the nature of responsibility assumed by circumstances

The crisis of state-building, but others are not convinced by this characterization, and the policy is seen as the exercise of force to confront the crisis by the conflicting parties, and the possibility allows the owner to go beyond others in any way was to have more privileges and incentives of interest, Location According to their vision falls within the category of these accounts and associated with the promotion of the hypothesis of force, the threat of the disruption of the state project and the threat of the main forms of the political process, while the other seeks to cut the way in any direction to defend any other vision of dialogue on the project of a democratic state and civil through

The disclosure of the crisis of determinants and obstacles that stand on the course of the political process in Iraq, these ideas or proposals in the final outcome produced us the concept of crisis management or the theory of crisis industry, which puts us in front of the entitlements of this theory and the restoration of the manifestations of the lack of clarity of how to manage the state In accordance with regular patterns in the future

Keywords:State management، crisis industry theory،

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INTRODUCTION

The concept of the crisis is one of the most widespread concepts in modern society. It touches one way or another all aspects of life, especially after the wide scope of its use, its application to various forms of human relations, and in all areas of dealing, starting from crises facing the individual through crises Governments and institutions, and ending with international crises. Therefore, the term crisis is a term used in all political, economic, social, administrative and other levels, based on the vision that crises are a living and interactive world whose phases, characteristics and causes are influenced by the state or government. The smallest human being in human society, and therefore we see that it is no different in that crises are a major part of the reality of human life, which leads to serious thinking about how to deal with them effectively and reduce the negative results, Since the crises and the methods of management of great importance, so we will address the subject of research in accordance with three main axes:

1.1The first axis

General concepts and theoretical foundations of the concept of crisis

Here we will define the linguistic and normative meanings of the crisis and then its concepts, as follows:

The crisis in the Arabic language means: distress and drought, and a crisis on the thing: hold on to him, and the crisis on the thing AZMA, biting the whole mouth severe, and crisis: hit by a crisis, and called every road between the two sets of crises (1). The crisis of the people suffered crisis, and they suffered the crisis of time, and the crisis: the collection of crises and crises, and supplies: distress and distress (2). In foreign languages, the origin of the word Greek, KRISIS, means resolution (3). The Oxford Dictionary defined it as a turning point or a defining moment in the course of human life, such as the financial crisis or the political crisis. In the Chinese language, the concept of crisis was used in the form of wet-ji, the first of which expressed danger, and the other expressed the opportunity to be invested to ward off the danger by transforming the crisis and its risks into opportunities to unleash the creative potential of the crisis. Conditions and constructive solutions (5).

In terms of its conventional connotations, there is a set of definitions. TRICCA defined it as the intensification of the capacities of imbalance and instability within the international system, as Winner and Kahn defined it as having a sudden and unexpected degree of danger. (Kenneth BOULDING) sees it as a turning point or a boundary between two situations. [6] For Michael S. Lund, a tense confrontation between armed and packed

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armed forces has been intertwined with threats and skirmishes at a low level But did not use any significant amount of military force.**(7)**

Amin HUWAIDI defines it as regional or global as a set of successive interactions between two or more countries living in a state of intense conflict that sometimes leads to a high probability of war emerging and where the decision-maker faces a situation that threatens the supreme interests of the state. The position to take substantial action**(8)**

Prof. Abbas RUSHDI Al-Amari pointed out that the crisis in terms of terminology is a crucial turning point in the course of an event, characterized by a marked improvement or a sharp delay. It is linked to old quarrels that must be replaced by new links and lead to quantitative and qualitative changes in this event. An advanced stage of conflict, conflict in any manifestation and any range from the human psyche to international conflicts. He adds that the crisis, with the exception of natural crises, is an act or a human reaction aimed at stopping and disrupting activities or destabilizing the status of Conditions for change J) the activity or situation in the interest of his / her supervisor.

In the same vein, others have defined it as the peak stage of straining relations in a national, regional or international strategic environment, so that the parties to those relations become close to war. He also defined the crisis in his book Crisis Management as an apparent challenge or reaction between two or more parties, each trying to divert the course of events to his advantage. [11] In addition, The instability in the existing system to an extraordinary degree increases the likelihood of the use of the vocabulary of force, but (Coral Bell) has defined in its book crisis agreements as the rise of conflicts to a level that threatens to change the nature of international relations among countries.**(12)**

The crisis is a turning point or a sudden situation that leads to unstable situations, produces undesirable results in a short time, and necessitates a specific resolution of the confrontation at a time when the parties concerned are either unwilling or unable to cope. [13]) As a turning point in unstable situations that can lead to undesirable

consequences if the parties concerned are unwilling or unable to contain them or to prevent their risks.

Therefore, the time available to the decision-maker before and after the occurrence of potential damage is very limited, And is influenced mainly by its characteristics and the level of pressure it feels. Thus, efficient management provides the political decision-maker with expertise, scientific knowledge, tools and means capable of confronting the adversaries and is in itself the means of authority in achieving its various objectives. The crisis is an administrative one in which the decision maker loses the ability to control it or its future direction, in which events are tracked and the causes are intertwined with the results.**(16)**

Therefore, the crisis means a turning point. It means a difficult, dangerous and worrying time for the future**(17)**,

In keeping with this, Ben-de-Moore pointed out that the crisis is a process in which the state demands change or maintaining the status quo, forcing another country to take a policy to respond to it. The two sides become increasingly involved with an increasing awareness of the potential for war. This definition is consistent with the definition of SPANIER in that they depend on the management method of the crisis. The state that wants to change the status quo starts to raise a crisis in order to achieve its objectives. It may be noted here that these definitions agree that the crisis arises from rejection of the status quo and the need Has become a call for change whether the crisis between enemies or A crisis within the coalition within the framework of a political process or between two or more states, and naturally the emergence of a crisis between enemies more dangerous than those that arise within the coalition, because the occurrence of direct confrontation by the use of armed force is more likely, and this in itself is a cause or a key catalyst towards The adoption of crisis industry theory or crisis management (18).

We conclude from the above and through extrapolating the definitions of the crisis we find the existence of common elements that constitute the features of the crisis and are:

There is a defect and tension in relations.

Need to make a decision.

The inability to accurately predict future events.

A turning point for better or worse.

The time factor represents a critical value.

1.2 The second axis

Crisis management strategy (analytical vision)

This axis will be dealt with in two main ways or two:

First: the concept of crisis management, and the other: the concept of crisis management (crisis industry theory)

It is very difficult to imagine a crisis-free society, and even an individual or family is in constant crisis, so that it can be said that crises have become a feature of contemporary life and human development

The scientific importance of the study is related to the subject of crisis management strategy. The study of crises has a specific pattern in its management, which is not dealt with specifically and directly. Moreover, the scientific study of the crisis management is very important. The scientific knowledge accumulation about the crisis and its management methods increases the ability To deal with. In light of the previous concepts of the crisis, and the main features agreed upon, it is possible to say that the crisis management strategy is a voluntary and deliberate process based on planning and training with a view to predicting crises, identifying their internal and external causes, identifying actors and influencing them, and using all available means and means to prevent or successfully confront crises In order to achieve stability and avoidance of threats or risks that may be involved, drawing lessons and gaining new experiences that improve future strategies for dealing with crises.**(19)**

First: The concept of crisis management:

One researcher traces the origins of crisis management to the science of public administration in order to refer to the role of the state in confronting sudden public disasters and emergency conditions such

as earthquakes, floods,Fires, and global wars. The interest in studying the management of the international crisis was relatively late, as it dates back to the post-Cuban crisis of 1962 because of the effects of this crisis, which stimulated the levels of strategic understanding of the two superpowers at the time to seek effective ways and means to resolve tensions in their mutual relations, Mutual fears of a possible escalation of confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union to levels of nuclear war have given rise to patterns of intense scientific interest in managing the crisis. To illustrate this, we can identify what Robert McNamara, Saying earlier: (that after the end of the Cuban missile crisis in 1962, is no longer there anymore to talk about military strategy but for crisis management only) (22). Thus, the term crisis management is ambiguous in its uses and refers to multiple meanings in terms of its significance. [23] Therefore, researchers have defined the term crisis management as its own vision. Crisis management is a purposeful activity that is based on research and obtaining the necessary information that enables management to predict The expected locations and trends of the crisis and the appropriate climate for dealing with them by taking measures to control, terminate or change the course of the expected crisis in the interest of the State concerned. Philip Williams has defined crisis management as actions and movements that include controlling or controlling crisis tracks so that they do not go beyond their normal ranges and lead to a state of war. On the one hand, they ensure that crises are resolved in an acceptable manner that contributes to maintaining state security and interests (25).

Crisis management also means dealing with crises in order to avoid them by planning avoidable situations and preparing for crises that can be predicted within a system that applies these emergencies when they occur to control results or reduce their destructive effects. Abdul Rahman TAWFIQ defined crisis management as the art of eliminating a great deal of risk and uncertainty, allowing you to achieve greater control over your destiny and abilities, Ie planning what might not happen. 27

In the same vein, Dr. Zaid MUNIR ABBAWI), That crisis management is the methodology of dealing with crises in the light of preparations, knowledge, awareness,

perception, influential capabilities, skills and prevailing management patterns, by seeking to identify the causes of the crisis to find appropriate solutions to them, 28

that crisis management is a series of actions aimed at control On the events of the crisis and reduce the aggravation and access to levels By developing a set of plans, methods and strategies suitable for exceptional situationsWith a view to controlling the crisis and reducing its aggravation. Hence, some believe that the goal of managing the crisis is to win the confrontation by depleting the opponent's ability to surrender, as well as preventing the possibility of increasing the severity of the crisis and its development into a state of war, while others see the goal of managing the crisis is to ease the crisis (30).

It can be said that crisis management is an actual voluntary process based on planning and training to predict crises, identify their internal and external causes, identify the actors and influence them, and use all available means and means to prevent crises. , Or effectively manage them, contributing to the acquisition of new expertise that improves the way in which crises are handled in the future.

The author of crisis management is science and art at the same time, it is aware that it is based on a scientific approach has its origins and principles and basic rules, as this science was created through the search for rules and principles can be inferred to face successive crises, and at the same time management of the crisis art, The ability to think creatively, to reflect and to properly assess things, as well as to be able to control and manage crisis paths in a manner that ensures control of the events through the processes of escalation and mitigation of the crisis and the process of a To be settled so as not to reach its development to the extent employing vocabulary overall strength (31).

Second: the concept of crisis management (crisis industry theory):

It is well known that the concept of crisis management is based on fabricating crises and finding them out of nowhere as a means of covering up and camouflaging the existing problems facing the political unity (the state),

forgetting the problem only when there is a bigger and more powerful problem that overshadows the existing problem. The crisis management concept is based on the formation or re-production of a real or imaginary crisis through which the forces of behavioral and economic action are directed to perpetuate the crisis, or to the behavior of a certain Will (33).

The concept of crisis management means how to deal with the crises that occur in the political, economic and social system, by employing the various scientific, administrative and legal tools to overcome them and avoid the negative and take advantage of the positives, as well as that it contains Crisis and crisis. 34 The crisis management structure is its fabrication and taking as a means of covering up and disguising the problems existing or facing a State. It is losing interest in the most influential counterparts, And sustain to benefit from them, (35)

and therefore some are called crisis management science or theory of the crisis industry to control and control over others, and therefore the possibility of combining managementCrisis and crisis management by one of the parties to the crisis in working life does not presuppose the inevitability of the connection between these two concepts by one side. The most common example is that one of the parties to the crisis uses management in a crisis. The other party is opposed to the concept of crisis management. That the theoretically assumed result of the intersection of these two concepts, or the interaction between them, is that one achieves some gains equal to the other party's losses according to the theory of games with zero proceeds, but the reality is not always likely to gain entirely against total loss, but rather Achieves Each of the parties a measure of double gains and losses (36), and extension of that we see that the crisis made or fabricated have the advantages to appear true to public opinion and achieve its goals and objectives of the basic are:

1. Early preparation.

2 - the formation of the AZMU theater and the distribution of roles on the forces of crisis.

3 - Choose the appropriate timing for detonation, and find the justifications and justification for this bombing.

The theory of the crisis industry has a rapid rhythm of events, successive sequences, and accumulations of secretions and results, each of which is aimed at achieving the goal to be reached. Each crisis is made or fabricated, a goal to be achieved. Without achieving this goal the Izumi pressure will not fade or the violent effect of excretions The crisis, as well as the forces of making the crisis will not subside or fall until achieving that goal, which is:

A - hide the main problems that already exist, as the fabricated crisis thinking about them.

(B) To seek control and domination of certain sites or areas under the pretext of protection or fear of attacks by other parties.

(C) To seek to compel persons, groups or entities to take defensive positions in lieu of their offensive positions.

D - exit from chronic crises suffered by society.

(D) To prevent other parties from continuing to achieve their objectives;

Therefore, the concept of management in the crisis is based on the principle of fabricating crises and finding them from scratch as a means of covering up and camouflaging the existing problems facing the governmental entity. Some call the crisis management as a "science of crisis industry" to control and control others by using all available means including Which are contrary to ethical standards and humanitarian constants.

Hence, crises are created through a time-bound program and the stages that can be clarified as follows:

First: the stage of industry or preparation for the emergence of the crisis: the stage of the prelude to the crisis and the establishment of the situation and theater to ignite the crisis and the production of the AZZAWI focus within the system of the government entity, and through pressure on the government entity to lose balance and push it to the brink of abyss, Which contribute to the activation and escalation of the crisis**(37)**.

Second: The AZZAWI escalation stage: It is called the active and intensive mobilization of the AZZAWI pressure, and the mobilization of all the forces hostile to the entity of the state targeted by the violent crises to put it in the trap of crisis throughA set of tactics that employ complementary alternatives to drain the capacity of the government entity through three basic tactics: (38)

The tactic of phishing: This type of tactic is based on the process of direct stimulation of the forces of crisis-making and strengthening their real ability to be in the crisis-making area to confirm the process of excellence of the forces of crisis-making and thwart the potential of the other party.

The tactic of horizontal escalation: This type of tactic is based on the process of winning more allies and supporters of the crisis-making forces in order to enhance the potential of the AZZAWI pressure and the breadth of confrontation to include new geographical dimensions.

The tactic of cumulative escalation: It is a model of a special nature. It is employed in the field of crisis industry to effectively increase the pressure of the crisis and to confuse the other party, and to start effective escalations for a period followed by a period of freezing of the crisis. After the freezing phase, the escalation will be activated again. Use all tools and means to this end (39).

Third: the stage of confrontation and severe collision: the collision phase between the establishment entity of the crisis and the entity to create the crisis in it, and requires for the success of this stage, the choice of time inappropriate, and the place inappropriate for the opponent, and the inappropriate area of the opponent to cause the crisis, whether this area politically or economically, Socially or culturally, in terms of the ability to move the forces of action and to manage the crisisFourth: the stage of control over the government entity of the opponent: the stage of employing the state of imbalance in the opponent and his ability to control the main tracks of the organization within which the movements of sub-branches, which contribute to the loss of self-abilities and waiver of the basic objectives and replace them with goals that match the perceptions of the

other party from The equation that will control the nature of strategic balances.

Fifth, the stage of returning to the normal situation: the stage in which the pressure is reduced and the normalization of the situation, and reduce the tension and marginal response to some of the demands of the other party to produce new variables affect the convictions of the other party and withdraw to his wishes and works to contain the existing rejection incentives At the opponent (41).

Sixth: the stage of bargaining and extortion of the other party: Some call this stage (gain benefits and benefits), and framed within it are two main aspects:

The first is negative: the ability to compel the opponent to refrain from doing any act or act that is not commensurate with the aspirations or interests of the other party.

The other is positive: persuading the other party to carry out certain actions that would enhance the circle of interrelated interests**(.42)**

Moreover, the theory of crisis industry is based not only on axes based on overt methods, but many of them are based on clandestine methods, both with the forces of the crisis industry or with the crisis itself, as well as the use of the vocabulary of intelligence and intelligence against the ability to control and cause confusion and fog

And the chaos of the organization is largely controlled, depending on the scenario chosen to manage the crisis, and the art of the industry of crises needs to be comprehensive control and leave no room for chance, because the process of crisis management is not a strategic process, but a marginal process - Thus, we see that the theory of the manufacture or fabrication of planned and planned crises has been repeatedly followed by many countries, with the aim of achieving certain goals and objectives, such as strengthening the internal cohesion of society by drawing its attention to a particular foreign political issue and preoccupation with internal problems Indeed, some governments facing an internal crisis threaten to create an external crisis to extricate the government from the circle of Azzawi

pressure, or the goal may be to achieve strategic interests with the target country in the fabricated crisis.**(43)**

In light of this, we can point out that crisis management is the fabrication and not the cure of the acute crisis, in order to ensure that the targeted gains from this crisis can be achieved on the one hand, and on the other to ensure that the reaction does not extend to scientifically unexplored areas, To choose the appropriate time in which the fabrication of the crisis is effective against a country quickly and effectively, all in the context of achieving the results of the crisis, or the renewal of the renewed ties and relations with a state and forget the past This applies naturally to the current Iraqi-Turkish relations that Overcome them The logic of cooperation and the tendency to resettle problems with neighboring countries, dismantling the patterns of Azmi thinking that characterized the relations between the two sides for a previous phase**(44)**

If the administration in the crisis is working to create a fabricated crisis in order to change the nature of the relationship between two parties and to steer things in the interest of the artificial crisis, the real reasons for the outbreak of the crisis, whether for the purpose of growth and expansion or to further stability, or to disguise and mislead existing problems, is the main engine and the main motive**(45)**

This behavior, and this option to ignite the crisis is the best in light of the current set of circumstances of the stakeholder as a way to manage the real crisis, even if it is undeclared. Therefore, the administration of the crisis involves two objectives: the first is the positive achievement of the state's goals, and the other is negative regarding the provisions of control over the AZZAWI situation so as not to get out of control and lead to the stage of development and the actual escalation of the crisis leading to the state of war. The following table shows the possibility of dealing with the stages of the crisis industry through crisis management and in light of the conflict between two or more units of the international community.**(46)**

1.3 The third axis

Management of Iraqi political behavior through the theory of crisis industry

That the concept of crisis management is the science and art of crisis industry and its fabrication and management successfully, and control interests in this type of crisis, and the consequent dismantling of the internal cell of the system of the government entity, and thus facilitate access to the basic components, which leads to a total collapse of the system, Political role is central to this pattern of thinking, and crystallizationThe concept of Crisis Management (47). In the context of the discussion of the theory of crisis industry, the media is moving from terminology ranging from the beginning of the crisis to the dark tunnel and the high voices calling for the internationalization of these crises. For example, the government of national partnership in Iraq, On the joints of political, economic and social life and divided the benefits and spoils among the poles according to the system of quotas abhorrent, so it must have happened, which was built on the wrong foundations excluded the national identity and the adoption of relations absent mutual trust between the parties, and most importantly, the combined political forces lack a unified vision on the core issues and contradict their ambitions and endeavors in the acquisition and hegemony, which is a imbalance demanded by some parties to the political process, a situation that is difficult to reach in light of The equation of the conflict of interests and wills and the divergence of objectives and attitudes to most of the issues on the political arena, which shows that the crisis associated with the political process, a structural crisis that accompanied them since its inception, as adopted in the building rules and pillars did not create solid ground and Balance is not set up to make them able to withstand the shocks and pressures ALAZMOOAH that exposed the political process from time to time (48).

Here, Iraqi economists point out that officials in Iraq employ crisis management rather than crisis management. The concept of crisis management is to create crises, to create them from scratch, to sustain them and to coexist with them as a means of covering up and camouflaging the existing problems facing the government entity that are related to poor performance. It has a close relationship with major obstacles, most notably political and administrative corruption, and the nature of the relationship between the executive and legislative authority, as well as the concept of crisis management has found a popular market in Iraq within the framework of the policies and actions of some ministers and For example, we can point out the action taken by the Ministry of Electricity in the earlier period to address the scarcity of electricity by contracting hundreds of millions of dollars with international companies and then emerged that these companies are fake does not exist, resulting in another crisis added to the overall crises of the country (49)).

Consistent with this, we see that the political crises in Iraq have taken a new direction that predicts changes in the equation of the internal political forces in Iraq and the associated regional and international influences. The tension between the Kurdistan Regional Government and the central government in exchange for a rapprochement between Sunni Arabs and Kurds, And a series of fabricated crises began to refrain from handing over oil revenues and subjecting the fields of the region to the Ministry of Oil in the central government, and the clear contradiction in the vision and the general political stance towards the Syrian and Turkish crises, and Perhaps the developments that culminated in the threat by Mr. MASSOUD BARZANI to declare the self-determination of the Kurdistan Region if the central government does not respond to the demands of the region has a great impact on the overall issues that govern The relationship between the federal government and the region, and there is no doubt that the nature of the relationship between the center and the region contain a conflict - competition - cooperation, creating opportunities and challenges at the same time, 50

as the relationship of the province and Kurdistan center of tension and tension onThe relationship between the parties and the relationship of the relationship between the two sides, and that relationship has taken an upward trend of crisis almost reached a state of military confrontation recently, and the reasons for the deterioration of this relationship to a number of factors, most notably the new federal system in Iraq, and the

second factor on constitutional The federal system is new to Iraq and has not been accepted by the political elites or the Iraqi people who have been impoverished and for centuries under dictatorships. It is therefore not surprising that the nascent democratic experiment in Iraq and the new federal system have many And obstacles, which lead us to the stage of producing crises between the parties, because this experience has not yet reached maturity.

Although the Constitution has set forth in a number of its articles the nature of the relationship between the Region and the Center, the problem lies in the details, which occurred when interpreting the constitutional provisions that each party is likely to interpret, which is one of the main factors that led to The deterioration of the relationship between the region and the center and reached the stage of the crisis-oriented upward, including the possibility of resorting to the use of the vocabulary of military strength solid, and therefore the nature of the relationship between the center and the region in Iraq is governed by a kind of tension, which led to the emergence of crises in terms of the powers allocated between them, Mash Which is the mandate of the Center in relation to the powers enjoyed by the region ?, especially if we know that the Iraqi constitution included a distribution of powers between the central government and the provincial governments to be established, However, there is some impact on the constitutional text regarding the remaining powers and the method of resolving potential conflicts between the central and regional governments in the area of common powers. The political turmoil in the political situation in Iraq has created a sense of In the territory of being stronger than others in addition to that the Constitution granted broad powers

In the same regard emerged here the crisis of the disputed areas between the federal government and the Kurdistan Regional Government, despite the Constitution address the exclusive powers of the federal government, including: One of the first exclusive functions of the federal government is what Article 109 of the fourth chapter in maintaining the unity and independence of Iraq (Federal authorities maintain the unity, integrity, independence, sovereignty and federal democratic system of Iraq). Thus, the Constitution has made the duty to

preserve Iraq's independence and unity on the federal government, because this responsibility is large and cannot be promoted by the provinces, And the organization of armed forces and arming it back to the federal government, and the other reason in the text of this text is the circumstances that accompanied the writing of the Constitution and the strong opposition shown by many parties to the federal system, which came by the Constitution and for the first time in the history of Iraq has been mentioned this text to ensure that Federalism does not mean division in any way, but made it the duty of the federal government is to maintain the unity of Iraq and prevent any attempt to secede from any territory, on the one hand, 51 and on the other hand we see item (V) of Article (121) The text reads as follows: "The Government of the Territory shall have jurisdiction over all that is required (52)

, but it seems that the term "territorial guard" is a vague term. If it is meant by the "army of the region" that protects its borders, we see that this approach is incorrect and contradicts. With the provisions of clause (**2**)Of Article (110) of the Constitution, which referred to the exclusive powers of the federal authority, 53 which led to the fabrication of the beginnings of a crisis industry between the federal government and the Kurdistan Regional Government.**((53)**

As for the management of oil and gas: We see that Article (111) of the Constitution provided the following (oil and gas is the property of all the Iraqi people in all regions and provinces), and this means that the ownership of this important wealth is the collective ownership of all the Iraqi people without distinction between And that this collective ownership also requires cooperation between the authority of the Center and the oil producing regions, which is contained in Article (112) of the Constitution, which stipulates that "the federal government to manage the oil and gas extracted from the existing fields with Governments of regions and governorates producing on The distribution of its imports in a fair manner commensurate with the distribution of the population throughout the country, with a fixed quota for the affected territories, which were unfairly deprived of the former regime and subsequently damaged to ensure the balanced development of the various regions

of the country and regulated by law 54, As well as the provisions of paragraph 2 of the previous article saying (the federal government and the governments of the provinces and producing provinces together to draw the necessary policies to develop the wealth of oil and gas to achieve the highest benefit to the Iraqi people, adopted the latest techniques of market principles and encourage investment)**(54)**

From the combination of the two preceding paragraphs we can conclude the following (55):

1. It is understood from these two paragraphs that the common jurisdiction between the central authority and the authority of the regions in relation to the management of oil and gas in the current fields is a temporal jurisdiction associated with what is extracted from the current fields and ends at the end of these fields, and for future fields discovered or to be discovered later, we do not find A clear statement or a clear signal that regulates this, but it is understood from the previous text that its administration is the exclusive jurisdiction of the territorial authorities without the federal authorities having any interference in it, and some go to the wrong understanding regarding the management of undiscovered fields, This is an issue that raises several problems, as the ownership of oil is the collective property of the entire people as stipulated in article 111 and imports, whether originating from the fields. Current or future, it is distributed according to the population distribution of the provinces and territories and under the law to be so and the uniqueness of any territory to manage or ownership of any oil field exists in the region or the agreements on it individually oppose the Constitution.

2. The second paragraph of the above article stated that a quota for a fixed term for the affected or unjustly deprived territories of the former regime must be determined as an exception in respect of the distribution of oil imports. This is due to the circumstances surrounding Iraq when drafting the Constitution, Many of the provinces of injustice by the former regime in all areas, although most of the oil fields in Iraq exist in these provinces, so it is the desire of the constitutional legislator to ensure the advancement of the reality of

these areas, the Constitution has to haveA specific share as an exception to its population ratio in order to achieve the process of economic balance between provinces and regions.

Therefore, the origin of the problem of conflict and conflict between the powers of the federal government and the powers of the regions and governorates not organized in the territory is due to the obstacles and legal and applied problems contained in the constitution. The granting of these terms of reference may result in interference or conflict over the exercise of powers by the federal authority , And this picture, the difference in the interpretation of the constitutional or legal texts and the best example of this image the current dispute that took place about the conclusion of oil contracts between the federal government and the Kurdistan Regional Government, the Kurdistan Regional Government claimed that article (112) The Federal Government opposed the claim that the exploitation of the oil wealth is not legitimate unless the consent of the federal government and take its opinion represented in this aspect in the competent ministry (Ministry of Oil) as the constitutional text referred to Give the federal government the right to manage the existing fields with the provinces and provinces producing, and draw the strategic policies necessary to develop the wealth of oil and gas to benefit the Iraqi people.**(56)**

In light of this, we believe that the political crises in Iraq are composed of a set of interrelated elements, as follows:

1 - The continued disagreement and dissatisfaction of some Iraqi political forces on how to participate in decision-making institutions, which relied mainly on the Arbil agreement to share power, and despite being the key to resolve the crisis on the formation of the government, but it has shifted from a path to resolve the crisis to one of its underlying causes. .

2 - The relationship between the Prime Minister Nuri al - Maliki and the Kurds, especially with the statements of Mr. MASSOUD BARZANI, President of the Kurdistan region, in which he attacked Mr. Nuri al - Maliki and stressed that he seeks not to abide by the agreements of Arbil on this sharing of power, on the other hand,

Directly to the Kurds responsible for the disappearance of large quantities of oil extracted from the region during the past year, in light of the crisis that emerged on the surface on the subject of independence of energy supplies to the Kurdistan region.

3 - The impact of changes in the regional environment (Arab revolutions, especially in Syria) on some elements of the Iraqi crisis, including specifically the Kurdish position, which resulted in the pursuit of Mr. MASSOUD BARZANI to make Arbil the key to resolving Kurdish issues in the region (his recent visit to Turkey, Syrian Kurds in Erbil, and announced the convening of a comprehensive national conference of the Kurds in the world).

4 - Follow the Iraqi central government strategy of the migration or the rotation of crises by working to put forward solutions, rather than permanent, to the stage of freezing the crises called for by the President of the Islamic Supreme Council, Mr. Ammar al-Hakim, the agreement of the parties in the Iraqi political scene on the need to freeze all crises The current political, in order to provide the opportunity for the political blocs to move in preparation for the elections of 2014, and perhaps the main reason is that the partnership formed on the basis of the government of Mr. Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki was the best way to manage the Iraqi political process, but The absence of the approach and the overall political vision of the parties to the political process and the failures of the administration have led to a worsening of the crisis politically and security,**(57)** and to the sluggishness of the cabEspecially after the partnership turned into a partnership, all these accumulations related to successive political crises cast a shadow over the security situation from the point of inability to pass crucial legislation related to security arrangements, in view of the differences between the political blocs in parliament and criticisms of Prime Minister Maliki to control the institutions Security, by refusing to appoint the ministers of defense and interior, as well as a split on the reorganization of the security forces, and the negative repercussions of the security chaos in Iraq on the relationship between the political blocs, as well as the emergence of crisis components and their relationship with the , The nature of their roles and functions in the

new civil political environment, and constitutional democratic frameworks based on pluralism, diversity and partnership**(58)**

Perhaps the most serious thing associated with the emergence of these crises is the exposure to a complex series of underlying conflicts centered around the concept of governance, the identity of the state, Of the components, and even the Iraqi constitution, which approved the acceptance of two-thirds of the Iraqi people, it remained busy with a lot of legal space is unclear and can be interpreted constitutional, 59

, which produced a constitutional crisis, which is a stage arising from the contradiction between the situation The country's political and declared constitution or between the provisions of the Constitution when applied (60)

And finally the crisis of the failure of political blocs to reach the adoption of the new electoral law because of its conflict with the interests of some, but striking differences between the political blocs not only include the essence of the law, but extends to form, and it is clear that the conflict over the new electoral law is essentially a conflict over The future of the situation in Iraq, and accordingly it was natural that the differences may develop into the features of a severe political crisis on the development of a new election law, it is one way or another reflects the conflict between the group wants to keep the situation in Iraq and balance of power and power equations as produced by the general election 2010, And another group wants to transform the equation of balances through a new electoral law, creating a political-security situation between the parties to the political process in Iraq.**(61)**

CONCLUSIONS

At the end of our research entitled "Managing the State through the Theory of Crisis Industry" (a study of Iraqi political behavior after 2003), we concluded that some describe the management of the Iraqi state as a possible exercise, based on the idea that politics is the art of managing the potential. Of the nature of responsibility assumed by the circumstances of the crisis of state-building, but others are not convinced of this characterization, and considers the policy as the exercise

of force to confront the crisis by the parties to the dispute, and the possibility allows the owner to exceed the others in any way was to have more privileges and incentives Interest, therefore The concept of state administration in accordance with their vision falls within the category of these accounts and associated with the promotion of the hypothesis of force, the threat of the disruption of the state project and the threat of the main forms of the political process, while the second seeks to cut the way in any direction to defend any other vision of dialogue on the draft state Democracy and civilDuring the disclosure of the crisis of determinants and obstacles that stand on the course of the political process in Iraq, these ideas or proposals in the final outcome produced us the concept of crisis management or the theory of crisis industry, which puts us in front of the entitlements of this theory and the restoration of the manifestations of the lack of clarity of how to manage the state in accordance with regular patterns in the future .

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