

## The Future of Political Development in Modern Iraq

**Asst. Prof. Dr. Hamdan Ramadhan Mohammed**  
**Department of Sociology**  
**College of Arts / University of Mosul**

Received: 12/2/2012 ; Accepted: 22/5/2012

### **Abstract:**

Research in political development has received considerable attention from sociologists especially in the current century. The attention stemmed from the nature of rapid change and transformation that emerged in the social structures of human societies. The development requirements needed by the Iraqi society impose their considerations as a definitive launching point for a dimensionally integrated modern political development process. The indices of political development embodied in policies of change and democracy lead us to conclude that political development still deviates in one degree or another from the essence of the political developmental process. The importance of the research emerges from its attempt to consider a subject that hasn't received throughout consideration in the current Iraqi situation, a subject engulfed by ambiguity because of the relative modernity of the concept of political development from the point of view of the Iraqi political ideology. This is because the concept of political development hasn't started to be used till recently in this country, imposing a requirement to analyze the concept academically and embody it and deduce it practically. Besides, it has become necessary to expound the actual benefit from using the concept of political development in analyzing the political, social and civil transformation in our society and accelerating these transformations.

---

---

## مستقبل التنمية السياسية في المجتمع العراقي المعاصر

ا.م.د. حمدان رمضان محمد  
قسم علم الاجتماع  
كلية الآداب / جامعة الموصل

### ملخص البحث:

لقد حظيت دراسة التنمية السياسية بعناية علماء الاجتماع ولاسيما في العقود الأخيرة من القرن العشرين، لما أفرزته طبيعة التحول والتبدل السريعين اللذين طرا على البنى الاجتماعية للمجتمعات البشرية.

إن مقتضيات تنمية المجتمع العراقي تفرض اعتباراتها كحتمية للانطلاق بسياسة تحديثية متكاملة الإبعاد والجوانب، ومن زاوية التنمية السياسية المتمثلة بسياسة التغيير الديمقراطي فان مؤشرات هذه التنمية تفضي إلى نتيجة تفيد بأنها مازالت تبتعد بهذه الدرجة أو تلك عن جوهر عملية التنمية السياسية.

لذا تتجلى أهمية هذا البحث من كونها تسعى لطرح موضوع لم يأخذ عمقا في الواقع العراقي ويحيط به غموض وذلك لحدثة مفهوم التنمية قياسا إلى الفكر السياسي العراقي الذي لم يبدأ استخدامه إلا منذ مدة قريبة، مما يتطلب تاطيره وتحليله أكاديميا وتجسيده واستنباطه عمليا، وكذلك إبراز الفائدة الفعلية التي يمكن أن ينجم عن استخدامه في تحليل التحول الاجتماعي والسياسي والمدني في مجتمعنا وتسريع تلك التحولات.

### Introduction:

The development requirements needed by the Iraqi society impose their considerations as a definitive launching point for a dimensionally integrated modern political development process. The indices of political development embodied in policies of change and democracy lead us to conclude that political development still deviates in one degree or another from the essence of the political developmental process.

Relying on the above stated explanation, the basic issue sought by the researcher is to understand more thoroughly, the society and its movement in a research that combines both a fractioning and comprehensive study. This is in order to define the cohesive and decompose causing factors acting in the society in order to propose a formula that synchronizes the movement of the society on the one hand and the action of the government on the other hand thus creating a homogenized social setting guided towards the basic goals of both the society and the government, free from negative impacts that may affect the individual. Such formula can only be achieved by devising

mechanisms that are capable of adjusting the movement of the society and the rhythm of the course of change, transformation and modernization enabling the systems in the society to comprehend these changes.

The problem of the research can be defined by answering the following questions:

- What do we mean by political development?
- What are the structural basis, foundations and indices that support the political development process?
- What are the courses of political development in building the modern Iraqi society and its systems?
- What are the barriers confronting the society, preventing its reform, modernization, and development.
- What are the most prominent solutions to remove the barriers hindering political development in the society?

The importance of the research also stems from the necessities that commit researchers to consider in response to the stream of demands adopted by the Iraqi political, public, and labor forces through their activities. All these forces are calling to rebuild the Iraqi state using long-term scientific methodologies based on deep understanding towards conditions of the political and social environments and their reality in a way that aids in stimulating the individuals and assisting their growth, activating and developing their capabilities in political participation in the contemporary Iraqi society in order to achieve stability and the amalgamation of the components of the Iraqi people.

The research aims at achieving a number of objectives including: determining the future of political development in Iraq and its new horizons. Secondly, proposing a number of recommendations to stimulate political reform and development programs in the country.

The research is divided into five sections. First section contain introduction, problem formulation, importance of the research, research objectives. Second section explain the definition of political development. Section three includes tools of political development. While the fourth section is a futuristic vision towards the anticipated political development in the modern Iraqi society. The research is concluded by stating the most important results and a number of recommendations concerning the subject of the research.

## **First: Definition of The Political Development**

Political development as a comprehensive scientific concept means a total cultural change that affects various material and moral structures in the society. It is a conscious planned process for economic and social change and transformation in both form and essence as it transforms the society from the state of retardation to a state of advancement. Thus, development according to the above is a comprehensive process for the reason that the economic aspect of development occupies a leading pivotal role and because development means rising the political, economical, social, and cultural standards of life among others [1].

In other words, development targets human being and changes him from a state of retardation to a state from which he can participate in total society building processes making him the main target of development and at the same time the mean to archive it [2].

The political aspect of development is no less important than the economic one especially in excrescence countries because political development in these countries is unable to achieve its goals under a retarded society unaware of the phase in which it lives and the nature of the internal or external risks, threats, and challenges facing it. This makes political development an urgent issue for those who take responsibility in excrescence countries because political development can not be achieved without a centralized orientation guided by the government or the political system aware of the nature of political development and its future aspect[3].

There is no agreement among political scientists and socialists concerning a modern definition of political development although they have agreed on the implications of the concept. Some look at political development as developing the individuals' mindset proportional to the degree of institutional development and the new values it represents.

This mindset is promoted by the revolutionary regime through creating opportunities to archive greatest cognitive development and to enhance its ability to comprehend the values of struggle and ensure the future development of institutions. This would direct it towards achieving the common goals that the regime shares with the members of the society and transforming the coercive element of the state into an internal incentive among the individuals. This leads the individuals to respect the ruling authority or the regime governing them because it becomes in their opinion, an expression of values they hold and any violation of the values of struggle generates among them a feeling of guilt and remorse [4].

Hennery Moor indicates that political development is the ability to pinpoint the critical problems encountered by one system and finding solutions to these problems by changing the nature and structure of

demands in that system keeping in mind that there is no society capable of solving its problem completely and permanently[5].

Leonardo Binder sees political development as a process that assimilates all groups and interests including the renewed ones and the stemming needs through a complete participation of the citizens while in the same time it does not affect the efficiency of the political system in choosing and seeking its political goals [6].

Alfred Diamant indicates that political development is the process that can enable the political system to achieve increased capability to support new patterns of objectives and requirements and participate in the process successfully and continuously. Besides, political development is embodied in creating new types of social and political systems [7].

Eisenstadt, S. N. on the other hand refers to political development as the capability of dealing with ever-changing political demands. This type of development is the one that provides real support [8].

Mategred Halern agrees with Eisenstadt in that political development is creating, supporting and assimilating continuous changes [9].

The procedural definition of political development in the researcher's opinion means the ability of the political system to create a group of changes and developments in the structure and functions of political bodies and the reactions and political patterns related to them in order to deal with the sensitive issues in the society leading to the enhancement of the image of the political system internally and externally.

## **Second: Tools of Political Development**

Political development is a requirement that cannot be achieved usually unless a special determination is involved. This determination is absent in social groups lacking authority. Thus, a tool or instrument must exist to hold together the strings of authority and carry out political development .The political development tools can be stated as follows:

### **1-The Educated Individuals**

Educated individuals and groups were always important components in the social fabric both in the past and the present though they passed unnoticed, because they are in fact exemplified in the society by the huge treasure of literature in libraries and the large number of intellectuals whose accounts of kings and emperors' courts are stated.

The temples and sacred religious shrines during various times and cultures have witnessed individuals and groups that participated in either calling for faith or sanctification of their idols and kings in order to justify the predominant conditions in their time and convince the people to be loyal and obedient to rulers[10].

However, the educated individuals were to gain new characteristics accompanying the emergence of the modern state especially in the third world. Those characteristics were unfamiliar to people before that time, they distinguished the educated individuals when ignited the spark of revolutions to gain freedom in countries that were overburdened by colonialism and foreign occupation for many long centuries. Revolution started as an educational monopoly concept exclusively linked to educated people but the roles of the revolution spread the concept of (the nation) which hadn't until that time carried a meaning of significance among the individuals of the societies that started to join the ranks of the modern states until then.

Such individuals contributed to the political life of the developing countries as they were sometimes proponents and other times opponents, sometimes rulers and other times representatives of the demands of the individuals and groups in the political life. Maybe such individuals were forced to enter the political arena because of the coercive forces or the vacancy left by others who withdrew from the political arena and the tasks required by politics. Many facts indicate that much local leadership in countries that were later called the countries excrement have been suffering from progressive decay and that made an opportunity for European invaders to seize. However, some survived the invasions and initiated a number of uprisings against the foreign occupiers struggling against the colonialism domination [11].

However, the struggle and the revolutions headed by the educated individuals were not strong enough to gain momentum in order to realize independence and freedom for a number reasons that may include the limited goals of the educated individuals to merely maintaining their privileges and interests. This weakness created a barrier between the educated individuals and their goal of organizing a political movement that preventing them from formalizing principles and goals capable of rising the awareness of people and mobilizing the efforts and resources towards the necessity of insurgencies and revolutions and made them incapable of maintaining the flare of revolution amidst the people and translating it into actions.

The role of educated individuals is emphasized in transmuting national awareness to individuals and groups that are lower in the social hierarchy, those who suffer from poverty, physical misery and intellectual

retardation. This kind of awareness seeks to achieve certain idealisms that go beyond reformation, a task which only the educated individuals can be creative in performing. This fact can be showed in the number of political movements and the goals they call for. These goals, although were beyond reach in reality, received great approval among large sectors of the society. These movements become capable later to impose the targeted change and because of the general trend towards change.

The educated people through history led to the creation of special conditions that refuse the status quo during their time, in other words, revolution and resorting to the measures of force directed especially against anything standing between the group and the aspired change [12].

## **2-The Political Elite (Charismatic Leadership)**

Some believe that the successful social elite are those who seek in some developing countries to develop a number of mottos and methods that do not neglect the traditions and are capable of integrating with the new symbolic framework, in that they conform to the new flexible trends. In many excrescence countries, sometimes a leader may emerge from the elite group, this leader may possess the charisma and inspiration that allow him to play a characteristic role in the national unification process and political building .Such leader may be considered a symbol of the new political framework [13].

The important role of charismatic leadership lies in the ability to create legitimacy and regimes that depend in their existence on such leaderships. The legitimacy at one point may extend the agreement upon one person and his policies, contribute to the emergence of a new symbolic person as a proof of national unity and may receive approval and agreement in the principles and aims called upon and sought by the new leadership. This condition is an alternative to the institutions when there is not enough preparation for building such institutions that are considered the final objective of the political development process [14].

## **3-The Military**

The army by overthrowing the political authority can gain access to the government and also to the political development process but formalizes it according to its fundamentals.

The military is considered the only national organization that can stand with the individuals and the classes in their conflict in some of the third world countries, especially the ones relatively new to independence. The military has better organization compared to the society and as the

officers in the military rank are qualified, they are more able to meet the demands of the society [15].

Many groups and political forces in excrescence countries suffer from fragmentation and lack of influence. For a number of other reasons, the military forces, aided by their organization and readiness, were able to determine the trends in many of these countries and implement a large number of their policies.

The influence of some military leadership includes examples that changed the destiny of nations doomed to eventual demise. Besides, the military leaderships in some cases were able to create intellectual currents and impose political experiences that have become determinants in the political field. A large number of reformation and revolutionary currents exist today carrying the name of the military leaders after their death; such as the case with the Kamalists in Turkey and Nasserism in Egypt besides a number of other currents. Putting aside these experiences and looking at the results, we find a number of indicators that the military as an institution was capable of doing undeniable actions especially achieving national unity, sustaining the political entity and forming a foundation on which processes of development and modernization are built [16].

However, military coup d'état is criticized by being the target of opposite coups that eventually lead to political instability undermining the political development process and stopping it.

#### **4-Colonialism**

The negative repercussions left by the European colonialism on excrescence countries have become widely known. It is a redundancy to consider it more. However, new developments in this aspect have been presented in a bizarre opinion by western writers claiming that the European colonization left no negative impact but on the contrary had positive contributions to those colonized countries!

They claim that the positive impacts of colonialism are summarized in:

- Removing the old traditional foundations in the society and replacing them with foundations of modern economic and social society through building new cities.
- Shattering the old family system, creating new social classes including the commercial middle class and classes representing the agriculture sector and labor forces.
- Introducing new administrative organizations.
- Opening new roads and railroads and building shipping ports.



- Introducing new advanced agricultural methods [17].

This facet of the colonialism phenomenon has attracted the attention of most 19<sup>th</sup> century's intellectuals including Carl Marx and Fredric Angles.

Marx wrote that British colonialism has realized a double task in India as follows:

- First Britain had destroyed the ancient pillars of the Asian society and at the same time instilled the materialistic foundations for a new society.
- Second, the modernization revolution led by the bourgeoisies in Europe was transmuted to Asia giving a credit for the British colonialism.

A word of refute for such claims must be said here. If colonialism had really accomplished some of the points stated above, it hadn't been done with a desire to achieve development and welfare in excrescence countries but rather to serve the sole colonial interest and pave the roads for the longest possible time for the colonialists to remain in these misfortunate countries and plunder their wealth [18].

## 5-The Party

The role of a political party in the political development process and modernization especially in excrescence countries stems from a unique regard which lies in the role of the party assuming governmental responsibilities. In other words, the first moments the party starts its governmental life [19].

Many authors consider the political parties in the excrescence countries as parties representing a single party country and the first stages of building the nation [20]. In fact some consider those parties the most prominent symbols of modernization. The reason behind this opinion is the role of such parties in modernizing the European societies, their revolutionary reform, and the national forms laid the ground for modernization tools in many places in the world.

Thus the political party is considered a critical force of modernization in all contemporary societies that followed the modernization course led by the party itself.

The political literature attributes to parties in general roles related to political fostering, recruiting, formalizing, and combining interests. The literature that specifically deals with political development emphasize on the role of parties in political support, assuming that this

role is most prominent among third world country parties, as it implies resolving the crises in participation, integration and legitimacy [21].

Thus political parties are committed to various roles and functions that are considered more important than the traditional functions of the political parties. The parties from this aspect ensure independent variables like institutional forces that affect modernization and the work of political development not the opposite. Moreover, the ability of the society to accommodate the burdens accompanying modernization and the crisis accompanying political development are affected significantly by the number of the established parties and their activities. Thus it was not a surprise to find that parties have received the attention of the majority of literature concerning modernization and development as their role in modernization and development is one of the most prominent tools mediating modernization and development [22].

Based on the discussion above, it is safe to say that parties, in transforming traditional societies, play various roles as they determine the emerging and modernized state, guide the national economy, organize political supremacy, and participate in the transformation of social structures. The contribution of the party towards transformation is effective especially during the post- independence years after the support of the single party system or the single national movement.

The political party is the first tool of modernization. Its origin is related to the organizing elite that allow the party to have stronger links with the society and the administration. Because of the party's tasks and objectives as an entrepreneur of development, these aspects are prominent in the parties and movements calling for unification stemming from the desire to change the society and the structure of social relationships which establishes a new kind of awareness and ethics [23].

Thus, we find that many countries care for the party or partisan organizations before launching modernization and development programs as we see for example the attention paid to the role of the party in some of the excrescence countries i.e. the Congress Party in India, the Communist Party in china, Kenya African National Union (KANU) Party in Kenya ...etc.

Parties rely on a number of tools and methods pertinent to modernization in achieving their goals in political development including media, persuasion, administrative systems, schools, work centers, and other methods .Some parties may even go as far as adapting their language and symbols with the traditional environment it intends to influence. They may even reincarnate old but effective symbols and organize the rituals of everyday life to emphasize these symbols [24].

We discuss the role of parties in revolution, change, and development in their countries although we withstand the risk of this opinion because the roles of the leaderships, educated people, military, and elite are also considered the most prominent roles in general especially concerning awareness which is an indispensable element in any change process. Without awareness, all the activities of the people, including the potential sacrifices that may indeed be large in all measures and regards, will become nothing more than miserable temporary acts. Failure will become an eventuality when there is no leadership capable of maintaining and determining the next steps and tactics that lead to the final goals.

### **Third: Political Development in Iraq: Futurism visibility.**

The future of political development in modern Iraq is connected with the capability of the elite working amidst the people of Iraq to form a national spirit that overcomes the dogmatic and ideological frameworks, making the agreement heading towards political work. Similarly, it requires programs that play a pivot role of understanding instead of concentrating on abstract philosophies, theories, self-interest, and narrow partisan point of views.

The Iraqi society requires the establishment of peace and security. This should be followed by creating appropriate developmental conditions by providing all efforts including cultural, material and moral accumulation in order to reach an agreement towards a healthy foundation to solve the contemporary political, social, and economical problems.

The mere claim of a political development process in the Iraqi society will not add anything and is considered no more than an unethical political tactic. Adding new institutions to the already marginal existing institutions to suggest an activity in the political institution means nothing more than an absence of democracy and development making them as if they were a commercial advertisement [25].

In terms of political, social, and economical continuous changes witnessed by our Iraqi society nowadays, the hopes are rising towards determining solid foundations for the society and democratic values and principles besides protecting the rights and freedoms of the Iraqi citizens. To reach this aspired condition requires the following:

- Participation of all Iraqi groups, parties, and individuals in bearing the responsibility of establishing peace and security in the Iraqi society

- Develop the achievements and contain the fracturing factors that lead to separation and division by replacing them with values of dialogue and understanding instead of the sound of bullets and violence.
- Continuous efforts in achieving the democratic principles in the political practice and building the political institutions [26].

The positive factors that Iraq currently witnesses include:

- A multiple party context.
- Openness to ideologies.
- Emergence of respect for freedoms and rights.
- Establishment of institutional structures.
- Steps towards building and activating political institutions.

However, an integrated democratic approach has not been reached. Thus, the Iraqi people still call their political practice, a democratic experience.

However, what is said above does not contradict the positive indications for an environment suitable for the development of the Iraqi intellect and its comprehension of the democratic transformation process. The Iraqi political statements emphasize on all the political, social and cultural aspects of the legal democratic institution.

This means that there is an understanding towards the political forces, the Iraqi sectors, the necessary growth of the political institutions, and activating the role of political institutions in supporting true political participation through active political behavior in the society [27].

It can be intuitively said that the bright future is always for societies based on the following:-

- Dynamic individuals in their political structures.
- Civilized dialogue and peaceful change of power.
- Ensuring the rights and freedoms.
- Civil structures based on the support of the individual's values and personal freedom.
- Actual independence.

The political development phenomenon and its development is still debatable in the Iraqi ideology since the advent of change in the Iraqi ruling system on April 9<sup>th</sup>, 2003 and the established of the institutions that have witnessed a qualitative change towards accepting democracy in their practice for the first time in the Iraqi society [28].

Thus the study of the Iraqi attitudes towards political development and its future stemming from the Iraqi Ideology launches from a point of view characterized by deep insight in the active elements in the social structures that support the ruling systems and political participation which in other words mean launching from the comprehensive understanding of the social forces and abstractly scrutinizing its components and elements.

What is important to the study is that political development is an eventual necessity to express the civil identity of the Iraqi people as it requires opening horizons of citizens awareness towards the necessary participation of democracy and developing the civil service strategy and balance between power and freedom.

It is important for the Iraqi people to build a democratic civil society capable of comprehending multiple opinions and the political legitimacy and right of coexistence in order to express themselves in the political participation process. This can be achieved through legitimate institutionalized channels based on equality between authority and freedom in order to express and stimulate the political participation among all the classes and society groups in making the political decision and develop the Iraqi society [29].

Thus, the agreement among the government and the people should be achieved through a permanent constitution that all representatives from the Iraqi fractions can participate in its formulae. All social factors and political currents in the country should contribute in asserting and implementing the constitution through a plebiscite by the Iraqi people that includes in its items the inspiration and hopes of the people including all legal, cultural and political assurances.

Such participations are indispensable for building the Iraqi state based on citizenship and democracy in a way that ensures the rights and freedoms of the people, achieves equality, and solves the national problems in Iraq without marginalization and alienation of any of its groups [30].

This comprehension of rebuilding the Iraqi state should be based on the fundamentals of citizenship and democracy and making it the most important point for change to take place. A serious approach is required to deal with the problem of integrating the Iraqi society fractions with a recognition that the process is not a simple one but it requires time and efforts because it requires the change of deep-rooted inherited political, social, economical, cultural and traditional practices inherited from decades of violence and dictatorship that left the Iraqi citizen without an official opinion.

The future of political development in Iraq requires a strategy of accumulative construction of the citizenship principle in order to restore the free independent will of the Iraqi individual and his balanced personality. Such personality would motivate him to hold onto his rights and basic freedoms and the legal and legitimate rights of all the society's groups [31]

Thus the expanding of awareness is a compulsory step to establish political and social structures based on humanitarian law and cultural awareness .This means the expansion of the participation of the individual in the development of social circles and the ability to assimilate all the contradictions through the transparent dialogues with confidence in the forces of freedom as a social necessity .This can lead to capabilities that enhance the level of social, political, and cultural performance. Establishing independent entities separate from totalitarian control basically means the emphasis on the social concept of development and advancement [32].

Iraq in the transient period is overwhelmed with randomness, chaos, disruptive political, social, and security conditions, difficulties, and negligence. These conditions entangle the internal and external variables including the political, social, economical, and intellectual leadership and culture variables.

Thus, the challenge that encounters the aware people in the Iraqi society requires in addition to this awareness, alertness and careful and continuous observation of the reality. It also requires flexibility to determine and nullify the sources of pressure in order for Iraq to succeed in the political development field at the current time and to be an example followed by other countries in the future. Despite of the reform attempts witnessed by the Iraqi society that push it towards democratic transformation in some degree or another, these attempts are incapable of achieving their goals in the social institutions if these institutions do not practice their real role in developing political participation. Such political participation can only be achieved through the following: -

- Preparing appropriate climate to activate political participation by generalizing the culture of peaceful dialogue based on multiplicity and peaceful circulation of power.
- Ensuring the practice of all rights and freedoms through a true balance between power and freedom leading to the increase at the institutional level and increasing the forms of participation
- Engaging all institutions in political activity in order to determine the role of the institutions in the society and their role in building a sound

and healthy democratic structure required by the society in any field to develop and modernize the society [33].

## **Fourth: Conclusions and Recommendations**

### **1-Conclusions:**

Interpreting the contemporary situation in Iraq in a new logical way, keeping in mind optimistic thoughts and casting the pessimism type of thoughts concerning the future because the traditional ideological speech has become obsolete and has become no more than provoking slogans and intensity that waste strength. It's not in Iraqi peoples' interest to engage in an eternal struggle among themselves but they must follow the guidance of the divine teachings.

New measures of political practice have emerged on the ground and they differ from what Iraq was familiar with in the past decades. These measures are characterized by the involvement of the people in the political process representing all the fractions including the minorities far from alienation and marginalization and no self interest on the cost of others. The new emerging language of political governing is a language of ballots and fair and honest competition that replaced the language of bullets. Therefore, this can be a practical example for building a modern Iraq based on new principles gathering its strength from the moderate achievements that surpassed those for the past regimes and the contributions to the building of civil state based on citizenship and democracy.

### **2-Recommendations:**

In order to integrate the activities of the governmental institutions and activate their role in the field of political development, the researcher recommends the following:

- 1- A serious review of the constitution putting emphasize on putting the interest of the homeland and people first of all.
- 2- Reconsider the methods practiced in politics in order to create suitable approaches towards politics through creating an appropriate political culture that gives new spirit to democracy and enables it to continue.
- 3- The concept of political participation should be extended in order to include all the political ends and their activities.
- 4- Politicians must commit themselves to the rational and logical statements in the political process.

- 5- Interpreting the contemporary situation in Iraq in a new logical way, keeping in mind optimistic thoughts and casting the pessimism type of thoughts concerning the future.
- 6- It is necessary to maintain the role of the civil society institutions in supporting and enhancing the democratic development in the society.

## Reference:

- [1] Dr. Sana Al- Kholi, Social Change and Modernization, Al Marifa Publishing House, Alexandria University, Egypt, 1985, p 233.
- [2] Abdulsalam Ibrahim Baghdadi, Abbas Fathel, The Role of The Party In Modernization and Political Development, A Referral to The Iraqi Experience, Afaq Arabia Journal, 24<sup>th</sup> year, 12<sup>th</sup> issue, Dar Alshoon Althaqafya Alama, Ministry of Culture and Information, Baghdad, Iraq,1989.
- [3] Ibid, p13.
- [4] Dr Amer Alkubaisi, The Ecology Theory and the Management of Rural Development, Journal of Economic and Administrative Research, Baghdad, Iraq, 1978 , p249.
- [5] Dr. Asaad Abdul Rahman Political Development in the Nasser and Borqeba Experience, Researcher Journal, Vol.4 Beirut, Lebanon, 1981, pp.126-127.
- [6] Binder, Leonard, Crises and Sequences in Political Development, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1971, pp3-4.
- [7] Dr.Abdulhadi Mohammed Wali, Social Development – an Approach for Studying the Basic Concepts, Almarifa Aljamiya Publishing House, Alexandria, Egypt, 1982, p78 .
- [8] S.N. Eisenstadt, Tradition, Change, and Modernity, John Wfrey and Sons, New York, 1973, pp 73-74.
- [9] Bill James, A. & Liden, Carl, Politics in the Middle East, Little Vrewn and Company, Boston, 1977.
- [10] Dr. Ra'ad Adbdul Jaleel Ali, Political Development: An Approach for Change, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. Open University, Tripoli, Libya, 2002, p237.
- [11] Ibid., p238.
- [12] Ibid., p248.
- [13] Abdulsalam Ibrahim and Abbas Fadel, op. cit. p15.
- [14] Dr. Ra'ad Abduljaleel Ali , op.cit., p304.
- [15] Dr. Ali Aldeen Hilall, Lectures on Political Development, College of Economics and Political Science, Cairo University, 1986, p50.



- [16] Dr. Ra'ad Abduljaleel Ali, op.cit. , pp 280-281.
- [17] Abdulsalam Ibrahim and Abbas Fadel, op. cit., p15.
- [18] Ibid., p16.
- [19] The Leader Party, Theory and Practice. 1<sup>st</sup> Ed., The Arabic Institute for Studies and Publishing, Beirut, Lebanon, 1975, pp 6-7.
- [20] Dr. Osama Al Gazali. Political Parties in Third World Countries, World of Knowledge Journal, Kuwait, 1987, pp 43-44.
- [21] Abdulsalam Ibrahim and Abbas Fadel, op. cit., p16.
- [22] Dr. Osama Al Gazali op. cit., p76.
- [23] George Belandiba, Political Anthropology, Translated by George Obey Saleh, National Development Center Beirut, Lebanon, 1986, p136.
- [24] Ibid., 1986, p137.
- [25] Dr. Kameran Alsalihi, Democracy and the Civil Society: An Analytic Study, 1<sup>st</sup> Ed. Arbil Iraq, 2002, pp156-157.
- [26] Ibid, p161.
- [27] Hamdan, Ramadan Mohammed, Role of Civil Society Institutions in Stimulating Political Participation in the Contemporary Iraqi Society, Adabrafidain Journal No. 24-3, College of arts , Mosul university , Mosul , Iraq, 2006 pp1160.
- [28] Ibid, p 1161.
- [29] Ibid, p 1162.
- [30] Amen Farag Shareef, Citizenship and its Role in the Integration of Multiplicity Societies, The Example of the Iraqi Society, an Unpublished Master Thesis, Submitted to the College of law and Political , Salah Aldeen University, Arbill, Iraq, 2006. , p142
- [31] Ibid, p143.
- [32] Hamdan, Ramadan Mohammed, Role of Civil Society Institutions in Stimulating Political Participation in the Contemporary Iraqi Society op.cit, p 1157.
- [33] Ibid, p 1154.

This document was created with Win2PDF available at <http://www.daneprairie.com>.  
The unregistered version of Win2PDF is for evaluation or non-commercial use only.