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## *The Reality of Political Development In the Contemporary Iraqi Society*

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تاريخ القبول: 2011/6/29

تاريخ التقديم: 2011/4/6

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### *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.

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The importance of the subject of political development in this research is to analyze the political situation in modern Iraq and to make some significant contribution to serve the political change in Iraq.

A myriad of reasons accumulate making development programs in third world countries powerless to achieve their intended goals or even the minimal requirements of their devised programs. The most important reasons can be stated as follows:

- Shortsightedness.
- Lack of thoroughly studied plans.
- Lack of resources.
- Lack of political and social stability.
- The existing external challenges.
- Lack of serious care directed towards development itself.

Any combination of any of these stated reasons can lead to negative or abnormal results affecting the development programs.

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

- What do we mean by political development?
- What are the structural bases, 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?

The importance of the subject of political development is pertinent to a society's course and its ability to comprehend its presence based on its past and to achieve the welfare, freedom of thought, and social links of its individuals. Political development is linked to the coordination of the society and its subdivisions, the effectiveness and ability to adjust general behavior, and achieve the general requirements of the course of social development and change without deviating from the values, ethics, standards, and norms.

The research aims at achieving a number of objectives including:

- Explaining the concept of political development in the society.
- Giving a historical brief of the political life in Iraq
- Expounding the stages of political development in the modern Iraqi society.
- Proposing a number of recommendations to stimulate political reform and development programs in the country.

This research is divided into four Sections. Section one contains the Introduction of the research subject and in the second section explained the research's problem, the importance of the research and its objectives. The third Section gives a brief historical background of the political life

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in the Iraqi society and the fourth Section is devoted to elucidating the stages of political development in the 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 raising the political, economic, social, and cultural standards of life among others <sup>[1]</sup>.

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 <sup>[2]</sup>.

The political aspect of development is no less important than the economic one especially in third world 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 third world 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 <sup>[3]</sup>.

There is no agreement among political scientist's and sociologists 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 achieve 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 that generates among them a feeling of guilt and remorse <sup>[4]</sup>.

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

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mind that there is no society capable of solving its problem completely and permanently <sup>[5]</sup>.

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<sup>[6]</sup>.

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 <sup>[7]</sup>.

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 <sup>[8]</sup>.

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

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 -A Historical Outline of the Political Life in the Iraqi Society**

It is beyond dispute that the historical experience of any society is one of the pillars of its political system as the development and modernization processes depend to a large extent on the political society's experience accumulated throughout its history. Thus an insight, though limited, becomes necessary to explain the phenomena of political development especially when history is described as a political analytic tool that ensures some explanation and allows making comparison between the past and the present.

An importance emerges in presenting the political history features since the establishment of Iraq in which its political history started <sup>[10]</sup>. until the occupation by the American forces on April 9<sup>th</sup>, 2003.

In short, although past does not always explain the present, we must remember that without a clear picture concerning the roots of the relationship between the society and the state in Iraq through the years, the research may slip into pitfalls awaiting the researchers who attempt to explain the confusion that exists today toward this relationship <sup>[11]</sup>.

## **1- The Dawn of Iraqi History**

Iraq was the cradle of human civilization and was named Mesopotamia after the land between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, but the region can be broadly defined to include the area that is now eastern Syria, southeastern Turkey, and most of Iraq.

Mesopotamia was the country that witnessed the flood of Noah, the first written words, and the first social and political organization that developed into great empires built by great Iraqi leaders who made the history of this deep-rooted land and witnessed the dawn of human history born with the invention of writing in about five thousand years ago <sup>[12]</sup>.

## ***2 -The Sumerian Ruling Dynasties***

The era termed the dawn of history ends with the establishment of the Sumerian ruling dynasties. This era was called the dawn of the Sumerian ruling dynasties (2850-2400 B. C) with the emergence of political systems known to the specialists in history as the Sumerian City States. In Uruk and probably also in other cities of comparable size, the Sumerians led a civil life that can be more or less reconstructed as following: temples and residential districts, intensive agriculture, stock breeding, fishing, and date palm cultivation forming the four mainstays of the economy; and highly specialized industries carried on by sculptors, seal engravers, smiths, carpenters, shipbuilders, potters, and workers of reeds and textiles. Part of the population was supported with rations

from a central point of distribution, which relieved people from the necessity of providing their basic food themselves, in return for their work for most of the year.

The cities kept up active trade with foreign lands especially the city of Lagash from which we revived the story of The Flood and the Epic of Gilgamesh, that glorifies the King of Uruk I about 2700 B. C.

### ***3- The Acadian Empire***

There are several reasons for taking the date around 2350 as a turning point in the history of Mesopotamia. For the first time, an empire arose on Mesopotamian soil. The driving force of that empire was the Acadians, so called after the city of Akkad, which Sargon chose as his capital. The migration of the Acadians from Arabian Peninsula to Mesopotamia had a great influence on the development of the political system in Iraq because they established the Sumerian city states in addition to a vast empire. Sargon of Akkad (2371 -2316) was one of the greatest political and military leaders who unified the country <sup>[13]</sup>.

### ***4- The Babylonian Civilization***

The second millennium B. C witnessed the emergence of the Babylonian civilization in Mesopotamia. One of the most famous kings of the first Babylonian dynasty was the sixth king in this dynasty, Hammurabi, (1792-1751) B. C who ruled for 42 years. Hammurabi was able to unify and secure Iraq after it had been fractured following the fall of the third

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Ur Dynasty and fallen into fragments into many states invaded by a number foreign forces in some its parts.

Hammurabi established a centralized system in Babylon, achieved a large number of reforms in the countries. Hammurabi is surely the most impressive and by now the best-known figure of the ancient Middle East of the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium B. C He owes his reputation to the great stela into which the Code of Hammurabi was carved and indirectly also to the fact that his dynasty has made the name of Babylon famous for all time.

Babel was ruled by three dynasties after the old Babylonian era. The most famous ruler of the third Babylonian dynasty is the King Nebuchadnezzar I (1124-1103 B. C) who regained the dignity of the government and stopped the Elamites attacks on Iraq coming from Persia after a long period of invasion.

The last Babylonian dynasty that ruled Babylon was the neo-Babylonian Dynasty and the famous of this dynasty was the king Nebuchadnezzar II (604-562B. C) <sup>[14]</sup>.

### ***5- The Assyrian Civilization***

In the second millennium B. C and in the North of Iraq, the Assyrian civilization was born. They took the name Assyrians from the name of their capital Ashur that was located near the city of Mosul. The Assyrian chronology is divided into:

- The Old Assyrian Era (2000-1521) B. C.

- The Middle Assyrian Era (1521-911) B. C.
- The Neo-Assyrian Era (911-612) B. C.

The Assyrian empire gave birth to famous kings who built and developed the country.

One of those prominent kings is Sargon the Assyrian who ascended the throne in (721 B. C). Ashurbanipal, another king of this dynasty was famous for his encounters against Elam and his victory over their capital Susa besides his great architectural achievement and his famous library that included many tablets that covered many subjects concerning administrative and economic issues besides literature and history. <sup>[15]</sup>.

The governing systems in Iraq were characterized by being monarchies dominated by the religious administration system and the rule was transferred by heredity. The ruling system was inclined to appoint centralized administrations assigned the responsibility of building the city and defending off any invaders. The unification of Iraq and the emergence of the state were related to the emergence of the strong influential rulers who enabled the governing of the state with wisdom, courage and justice.

Thus, the phases of civilization and urbanization emergence in Mesopotamia were necessary for the coalescence of the essential social element in Iraq because these phases embody advancement on the level of the production forces or the social forms. The development of cities and urbanization of the society in the ancient times of

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Iraq reflect the level of sophistication and crystallization of the systems of the state and the growth of production systems.

Using the form of writing, however, added to those an essential factor that helped in maintaining the unity of Iraq in the region throughout the Akkadian, Assyrian and Babylonian eras.

When the state was organized according to the centralized system, it united Iraq and remained the dominant system except for periods of unrest and fractioning under foreign invasions <sup>[16]</sup>.

### ***6- The Fall of Ancient Empires and the Rise of Small States***

For twelve centuries of occupation, no large political entity emerged in Iraq except for some small Arabian kingdoms that are similar to the city states expressing the continuity of civilization output even in times of political weakness. Examples of these kingdoms is the Hatra state, Almanethera kingdom in Hera whose famous king was Numan I (400-418 A. D) and Numan bin Al Munthir (580 -602 A. D).

The Manathera state was famous by the battle of Thiqar between Almanethera people and the Sassanieds Persians in which the Arabs were victorious and glorified their victory in poems <sup>[17]</sup>.

## *7- The Dawn of Islam and the Rise of the Islamic State*

In the sixth century A. D, the Arab nations emerged once again with the dawn of Islam; the religion commissioned by Allah to his Messenger Mohammed (peace be upon him) who was born in the Arabian Peninsula and initiated a new civilization rise after ages of political and social disruption while the foreign invaders occupied parts of their homeland.

Iraq lived the peak of its civilization output during the ruling of the Abbasid Caliphate. During this time, intellectual schools emerged in Baghdad, Basra, and Kofa while the intellectual activity expanded based on logic and opinion.

The Islamic state remained under the Abbasid rule for five centuries during which Iraq had become a highly esteemed political, cultural and scientific hub in the world.

However, the Abbasid rule started to weaken and decompose with the emergence of foreign interference as the Boheyon followed by the Seljuk dominated the rule and stripped the caliphate off its power.

The state became weak and fragmented awaiting the Mongols to direct the final stroke and devastate the country in(656 A. H. , 1258 A. D) leaving the Islamic state in ruins and Iraq fell under successive foreign occupation of Mongols, Tatar, Persians, and Ottoman Turks. Iraq remained under

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foreign control for about four centuries characterized by weakness and retardation until the fall of the Ottoman state at the end of WWI when Iraq came under British occupation in 1917 A. D <sup>[18]</sup>.

### ***Third -The Stages of Political Development in Contemporary Iraqi Society***

Giving a clear picture of the concept of political development as much as possible requires at least a brief review of the nature of the political systems that have emerged in our society. The political development process based on the political systems is considered the national structure of the society. It has an exceptional role in changing the infrastructure in the Iraqi society especially in the post-independence stage. Such exceptional roles are required from the governments, leaderships, and political parties during the process of change in the political, economic and social fields. Thus the most important required characteristics of political systems that gained independence in the Iraqi society especially in the post WWI era and the international attempts of these parties to establish the independence and assert-themselves can be defined by three basic points:

- 1- Instability in most nations.
- 2- Fragility of the political systems and lack of integrity.

3- The absence of sensibility in most of these political systems when confronted with the need for making political decisions <sup>[19]</sup>.

Thus, the political aspect was an important element in development in the Iraqi experience launched with the establishment of the Iraqi state in 1921. This aspect was no less important than the social and economical aspects based on the assumption that the aim is to build a new individual who changes the essence of political development from its most fundamental pillars.

The stages of political development in Iraqi history can be divided into the following subsections:

### ***1 - The Monarchy Regime in Iraq (1921-1958)***

When the British occupied Iraq after the defeat and collapse of the Ottoman Empire after the Great War in 1914, and after signing the armistice with the Ottoman government in 1918, the British and French governments issued a joint declaration stating their intention to assist in establishing independent Arab nations in the Arab areas formerly controlled by the Ottoman Empire. In April 1920, the Allied governments confirmed the creation of the British mandate in Iraq and on August 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1921, a plebiscite elected Faisal king of Iraq<sup>[20]</sup>.

King Faisal declared an election to select a national council to be assigned with the duty of drafting a permanent constitution that determines the course of political and social life in Iraq and ratifies the anticipated treaty with Britain. Britain was obliged to offer advice on foreign and domestic

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affairs, such as military, judicial, and financial matters (defined in separate and subsidiary agreements).

The Anglo-Iraqi treaty was declared in 1922 and the basic Iraqi law (organic law) was drafted as a constitutional document on March 21<sup>st</sup>, 1925 with its amendments that determined the nature of the government system under the monarchy <sup>[21]</sup>.

The Organic Law, as the constitution was called, went into effect right after it was signed by the king in March 1925. It provided for a constitutional monarchy, a parliamentary government, and a bicameral legislature. Ten general elections were held before the downfall of the monarchy in 1958. The more than 50 cabinets formed during the same period reflected the instability of the system.

The successors of King Faisal I in the Iraqi monarchy did not exert as much effort as possible to complete the course except for King Ghazi and his successor who went further in his pan-Arab trend which brought upon him the wrath of the Kurds. This was evident by the coup attempt by General Bakr Sidqi, commander of an army division, who staged a surprise attack on Baghdad in cooperation with another military commander and forced the cabinet to resign.

The regent Abulilah who was in accord with the British invoked the society against the military institution. But as for King Faisal II, the people did not have time to find out his inclinations and attitudes <sup>[22]</sup>.

Another important aspect that required attention from the Iraqis in order to achieve a government was the establishing of police force <sup>[23]</sup>. besides establishing an Iraqi army in 1920. A central police force was established headed by a general police inspector in Baghdad with deputies and assistance in various cities <sup>[24]</sup>. and a military Academy was inaugurated in July 1921 and shortly afterwards an officers' academy was established. However, the British Army remained the main military institution of the modern government through its first decade <sup>[25]</sup>.

In this relatively modern governmental phase in the history of Iraq, the judicial system extended its authority to civil, economic and penal issues and its trend was in interest of the unity of the government. These trends were more inclined towards political dimensions when dealing with civil, economic and penal issues including the activities of citizens, newspapers, and active parties. The judicial authority acted as a front for the government as it held the right to issue inspection warrants to inspect houses, arrest individuals, suspend political parties or ban their activities, besides banning newspapers and confiscation of properties of any of the aforementioned. Besides, the judicial system also had the right to reduce sentences or issue pardons after referring the cases to a royal court <sup>[26]</sup>.

It is worth noting here that although the judicial system was claimed to be an independent system secured from the interference of other governmental parties as stated in the constitution, the reality was in fact different because the judicial system was in reality subordinated and subjected to the

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executive authority because of the diffusion of its functions with the latter <sup>[27]</sup>.

During the relatively short-lived monarchy during its 37 years of rule, a large number of ministerial changes took place. However, the ministries remained to function as tools in the hand of the state in order to control the society's revolution that flamed from time to time. The ministries alternated in the government during the monarchy as the parties alternated the ministerial cabinets. The average replacement of ministries depended on the degree of disagreement and the degree of political instability.

The struggle and disagreement among the elite was proportional to the degree of replacement of ministerial positions. The degree of flexibility among political parties reflects an alignment of the elite and opposition was often contained in ministerial positions. Ethnic, racial and religious representation in ministries was still inconsistent with the demographic distribution of these groups <sup>[28]</sup>.

The dominance of the cabinets on the political system was a result of another factor. It was the absence of active organizations leaving the vacant role to the political parties that attempted whenever possible to compensate the weak role of the legislative authority represented by the parliament.

The parties in some countries may play a prominent role by exerting pressure on the government in order to achieve some of their political, social and economic interests and hold the officials in government responsibility for their acts. As for

monarchical Iraq, the parties were incapable of practicing their role except to some degree as noticed in the late 40's and 50's. This role was limited in its influence towards the executive authority or when initiating essential changes in the policies of the political system

During the rule of King Faisal of the relatively modern Iraqi state in 1933, the mechanism of change within the government became clearer as the successive governments in Iraq changed hands peacefully.

The monarchy, defined by the constitution, became an undisputed right in Iraq and the leadership of Iraq became definitely acquired by inheritance. After King Faisal, his only son Ghazi succeeded the throne of Iraq but the period of his rule was short as he ruled no more than six years before he was killed in a car accident <sup>[29]</sup>.

The short period of King Ghazi's ruling was characterized by turbulence and short government and cabinets (six cabinets emerged during the first three year rule of Ghazi and the average life span of the cabinets was six months for each). The fourth year of Ghazi's rule witnessed the well-known attempted coup of Baker Sidqi that was the first military coup in the Arab homeland. The reason behind the coup in the researcher's humble opinion is because of the weak character of the young king and his lack of political experience as he was not prepared to the post. At the time of the death of Ghazi, his son Faisal was at the age of four and thus a position of regent was established and assigned to the King's Uncle, prince Abdulilah <sup>[30]</sup>.

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However, the shape of the ruling system under monarchy was a reflection of the political system in Iraq as shown in the following aspects:

- 1- Although the constitution stated that Iraq was an independent and sovereign state, the independence and sovereignty were both nominal because of the Anglo Iraqi treaty.

The nature of the organic law was a result of intertwined political factors formalized to some extent by the occupying forces especially Britain on one hand and internal forces that found no other method to assure their interests except by manipulating the constitution in a way that ensures for them the maintenance of these private interests on the other hand <sup>[31]</sup>.

The law in fact was an implementation of the mandate, the statements of the higher commissioner, the statement of King Faisal and the 1922 Anglo-Iraqi treaty [32]. .

- 2- The political democratic processes stated by the constitution were not guaranteed beside the lack of support for this process in the organic law was one of its main weak points <sup>[33]</sup>.

The monarchy law emphasized political democracy far from its social aspect making democracy a mean instead of a goal while the goal should have been the welfare of the society <sup>[34]</sup>. Democracy remained during the monarch period in Iraq more nominal than actual especially

as it remained in the hands of rulers influenced by influential groups including feudalists, tribal chieftains and professional politicians that were termed “ the independent ruling class “ <sup>[35]</sup>. . Thus, the monarchy system did not provide for the social and economical rights, besides it did not ensure the political rights stated in the constitution. Therefore, democracy claimed by the system, was nominal and was devoid from its social and political context.

- 3- The imbalance between the authorities in favor of the executive authority determined the status of the political life. However the king was inclined to grasp all the strings of power in his own hands as he was granted by the constitution the rights to assert and verify the decisions of the cabinet meaning that any decision was not excusable unless the king approves <sup>[36]</sup>. .
- 4- Instability was dominant in the monarch system because of the polices adopted by the government against the opposition and resorting to marshal laws was so frequent <sup>[37]</sup>. Marshal laws were declared more than sixteen times during the monarch period <sup>[38]</sup>.
- 5- The wide public opposition that confronted the authority took place when the government was incapable of guarding the independence from foreign interference and intervention although the mandate had been officially terminated. The opposition started in the form of demonstrations but often transformed into armed violence and sometimes the situation escalates into a coup as was witnessed during the Bakir Sidqi movement in 1941. It is

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worth noting that the Arab Ba'ath Socialist party (ABSP) formed a front called the movement in support of Iraq to support this uprising <sup>[39]</sup>.

- 6- The feudal system had become an established fact during the monarchy period. The dominant figures in this period were feudalists, tribal chieftains, and large landowners. These individuals had accumulated great wealth and gained support of the legal and political system leading to further increase in their influence especially in the cabinets, parliament and the ruling class. Thus the monarch system did not find itself committed to providing the social and economic rights of the vast number of farmers and workers straining under the burden of the feudal regime <sup>[40]</sup>.
- 7- The political multiplicity that was claimed in the constitutional context and allowed the participation of parties and oppositions in the parliament regime was nominal and the monarchy system ignored it except when threatened by secret activities of party if they were forced to act in private. The regime in an attempt to bring these activities were forced to allow the establishment of political parties <sup>[41]</sup>. Although the number of political parties was not so large, the monarch government felt their pressure on political life. In reaction and to curb the influence of political parties, the government issued a law banning most of the time or kept the parties under close scrutiny when permitted to perform their activities.

However, the political parties have in fact participated in the political life and established political, economical and social awareness that was one of the reasons behind the fall of the monarch regime <sup>[42]</sup>.

We can briefly describe the Monarch system as being in essence a feudal, tribal, and underdeveloped system. It was dominated by foreign forces either directly or indirectly through rightist forces that seized the rule in the country.

Although nominal democratic aspects existed, the executive authority was dominant and the bureaucracy was largely evident. Thus in the researcher's opinion, the monarch regime followed a predestined path drawn by colonialism and reactionary forces. A large gap was formed between the state and the people. It alienated them from participating in the government and deprived them of any political gains that would have enabled the people to enhance their economic and social status.

There was not any democratic institute capable of expressing the aspirations of the people and no public organizations that are capable of promoting the status of the people. The people themselves were not unified; in fact they were overwhelmed by political and intellectual contradictions between their opinions and the opinions of their governments. These contradictions are reflected on the internal and external levels as follows:-

- On the internal level, people were deprived of the government attention and the basic services in various fields. They, on the other hand, did not cooperate with the

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government by discipline and respect towards the law because of the widened scientific and intellectual gap between the people and the government.

- On the external level, the government was incapable of achieving real independence and sovereignty leaving Iraq bound with unequal agreements and treaties as the Anglo Iraqi treaty while feudal system entrenched itself during the monarchy period leaving the government influenced by feudalists, and tribal chieftains.

Thus the monarchy system did not find itself committed to providing for the social and economical rights of the majority of its people.

All these facts led to the death of independence and deprivation of the masses of expressing their aspirations in advancement and political development.

### ***2 - The Republic (1958-1968)***

On July 14<sup>th</sup>, 1958 the revolutionary forces captured the capital of Baghdad, declared the downfall of the monarchy, and proclaimed the republic <sup>[43]</sup>. Qassim was one of the main leaders of the revolutionary force. He formed a cabinet, under his leadership, and appointed himself commander of the National Forces. He also assumed the portfolio of defense and appointed Arif minister of the interior and deputy commander of the National Forces. A Council of Sovereignty was established composed of three persons including him, to act as head of state.

A provisional constitution was drafted declaring Iraq as an integral part of the Arab nation and that Arabs and Kurds were partners in this homeland. Iraq was declared a republic and Islam the religion of the state. All executive and legislative powers were entrusted to the Sovereignty Council and the Cabinet. It soon became clear, however, that power rested in Qassim's hands, supported by the army.

The downfall of the monarchy and proclamation of the republic was a launching point of revolutionary change that aimed at replacing one dominant social system with another [44].

The reasons behind the revolution stemmed from two main negative aspects of the Monarchy:

- The first negative aspect is exemplified by the external contradiction that put the Iraqi people face to face against the challenges of the British colonialism. The monarch system was merely a curtain veiling the colonial interests and the unequal treaties that were concluded between Iraq and other parties including the Baghdad treaty and the Hashemite Alliance.
- The second negative aspect is exemplified by the internal contradiction that led to the struggle of the laborers, farmers, and the military levels in addition to the middle levels against the monarch forces, the feudal and semi-feudal classes, and the exploiting reactionary groups that exploited the authority in oppressing the people [45].

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The revolution in 1958 attempted to change the political, social and economical structures through the following <sup>[46]</sup>.

A. Eliminating the monarchy system and eliminating all colonial manifestations that were embodied in that system through;

**I.** Terminating all decrees that limited public freedom, freeing all political prisoners, and declaring a purging policy in the governmental and judicial systems.

**II.** Terminating the organic Iraqi law and its amendments and issuing a provisional constitution in July 1958 instead. Building on this constitution, the political institutions were established <sup>[47]</sup>.

**III.** Freezing the activities of Iraq in the Baghdad alliance on June 24<sup>th</sup>, 1959 and completely retreating officially from the alliance on March 24<sup>th</sup>, 1959 while officially declaring the retreat from the Hashemite Alliance on July 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1958.

The Hashemite Alliance was claimed a false alliance that was established as a reaction against the announced unity between Egypt and Syria. Thus, the relations were commenced with the United Arab Republic.

**IV.** The retreat from the sterling area on June 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1959 calling for a national financial policy separated from the colonial interest and its economy <sup>[48]</sup>.

**B. Eliminating the feudal system that was once one of the pillars supporting the monarch system and ending the feudal system that was achieved by <sup>[49]</sup>:**

- Agricultural reforms through the Agricultural Reform Law (No 30/ 1958. )
- Issuing social, economic and political laws appropriate for the republic system.

However the deviation from the claimed principles of the July 14<sup>th</sup> revolution 1958 started to emerge when Chief Abdul Kareem Qassim, prime minister of the political authority, attempted to monopolize the power.

It can be briefly stated that the nature of the government system during the period (1958 -1963) was characterized by the following:

- 1- Qassim's government declared when its revolution succeeded that the aim of the government was not to change the leader but to change the political, economical, and social face of Iraq <sup>[50]</sup>. However, the July 14<sup>th</sup>, 1958 coup started as a revolution but ended as a coup.
- 2- The authority of this government did not receive popularity because it was detached from the classes of the people. It sometimes called for the support of the people carrying mottos like (the people are above all classes) (equality of power) ... etc, but the government did not have a permanent ally from the people and real popular forces. This led the government to resort to a

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number of Machiavelli measures leaving its scars on most governmental activities and a faction emerged dominating the government transforming it into a dictatorship <sup>[51]</sup>.

- 3- Dictatorship was a prominent characteristic during the Qassim regime exemplified by venerating of the person of Qassim putting him in a godly rank. The name and titles were arbitrarily assigned to him to amount to fifty five names and titles including (the only leader, the inspiring leader, the genius ...etc ) <sup>[52]</sup>.

Therefore, the transformational process led by the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party in the rebellion of February 8<sup>th</sup>, 1963 became the reason of the demise of the revolution at the hands Abdulsalam Arif as a reaction on November 18<sup>th</sup>, 1963 to establish a new ruling system that remained until the revolution of July 17<sup>th</sup>, 1968 <sup>[53]</sup>.

The researcher sees that the coup of July 1958 was an important event in the history of modern Iraq as it restored to the people, the self-confidence to achieve important achievements, national agreement and political harmony when the political parties united themselves into a national front that was able to remove the reactionary monarchy system and replacing it with a national republic government and giving the people confidence in its early stage.

However, as soon as the conditions stabilized and the regime gained a foothold in the country, the political unrest and struggles returned and the political parties struggled

bloodily among themselves after the revolution was confiscated from the people and exploited by the amateurs including some of the political parties and extremists thirsty for power.

The conflicts after the revolution had their toll on the people who paid the price in resources and time. They were forced to give up their political, economic, and social dreams that were stated as objectives of the revolution in its first declaration. That does not mean that the rule of this regime was devoid of institutional processes but the political achievements that took place were considered underperformed and did not achieve the peoples hopes.

### ***3 -The Ba'ath Regime (1968-2003)***

When the Arab Ba'ath Socialist party (ABSP) gained control of power in Iraq through the 17<sup>th</sup> of July revolution in 1968, it initiated a process of change and termed it (the bloodless revolution) that was followed on the 30<sup>th</sup> of July in the same year. It was a process of purging the undesired elements claimed to be supportive of the revolution's enemies <sup>[54]</sup>. The revolutionary building stage can be stated as follows:

#### ***First Stage:***

The first stage represents the first five years following the revolution when the revolution struggled on four levels simultaneously:

- a) Building a centralized authority and entrenching the foundations of the new revolutionary status.

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- b) Struggling against the forces opposing the revolution and imperialist powers and their internal influence.
- c) Removing the passive atmosphere diffused among the progressive powers and creating a new atmosphere of relationships in a cooperative national framework.
- d) Serious and practical attempts to stop bloodshed and material exhaustion in the region of Kurdistan as it was a threat to national unity and the peaceful and democratic solution of the Kurdish issue <sup>[55]</sup>.

### ***Second Stage:***

Although it can be considered an extension of the first stage, its starting date was in 1972, the year of a historical achievement when nationalization of the oil was declared and the oil industry was freed from the control of the monopolistic companies <sup>[56]</sup>.

### ***Third Stage:***

The third stage started after (The Regional Conference of the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party) held in 1974 which was considered a period of stabilization from the revolution point of view and laying the basic institutional foundations. The party worked on all levels to enhance the political and economic stability and strengthen the autonomy and the collective work of the national front and building an army of an ideology.

It succeeded in achieving a number of socialist changes in various economic, social and cultural fields including:

- Free education at all educational levels
- Compulsory education at the elementary stages
- Initiating a great national campaign to counter illiteracy by compulsory enrollment of illiterate adults
- Raising the standard of living <sup>[57]</sup>.

### ***Fourth Stage:***

The fourth stage can be dated from the period after President Saddam Hussein ascended to the rank of presidency of the party and the state in 1979. This stage was characterized by the maturity of the democratic process by establishing National Council elections (The parliament) and rising to a higher level of democratic practice through economic and administration revolution. Despite the exceptional conditions that affected the country during the Iraqi-Iranian war (September 4<sup>th</sup>, 1980 - August 8<sup>th</sup>, 1988) that exhausted the national economy, the general trend remained on its course although some tasks were more affected than others either by slowing down or were completely halted.

### ***Fifth Stage:***

The fifth stage starts following the war era until the occupation of Baghdad by the USA forces on April 9<sup>th</sup>, 2003 a stage characterized by:

- Paving the way for a transformation from the provisional revolutionary stage to the democratic stage.

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- Stabilizing the political institutions and preparing the permanent constitution, law of political parties, and law of freedom of press...etc <sup>[58]</sup>. (144).

However, the Ba'ath experience in Iraq was an important one at the level of public democracy, not only at country level only, but also in the Arab homeland <sup>[59]</sup>.

The most important implications of the political development in Iraq were the publicity and entrenchment of people's democracy practice that became visible after the revolution and the democratic values and practices that were linked to the aim at achieving freedom which was considered a pivotal and strategic aim of the Ba'ath party and it was reflected in the 17<sup>th</sup> of July party's experience <sup>[60]</sup>.

The practical facets of democratic practice that found their way into implementation since the first day of the revolution passed through the following periods:

### **The First Period (1974 –1982), the Period between the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> Regional Conferences of the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party**

The 8<sup>th</sup> conference of the party produced the following agenda of tasks moving towards democratic transformation

- 1- The establishment of the National Council.
- 2- Completing the requirement of establishing the People's Council.
- 3- Establishing a permanent constitution for the country.

4- Extending the opportunities of national press and encouraging discussions concerning basic issues.

5- Supporting the intellectual and cultural activity by supporting the democratic components. However, these tasks weren't fully achieved as the party aspired in its 8<sup>th</sup> conference for the following reasons:

- 1- Explosion of unrest in the northern region of Iraq after the declaration of autonomy in the region on March 11<sup>th</sup>, 1974.
- 2- Passive relationships with the Iraqi communist party.
- 3- Inflamed conditions in the Arab world that occupied the authority starting with the ethnic war in Lebanon in 1975, the visit of Sadat to Jerusalem in 1977, and the signing of the Camp David agreement in 1978.

Although the authority in Iraq was preoccupied with these issues, the authority was able to establish a democratic progress by:

- Establishing the national and people's councils in 1980.
- Enhancing the role of journalism.
- Increasing the number of autocratic institutions including the legislative and the executive councils <sup>[61]</sup>.

### **The Second Period (1982 -1991), the Period between the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> Regional Conferences of the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party**

In this stage the party was able to achieve the following objectives:-

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- 1- Maintaining the National Council year after year despite the war with Iran and the gulf war against Iraq in 1991 and the economic sanctions imposed upon her.
- 2- Supporting the role of public organizations and labor unions and the leading positions in these organizations became open to everyone by elections.
- 3- Establishing a permanent constitution.
- 4- Preparing the law of political parties and announcing it in the media and putting it in force.
- 5- Preparing a law for journalist's freedom and free speech.
- 6- Encouraging peacefully recognized dialogues and discussions among public organizations to underline the urgent issues in the society and addressing them for discussion and criticism [62].

### **The Third period (1991 -1999) with its most important implications as follows:**

- 1- Party elections promoted in local media especially during the expansion of party's organizations.
- 2- The plebiscite called (Al zahf Al kabeer) the day of Great March on 15/10/1995 which was considered a democratic national poll by people.
- 3- The focused dialogue between the party leadership and the military officials, the educated people, and historians...etc.

- 4- Openness with the people concerning all events.
- 5- Establishing the principle of multiplicity for parties by ratifying the law of parties<sup>[63]</sup>.

Thus, the revolution of 17<sup>th</sup> of July, 1968 followed a course of democracy and political development in Iraq through various paths including the support of public and vocational organization programs while providing a suitable atmosphere for these organizations to enable them to express themselves, their role in the public framework, and experience as well.

Based on the above, the republic revolutionary system of the 1968 revolution can be distinguished from other political systems by the following:-

**A- Revolutionary Regime**

**B- Popular Democratic Regime:**

**C- Socialists Regime:**

**D- Unifying Regime:**

However, although the Ba'ath party was able to establish some new institutions and structures, it was not able to make these institutions more specialized in independence in their functions because of the traditional role they adopted. Thus, although the government succeeded in building structural institutions, it failed in making them functional ones and the institution became merely legal and official structures lacking the functions they were built for in the first place and they did not fulfill their objectives.

The facts on the ground showed that the authority itself has sought to prevent the fulfillment of all these rights of the

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Iraqi people while implementing domination and banning political activities of any party besides any economic or political activities that are not consistent with the interest of the ruling government claiming that those activities are against the interest of the people.

Thus, when we consider the history of the Ba'ath rule we find that although a number of achievements were evident, there were periods when the rights of citizens were violated leading to a departure of large groups of the Iraqi people from each other because of the destructive policies that impoverished and exhausted the people and the catastrophic wars it had forced them to fight.

These facts led to the crush of citizens and their rights, and fractured the fabric between individuals especially the previously coexisting nationalities because of the government's practices. A number of subjective and objective factors accumulated either regionally or internationally with the aim of overthrowing the leading party of the 17<sup>th</sup> of July revolution. The overthrow took place on April 9<sup>th</sup>, 2003 on the hands the USA occupation forces.

### ***4- The Stage following the fall of the Ba'ath Regime (The Period of American Occupation of Iraq 2003)***

Kuwait was invaded by the Iraqi force during the reign of the Ba'ath party and the repercussions after the retreat under the international pressure followed the formation of coalition of countries led by the U. S. A which was called the coalition

forces. The regime was subject to a setback that opened a vent for The Iraqis to express feelings of rejection towards the regime.

The events escalated in the form of a popular uprising in March 1991 and spread to most of the Iraqi cities <sup>[64]</sup> in both south and north initiating an opportunity that led to the fall of the regime a number of years later at the hands of the coalition led by the U. S. A.

The coalition forces entered Iraq on April 9<sup>th</sup>, 2003 leaving Iraq since that date in a constitutional vacuum and devoid of public governmental authority.

Jay Garner, an American general was appointed to the Administration of Iraq but was later replaced by Paul Bremer as a civil governor of Iraq. Bremer issued a number of decisions to facilitate the task of his administration in Iraq after the fall of Saddam Hussien

The U. S. -led coalition established the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), headed by U. S. administrator L. Paul Bremer III. The CPA selected a 25-member Iraqi governing council, with seats distributed among the country's different religious and ethnic groups as well as existing political organizations.

The government council was established to form a the interim government consisting of nine members each member was to head the authority for one month in alphabetical order but none of his appointed members was able to do much for two reasons:

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- They had no authority because the civil governor was the real person in charge of the Iraqi affairs.
- The members were appointed for a specific limited term for heading the governing council.

During this period an interim constitution was issued for the provisional period in March 2004. Although some of the members of the government council regarded it with caution and showed reservation towards acknowledging it the law was passed to be implemented on 30/6/ 2004 the date appointed for ending the task of the civil governor Bremer In Iraq <sup>[65]</sup>.

Soon it was agreed upon appointing a president for the Republic of Iraq but the Iraqi Interim Government was not very effective. Thus, a cabinet including ministers from various currents in Iraq were formed. However, the insecurity and uncontrolled actions of sabotage that were inflicted on most of the institutions and facilities in Iraq, the ministries were incapable of achieving much for the people. The ministries of defense and internal affairs were incapable of forming an efficient security system that can confront the issues of insecurity.

The government under the interim constitution was unable to solve a myriad of issues during the provisional period without neglecting the fact the term appointed for the interim government was a short period between (30/6/ 2004 and 31/11/2005) which is a short period compared to the huge tasks overburdening the interim government because of the heavy legacy leftover from the previous regime <sup>[66]</sup>. However

the interim constitution agreed upon in March 2004, also known as the transitional administrative law was one of the best Iraqi constitutions because all the components of the Iraqi people participated in drafting, formalizing and ratifying it without any foreign intervention.

The principle of separation of authorities called upon by the constitution prevented the concentration of power either in an individual or in a body or groups as the executive authority became responsible for its activity by reporting to the legislative authority. The constitution states that the army is to be under the civil authority and serve the people of Iraq and to defend their freedom and dignity by assisting in building a civil society appropriate for the people of Iraq and defending its human rights and freedom either through the constitution itself or the charters and other international documents <sup>[67]</sup>.

It can be concluded here that the interim constitution has adopted a positive attitude towards the rights of the Iraqi nationalities in general from a legal and practical point of view by:

- Emphasizing the political, cultural and administrative rights of all nationalities including the Kurds, Turkmen, and Assyrian, Chaldeans and other ethnicities and minorities by giving them the right of education in their mother tongue.
- Ensuring just representation of these nationalities in the political authority and the parliament.

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- Addressing the national rights of the Kurdistan people through the recognition of the region of Kurdistan and its people.
- Establishing local authorities.
- Declaring the Region of Kurdistan a member in the Iraqi federal system and assigning it a role in drafting the permanent constitution.

It was agreed after consulting all the prominent and honest experienced persons representing all the sectors in the society that the interim government is to receive the sovereign rule of Iraq at a final date on (June 30<sup>th</sup> 2004).

The task of the Interim government was to carry out the administration of Iraq with the aim of achieving the welfare for the people and their security to encourage them to participate in the process of the rebuilding of Iraq and political development. The interim government was assigned the duty to prepare for the election that was anticipated on after December 31<sup>st</sup>, 2004. The interim government was not authorized to conduct any act that affects the destiny of the country after the appointed period, leaving the decisions for such activities to the coming government<sup>[68]</sup>.

On January 30<sup>th</sup>, 2005, despite the ongoing violence, general elections were successfully held for Iraq's new 275-member Transitional National Assembly. United Iraqi Alliance, led with some 48% of the vote. The Democratic Patriotic Alliance of Kurdistan was in second place with some

26% of the vote. Prime Minister Ayad Allawi's party, the Iraqi List, came third with some 14%. In total, twelve parties received enough votes to win a seat in the assembly. Parties in the middle and west of Iraq boycotted the elections for special reasons, a phenomenon that is considered politically healthy because these groups weren't convinced in participation. Iraqis from around the world were allowed to vote in absentia <sup>[69]</sup>.

Stemming from the results of the elections, a parliament was elected and a permanent constitution was ratified in 2005 after the general plebiscite on January 15<sup>th</sup>, 2005. The permanent constitution as the interim constitution before it was considered the best formalized Iraqi constitution because all the components of the Iraqi people participated in its drafting, formalizing and ratifying through the general plebiscite as stated above.

The constitution holds within its articles promising aspirations for the Iraqi people according to political, legal, cultural and economic assurance to rebuild the Iraqi state based on real citizenship and democracy and by achieving equality among the people and solving the national issues especially the Kurdistan people's issue <sup>[70]</sup>.

The preamble of the constitution assures the change of the methods of the former regime and entering a new age by mobilizing the broad Iraqi spectrum and allowing people to freely choose their unification.

The constitution was based on high values and was derived from the religions and human civilization stating that

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the commitment to the constitution reserves the unity of Iraq, its people, and its sovereignty<sup>[71]</sup>.

These values are important in making the necessary change possible especially in order to meet the national and a public demand that cannot be neglected. Thus the following steps in formalizing a national unity government, implementing the articles, insuring human rights and overcoming the mistakes of the past, all will determine the degree of integration in the Iraqi society.

Based on the above it is safe to say that Iraq has witnessed a number of important transformations accompanying the political change that took place in the country during this period under the occupation of the American forces. Iraq witnessed three interim stages since the overthrow of the Ba'ath regime and until 2005 and the following period until 2009. These three stages can be considered an example of rebuilding the Iraqi state and society on new foundations based on the great achievements that gradually participated in building a civil state based on citizenship and democracy. The most prominent achievements during these stages are as follows:-

- An Iraqi provisional Government called the Government Council was declared on 13/7/2003.
- The Interim constitution was formalized by the government council and issued for the interim period in March 2004.
- The constitution was implemented on June 30, 2004.

- Appointing an interim government in June 2004.
- Electing a parliament in 2005.
- A permanent constitution was ratified in 2005 <sup>[72]</sup>.

Following this period, a new reality emerged and expressed the determination of the Iraqi people towards national freedom and building a society of freedom, justice and equality after the hard and dark periods filled by oppression under former tyrannies ended and a new era of struggle began. But this time a struggle to establish the pillars of democracy in the Iraqi society has begun. In this period the Iraqi society started to witness the establishment of some democratic institutions, a parliament, an elected government, as well as an independent judicial system and witnessed the emergence of dozens of public and vocational; institutions, associations, unions and societies in addition to scientific, social and political study centers followed by a federal democratic federation for the Kurdistan people expressing its will for voluntary coexistence in a unified Iraq.

It was natural amidst these positive changes that the Iraqi society seeks for itself a distinguished status outside the political frameworks qualified to participate in the battle for entrenching democracy in the essence and minds of both the political authority and the categories of the society <sup>[73]</sup>. Thus citizenship is an indispensable condition in the dawn of change when dealing with the current issues of instability in Iraq. Although stability is achievable in Iraq, it requires dramatic changes in the deep-rooted political, social, economic and cultural traditions inherited from the legacy of decades of subordination and dictatorship <sup>[74]</sup>.

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This legacy has left the Iraqi citizen stripped off the basics requirements for expressing free opinion and ideology at least on the official level. Thus the process of change requires an accumulative building of strategies for democratic citizenship in order to restore to the Iraqi citizen his independent free personality.

Hence, the anticipated and the aspired steps in formalizing a national united government that could implement the constitutional articles, insure human rights and overcome the mistakes of the past, all will determine the degree of integration in the Iraqi society [75]. .

We conclude that the Iraqi citizen is in a pressing need for a general Iraqi Identity as he has suffered and still from a conflict between his sense of belonging to his homeland and his affiliation to the traditional values and quasi narrow loyalties because the Iraqi governments in the past did not recognize the right of groups in determining their identities properly. Therefore, the next step implies the components of success and sustenance because the government has emerged from the people and the system has moved from a republic revolutionary system into a republic federal system in accord with the nature of the Iraqi people and a solution for its issues. Finally, the components of success required for political development are:

- To allow the broad spectrum on the Iraqi people to participate in the political process
- Distribution of government positions equally.
- Determine real mechanisms based on competence and justice.
- Build, develop and increase the government institutions.
- Encourage Openness towards all society groups based on citizenship and democratic orientation for building a State of Law without favoring one group over another.

These are the requirements of political development; in fact these are the requirements for all the groups in the Iraqi society calling for a developed flourishing society in all social, economic, cultural and political fields that were our main focus here.

#### ***Fourth -Conclusions and Recommendations:***

##### ***1. Conclusions.***

By analyzing the Iraqi political status we come to a number of conclusions and recommendations as follows:

- 1- **The concept of political development was known since ancient times in Iraq.**

The historical ages since the emergence of the empire state in Mesopotamia represented by the Acadian state of Sargon, state of Hammurabi, and the empire of

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Nebuchadnezzar, are considered stages of evolution in civilization and urbanization. The historical urbanization and civilization processes were necessary in unifying the most essential elements of the Iraqi society in those periods. They embody periods of advancement on the levels of production forces or social forms.

- 2- **The British mandate attempted to build western copies of democracy in Iraq but the monarchs favored their self-interest making democracy a deformed experience.**

The establishment of the Iraqi state in 1921 and drafting the first constitution for the country in a form of an organic law was a starting point for a whole legal system that shows strong and sound rules.

The political system inherited by Iraq from the mandate enjoys some sort of parliament type of democratic rule that is quite similar to the western democratic system. This system could have developed to become someday a true parliament system but we find that the ruling elite has drowned the system prematurely in dictatorship interests without paying consideration to the political game which was exploited in many shapes by the ruling elite for their own interest making a democratic experience in Iraq an abnormal deformed copy of the original parliament democracy.

- 3- **During the reign of King Faisal, popular participation in the political process was hindered because of the gaps between the active forces on the ground.**

Although King Faisal's government was not originally Iraqi because his origin was from Hijaz, the government was subordinate to the British colonialisms because the establishment of the monarchy was the first step in the establishment of a national regime by the British after WWI. Britain ruled Iraq during the mandate period and built constitutional institutions under a bureaucratic system inherited from the colonial era.

- 4- **Ethnic, religious, and political subordination towards foreign powers beyond the borders was at the expense of the local society. It resulted in the flotation of the identity of Iraq and confiscation of its tenor**

The modern Iraqi state lacked the project of deep structural nationalist modern state -No consideration was paid to the resurrection of the Iraqi identity according to the modern reality as was the case during the establishment of the modern Iraqi state in 1921. On the contrary the modern state tended to take catastrophic decisions exemplified as follows:-

- Promoting radical nationalist and sectarian groups.
- Ignoring the rights and specialties from the political values.

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- Negative social acts which led to ethnic, religious, and political subordination towards foreign powers beyond the borders

These decisions were inflicted on the local society and the national identity and its basic components resulting in the flotation of the identity of Iraq and confiscation of its specialty and its resources.

- 5- The 14<sup>th</sup> of July revolution 1958 didn't achieve its potentials in establishing the aspired political institutions although it overcame some of the previous negatives of the monarchy system by overthrowing it and replacing it with a republic.**

Although the 14<sup>th</sup> of July revolution in 1958 was founded on the ruins of the monarchy to become a republic regime, the regime didn't express the aims of the revolution, its essence, and principles as was expected. However, the regime was able to change the monarchy into a republic and was received with applause at the beginning but it failed in determining democratic constitutional institutions that enable the people to state their opinions in total freedom, participate in the government, and define the extent of authority among their leaders. Besides, the vital issues were left unresolved especially those related to the rights and freedoms of citizens and securing these rights in the constitution which left the dealing with such issues to the desires and whims of politicians.

- 6- The Ba'ath party was able to initiate and maintain a substantial development and to establish some new political institutions, but was not able to make these institutions more specialized and independent in their functions because of the traditional role adopted by the party.**

Although the ruling regime under the Ba'ath party was able to initiate a substantial development at the Iraqi social level and was able to establish some new institutions and structures, it was not able to make these institutions more specialized and independent in their functions because of the traditional role they adopted. Thus the government succeeded in building structural institutions but failed in making them functional ones.

- 7- The racial, religious, ethnic, tribal ...etc loyalties negative impact on the maturity of the identity of Iraqi citizens and thus the project of Iraqi modern state.**

There is a common fear of belonging to the Iraqi Identity among a large number of individuals. If we attempt to gain an insight into this problem we find that the Iraqi society is characterized by multiple ethnic, religious, and sectarian trends leading to a negative influence of the maturity of the project of the Iraqi citizen's identity. Therefore these trends negatively impacted the project of a modern state for all. Thus, the society itself bears part of the responsibility of the complication of the issue but the largest responsibility falls on the state. The state

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during the course of eight decades didn't make the Iraqi national identity a cofactor that assists in amalgamating the citizens' various affinities and loyalties to raise them to a level of citizenship.

- 8- Marginalization was a general trend in the successive political authorities that had access to power towards all other elements in the Iraqi society.**

Since the establishment of the modern state of Iraq eighty-two years ago alienation and marginalization were the dominant characteristics.

- 9- Since its establishment, the state in modern Iraq was linked with the ruling authority making both vulnerable as the fall of one means the fall of the other.**

Since the establishment of the modern Iraqi state, the state was fused with the ruling authority which led to the absence of the state which was completely cast in the mold of authority leading to its fall with all its institutions with the fall of the authority. Thus, no modern state with deep-rooted constitutional systems and public institutions embodied by the society ever emerged in Iraq.

- 10- The short period of occupation resulted in dramatic changes in the political structure on the Iraqi political arena manifested by the relative agreements between**

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**the political fractions and parties in the Iraqi society in a modern political process.**

Although, the period following the overthrow of the Ba'athist regime and the occupation of Iraq by the U. S. A forces was relatively short, it resulted in dramatic changes in the political structure of the Iraqi political arena. This is manifested by the agreement, although relative, between the political factions and parties within the Iraqi people to seek a political development course and a political process to overcome the disadvantages inflicted upon them all in the previous ages that were characterized by the absence of the nationalistic identity. The course to be followed is adopting peaceful measures in accessing the government and political measures in dealing with the occupation.

## ***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 emphasis on the following:
  - Putting the interest of the homeland and people first of all.
  - Acknowledging the amendments in the constitution when performed
  - Serious dialogue and transparency in order to reach a general agreement on the constitutional

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terms that should agree with the intents and desires of the Iraqi people.

- Create the conditions required for stability and development in order to face the destiny challenges confronting Iraq.
- 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 because political practices must be wisely used and must pay consideration to the principles of democratic foundation.
  - Casting away the traditional legitimacy that was dominant in the political practices in our country and were based on old references including tribes, clans, and sectarian groups and replacing them with policies of dialogue that could overcome the intellectual subordination that dominates the current political speech until the political values arise to objective levels and gain the required characteristics.
- 3- The concept of political participation should be extended in order to include all the political ends and their activities and enable all to contribute to the political life asserted by the constitutionally declared right of multiplicity.
- 4- The executive authority must be under supervision that could only be achieved within democratic context in order

to ensure quality and honesty in the governmental performance. This will pave the way for implementing developmental programs and give the people hope for enhancing their living standards.

- 5- In order to provide the elements of success required for any real political development the political authority should be based on honest foundations through free elections that express peoples' free will.
- 6- Independence of the judicial system in practice and its self-commitment for maintaining independence for its members from affiliation to any political party besides the independence of military and security forces as they should be national and loyal only to the society and not institutions with predetermined loyalties to one party or group.
- 7- Freedom of the press and media should be ensured as they aid in serving the society and presenting the public opinion while expressing its attitude and guarding the journalists and creative personals. Legal assurance must be made for the press in order to fulfill its responsibility towards the society because freedom of thought and expression based on constitutional legitimacy is a main pillar of any political or social development.
- 8- Politicians must commit themselves to the rational and logical statements in the political process as this commitment is potential for a dramatic change of the existing reality and recognizing the factors affecting its development. Rationality and logic require good

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estimation of the political capabilities in action and change adding flexibility to the politician when dealing with political matters and aid helping him to adopt the course of transformation.

- 9- Bearing the responsibility of the political work by the youth generation is a main condition to rejuvenating the youths of the country. To overcome the despair that was manifested when some resort to sabotaging both private and public property. New projects should be adopted directed towards youths based on political development, learning from the mistakes and flaws of the past, and making new initiatives that have a sense of reality and ability to plan for the present and the future.
- 10- Overcoming the negative impacts what resulted from the occupation forces and regional interference in the post occupation era and eliminating all forms of political and economic subordination. This will facilitate the way for the representatives of the Iraqi people to build a democratic system that has a national determination to express the will of the Iraqi people.
- 11- It is necessary to maintain the role of the civil society institutions in supporting and enhancing the democratic development in the society with partnership with the authority. The civil society should apply its influence through the proper channels that communicate with the people in order to turn the wheel of policy towards equality and stimulate participation in the political

decision-making while taking the responsibility to move forward.

- 12- Interpreting the contemporary situation in Iraq in a new logical way, keeping in mind optimistic thoughts and casting the pessimistic type of thoughts concerning the future

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## واقعية التطور السياسي في المجتمع العراقي المعاصر

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### الملخص

إن المسألة الأساسية التي يسعى اليها الباحث هي فهم أفضل للمجتمع وحركته من خلال بحث واقع التنمية السياسية للمجتمع العراقي المعاصر للتعرف على عوامل المسببة لتماسكه و تفككه، ووصولاً الى اقتراح صيغ يتم فيها الانسجام بين حركات المجتمع و فعل الدولة ، و ذلك لخلق وسط اجتماعي متجانس يسير نحو أهدافه الأساسية دون ان تكون لذلك آثار سلبية على أفرادها من خلال إيجاد آليات قادرة على ضبط حركة المجتمع ، و تتاغم مسيرة التغيير و التطور و التحديث بما يمكن انساق المجتمع الفرعية من استيعاب هذه التغييرات.

و من هذه التغييرات و المنطلقات تبدو أهمية الموضوع الذي نقدمه اليوم بين أيدي المختصين في مجال علم الاجتماع السياسي ، لتكُون إسهاماً في معالجة موضوع باتت يشغل كثيراً من المفكرين و الباحثين و الأنظمة السياسية في الوقت الحاضر ، ألا و هو موضوع التنمية السياسية ، و بما يخدم حركة التحول الديمقراطي في العراق