THE IMPACT OF TERRORISM ON GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE AFTER 2014 (FUTURE VISION)

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Abstract

Terrorism has become the obsession of the whole world, as they are hit by fear, panic, anxiety, discomfort and reassurance. Terrorism means planting fear in people's hearts, and destabilizing the security situation. Creating a state of instability that makes people apprehensive, fear and anxiety, disrupting their energies and business, as it works to stop and prevent national and foreign investments, which leads to disrupting development in countries by extracting the desire from citizens' souls for creativity and progress.

Accordingly, Iraq has witnessed a dangerous escalation of terrorist acts that caused major crises for government performance, namely the control of the terrorist organization (ISIS) over a number of governorates and regions of Iraq in 2014, and what caused a setback in government performance. Therefore, it required the reformulation of public policies in the government, especially the security ones, in order to achieve the ability of the state and its various institutions to address the failures that occurred through successful mechanisms and means, in order to achieve security and stability and regain control over the areas that were controlled by the terrorist organization (ISIS), and the rehabilitation of the liberated areas and their integration with society, and despite the great victory over (ISIS), there are other crises and challenges that threaten government performance, including the phenomenon of corruption, unemployment, poverty, the return of displaced people, the restoration of infrastructure and others. Therefore, the study dealt with the reasons that led to the emergence of crises and challenges and how to employ the capabilities of the state in order to address and reduce them, as well as expectations for the future of government performance.

Keywords: terrorism, ISIS, crises, government performance, Iraq

INTRODUCTION

Terrorism is a global phenomenon related to man, regardless of his faith, doctrine or intellectual orientation. It is a phenomenon that is impeding the development and development of peoples. Terrorism represents the most prominent global challenges facing the world at the present time, due to the spread of terrorist acts in all countries of the world.

Terrorism has become the obsession of the whole world, as they are fear, panic, anxiety, discomfort and reassurance, everyone is afraid and everyone does not know what his future is, and what his fate is, terrorism means planting fear in people's hearts, And destabilizing the security situation, and creating a state of instability that makes people in anxious, fear and anxiety, and works to disrupt their energies and business. It works to stop and prevent national and foreign investments, This disrupts development in countries by extracting the desire of citizens for creativity and progress.

Also, the danger of terrorism is not like its seriousness in the past, as contemporary terrorist incidents are constantly increasing with their scope, the increase in the number of victims and the emergence of new forms of terrorism accompanied by modern technical means, such as the use and remote control of explosives, the penetration of information systems and the transmission of viruses in them. Accordingly, the phenomenon of terrorism is one of the most important and dangerous phenomena, which negatively affected the societies of the world, especially the human side, as the seriousness of this phenomenon has worsened in contemporary societies, after terrorism turned into a global phenomenon that affects society and affects all aspects of the lives of all peoples of the world.

THE IMPORTANCE OF STUDY

The importance of the study is highlighted in explaining the extent of the impact of terrorism on government performance, as government policy in its performance represents the most important requirements for the stability of state institutions and the preservation of their entity, In addition to providing reassurance to individuals and society and achieving development, security and stability have become one of the most prominent problems facing the Iraqi citizen as he is the most affected, Political, economic and social stability is linked to government performance and its failure to establish a socio-political base, Which provided the opportunity for terrorist organizations in general and the terrorist organization (ISIS) in particular, which confused the government's performance by occupying the city of Mosul and other Iraqi cities, and using excessive violence, sectarian conflict and forced displacement, in addition to putting mechanisms to face these challenges on government performance.

PROBLEM OF STUDY

The problem of the study is based on divergent views on the nature of the challenges faced by government performance in Iraq, after it was under the control of the terrorist organization (ISIS) and on the ambiguity that accompanied how decision makers dealt with such challenges and threats faced by the government, This problem can be dismantled and tried to solve it through the following questions:-

1. How much does terrorism affect government performance?
2. What are the reasons for the weak government performance in Iraq after 2014?
3. Has government performance been able to confront terrorism and build a comprehensive post-ISIS terrorist phase?
4. What is the future of government performance in light of the challenges of terrorism?

HYPOTHESIS OF STUDY

The study is based on the hypothesis that terrorism has a significant impact on government performance after 2014, in the political, economic, social and social and social field, and the varying ability of the government to confront terrorism and build the post-ISIS terrorist phase.

METHODOLOGY OF STUDY

In order to verify the validity of the hypothesis, the study originally adopted the methodology of systemic analysis, and for the necessities of systematic integration, other approaches were adopted as approaches that explain some aspects of the phenomenon in the study, as the historical approach to study past incidents was adopted in order to foresee future visions as well as the adoption of the descriptive approach.

The first topic: What is terrorism?

The phenomenon of terrorism receives wide attention in academic and political circles in the majority of the countries of the world of the South and the North alike, as the process of confronting terrorism has become the top priority of major countries, and it has become a central dimension in their foreign policies, and the basis for the cooperation of these countries with other countries, Especially those whose policies are explored as supporting terrorism or sponsoring and incubator of terrorism [1] .

Terrorism in Iraq is of great importance as this issue has become a dimension and a great importance, due to the suffering of Iraqis from terrorist crimes, because of this phenomenon is a serious danger to members of society and because of its loss of security, violation of human rights and destruction of public property [2].

The first requirement: definition of terrorism

The concept of terrorism is one of the main problems facing most countries of the world, as the concept of terrorism varies from one country to another, there are countries that call it terrorism, which another country may not see as such, especially if it does not affect the sovereignty and security of that state (³). The possibility of defining the concept of terrorism is acceptable to everyone at the present time, but at the same time this process is difficult, arduous and unattainable, Because the concept of terrorism overlaps with it and merges terms and phrases that make it more vague and ambiguous, such as (foreign invasion, struggle for the liberation of the land, resistance to colonialism), What makes it more difficult to define the concept of terrorism is the difference in the ideological, political and ideological directions of the concept of terrorism around determining the connotations of this term because it has broadly comprehensive connotations that take multiple forms of terrorism (⁴) . We will try to clarify some concepts and explain this phenomenon (the concept of terrorism) by defining terrorism as follows:

1-   Definition of terrorism is a language:
A-   In the Arabic dictionaries

The word (terrorism) is mentioned in the dictionary of the tongue of the Arabs: it is awe with the fracture and awe, intimidated it, and awe by annexation by moving, that is, fear, and the name is the monastic, the hippie, the monastic, Al-Rahbouti and a man of monastic is said: (Rahbouti is better than Rahman) that is, because terror is better than being merciful, and monastic is a name from awe that says: fear is from God, stupidity is fear and panic (⁵).

And the word terrorism is derived from the verb more (Arheb) and it is said that I fear so-and-so: that is, his fear and fear, which is the same meaning indicated by the weak act (Raheb), as for the devoid of the same substance, which is (Reehab), Erhab ,Rehba, Rahban , so it means fear, so it is said: the fear of the thing is awe and awe of any fear. And awe: fear and panic (⁶).

As for the intermediate dictionary, the word terrorism is mentioned, which is derived from the meaning of terror, panic, and fear, and in the Arabic language it is used when expressing fear clothed with respect (⁷) , terrorism means in the Arabic language: panic and horror among people in order to force them to obey and submit(⁸).

B-   In the English dictionaries

Terrorism is a word derived from the Latin word (TEVSE), which means fear, panic or intimidation(⁹). In the English language, the word terrorism is derived from (terror), and it means terror or panic in the souls when adding (ism) to the name (terror) to become (terrorizer), which means terrorism, Or the panic resulting from terrorism is already expressed (terrorizer) (¹⁰), and means terrorizing, terrifying or frightening, that is, making it live in a state of fear and horror (¹¹).

C-   In the Holy Quran

The word terrorism is mentioned in many meanings in the Holy Qur'an and in more than one surah and with multiple meanings, as the Almighty said: ((O Children of Israel, remember My grace that I have bestowed upon you and fulfill my covenant, fulfill your covenant and my covenant, so fear me)) (¹²), If the word terrorism came here in a sense, so you fear any transition from the process of encouragement at the beginning of the verse to intimidation in order to return to the right, truth and consideration as the Holy Quran (¹³) , In the Holy Quran, the term (Al Rehba) was mentioned and what was derived from it from other words and this term was used during jihad only once in the sense of fearing the enemy of God and the enemy of the believers, as the Almighty said: ((And prepare for them as much strength and from the bond of horses with which you fear the enemy of God and yourself)) (¹⁴).This word (Al Rehba) was used in the rest of the seven verses in order to call for fear God only and mention the word intimidation in the Almighty's saying: ((And God said, Do not take two gods, but He is one God, so be afraid)) (¹⁵) As well as in the Sunnah of the Prophet, there is no evidence of tolerance towards terrorism, no matter how many forms or manifestations, whether in times of war or in times of peace (¹⁶) .

2 - Definition of terrorism in terms

The concept of terrorism has become one of the concepts that have been widely circulated in the political and media field, but nevertheless, this concept has remained different from it among scholars and specialists in it. This difference is due to a difference in visions between the prevailing political systems in the world. As some of these systems consider what occurs of terrorist acts as a terrorist act prohibited in one country that other countries consider a legitimate act in another country ([17]) and we will show the concept of terrorism according to the following:-

A-   Definitions of dictionaries and organizations:

The political encyclopedia (terrorism) was defined as ((the use of unlawful violence and threats in its various forms (kills, torture, distortion, vandalism, blowing), In order to achieve a political goal or the colonization or occupier breaks the spirit of resistance and commitment among individuals and demolish morale among bodies and institutions or as a means of obtaining information or money, In general, it is the use of coercion to subject a party against the will of the terrorist party ([18]), and according to this concept, terrorism is a tool used by some parties and countries in order to reach a certain goal and influence individuals.

B - Definitions of Arab jurisprudence

The Egyptian thinker Mahmoud Sharif Bassiouni knew terrorism and was taken by the United Nations Committee of Experts in 1988. He defined it as: ((Terrorism is a strategy characterized by violence of an international character driven by an ideology designed to introduce terror in a category of society, to achieve authoritarian or propaganda gains to cause harm regardless of the beneficiary, whether the perpetrators are working for their own benefit or the interest of others))([19]) As Dr. Ammar al-Badri is "an internationally prohibited tactic for ideologically motivated violence and envisages committing horrific acts of violence between certain groups in a given society to gain power or to spread demands or grievances, regardless of whether the perpetrators of violence are self-employed or represent the state."([20])

c- Definition of Western jurisprudence

On the other hand, jurists and specialists at the Western level sought to exert their efforts to achieve a general definition of the concept of terrorism. Among these definitions: the English jurist Sottile defined it in 1930 as: ((a criminal act accompanied by terror or fear and the use of violence in order to achieve a certain goal).([21])

Second demand: the occupation of Iraqi territory by the terrorist organization (ISIS)

Iraq has witnessed great chaos after the collapse of its political system in 2003, especially after the decision to dissolve the military and security institutions at the hands of the American occupation, which left a large security vacuum at the level of Iraq and made it a fragile and fertile ground for the growth and increase of terrorist organizations, In addition to the spread of looting, looting and various crimes, and when extremist ideas emerged, many members and leaders of the former Iraqi army and the disbanded security institutions joined those whose interests were damaged, They had an opportunity to engage in these terrorist organizations and armed groups, and they spread widely throughout Iraq, especially in the cities of western and central Iraq, as these various organizations, including religious and national, have increased the state of chaos and paved the way for the emergence of what is known as the terrorist organization Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIS), Which strengthened its presence in the face of Iraqi national security([22]) .

First: The emergence and formation of the terrorist organization (ISIS):

After the collapse of the political system in Iraq by the American occupation forces in 2003, control of the situation in the country and its borders was lost, It has become an easy corridor for the entry of terrorist organizations and a fertile ground for the growth of extremist ideas, as well as the presence of Iraqis who support these groups whose interests were damaged, including the military

leaders of the former regime and the leaders of the Baath Party. The first appearance of Al-Qaeda in Iraq was in 2003, This is after the leader of the terrorist organization Al-Qaeda in Iraq announced what is known as (Abu Musab Al-Zarqawi) [23] Sold by (Osama bin Laden) the leader of al-Qaeda in Afghanistan [24] . Al-Zarqawi's intellectual orientations called for jihad, the advancement of the Islamic nation and the unification of banners in order to resist the American occupier in Iraq, as well as fighting the Iraqi government, security and military forces, and everyone who deals with the occupier[25]. Al-Zarqawi founded a council called (Mujahideen Shura Council) consisting of seven armed organizations. It is (organization of the jihad base in Mesopotamia, the army of the Mansoura sect, the Islamic Jihad Brigades, the Book of Al-Ahwal, the Ansar Al-Tawhid Brigades Brigades, the Westers Army, the Ahl al-Sunna and al-Jamaa) Which was Al-Qaeda in control of the Council, and despite the assumption of the terrorist (Abu Omar al-Baghdadi [26]   to head the Council for the purpose of making it represent an Iraqi form of Al-Qaeda in Iraq, However, the actual leadership was (for Al-Zarqawi), who was the prime minister in the said terrorist organization, and their organization included ministries of defense, interior, staff, and the ministry of endowments, finance and media[27]. They were carrying out many terrorist acts, and besides fighting the American occupation forces, they became under the leadership of (Zarqawi) targeting the Iraqi security and military forces, and even civilians who are Iraqi citizens. The most prominent of their terrorist acts was the bombing of the golden dome of the military imams in Samarra in 2006. After which the intensity of sectarian violence and killing in the streets increased, and this is what the terrorist organization Al-Qaeda was seeking [28] . After the leader of the terrorist organization Al-Qaeda in Iraq (Abu Musab al-Zarqawi) was killed in a US air attack in Diyal of the same year, he took over the leadership of the organization after him by the terrorist (Abu Omar Al-Baghdadi). They faced difficulty and defeat in the face of the formation of awakenings in the govern-orates of western and central Iraq, which suffered great losses [29], Abu Omar al-Baghdadi continued until he was killed in 2010 by the operation of the lion's womb, and less than a month later the terrorist (Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi [30] was pledged allegiance to (Emir of the Islamic State in Iraq, Which decided to go to Syria to fight against the Syrian army, as the Syrian revolution turned from peaceful to armed, the organization (Al-Nusra Front) united[31] in Syria led by (Abu Mohammed Al-Julani) with (Abi Bakr Al-Baghdadi) to form an alliance that became the so-called (Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant) (ISIS) terrorist led by (Abi Bakr al-Baghdadi) terrorist, in 2011).[32]

Second: The spread of the terrorist organization (ISIS) and its sources of funding
The nucleus of the terrorist organization (ISIS) in Iraq was from Al-Qaeda led by Zarqawi in 2004, meaning that (ISIS) is an extension of Al-Qaeda, and the organization of what is known as (Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant) began, By spreading and exploiting weaknesses and chaos in political systems in Arab countries, after the events of the Arab Spring revolutions in 2011, He became moving according to his strategy from the stage of construction, military capacity and media coordination to the stage of implementing attacks to control cities, and the beginning of his control in Iraq was in 2013 after they attacked Abu Ghraib prison and were able to liberate about (500) prisoners, most of whom were leaders and fighters of the organization (ISIS), He controlled the city of Fallujah and large parts of Anbar province, but the biggest setback was with his control of Mosul and parts of the provinces, namely Salah al-Din, Diyala, Kirkuk and Babylon[33] . After the fall of Mosul on June 10, 2014, the leader of the terrorist organization (ISIS) (Abi Bakr al-Baghdadi) announced the formation of what is known as (Islamic Caliphate) and his appearance as its leader, on the 29th of the same month corresponding to 2 Ramadan 1435 AH during the Friday sermon from Al-Nuri Mosque[34].
Its aim is to establish an (Islamic caliphate) in Sunni-majority Iraqi areas, and after participating in the battles it fought with opponents of the Syrian regime and its control over some Sunni areas as well in Syria, It included in its ranks inside Iraqi territory more than (4,000) thousand fighters[35] . (Abi Bakr al-Baghdadi) focused on expanding his control over large parts of the territory, and was calling for jihad by attracting Muslim men and youth from all countries of the world[36].
After the spread of the terrorist organization (ISIS), Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, similar to Osama bin Laden, was seeking to spread its branches and make the organization an international phenomenon. (Abi

Bakr al-Baghdadi) relied on the organization's military council as it included officers with combat experience, They used the tactic of opening more than one combat front at the same time in order for the opponent to lose his focus, and it was based on varieties of first soldiers who were fighting directly and attacking military headquarters and cities, The second category was the sleeper cells that are active in the security and military vacuum and control the cities, so that this strategy made the terrorist organization (ISIS) one of the richest organizations in the world, which made it witness a large turnout of Arab and foreign fighters[37].

Third: Sources of supply to the terrorist organization (ISIS):
The terrorist organization (ISIS) enjoyed very large funding compared to the rest of the other organizations, as the intelligence agencies described it as the richest organization, with an estimated balance of nearly one billion US dollars. It controlled the oil wells in eastern Syria, which are the wells of Raqqa, Zamla, Tabqa and its vicinity. In addition to taking over grain elevators, and relying on his strategy of attacking weapons and war equipment stores as well as food stores[38] .

After the organization took control of Iraqi cities, it seized military equipment from many headquarters and bases, estimated at fourteen brigades of the army and the federal police[39]. He obtained about (1500) different mechanisms, including Abrams tanks, artillery, missiles and various ammunition, as well as armored cars[40] . In addition to seizing Iraqi banks and stealing about (500) million US dollars, the most important sources of continuous funding for the terrorist organization (ISIS) can be mentioned as follows[41]:

1-   Oil wells
After occupying Iraqi cities, the terrorist organization controlled about (350) oil wells, and burns wells in the lands from which it withdraws, and remained in control of the wells under its control inside Iraq and its work is estimated to produce about (80,000) barrels per day[42] . In Syria, it controls (60%) of the wells in it, while in Iraq by (5%), and it used to sell oil to local traders from Iraq and Syria, and they in turn sell it to local markets, so that the organization's imports through the sale of oil since mid-2016 have ranged between (250-365) million US dollars annually[43]. As well as their control over natural gas fields in Iraq and Syria, as well as smuggling it through Syria and Turkey, which made them the best-funded terrorist organization in the world as their income exceeds many small countries[44].

2- Extortion and imposition of royalties
The terrorist organization (ISIS) imposes money and taxes on the rich and merchants and takes royalties from the owners of land tankers (trucks) loaded with goods; by establishing controls on international roads, In addition to receiving about (30) thousand dollars from oil transfers that come out of the Baiji refinery, as well as by threatening contractors to hijack one of their family members in exchange for obtaining (5%) of the contract amount, Or it may be through the actual kidnapping and taking the ransom from their families, as well as threatening the factory owners to blow it up or pay a sum of money, as is the case for the telecommunications company (Asiacell) [45], As for banking companies, money transfer, gold-forming shops, doctors, pharmacists and high-income women pay a percentage of their profits continuously[46] . Their acquisition from businesses that take place within the territories under their control is estimated to be between (2.5% – 20%), They exploit people by collecting money from them through zakat that must be paid for Muslims, and paying tribute to non-Muslims[47] .

3- Antiquities trade
The terrorist organization (ISIS) relied on smuggling and selling antiquities, which is the second most important source of its funding; after controlling more than a third of the archaeological sites in Iraq, as it exhumed antiquities and smuggled small ones and destroyed the large that cannot be transported, The one piece was sold on the black market for hundreds of thousands of dollars, as it
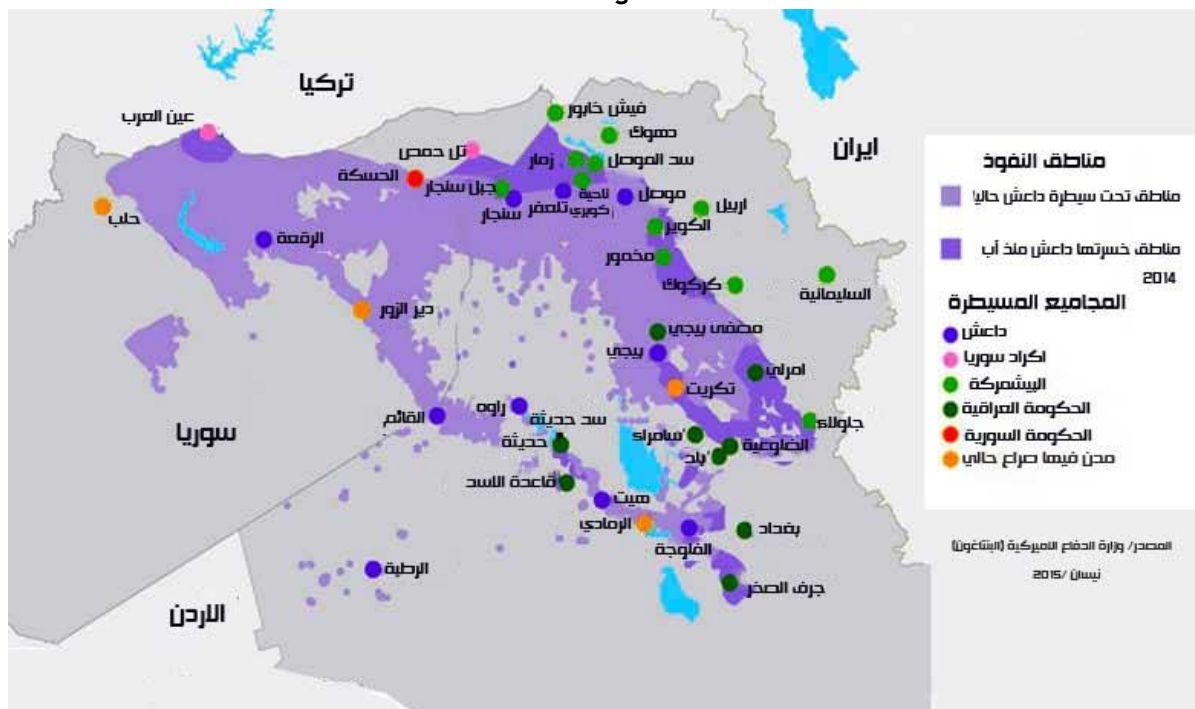
was smuggled through Syria, Turkey and Iran (⁴⁸). Among the most prominent monuments displayed on the American website (E-Bay), were small statues made of bronze, gold, ceramic pieces, money, jewelry, old ornaments and manuscripts(⁴⁹).

4- Human trafficking (Slavery)

The terrorist organization (ISIS) used the method of sexual slavery, in which families are forced to accept the marriage of their daughters between the ages of (18-25) years with the organization's fighters in exchange for obtaining high positions in the organization, As well as insulting families of other religions and nationalities (Yazidi, Christianity, Al-Tesh, Turkmen, Kurdish), raping them and then selling them in the al-Nakhsa market in Mosul, where the girl costs about (80) dollars, As for the event that the girl's family tries to recover their daughter in exchange for paying a ransom, they ask for an amount of about (3000) dollars, thus reaching the percentage of financial returns as a result of paying the ransom from the families of the abductees to (20%) as a source of funding for them(⁵⁰).

These were the most prominent sources of funding that increased its strength and control over cities, and the US Department of Defense published a map explaining the control and influence of the terrorist organization (ISIS) in Iraq and Syria, in April 2015, as shown in the following figure:

Figure No. (1) :Areas of influence of the so-called (Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) terrorist organization

Source: Department of Translation and Liberation, Map of ISIS Influence in Iraq and Syria, Al-Bayan Center for Studies and Planning, on 22/5/2021, published on the International Information Network (Internet) at the link:

https://www.bayancenter.org/2015/04/799/

After the terrorist organization (ISIS) was able to attract fighters to its ranks from all over the world, and Iraq became a hotbed of the strongest and most bloodiest terrorist organizations in the world, In addition to the funding and financial and logistical support obtained from regional and international bodies, and the terrorist acts committed against civilians, their property and state institutions, it has become the most important and serious challenge to Iraqi national security.

The second topic: Future vision for the performance of government policies

Most modern studies tend to foresee the future, as an important study and field of human studies, especially in the field of political science, as the future study is carried out through scientific methods and systematically. After researching and reading on the subject of terrorism in Iraq and its impact on government performance, and the government's mechanisms in facing the challenges and crises experienced by the country, especially after the fall of a number of Iraqi cities and govern-orates at the hands of the terrorist organization (ISIS) in 2014, The challenges caused by this organization in the performance of the government in the political, economic, social and cultural fields, as well as the collective marriage in those cities, and the ability of the government and after the support of the popular crowd in eliminating that unjust organization, Therefore, we will address this topic in two future scenes that highlight the possibility of the situation remaining the same or the success of government performance in developing economic, social and security political policies with a government that is able to return Iraq to the ranks of countries and the role it plays in eliminating terrorism.

The first demand: the scene of the situation remaining the same in government performance policies

Iraq witnessed a radical transformation after 2003 and its transition from dictatorial rule to a democratic system of government, but the reality is witnessing many distortions in the political process in Iraq and the emergence of many crises that affected the performance of successive governments in Iraq. Despite the declaration of building the modern civil state according to a federal democratic pattern, but the political system contained consensual criteria, as well as relied on pluralism and diversity, However, pluralism was based on emotion that reached a stage of no peaceful interaction at times, and political sects moved from bad freedoms to unbridled freedoms, Which witnessed the execution of mosques, the homes of justice, their men, educational and educational institutions and their occupants, as well as markets and their customers, until those sects became carriers of the dangers of provoking violence, terrorism, civil wars, partition or all that was mentioned[51] .

And what we see on the ground from most of the leading political forces in the political process have neglected their job in managing the state, and they turned to manage power, causing failure to manage the state and failure to achieve achievements on the ground, Perhaps intentionally or unintentionally ignored the issue of preventing failure to manage the Iraqi political system, some of which can be summarized as follows[52]:

1. Work on personalizing state institutions by focusing on installing people and not institutionalizing positions.
2. There are attempts from some politicians to create some crises and problems, and in return there are also politicians who are ignorant or ignored to find a solution to those crises, and on the other hand there are some politicians who want to succeed and others want to fail the successful.
3. Not dealing with the principle of priorities in public policies; because of ignorance or disregard for them, and most of the political class works with political stubbornness and not on the principle of political competition.
4. Make concessions for narrow entitlement, such as for a sect, denomination or ethnicity, at the expense of national entitlement.

Among the reasons that led to the continued lack of the rule of law in Iraq, and the failure to constitutional and legal amendments, are the weakness or lack of clarity of the constitutional culture among members of Iraqi society, as well as the weakness of faith in the civil constitutional democratic state; Because of Iraq's exposure to dictatorial rule for many times of time, which prevented the existence of the prefaces for the establishment of a democratic system and the rule of law and institutions, As well as the weakness of national identity and the culture of political quotas, as well as the lack of trust between the ruling elites and political parties, and the failure to complete the legislation stipulated by the Constitution for fear of losing their privileges and interests, as it is one

of the causes of state instability and insecurity, away from the democratic foundations in building the modern state[53].

Continuing to work according to the principle of consensual quotas and moving away from the application of the objective rules of democratic transition, and working within the framework of conflict and not electoral competition, is one of the main reasons for political instability, and relying on the distribution of positions among political blocs not according to the criteria of sufficiency, technocrats and integrity, But according to the principle of quotas on which the political system was built, as well as the parties representing the component according to sect, sect and ethnicity and not on the basis of national representation, which caused political conflicts that moved to society targeting government performance, The lack of awareness among some political leadership and their incompatibility of national security symbols constituted confusion for the Iraqi armed forces in eliminating terrorist organizations, which was reflected in the security and service file and violations in a number of Iraqi provinces, as well as the registration of a number of activities of the terrorist organization (ISIS) in different areas of Iraq[54].

Therefore, the continuation of the current situation is represented by the continuation of political instability, and its impact on society and at all levels, including political, security, economic, social and cultural, as well as the crises that accompanied the political process in Iraq since 2003. Which has reached societal instability and the crisis of the security situation, and the process of making Iraq live in a normal state of stability is not difficult if the wills are united in the process of state-building, Therefore, the calls and programs put forward in the past did not result in mitigating the tension and tension between the political class; due to the lack of real wills from the political class in providing effective solutions to crises and problems away from siding with one party at the expense of the other, As well as the lack of a free and independent position of decision-makers to make concessions without which no settlement can be achieved in the context of post-ISIS preparations, Therefore, reaching a settlement that allows the reconstruction of the country and its institutions on the new foundations is very important in the post-ISIS terrorist phase, and the matter did not end up defeating it militarily and poses risks to the future of the state, The areas that were under the control of the terrorist organization witnessed great destruction and displacement of the population in them, as well as the impact and economic deficit that was reflected on the capabilities of the state in the reconstruction and reconstruction of the liberated areas, Also, the possibility of the return of terrorist organizations under new names is not excluded, in the event that quotas, exclusion and marginalization that may allow the establishment of new inceptors for terrorism continue[55].

Therefore, the scene of the survival of the status quo is governed by a number of manifestations represented by the following[56] :

1. The continuation of the dispute between the political class and the parties represented by it, in choosing a certain formula to serve the political process and make the principles of democracy the basis for state-building, we have seen from the political parties nothing but conflict, tension and pull among them.

2. Regression and delay in the general policies of the government in order to remedy crises and wait until they worsen, and they have not been comprehensive and take matters with their parts, causing a move away from working in democratic mechanisms that rely on resorting to political solutions instead of using force.

3. Increased cases of violations against security institutions and society, and the increase in terrorist attacks on all components of Iraqi society.

4. The increase in external interference in the internal Iraqi affairs, from regional and international countries and their impact on political life, in order to thwart the democratic experience and preserve its own interests.

These manifestations prompted the tightening of instability in its various forms in Iraq, and reflected on the work of both the executive and legislative branches by performing its work and building the democratic experience in the country, in order to achieve political and social stability, The deteriorating security situation is one of the main reasons hindering the building of the state, which prevails security and stability, as it reflects on political, economic and social stability, The security

dilemma is a major obstacle to the Iraqi government, and sometimes political forces may be causing some security problems for the purpose of achieving political ends through insecurity.

On the other hand, democracy in Iraq has become a popular choice and a public demand before it was a choice for the political elite, as it took root in the years after 2003 with a not simple part of democratic values, Especially the holding of parliamentary elections, and despite some negative violations in the political process, but they established the principle of peaceful exchange of power through the ballot boxes, and the failure of successive governments to institutionalize political power can be noted, As well as the lack of everyone's contribution in a team spirit, as many of them turned into opponents in various aspects of the political process, and they became obstructing many government programs that governments have been seeking to implement during the past years. The quotas negatively affected all state institutions until much moved away from exercising the legislative and supervisory role and began to practice political bargaining, so it requires great efforts and sincere intentions in building a democratic state, based on justice and equality away from narrow affiliations such as partisan, sectarianism or ethnicity, And that the political process in Iraq is carried out with pure national will, away from regional and international interventions and pressures[57].

Second requirement: the scene of the success of government performance policies

This scene assumes the existence of a real and effective role for the fifth government (the government of Mohammed Shia Al-Sudani), to the extent that it can ensure the stability of the political system, By carrying out reforms and responding to the proposed solutions that require the presence of political elites with sufficient and responsibility in cooperation with social elites in order to build the state, maintain its security and ensure the needs of its citizens are met, And to address the crises experienced by the state and address them by providing conciliatory solutions between the various social segments. The success scene means the response of political elites to address dilemmas and crises in the process of construction and reform, So that there is an intention on the part of the political class to develop strategic plans to advance the reality of the state, correct the course of the political process and reformulate the general policies of the country at the internal and external levels[58].

As one of the conditions for the success of the political system and the political process in Iraq is to overcome crises as well as provide security and stability in advanced stages, especially after regaining the lands that were under the control of the terrorist organization (ISIS), In addition to national reconciliation, it is implemented through two stages, the first is between the various segments of society, and the second is between the state and society, in order to achieve social cohesion, as well as solve all political, economic and social crises and problems, In a way that ensures the achievement of a level of growth of the various joints of the state to enhance the security and stability of society, work to build a state of institutions with constitutional and legal frameworks, and intensifyinging campaigns and programs in order to increase awareness and awareness among the groups of society, In order to end the process of preparing for the purpose of transition to the stage of a real and complete democratic system, The security, political, economic and social conditions have led to push for organizing the paths of transformation and settling internal conflicts, and instilling customs and traditions that limit extremism, violence, extremism and terrorism that affect all segments of Iraqi society[59].

One of the most prominent manifestations of the success of this scene is through the following[60] :

1. The possibility of finding effective solutions to security dilemmas in government performance, especially in areas liberated from the control of (ISIS), as well as on the rehabilitation and development of military and security forces, even if the need for armed forces capable of moving and fighting battles against terrorist organizations is required.
2. Confronting and addressing various threats at the internal and external levels, especially after the defeat of the terrorist organization (ISIS) and restoring all Iraqi cities, and this indicates that the Iraqi armed forces in all their types and with the support of the Popular Mobilization Forces are able to maintain security, stability and enforce the law, as well as the ability to confront

regional and international interventions by making Iraq An arena for conflict and the realization of their personal interests, as well as the failure of the model of democratic governance.

3. The primacy of the national interest over the personal and partisan interests of the political blocs, and working in the language of dialogue and understanding in order to advance the growth of society and the state.

4. Maintaining the development of political and cultural awareness, by adhering to the principles of democracy and the rules for the success of the political process in Iraq, because of its great impact in building a basic base for the advancement of democratic reality, and working to consolidate it among the state and the people.

5. Respecting the rights of citizens and exercising their personal freedoms, especially after the spread of the principles of democracy, and spreading the spirit of tolerance, dialogue and freedom of opinion, ideas, beliefs and religions, in a way that guarantees the rights of everyone in accordance with the provisions of the law.

6. Amending the paragraphs and articles of the Constitution that represent a source of controversy, solving outstanding problems that affect the course of the political process, as well as strengthening national sovereignty and the principle of loyalty to the homeland at the expense of other loyalties.

7. Correcting the course of economic, social and security policies in Iraq, in order to achieve the objectives of the economic development plan, build appropriate infrastructure to absorb the growing service reality, and enhance the country's national GDP, by relying on other alternative sources of oil such as agriculture, industry and tourism, in order to accelerate growth and catch up with the developed country[61].

8. The ability to make national reconciliation fully successful, and the ability of society to overcome the challenges facing societal peace, which is done through the ability of political elites to adhere to the principle of national reconciliation, In addition to consolidating intellectual tolerance and peace by rejecting the culture of violence in religious, educational, educational and media institutions, in order to preserve the unity of the country and prevent any violation within the state.

9. Development in government performance policies and overcoming deficits and political shortcomings, due to the understanding of the need to advance democratic work, which is commensurate with the nature of the Iraqi people[62].

Therefore, the fall of the so-called Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant, the terrorist organization (ISIS), the victory of our armed forces and the declaration of victory in 2017, does not mean the actual end of terrorism at the intellectual level and practice, This is due to this due to a number of factors, most notably the institutionalization of the state and the consolidation of the administrative system in it, and what is related to the sober government performance of the political class in Iraq, as political behavior represents an important part of achievement of government performance and diagnosis of errors[63]. There are also other factors that have a significant impact on the political, economic and social level with security dimensions, which pose a serious challenge to Iraqi national security, Especially in light of the lack of national strategic visions resulting in the failure of government performance in building a democratic civil state; according to the right foundations and what requires the development of a strategy to ensure the stability of the country and the development of appropriate solutions and treatments for emergency events[64].

Through the above, it is possible to benefit from the cases of cohesion and rapprochement among the various spectrums of Iraqi society to confront the terrorist organization (ISIS), and it is possible to invest that cohesion in the prevention of sedition and overcoming crises in the future, And to turn to the processes of development and build the state in which the law is superior, and instilling the spirit of citizenship with a national will to achieve security and peace for society and the political system in Iraq, as well as ensuring the rights of individuals and achieving their economic well-being, In order for the country to return to its normal and take its active role and historical position in the regional and Arab environment.

We have shown us through the above government mechanisms in the face of the terrorist organization (ISIS) and how to eliminate it and the most important policies used in that, including political, security, external and economic mechanisms, as well as social and cultural policy, and concerted internal efforts and external, regional and international support to eliminate the terrorist organization (ISIS) in Iraq, As well as the researcher's future vision of the extent of the impact of terrorism on government performance in Iraq.

CONCLUSION

Through the sequence of events of the study, it was found that a number of reasons affected the government performance in the country, as well as the large number of negatives during the period of time from the control of the terrorist organization (ISIS) in 2014, And the subsequent government measures to raise the readiness and morale of the military and security forces, as well as changing a number of leaders in them, which later showed the size of the gaps on which government policy was based, This is by focusing on the military side and failing in it despite this focus, and neglect in the security, economic and social aspect.

On the other hand, the change of terrorist groups's strategy in implementing their plans contributed to the decline of security policy at all levels, as a result of the challenges imposed by the way of thinking and structure of terrorist groups, Which reflected negatively on government performance, which made it necessary to reformulate and change the structure of thinking, plans, measures and security measures, in order to meet these challenges. Based on aspects other than security, including political, economic, social and cultural, although it relied on the security aspect to a large extent, so the first reasons on which government policy should be based are the supreme interests of Iraq, On the other hand, the country must be able to adjust the tools in which government policy is implemented in its performance, so that it can achieve the goals according to specific time limits.

By studying the nature of the challenges that targeted Iraq, starting with the occupation of Iraqi cities by the terrorist organization (ISIS) in 2014, as well as external (regional and international) interventions, It presented new challenges to government policy in its performance and Iraqi society that did not exist in the past, which contributed to the crystallization of a new model of interactions that Iraq must take into account, The study went to find an answer to the challenges in government performance, and to show the reasons that played a role in the impact of terrorism in Iraq.

Through the above, the study reached conclusions, which are:

1. The policies of the American occupation of Iraq in 2003 towards the military institution and the security services caused confusion in their work, especially those related to combat capabilities in terms of training, arming and equipping, and initially moving away from professionalism and professionalism in building and developing these institutions.

2. The weakness of government policy in its performance, due to the political process after 2003 depends on the principle of political quotas, its application to all state institutions, and the adoption of religious, sectarian or ethnic affiliation at the expense of the principle of sufficiency and experience; All political, military and security positions must be removed from any type of quota.

3. Obstructing the work of security policies through political interventions and their impact on the technical-professional aspect, which weakened the work capacity of military institutions and security from performing their tasks in accordance with government policies.

4. The spread of the phenomenon of corruption and bribery in some state institutions, especially security and military ones, which was one of the reasons for the collapse of the armed forces in front of the terrorist organization (ISIS) in 2014.

5. Increasing the experience of the Popular Mobilization Forces fighting in confronting and fighting the terrorist organization (ISIS), after the latter resorted to the method of fighting inside cities and streets without tactics, which makes it difficult for the military to carry out such missions.

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