The Strategy of Establishing a National Civil State with the Absence of Civil Society in Iraq

Nagham Nadheer Shukur Al-Hannoon

Center for strategic and international studies, University of Baghdad, Iraq
Emails:nagham.nather@cis.uobaghdad.edu.iqnaghamnather31@gmail.com

Abstract

On this basis, the phenomenon of authoritarianism is related to the state in the Arab Mashreq, as it rejects everything that would establish a democratic experiment, and works to empty the political scene of its meanings and build formal institutions only, and all of this highlights our saying that there is no democracy in a backward reality. Achieving democracy requires the participation of all social classes and groups in politics, and the exercise of various forms of political activity. It also requires a high degree of effective institutionalism as channels through which this political participation is expressed. When we find that society is excluded from politics in Arab countries, then this means that there is a profound imbalance in the political practice of these countries because there is a fundamental relationship between social and political production because politics is involved in human work and social production in all possible meanings of production and the society that produces politics produces its social units And political.

Keywords:A national civil state

Introduction

The state is a reflection of its society in which it is established as an apparatus that monopolizes power. Therefore, without a state, no modern democracy can exist. Therefore, it is important to focus on the behavior of elites and ruling groups, is it a behavior in the direction of deepening ethnic policies or in the direction of dissolving particularities in the national community.

The state must be a neutral ruler independent of a free space to manage conflict of interests within society, a theoretical role that did not happen at all, but it is a hypothetical situation that controls the stability of countries in the world.Therefore, the state is a national institution that can only be organized on the basis of common and united standards and foundations of citizenship, democracy and a clear civil, and unless we have serious and responsible national civil, democratic parties, the state project will not be won and the state will remain a governing entity, a tool of discrimination and a framework. Therefore, the research hypothesis is based on the following (The Arab world suffers not only from the weakness or absence of a well-established democratic culture, but also from the weakness of a civil society that takes the initiative from the civil society that still dominates our Arab life, represented by sects, clans, and regionalism at the expense

7609

of the renaissance bloc represented by technocrats, who have not yet properly exercised their role in the political process).

Accordingly, the research was divided into two main topics: The first, entitled: (Political authoritarianism and the absent Arab civil society). The second: entitled (Arranging the Triple State, Nation and Democracy in the Path of Democratic Transition). Then the research ends with a conclusion and recommendations

The first topic: political authoritarianism and the absent Arab civil society:

First: What is civil society in general? And absent civil society in the Arab world in particular?

Civil society means those initiatives and gatherings that arise with the free voluntary will of individuals in the public space between the family and the state.

Individuals at birth do not choose the political entity that has the exclusive right to use force over the region in which they live, which in modern times is called (the state).

Civil society with this definition includes charitable and development societies, sports, cultural and social clubs, unions and cooperatives, trade unions and political parties. There are those who distinguish between civil society and political society on the basis that the latter (ie, the political society) has specific goals, which is to reach power competitively or by alliance or influence the existing authority in society. With this definition, they limit the political community to political parties, and there is no harm in that, even if we tend to classify them in civil society, as long as the establishment of these parties or joining

them is done voluntarily by the free will of individuals or citizens (1).

The secret of progress, renaissance, and prosperity achieved by European and other developed countries lies in a large part of it in the emergence and development of civil society at the hands of the enlightened middle class or what is called (the bourgeoisie) that led the French Revolution of 1789, and the major changes in Europe and the world. This society has its political and legal expression for the first time in the declaration of the rights of man and citizen in the wake of the French Revolution, decades after its appearance as a concept for the first time in the writings of John Locke in the eighteenth century and Ferguson 1733-1806 and others, where civil society formed a contractual framework between free individuals, a society in contrast to society. Natural, and thus was the nucleus of the modern, rational, democratic state, and this is what has not happened in the Arab world so far, because the state arose from below, from the womb of civil society and the manufacture of the bourgeois class, while the state appeared in us as an artificial superstructure, so its pillars have not been established and will not It is established, unless an integrated civil society is established in us, based on functional interdependence and structural differentiation, with national (technocratic) social actors, which take upon themselves the building of a modern state Integrated elements and structures ().

On the other hand, this description of reality does not support security through a deeper understanding of the reality of the comprehensive change experienced by the

7610

whole world, which includes all aspects of political, economic and social life. Among the prominent manifestations of this comprehensive change is the so-called "global community", which is formed from multiple forces, the most prominent of which are The policies followed by the major countries as well as the United Nations in the field of democracy, pluralism and respect for human rights, and a wide network of non-governmental organizations has become what is called the global civil society ().

The Iraqi political system after 2003 continued to suffer from a crisis of legitimacy, as the state has not currently been rebuilt according to the logic of the state - the nation, as much as it is subject to the tendency to form the state of sects, and when the Iraqi state becomes a field for the representation of sects, it turns in reality into a union or a federal structure between sects, which has become a nature of the state or a structural necessity for it ().

Accordingly, in the event of the victory of democratic reformist forces over ideological conservative forces, according to the new global conciliation model, it will be characterized by a number of main features, as follows:

1- Cultural tolerance based on the principle of cultural relativism in the face of racism and European and Western centralism.
2- Intellectual relativism after it triumphs over ideological absolutism.
3- Unleashing the creative energies of man in democratic contexts at all levels.
4- Return to the revival of local communities, and reduce the centralization of the state.
5- Reviving civil society in the face of the state that invaded the public sphere and left only a small distance for the private sphere.
6- Balance between material values and spiritual and human values ().

Accordingly, civil society procedurally means the political, economic, social, cultural, and professional institutions that operate in their various fields in the independence of the state's authority to achieve multiple purposes, including political ones, such as promoting participation in decision-making at the national and national levels, including union goals such as defending the interests of its members, and cultural purposes as in unions. Writers, intellectuals and cultural associations that aim to spread cultural and civilizational awareness in accordance with the trends of the members of each group, including social purposes such as contributing to social work to achieve development ().

As a result, there is no one who can reveal and create possibilities for democratic transformation except for the civil state institutions. The latter (ie, institutions) will be able to overcome the distortions of the political process and achieve national reconciliation and avoid Iraq from the new totalitarians in the womb of a nascent Iraqi democracy, as it will be able to achieve the tasks of the stage. Transitional and deals with its contradictions, variables, and

contradictions in a positive manner as well
().

On the Iraqi ground, we witness the weakness of political leaders trained in the easiest duties of governance, which present the statesman over the man of authority and outweigh political creativity over tradition and subordination to the other, not only because of the weakness or lack of a well-established democratic culture, but because of the weakness of the existence of a civil society that takes the initiative from the civil society that It still dominates our Arab life, represented by sectarian, clan and regionalism at the expense of the renaissance bloc represented by technocrats, from the segments of professionals, technicians and enlightened intellectuals who did not exercise their role in the political process for several reasons, foremost of which is the presence of forces resisting change, renewal and reform, forces based on the culture of submission and tradition, which sees that Its interest lies in the survival or perpetuation of the conditions of underdevelopment and dependency in the Arab world ( ).

Second: The art of steadfastness in the face of tyrannical regimes

The Arab regimes worked to concentrate and monopolize power in the name of the executive body, which is the head of state or the king as the main driver for it, in clear violation of the principle of separation of power. They also did this by creating various intelligence services with functions far from their counterparts in democratic countries. The powers of any apparatus within the state, and they are not accountable to the legislative bodies or

public opinion, and thus these regimes possessed the tools of illegal violence with which they exercise tyranny in the name of public security and the higher interest, in addition to enacting a legal arsenal that gives all powers to the ruler, whether they are executive, legislative or Judicial, as we note, states in the Arab Mashreq are not satisfied only with the extensive constitutional and administrative powers they have established for themselves, but also use emergency laws, which have been in force in some countries for more than forty years ().

Thus, the state, in this sense, is not only the overarching entity in which general sovereignty is achieved, but rather it is the totality of institutions and devices in which the authority of the state is embodied, that is, the authority of the social group (the nation) through state institutions and organs ().

The pitfalls of state building can be summarized as follows:

1- The slippage of concern for the personalization of institutions and the change of people instead of the establishment of institutions and institutionalization of positions.

2- Slippery the first half of the politicians was keen to master the problem-making, and the second half out of ignorance or disregard, who was not good at making processors.

3- The slippery slope of love for failure, half of them do not want to be successful, and the second half want the successful to fail.

4- Absence of a policy of priorities, as half of them do not know anything

about priorities, and the second half knows the priorities but ignores them.

5- It is slippery that politicians are obsessed with calling for meetings without working to hold them.

6- The slippery slope of the privileges of politicians and the dwarfing of people's rights by bowing before narrow regional benefits at the expense of broad national benefits.

7- Legislative indigence slide (law on freedom of expression and demonstration - oil and gas law and other disruptive legislation stipulated in the constitution.

8- The institutional destitution slide (the Federation Council - the Public Service Council, for example).

9- The slide of lack of understanding, for partnership is understood on the basis that they are (slices) and not partners. Consensually is understood on the basis that it is consensual and balance is understood on the basis that it is quotas. Since consociationalism takes place between groups of its elites that are closely interconnected and is characterized by the elite's dominance over followers who are obedient from the political point of view and shining from the organizational point of view ().

Thus, political practice under the totalitarian regime turns into fighting and violent conflict between different groups that may reach civil war and conflict over the unity of the state itself, which is accompanied by an increase in violence rates for not accepting the rules that govern and organize the political society, as the process of unification and integration in the totalitarian project takes the character of Continuing in accordance with its programs and goals and even societal failures is in accordance with the responses to the requirements of its ideology, so it is forced to exercise force, violence and tyranny to achieve forced integration driven by those trends to shorten the process of change and societal modernization and devote integration that advances societies and the adoption of the state. ( )

Accordingly, the predicament in the Arab world is that the ruling elites are engaged in building their leadership at the expense of building the state, and they are closed to themselves and do not allow anyone to enter their domain, except according to special specifications that are compatible with the nature of the ruling elite itself. This closure leads to the monopoly of a very limited group of the leadership, career and political centers in the state, which contributes to the accumulation of diseases within the system such as political and career old age, administrative stagnation, clinging to positions, sharing benefits, benefiting those close to them, centering on the leader and competing for his satisfaction.

This disintegration of the authoritarian society's cohesion and instability, according to Huntington, is due to the society's lack of effective institutions capable of mediating in political activity. In conflicts, authoritarian regimes bear witness to this by a number of coercions, violence and exclusion, and they play significant roles. ( )

On this basis, the authoritarian phenomenon is linked to the state in the Arab Mashreq, given that it rejects everything that would establish a democratic experience, and works to empty the political scene of its meanings and build only formal institutions, and all of this highlights our saying that there is no democracy in a backward reality. Achieving democracy requires the participation of all classes and social groups in politics, and the practice of various forms of political activity. It also requires a high degree of effective institutionalization as channels through which this political participation is expressed. And when we find that society is being kept away from politics in the Arab countries, this means that there is a deep imbalance in the political practice of these countries because there is a fundamental relationship between social and political production because politics is included in human work and social production with all possible meanings of production and the society that produces politics produces its social units and political. ( )

The second topic: The arrangement of the tripartite state and the democratic nation in the path of democratic transition:

First: Democracy and the dangers of dismantling the state in the Arab world

The analysis of the path of democratization must deal with several questions, the most important of which are:

Is it possible to talk about a transition to democracy before deciding the question related to the state as a general framework that contains and frames the process?

Related to this question is another question:
Is democracy based on the national group or on the pre-political tribal and sectarian groups?

What is meant by the state condition is the general framework that guarantees the red lines that are respected by all, that is, the availability of a set of constitutional and security institutions loyal to the state and not to the political authority, and it is the loyalty that qualifies these institutions to play the role of controlling the political game between the authority and the opposition, and in the event of a vacuum or a closed game These political institutions can hold the transitional phases, avoid the disintegration of states and return to the state of nature or the pre-contractual phases in the language of social contract theory. This framework should not be exceeded in the transitional phases because it is the only guarantee to avoid the emergence of violent choices as a result of turning the political game into a zero-sum game without the presence of a controlling authority between the competing parties around it.

The political and economic instability in the Arab countries has led to the occurrence of social instability. The repeated political crises, failed economic policies, the inability to employ and work, and the reluctance of political systems to respond to popular demands, especially economic ones, pushed the masses to go out, demonstrate, resort to violence and demand a change in the political system

Therefore, creativity and special charisma play an effective role in moving the strategic leadership towards greater effectiveness to achieve strategic visions to reach the goals. As most of the modern administrative, political and social studies confirm this

feature or characteristic and specify that this feature must be available to the strategic leader in order to be effective and successful. Effective leadership is not a skill in the conduct of work, but rather a strategic process and leadership capabilities that invest in aspects of strength, excellence, capabilities and talents of workers and employ material capabilities. Efficiently, and direct daily practices towards achieving the vision and the material and moral goals sought by the organization ().

It is assumed that this Arab strategy will be adopted through the League of Arab States, so that the Council of Arab Foreign Ministers is its main executive structure. It should also put the following on top of its direct goals in the short and medium term:

1- Stopping the collapse of the Arab countries, and rebuilding the countries that were cracked by internal conflicts.
2- Respect for the sovereignty of states, and non-interference in their internal affairs.
3- Ceasing any aid to any irregular forces or groups.
4- Adopting a unified strategy to fight terrorism, as well as to deal with Turkey and Iran.
5- Reviving the Arab peace initiative.
6- Orientation towards Asia ().

Therefore, policies aimed at nation-building and democracy-building can not contradict in the event that most of the population of the state has the same idea of the nation, meaning the presence of one nation in the state. There may be simple cultural pluralism, and in the presence of these

conditions, political leaders can adopt democratization and state-nation policies, and this agreement can facilitate the building of a democratic nation-state and avoid the problems of transitional periods and the consolidation of democracy ().

Economically, the Arab strategy should achieve the following immediate goals in the short and medium term:

1- Updating the learning system and its link to production.
2- Upgrading the infrastructure.
3- Laying down legislation that helps increase investments.
4- Combating corruption in all its forms.

As for the security field, the following should be achieved:

1- Activating security agreements between Arab countries.
2- Providing support to legitimate governments and national armies only.
3- Raising the efficiency of the armed forces and security forces of Arab countries that need assistance.
4- Confronting electronic crime, following up on international information networks, and blocking recruitment attempts through social networking sites.
5- Reaching agreements/understandings with the non-Arab powers neighboring the Arab world for serious cooperation in combating terrorism (). In addition, to address the major imbalance that allowed (ISIS) to expand, and enabled the organization's terrorist to exist through the methods of

comprehensive governance in Iraq, and the weak and flabby political process due to the policy of exclusion and marginalization, and financial and administrative corruption in the joints of the state, which the organization exploited to gain access to societal groups that suffer Vulnerability and marginalization, and live in difficult economic conditions, in addition to the continuation of the policy of preventing citizens, who are many close to several million, from returning to their areas of residence and taking their areas as military bases for militias.( ) About two million displaced Iraqis are still living in camps that have been established temporary agencies, which do not provide for their residents. The right to work, move and receive assistance that meets their needs. With the lack of opportunities to return, and the emergence of a huge number of abuses, which exceeded the limits of imagination, represented by arbitrary arrest and financial bargains, which push young people, as well as the elderly, to volunteer to carry out terrorist acts ().

Accordingly, we urgently need to emphasize the fate of the state project at the hands of the historical bloc (in the words of the well-known Italian leftist thinker Antonio Gramsci). Dusty depends on the emergence of the Iraqi civil political historical bloc free from private loyalties and narrow ambitions, the historical bloc capable of unifying its

vision of the state, its philosophy, identity and project, and emerging to reproduce the historical memory (religious, sectarian, national and political) in a constructive and functional manner, and capable of awareness and performance, to overcome the current contradictions and discontents that It was created by the eras of tyranny and the repercussions of chaos and division, and it is able to employ the appropriate historical moment to adopt qualitative profiles of civility, development and development ().

Accordingly, democracy is not only a national necessity, but a national necessity as well, which necessitates the launch of any attempt to achieve unity from within these countries themselves, through democratic pressure within each country, which must have a democratic ground, based on free popular institutions to which government agencies are subject And watching it, only then can the Arab popular forces find their way towards their unity

The desired goal, and any other attempt outside this framework remains outside the course of history, which means that all the conditions of backwardness that the Arab world suffers from, such as tyranny, dependence, fragmentation, sectarianism, economic and cultural backwardness, although they are remnants of the era of decadence and remnants of colonialism and as a result of the domination of imperialism, they remain inherent to the Arab nation and do There is no way to eliminate it except with a tight dialectical developmental template that combines both unity and liberation and is subject to the leadership of democracy in its political and social aspects ().

In general, democratic regimes differ from non-democratic regimes, because non-democratic regimes do not care about consensus within the state or conciliation, and what is important is their ability to maintain compliance and impose it on the majority for a long period without affecting the homogeneity of the state, and the availability of a strong central authority is sufficient to suppress any separatist movement or demands For minorities, therefore, consensus and consensus is not a requirement of authoritarian regimes. Whereas democracy presupposes consensus among all citizens within the region about the procedures and the legitimacy of the government, and if there is a group that does not want or declares its incompatibility, the transition and democratic consolidation becomes problematic. Therefore, consensus around unity is necessary and its absence is not comprehended by the democratic literature.

Second: The requirements for establishing a national civil state in Iraq

In an objective and general evaluation of the path of democratic transition in Iraq since the change in 2003, this path has had many clear negatives and setbacks. And because the importance of democracy in general does not come from the fact that it guarantees the right to political practice for all citizens, but rather it is basically a sound framework for implementing the contents of the social contract. Legislative bodies that properly represent citizens, or elections that allow voters to actually choose their representatives, in addition to the need for judicial bodies that are committed to the law and are independent from external influence,

and this has not been properly achieved, especially in recent years, and to evaluate one of the stages of the democratic transition path, a survey by (a monitoring group confirmed Democracy) to the Iraqi Institute in Washington that the democratic experience began to indicate deeper future changes and at the same time gives evidence that democracy has begun to bear fruit ().

Therefore, the forces must realize that they are responsible entities that are not protected by the democratic system, and they must realize that the essence of the crises will remain and take root due to the self-obstruction of the party-component consensual ruling equation that was adopted in violation of the constitution and which resulted in the splitting of the state and disrupted its powers and created disasters of corruption, chaos and robbery in its management, and that legitimacy The political system of the regime is suffering from an increasing decline due to this regime's contempt for the vision and project, its modesty with management and achievement, and its inability to respond ().

Accordingly, the requirements for establishing a national civil state in Iraq are related to the integration of three levels:

1- The integration of the civil values produced by the city (the system of civil, social, political and economic virtues) extracted from the city's spirit at the expense of the Bedouin or village spirit in its production for the community Since no civil or even urban spirit has yet been formed - in Iraq, the city has been destroyed as a dialectical system and a productive creative context for historical development, and it

has also been destroyed by the absence of its values, guarantees and incubators.

2- The supremacy of civil guarantees produced by the state, which are civil rights, political rights, social, economic and cultural rights. The requirement for the sovereignty of civil guarantees depends on the adoption of democratic citizenship at the origin of the emergence and survival of the state, and it is not possible to talk about political, civil, economic and cultural rights without the requirements of a legal group provided by the state, and the civil state is the only model among the types of states capable of ensuring the civil rights system.

3- Availability of the civil incubator as a system and institutions and the incubator of civil culture here is civil society, and our civil society has not yet been formed, as the civil society system is linked to three factors, namely, association, awareness, and performance. Civil society is organized on the basis of full legal and cultural citizenship, and on A basis of active citizenship in the systemic relations (vertical and horizontal) between individuals, society and the state and on the basis of voluntary and responsible performance (individual and collective) based on sound law ().

In addition, the parliament's other major shortcoming is its inability to carry out its two main functions, namely legislation and oversight. Parliament was unable to legislate about fifty laws. The constitution indicated the need to legislate them since the first session, as well as its failure to enact many laws to develop the democratic process and achieve important demands of the people. As for the inability or failure to perform it, it was represented in general by objections and

criticism, and most of the interrogations that took place for a number of ministers, despite their lack thereof, were nothing but a media, propaganda and favoritism appearance for those who were arrested, or the settling of malicious accounts. to eliminate (). On this basis, the political forces must realize that they lack a solidarity political reference that preserves the minimum crucial constants related to the interests of the country, which led to existential ordeals for the state. The crises proved that the political forces were unable to form a solid core of the political system in a manner that preserves the unity of the state. The state and its security, prosperity and sovereignty are due to the conflict of interest and centered around the symbolic ego, partisanship and sectarian nationalist bloc at the expense of the national ego and its gains and future existence ().

It must be pointed out that it has not been proven before that there is a relationship of facing dangers and closing the public sphere, or that there is no benefit in bartering human freedom for his security. The responsibility for establishing this meaning lies with the political system, even if a reliable sector of society is willing to give up freedom for the sake of security, because it does not realize that confronting the threat that affects security requires popular participation in this confrontation. The public and the launch of free participation are indispensable to provide the elements of renaissance, including real stability and security. The importance of this lesson has increased in an era in which human capital has become more important than financial capital, and human capital

7618

does not develop except in light of freedom of thought, research, creativity and modernization innovation and dialogue, so that positive horizons open up, and society becomes a diversified field that overflows with the fruits of reason and the achievements of knowledge ().

Therefore, there is an urgent need with effective and effective influence on the issues of the region and its conflicts, in a responsible and coordinated manner, to create new conditions and data that represent appropriate grounds for reaching stable and complete political settlements for conflicts and civil letters taking place in a number of countries, otherwise the Arab world will turn from failed states into a "failed region." In the words of "German Kinthman," this is the catastrophic scenario that all those concerned with the affairs of the region must prevent ().

As far as Iraq is concerned, it is trying to move from a political entity or entities to a national democratic state. Every democratic transformation is only explained as a path and its tools are alliances, because democracy, in principle, is not a doctrine that we support versus those who oppose it, nor is it a doctrine we sanctify versus those who desecrate it, nor is it Ideology we fight for it against those who fight against it, and it is not to it. We beg its electoral tools once and abandon it again, in the more precise sense of democracy "intellect" is an integrated system that includes and frames diversity, and democracy "practice" is an alliance movement and a path that improves the management of diversity. On the basis of this, the democratic movement cannot be part of the activity of a political party, nor

can it be licensed in the name of a party, nor can it be attached to a party, nor a side front or a background for a party ().

Therefore, the real place for Iraq is for the region to remain the base with the possibility of playing the role of mediator, by having Iraq play a central role in achieving a settlement between the path from the regional and international environment by establishing regional rules and procedures to alleviate regional conflicts, and then the possibility of withdrawing Iraq from geographical requirements to Effective political components ( ).

On this basis, the best and safest for Iraq is to adopt the functional approach, create the common interest, build a wide network of mutual interests with society, and give priority to the economic interest over other interests, and this approach would banish any ideological or sectarian tendency in Iraqi relations with its Gulf and non-Arab Islamic regions. Because the ideological tendency to deal in regional relations means adopting a unilateral tendency based on making Iraq one party at the expense of another party ().

Therefore, the political forces must realize that when they fail to understand the dynamic variables in the structure of the region and the world and the conflict of strategies and interests in them, and that when they choose battles by proxy and practice politics based on dependence, polarization and axes conflict, then they risk their existence and the existence of the state together, and that the responsibility of governance requires the preservation of wisdom integrity and patriotism over the

unity and interests of the state before any other consideration ().

Conclusion

From the foregoing, we can reach a set of conclusions:

1- The absence of institutions of democratic action in the Arab world was the soil in which all tendencies of violence and extremism grew. We live in an era of weakening the state and society together, due to the spread of globalization mechanisms that seek to abolish the sovereignty of states in the interest of companies and abolish the national characteristics of societies in the interest of artificial identities.

2- The idea of cumulative institutional work combines the traditions of democracy and the rules of development at the same time, and achieves communication between past experiences, present concerns and future aspirations. It also develops interaction between the initiative of the individual and the strength of the group, and thus achieves the transition from a gradual quantitative grammar to the required qualitative boom, to ensure Compatibility between the spirit of creativity and the rigor of the organized methodology.

3- The success of regimes in the Arab world depends on several factors:

First: Should this system not be adopted as a political settlement, especially if it was adopted after a civil war that divided society and fragmented it into sects and ethnicities, because in this case, it will feed the existing fanaticism and weaken the centralization of the state.

Second: The national affiliation should be superior to any other affiliation, such as sectarian and ethnic affiliation.

Third: That this system be adopted as a result of a collective awareness of its necessity and need, so that there is consensus on it, and it does not become a bridge to the fragmentation of the state.

4- The political forces should realize that the conflicting and chaotic structures of the state are the best way to enable the opponents of the political process to destroy it. The state cannot withstand more through this antagonistic performance of quotas and privileges that dominates the logic of power and its entitlements over the logic of the state and its functions. Reform is thus an existential necessity for the state whose alternative is the complete collapse or continuation of the failed state model.

5- De facto, the desired reform is entrusted to the current political forces, as they are located in the countries and in their hands are legislation, implementation, agreement and consensus, and everyone is waiting for their initiatives to get out of the tunnel of chronic crises. What is required is a serious and new national solidarity vision and roadmap for running the country, and for the state's forces to adapt their discourse, practices, and the competence of its elites in accordance with the requirements of fundamental reform of the political process.

6- This functional approach requires the availability of several components, including the need to overcome the internal political division and unify positions towards Iraqi national security issues and the supreme reconciliation, and not to make the Iraqi national constant a victim of these

7620

conflicts and divisions. National interests, regional interests and the interests of the United States of America. Certainly, any direct or indirect military tension, whether inside Iraq or on its borders, will bring harm to the region and Iraq. The outbreak of any military confrontation means the loss and waste of life and development in the region, not to mention the expected environmental damages as a result of any military confrontation. These fears must prompt the Iraqi government to adopt strategic planning to deal with the issues at hand, especially the position on the US military presence and other foreign forces.

Therefore, Iraq must not enter into any military alliance with any country, whatever the circumstances, and Iraq remains - in dealing with other countries. Within the framework of the United Nations and other organizations, and in the interest of Iraq, especially the reconstruction of liberated areas and attracting investments.

7- Finally, focus on the possibility of Iraq playing the mediator role between the Gulf states and bridging the gaps, because the unification of the Gulf ranks could serve the Iraqi interest in terms of security and politics.

References

1. ThamerKamel Muhammad, Civil Society and Political Development: A Study of Reform and Modernization in the Arab World, Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research 2010, Edition 1, 2010, p. 38.

2. AbdelilahBelkeziz, State, Authority and Legitimacy, Al-Maaref Forum, Beirut, I 1, 2013, pp. 110-111.

3. SaadEddin Ibrahim, Civil Society in the Light of the Arab Spring Revolutions, Arab Future Magazine, Year (40), Issue (459), May 2017

4. Abdul Salam Baghdadi, The Contemporary Arab State between the Problematic of Closed (Ethnic) Components and the Choice of Open Functional Institutions, Al-Bayan Studies Journal, Al-Bayan Center for Studies and Planning, No. 1, June 2017, p. 125.

5. Hassan Abu Talib, Mr. Yaseen ... The Arab Model for Strategic Studies, Journal of International Politics, Issue (212), Volume (53), April 2018, pp. 346-247.

6. Amer Al-Fayyad and Kazem Mahdi, The Question of the Modern City State in Contemporary Iraq (Construction and Obstacles) Journal of Dialogue of Thought, Iraqi Institute for Idea Dialogue 2019, p. 12.

7. RafikIbnTekta, The Problem of State Modernization in the Arab Mashreq, Reading in Theoretical Literature, Center for Secular Studies and Research in the Arab World, from the Internet http://ssrcaw.org

8. Omar Juma'aOmran, The Strategy for Building Civil Peace in the Failed State (A Study of Concepts, Problems and Options), Journal of Political Issues, College of Political Science - Al-Nahrain University, No. (50), October, December, 2017, pp. 304-305.

9. Ismail Al-Shatti, The State of Democracy and Human Rights in the

Arab World, Al-Mustaqbal Al-Arabi Magazine, Year 39, No. (448), June 2016, pp. 102-103.

10. Mallah Al-Saeed, The State as a Precondition for Democracy in the Arab World, Arab Future Magazine, Year (40), No. (459), May 1, 2017, pp. 105-107.

11. Ahmed Fadel Al-Daoud, Societal Instability in the Arab Countries: An Analytical Study in Independent Causes and Prospects, Political Issues Journal, Issue (50), October, December, 2017, p. 178.

12. Ali Hussein Hamid and KararKarimHashem, Creative Leadership and Crisis Management in the Twenty-first Century, Al-Nahrain Journal, Al-Nahrain Center for Strategic Studies, No. (5), July 2018, p. 128.

13. SafwatSadiq Al-Deeb, Lessons of the October War... Building a Unified Strategy for Arab Survival, Al-Siyasah Al-Dawlaiya Journal, No. (218), Volume (54), October 2019, p. 152.

14. Salim al-Dulaimi, how did "ISIS" overcome its defeat in Iraq? International Political Journal, Issue (218), Volume (54), October 2019, p. 167.

15. Jamal Al-Dinsabiwi, Democracy in the Thought of Muhammad Abed Al-Jabri in the Light of Political Values Theory, Al-Mustaqbal Al-Arabi Journal, Al-Sunnah (40), No. (462), August / August 2017, p. 105.

16. Abdul Halim Al-Rahimi, The Path of Democratic Transition in Iraq since 2003, Al-Nahrain Journal, Al-Nahrain Center for Strategic Studies, No. (6), December 2018, p. 188.

17. Hussein Al-Adly, What Political Forces Should Realize, Dialogue of Thought Magazine, Iraqi Institute as Dialogue of Thought Sunnah (13), Issue (45), December 2018, p. 113.

18. Waheed Abdul Majeed, Working Paper (1) Dilemmas of Reconstruction and Future Challenges, Arab Future Magazine, year 39, No. (458), April 2017, p. 20.

19. HassaneinTawfiq Ibrahim, Armed Non-State Actors in the Arab World: Current Challenges and Future Prospects, Strategic Studies, Center for Political and Strategic Studies, Al-Ahram, Issue (229), Volume (28), April 2019, p. 32.

20. Abdul-Jabbar Ahmad Abdullah, Iraq between the requirements of geography and effective political components, Dialogue of Thought Journal, Iraqi Institute for Thought Dialogue, 2019, p. 27.

21. RafikIbnTekta, The Problem of State Modernization in the Arab Mashreq, Reading in Theoretical Literature, Center for Secular Studies and Research in the Arab World, from the Internet http://ssrcaw.org

22. ThamerKamel Mohammed, Civil Society and Political Development: A Study of Reform and Modernization in the Arab World, Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research 2010, 1st edition, 2010, p. 38.

23. AbdelilahBelkeziz, State, Authority and Legitimacy, Knowledge Forum, Beirut, Edition 1, 2013, pp. 110-111.

24. SaadEddin Ibrahim, Civil Society in the Light of the Arab Spring Revolutions, Arab Future Magazine, Al-Sunnah (40), Issue (459), May 2017.

25. Abdul Salam Al-Baghdadi, The Contemporary Arab State between the Problem of Closed Components (Ethnic) and the Choice of Open Job Institutions, Al-Bayan Studies Journal, Al-Bayan Center for Studies and Planning, Issue 1, June 2017, p. 125.

26. Hassan Abu Talib, Mr. Yassin ... The Arab Model for Strategic Studies, Journal of International Politics, Issue (212), Volume (53), April 2018, pp. 346-247.

27. Amer Al-Fayyad and Kazem Mahdi, The Question of the Modern City State in Contemporary Iraq (Construction and Obstacles), Dialogue of Thought Magazine, Iraqi Institute for Dialogue of Ideas 2019, p. 12.

28. Rafiq Bin Takta, The Problem of State Modernization in the Arab Mashreq, Reading in Theoretical Literature, Center for Secular Studies and Research in the Arab World, from the Internet http://ssrcaw.org

29. Omar JumaaOmran, The Strategy for Building Civil Peace in a Failed State (A Study of Concepts, Problems and Options), Journal of Political Issues, College of Political Science - Al-Nahrain University,
Issue (50), October. December 2017, pp. 304-305.

30. Ismail Al-Shatti, The State of Democracy and Human Rights in the Arab World, Arab Future Magazine, Year 39, Issue (448), June 2016, pp. 102-103.

31. Mellah Al-Saeed, The State is a Precondition for Democracy in the Arab World, The Arab Future Magazine, Al-Sunnah (40), Issue (459), May 1, 2017, pp. 105-107.

32. Ahmed Fadel Al-Daoud, Societal Instability in the Arab Countries: An Analytical Study in Independent Causes and Prospects, Journal of Political Issues, Issue (50), October, December 2017, p. 178.

33. Abdullah HasanJabbar, SalimOudahMezan, SalihMeri Al Absi et al., Assessment of anticholinesterase effect of polyvinylpyrrolidone/silver nanocomposite biosynthesized by Pandanusatrocarpus extract, Materials Today: Proceedings, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.matpr.2020.12.582

34. SafwatSadiq Al-Deeb, Lessons of the October War... Building a Unified Strategy for Arab Survival, Journal of International Politics, Issue (218), Volume (54), October 2019, p. 152.

35. Salim Al-Dulaimi, how did ISIS overcome its defeat in Iraq? International Political Journal, Issue (218), Volume (54), October 2019, p. 167.

36. Jamal Al-Dinsaboy, Democracy in the Thought of Muhammad Abdul-Jabri in the Light of Political Values Theory, Al-Mustaqbal Al-Arabi Journal, Al-Sunnah (40), No. (462), August 2017. p. 105.

37. anticholinesterase effect of polyvinylpyrrolidone/silver nanocomposite biosynthesized by Pandanusatrocarpus extract, Materials Today: Proceedings, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.matpr.2020.12.582

38. Abdullah HasanJabbar et al., ECO-FRIENDLY SYNTHESIS OF SILVER NANOPARTICLES AGNPS AND ANTIBACTERIAL ACTIVITY, Turkish Journal of Physiotherapy and Rehabilitation; 32(3), p. 11225-11231

39. Waheed Abdul Majeed, Working Paper (1) Dilemmas of Reconstruction and Future Challenges, Arab Future Magazine, Year 39, Issue (458), April 2017, p. 20.

40. HassaneinTawfiq Ibrahim, Armed Non-State Actors in the Arab World: Current Challenges and Future Prospects, Strategic Studies, Center for Political and Strategic Studies, Al-Ahram, Issue (229), Volume (28), April 2019, p. 32.

41. Abdul-Jabbar Ahmed Abdullah, Iraq between the requirements of geography and the active political components, Journal of Dialogue of Thought, Iraqi Institute for Dialogue of Thought, 2019, p. 27.

42. Rafiq Bin Takta, The Problem of State Modernization in the Arab Mashreq, Reading in Theoretical Literature, Center for Secular Studies and Research in the Arab World, from the Internet http://ssrcaw.org