A PATHOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM AND GOVERNANCE IN IRAG

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ABSTRACT

Objective: The main purpose of this study is to show that the higher the level of per capita income, gross domestic product and equitable distribution of services, government projects and nation-building in Iraq, the greater the durability and consistency of elected democracy in Iraq, and these are interrelated. Lack of attention to good governance will affect the future of power relations in Iraq. **Methods**: Research method is descriptive and analytical. Although. Main question of this research is that in spite of topple of sad dam Hussein and creation of new state in Iraq and its constitution, why there are several and wide instabilities in this country and access to relative security and national government is theirs most concern important. **Results**: Findings of research show that process of state-building and nation –building, promotion of political idea and good sovereignty in Iraq has faced many difficulties and to establishment of security in Iraq we have long way. **Conclusion**: The scientific novelty of the research is that reading this research, the future of power relations in Iraq, the conditions of good governance and nation building will be clarified.

Keywords: Raison Detre; State Idea; Geopolitical Necessity; Turkey; Sovereignty

UM ESTUDO PATOLOGICO DO SISTEMA POLITICO E GOVERNANÇE A NO IRAQUE

RESUMO

Objetivo: O principal objetivo deste estudo é mostrar que quanto maior o nível de renda per capita, produto interno bruto e distribuição equitativa de serviços, projetos governamentais e construção da nação no Iraque, maior a durabilidade e consistência da democracia eleita no Iraque. , e estes estão inter-relacionados. A falta de atenção à boa governança afetará o futuro das relações de poder no Iraque. **Métodos**: O método de pesquisa é descritivo e analítico. Embora. A questão principal desta pesquisa é que apesar da queda da triste barragem Hussein e da criação do novo estado no Iraque e sua constituição, por que existem várias e amplas instabilidades neste país e o acesso à segurança relativa e ao governo nacional é sua maior preocupação. **Resultados**: Os resultados da pesquisa mostram que o processo de construção do Estado e da nação, promoção da ideia política e boa soberania no Iraque enfrentou muitas dificuldades e para o estabelecimento da segurança no Iraque temos um longo caminho. **Conclusão**: A novidade científica da pesquisa é que lendo esta pesquisa, o futuro das relações de poder no Iraque, as condições de boa governança e construção da nação serão esclarecidos.

Palavras-chave: Raison Detre; Ideia de Estado; Necessidade Geopolítica; Peru; Soberania

1 INTRODUCTION

Participation, rule of law, transparency, accountability, pivotal consensus, legal equality, efficiency and effectiveness, territorial justice, pivotal justice, economic and political security, independence and self-sufficiency and maintaining territorial integrity and equitable distribution of wealth and power are among the components of good governance. Ignorance of these components puts the political system in a deadlock.

The essential and unchangeable goal of any nation-state is national survival, which is itself a threat. The intensity of threats that target a government inside and outside its territorial space, as well as external threats, is affected by the number of neighbors. The emergence of Middle Eastern countries is one of the factors contributing to the instability of governments and political systems in the Middle East, especially Iran. The emergence of these governments has rendered them politically immature and dependent on regional and trans-regional powers. In terms of linguistic, ethnic and religious composition, most of the nation-states in the region are heterogeneous. Most of these states are faced with powerful centrifugal forces and relatively strong regionalism. The linguistic, ethnic, and religious mosaics of these countries give rise to long-standing and profound cultural challenges, and ultimately to the instability of their

countries and their political systems. Conflicts of interest and cultural resources of most countries in the region have developed potential and ongoing sources of contention and tension. The three main areas of presence of foreign powers in the Persian Gulf and the Middle East are oil and gas, geostrategic characteristics, and some religious, linguistic, and cultural interests. On the one hand, the multiplicity of geopolitical views diminishes institutionalized regional understanding and cooperation. On the other hand, the spatial overlap of these views has increased tensions throughout the region (Karimipour, 2000: 24-27). The Middle East, especially Iraq and Syria, has experienced widespread violence and chaos. Six years after the Arab Spring event, more than half a million people lost their lives, millions were injured and about 15 million inevitably left their homes. In addition, cities and areas of critical importance have been destroyed. Issue of Kurd is one of important problems of Iraq, Syria and turkey. After World War II, the Kurdish uprising was repeated many times. There were occasional negotiations; however, the results did not work out. Demand for Kurds has been almost the same in all cases, focusing on the following:

-Autonomy.

-Using the Kurdish language as a common official language.

-The right to participate in central government through representation.

-Employment of Kurds as government agents throughout the Kurdish regions.

-Having a share of the proceeds of oil, gas and other natural resources (Karimipour, 2000: 27-28).

At various times, the policy of the Iraqi and Turkish governments against the Kurdish struggle was military repression. The main issue of this research was investigating the beginning and expansion of the Turkish government's violent confrontations with the Kurds, the intensification of the expansion of the Turkish and Iraqi governments' conflicts over the Kurdish question and its effects on the national and regional security of these countries and Iran.

The forces and factors affecting the survival of an independent state or country can be studied in two models. The first model is based on exogenous and endogenous factors and the second one is based on super-structural and sub-structural factors. In the first model, factors such as colonization, external threats and the presence of regional and global powers are exogenous. On the other hand, factors such as common history, territorial unity, common culture, religion, language, ethnicity, race, nationalism, etc. are endogenous. In the second model, factors such as status, territorial unity, common culture, history, language, religion, ethnicity, and race are

fundamental. On the other hand, factors such as nationalism, the political structure of space, external threats, colonization, political ideology, national symbols, central government power, communication structure, power competition, etc. are superseded. Thus, in the second model, as superstructures, signs and symbols can play a fundamental role in the process of nation-building and the survival of the nation. By the way, the ruling elites often use them to motivate and mobilize the nation. With rising unemployment, inflation, and the deficit of the state apparatus, it can be said that instability in the dysfunctional economic structure has penetrated the political structure, and gradually political instability can confront the Iraqi political structure with challenges and crises in the future. Corruption, government inefficiency, bribery, and rising political and security instability indicate chronic instability that, if such policies continue, would lead to serious changes in government and possibly political disintegration and regionalism in the country. Main question of this research is what are the most important sources of threat and instabilities between Turkey, Iraq, and Syria. In other words, what are the main causes of lack of nation building and state building in Iraq and tensions between Syria, Turkey, and Iraq? To answer this question, first, the basic concepts of research for approximating the semantic horizon were examined. Then, these countries' relations were analyzed at the intermediate (i.e. regional) and micro (i.e., bilateral) levels. Finally, the prospect of future relations was drawn. The research method was descriptive-analytical and documentary using library and internet resources. Good governance and the transfer of some authority to the people in the formation of a united, centralized Iraq and the avoidance of escalation of civil strife and religious and ethnic wars can be beneficial and acceptable.

1.1 Theoretical foundations of the research
Good governance and its indicators

The term good governance has not been used as such in the past, but in the context of the ideas of Islam and ancient Greece and beyond, signs of good governance can be found in terms such as good governance and justice. For example, we can refer to Aristotle's division of good and bad government based on the criterion of attention to public interests and individual and group interests. This term has different definitions. According to the World Bank, good governance is the optimal use of resources for economic and social development. Mills defines the term as the use of political power, the exercise of control over society, and the management of resources for social and economic development. This definition has limited application and has not considered the relationship between government and citizen and the political, cultural and cultural

dimensions of governance. Charlik defines this term as: The efficient management of public affairs by establishing a government and legitimate rules in order to promote the social values of individuals and groups (Sardarnia, 2018: 135) Governance refers to decision-making dynamics, how power is exercised, and how government and citizens interact. Governance is fundamentally about the exercise of power, interaction and accountability, and is related to important questions such as: how decisions are made, who or who decides, how government-citizens interact, and these questions can be At the national, regional, national, global and institutional levels(Plumptre, 1999: 3).

Guiding and managing society properly and efficiently within the framework of the rule of law is a rational and fair decision with accountability, responsibility and public participation. Important indicators of good governance can be listed as follows:

Legitimacy of the government means the public acceptance of the government and rulers by the people based on criteria such as the legitimacy of the rulers and their decisions, gaining the consent of the people and the efficiency of the government. Accountability of the government, citizens and civil society for their decisions and behaviors. Effective management of society in political, cultural, economic and social dimensions, free flow of information and transparency in decisions (Johnson and Minis, 2000: 2).

Free and equal participation of all political, social and civic groups, rule of law and equality before the law, rational and correct control and control of the state over society and society over the state, reduction of discrimination and corruption in various dimensions, neutrality of government and segregation Forces, independent and committed media (Sardarnia, 2018: 136).

In this model, the element of positive and negative feedback ensures the continuation of government interaction with civil society and social capital. Negative feedback leads to informing the system of its challenges and mistakes. By correcting mistakes, making wrong decisions and gradually eliminating challenges, the system becomes empowered. Positive feedback on good governance and its outcomes increase legitimacy, public satisfaction and trust in the political system (Sardarnia, 2018: 139)

creation of a country with an establishment boundaries and concentration of power in the capital of a country and sovereignty request elements such as territory, nation, political system and organized economy and regular communication network.one country in order to survive need to have power to take tax, implementation the law and formation of military, so, it depends to workman and good communications to effective

administration and exact supervision. But how to exist a country in the past than today is different. In the past, by imposition of force and blade of heed of an ethnic on other ethnic and overcome on its territory, a country or the state was created. Since the fifteenth century onward   when continents and far territories was discovered by European powers and subsequently sovereignty claims by Europeans on them is raison d etre of countries like Australia and new Zealand on the political maps of world was justified. imperialistic rivals of Europeans powers during the nineteenth century was worldwide and lead to many colony countries .since the twenty century especially after world war 1 ,exist of some countries is result of international agreement and due to inconsistency od internal inhabitants of some areas. For example, country of Albania was created by international policy and collection of different ethnic groups in the year 1913. Also, Libya was created in 1950(pounds, 1973:16). Raison detre of countries which has created as a results of fight against colonial powers and their elementary unity was derived public hate towards colonial powers, but after independent, these countries due to ethnic and linguistic divisions were engaged internal war on power. So these factors lost their important as unifying elements. If state doesn't make no inclusive and convincing idea (think) in these countries, so territory fragmentation of their countries is inevitable. (Mirheydar, 2019, 117-119)

The state seeks to impose a measure of uniformity and control upon its territory, and the extent of its success plainly varies from case to case and from time to time. One geographical concept of long-standing which could usefully be employed to explore this process is that of 'effective national territory' (Johnston et AL, 1994).

Hartshorne argued that at any point in time there existed inside the state a particular balance between what he termed 'centrifugal' and 'centripetal' forces. The centrifugal forces are those which make it difficult for the state to integrate its people and territory in a coherent and harmonious whole. Cultural, political or economic differences between populations or geographical barriers to contact between regions could all act as centrifugal forces. If left unchecked by any system of counter-balances, the centrifugal forces would cause a state to disintegrate. In contrast, the centripetal forces operate. In the opposite direction and serve to bind the State together. The most important of the centripetal forces was what Hartshorne termed the state's raisan d'etre or 'reason for being'. Here, he drew upon the work of Friedrich Ratzel (1897, pp. 2-6), who had written about the 'political idea' of the state. The raison d'etre or 'state idea' involves certain crucial beliefs or aspirations that can unite the population of the greater part of the state. Thus, Zionism and the desire to secure the land of Israel for the Jewish

people is at the core of the state idea of Israel, even though they are deeply resented in localities occupied by Palestinians. The state idea may flourish across the length and breadth of a state or it may not fill the State boundaries. The larger the portion of the population which does not subscribe to the state idea, the less secure the future of the state is likely to be (Muir, 1997:116).
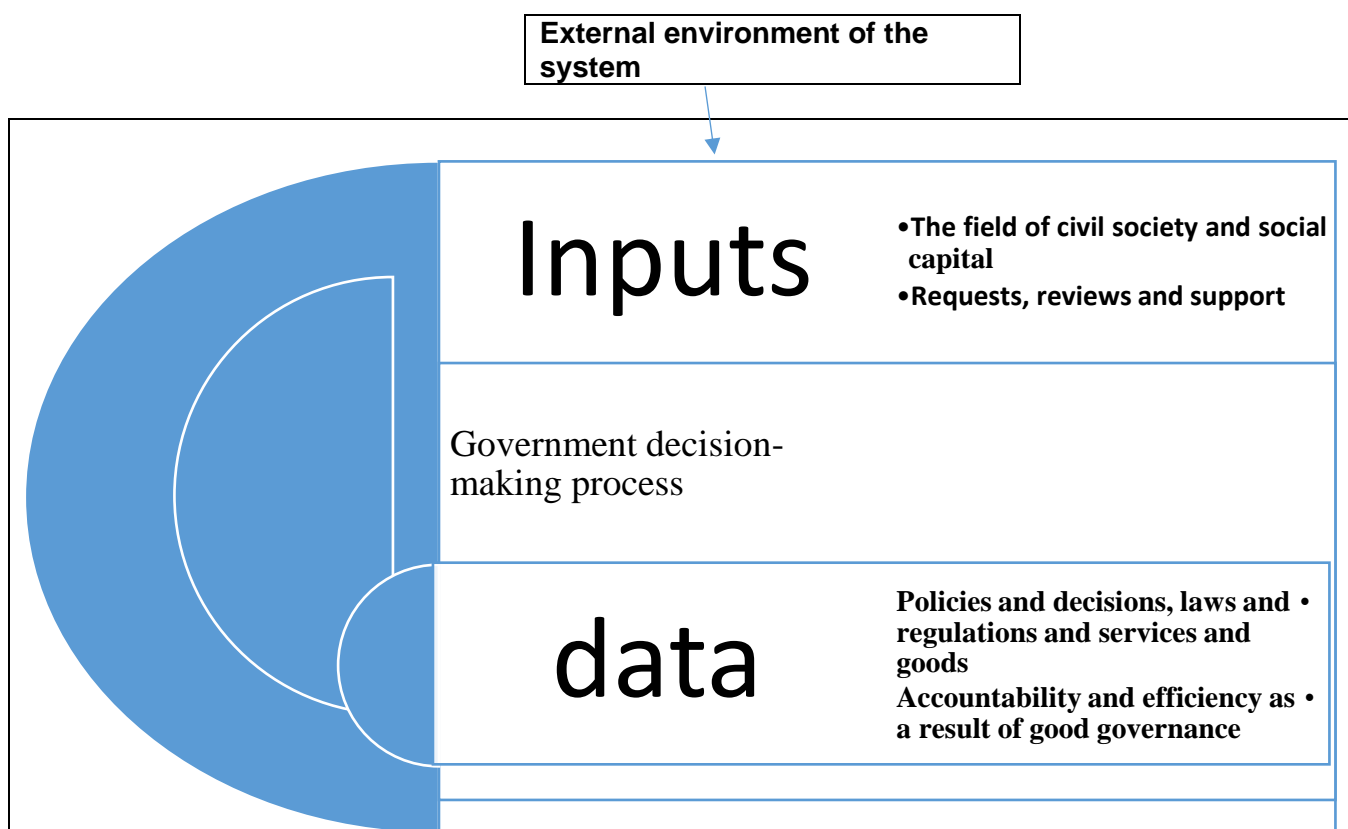

Figure1: Indoor environment: Feedbacks (Sardarnia, 2018 : 145).

Good governance will increase public confidence and satisfaction with the government. Emerging governments such as Iraq, due to their ethnic and religious divisions and ethnic and religious conditions and geographical location, should work harder than other governments to implement good governance. The theory of good governance is one of the best theories to solve challenges, political problems and there is a society in Iraq. In these societies, it is necessary to see to what extent cooperation and decision-making are based on the principles of democracy.

1.2 Research background

Mehr Ara and Asadian (2009) examined the effect of good governance on foreign direct investment and showed that the good governance index has a positive and significant effect on foreign direct investment. Sardarnia, Ghodrati and their colleagues

(2009) in this study they concluded that the variables related to good governance, better than the variables related to social capital, explain political trust. Ebrahimzadeh and Asadian (2013) in their research concluded that the study of indicators of transparency and information, rule of law, efficiency and effectiveness indicate the rate of good urban governance in Kashmir was low. In their research, Moghimi and Alaei found that the realization of e-government leads to improved accountability, effectiveness of roles and tasks, capacity building, transparency, consequentialism and the promotion of values as indicators of good governance. Bar (2006) showed that good governance leads the forces of society to achieve satisfaction, consensus and move society towards development. Mahaj et al. (2006) concluded in their research that good governance leads to building trust and attracting foreign capital. The main aspect of the present study with the researches is that it has dealt with the factors of non-fulfillment of its governance indicators and stable and established democracy in Iraq. Removing these obstacles can help Iraq progress and stability

1.3 Political sociology of Iraq

As mostly Sunni Muslim people of Indo-European origin, the Kurds are by far the largest of several non-Arab minorities in Iraq. The have revolted against Iraq central authority on numerous occasions including during the Persian gulf of 1991.kurdish question has international implications because the area occupied by an estimated 30million Kurd also extends into Iran, turkey, Syria and Southern Caucasus region(see figure 1). An estimated 2 million more live outside the Middle East. European powers promised an independent state of Kurdistan at end of World War 1, but the governments concerned never took steps to crate it. Kurds today remain in the world's largest group without a country. A book about the Kurd is appropriately titled no friends but the mountains. Turkish officials have long downplayed the identity of Kurds(who make up 20 percent of turkey population. often referring to them as mountain Turks, and even banned or restricted Kurdish-language media in turkey until 2002.main Kurdish resistance come from Kurdish workers party known by its Kurdish acronym pkk. under saddam Hussein, Iraq tried to Arabize its Kurds b forcing them to renounce their ethnicity and sign forms saying they were Arabs. however, after a no fly zone and safe haven established after Persian gulf war put them beyond saddam Hussein reach. Iraq Kurds came to enjoy relative autonomy and prosperity. Even in the tumultuous years since the u's-led invasion in 2003, Kurdish region of north has escaped most of the bloodshed and economic chaos characteristic of the south, although recent resurgence of pkk activities have raised the prospect of an incursion by turkey (Hobbs,

2009:265)

Figure2: ethnicity geography in Iraq and its neighboring countries (Hobbs, 2009:264)

We couldn't call Iraq Kurdistan government as state like the federal countries because it has authorities more than state of United States. And it is not a regional state; it has especial political-spatial structure. Context of formation dates back to 1991 and evolutions that lead to remove of Baathist party from power. Saddam government always had inimical position against Kurds and Iraq Shias, so that an offer presented by British and France government to Security Council of the united nation organization. The council issued resolution 688. Based on this resolution or statement two no fly zone has created in the north and south of Iraq. Formation of no fly zone and then holding election in Iraq Kurdistan caused Kurds to access some degree of autonomous in the last years of saddam government. After the approval of new constitution and formation of legal institutions in the Iraq Kurdistan, it has taken legal form. But appearance of Iraq Kurdistan government as an autonomous and united unit date back the year 2003, when region of under influence of democrat and motherland unity has emerged and united. Before that during years 199-2003 because of war between Kurdistan democrat and motherland party under leadership of Taliban and biryani.

Kurdistan divided into two parts. These parties have its own influenced areas in Iraq. Democrat party has Erbil province and zakko regions. Motherland unity has sulaymaniyah region to Iran borders. During the years of 199-2003 was created peace among them by America management although each of them in fact manages the regions of under influenced areas. Only after topple of saddam and after year2003, Kurds became united (Mirada, 2019:210-212).

Today. Iraq Kurdistan government is of especial state such as president Iraq Kurdistan , cabinet and prime minister, parliament, judge system and absorption system of capitalism and its own military(pre-death forces of Iraq Kurdistan state).Iraq Kurdistan state can export oil and journeys of head of Iraq Kurdistan state to other countries has no justification of Bagdad. Now, Iraq Kurdistan state, addition of Iraq national chant and banner, has its own chant and banner. Entire educations except national sovereignty, military organization, money and economical and financial policy making, foreign fundamental relations are under its own surveillance (hooshmand, 2011, 3-9)

Iraq (population 29 million, about 67 percent urban) occupies a broad, irrigated plain drained by the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers, together with fringing highlands in the north and deserts in the west .This riverine land once known as Mesopotamia has a complex geopolitical history. It has been a seat of empires, a target of conquerors, and in the 20th and early 21st centuries, a focus of oil development and political and military contention involving many other nations as well as groups within Iraq itself. critical (and now unfortunate) feature of Iraq's geography is its ethnic and religious complexity, with three major groups present: the Shiite Arabs, mainly in the south who make up about 60 percent of the country's population; the Sunni Arabs, about 35 percent of the total and living mainly in the center (especially in the so-called Sunni Triangle); and the Kurds, mainly in the north, most of whom are Sunni Muslims and who represent 15 to 20 percent of the total There are numerous smaller minorities, including Yazidi and Sunni Turkoman. Internal sectarianism, foreign intervention, and costly conflict are not new to Iraq, and the modern problems there may be better appreciated through some understanding of the past. Iraq was a province of the Ottoman Empire (based in what is now Turkey) for almost 400 years. British forces defeated the Turks in Iraq in World War I, and Britain had a League of Nations mandate over the country until it gained its independence in 1932. Iraq's government was a pro-Western monarchy from 1923 to 1958, when an army coup made the country a republic. By the mid-1970s, Iraq had become an authoritarian one-party state ruled by President Saddam Hussein in the

name of the Arab Baath Socialist Party. After 1973, increasing oil revenues from the country's huge reserves (about 9 percent of the world's total) underwrote new social programs, large construction projects, and the creation of new businesses (Hobbs, 2009:263-264).

1.4 Geopolitical and geostrategic dimensions of turkey, Iraq and Syria dispute

Conflict prevention and resolution is related to the interaction between national and social groups. We treat the symptoms, not the disease itself. Illness is the emergence or retention of a government on territorial boundaries that is incompatible with the population distribution of groups claiming the right to self-determination. The forced inclusion of a minority group in a new government, especially a minority whose remnants of neighboring states, is actually a call for identity conflict and an easy mechanism for internationalizing it (Ghais, 1998). This was the case with Lebanon. This is true for Syria, Iraq and many Middle Eastern countries. In an age of international integration and concern for human rights, there is no excuse for the creation and maintenance of states or institutions in which multiple factors, such as human suffering, misery and genocide, coexist. This has no legal justification. The only rational explanation for this is the politics of power and its political interest-based action. The expansionist interests in general and the interests of governments in particular are important mechanisms for the internationalization of internal identity conflicts. Gabriel Almond argued that there is a correlation between civil war and international intervention (Rasler, 1983).

In 2006, the Sunni Belt or Bloc thesis was put forward by Condoleezza Rice and found an objective way to contain Iran. The project was implemented by the Bandar bin Sultan and Bush. The port of Bin Sultan is an intelligence agency in Saudi Arabia. In doing so, it set up Jabhat al-Nusra, ISIS and its dreaded organization. The Saudis sponsored the Death Squads Campaign against Syria. In so doing, they created the necessary excuse for American action. John Negroponte and Robert Stephen Ford were responsible for deploying death squads in Iraq. While Negroponte coordinated operations from his office at the US Embassy, Robert Stephen Ford was traveling between Kurds and Arabs. He was assigned strategic contacts with Kurdish and Shia militia outside the Green Zone. According to Zahr Jamail, the brave American journalist and winner of the Wikipedia Award and one of the few freelance journalists reporting on events in Iraq during the US invasion of Iraq in 2003, Khosudovsky stated: "Negroponte gets help and advice from his working day colleagues in central America in the 1980s, i.e., Ret. Col James Steele. In Baghdad, he was in charge of Iraqi security

forces and supervised the selection and training of members of the Badr organization and the Mahdi Army, the largest Shiite military establishment in Iraq, to target Sunni leadership and support networks. Whether planned or unplanned, these death squads were immediately out of control to become the main cause of death in Iraq. These death squads were responsible for the tortured bodies on the streets of Baghdad. US Ambassador John Negroponte was the driving force behind them. It is this sectarian violence that has fueled today's hellish disaster in Iraq and is backed by the United States (Leonard, 2016: 9).

Now, the main priority of Russia in Syria is the military arrival in Syria following the failure of the West to put an end to the Syrian crisis and to fight the emerging phenomenon of ISIS. Although the Kremlin has announced that its major objectives cannot be ignored after a request by the Damascus legal government against terrorism threatening its interests. The most important goal of Russia at the domestic level is to maintain Tartus port because it is the only Russian naval base outside the boundaries of the Soviet Union and paves the way for Russian presence in the Mediterranean Sea (Kiyani and Khan Mohammadi, 1999).

1.5 The security and geopolitical dimensions of the Kurdish question

Geographical, cultural, religious and economic realities are more powerful in drawing Turkey into the Middle East and can overcome Ataturk's principles and wills. Some of the factors linking Turkey to the Middle East include:

-The close and natural dependence of hydro politics between Syria, Turkey, and Iraq.

-Turkey's water capability to exert pressure on Iran and its other neighbors including Syria and Iraq, has a regional scale. In using water, Turkey is in a position to exploit this ability politically.

-The role of Anatolian corridor to cross Iran-Iraq oil and gas pipelines to Europe.

-The transit role of Turkey for the Middle East and Europe.

-The Kurdish problem.

Any attempt by Turkey to have an effective presence in the Persian Gulf or alongside NATO and the US will provoke Iran. In the face of Turkey's massive threats against Syria and Iraq, Iran is unable to remain silent and views it as a threat to its interests (MirHeydar, 2010: 237).

Turkey's sensitivity to the Kurds is somewhat understandable. The Turks, who witnessed the collapse of their great empire in the twentieth century, after World War I and led by Mustafa Kemal, abandoned the caliphate, instituting a new historical

strategy based on the formation of a Turkish state within the much narrower Anatolian and Terrace territorial space. This strategy was based on a nation, a state, and a land that came to pass with the abolition of the Allied secret treaty, the "Treaty of Sevres". It was under this circumstance that Mustafa Kemal Ataturk and his apparatus prevented their decision to form a Kurdish state in the south and southeast of Turkey by convincing the victorious governments in World War I. In 1923, arguing that the creation of a Kurdish state in any part of the Kurdish region would result in the annexation of the Kurds to neighboring countries convinced the Allies to abandon the plan (Chaliland, 190, 35-39). At least since 1821, when the Kurds caused one of the wars between Iran and the Ottomans, the Kurdish question became a special issue between Iran, Turkey, Syria, and Iraq. The Kurdish uprising of Turkey in 1929 and 1930, when their entry into Iranian territory was followed by protests by the Turkish government, which eventually led to the conclusion of the 1932 agreement and the demarcation of the exact border between the two countries. Turkey's large Kurdish population, estimated at more than 20 million by 2015 and comprising at least 14 eastern provinces, southeast of Turkey, constitutes a significant reason for the fears of growing power. Anatolian Kurds, on the other hand, are far more aware, organized, and united than Iraqi and Iranian Kurds. The widespread geographical distribution of Turkish Kurds, their environmental focus in eastern and southern Anatolia, and the strategic nature of the region in terms of water and agricultural capacities and ethnic and organizational homogeneity have all caused Turkey's constant concern over Kurdish intentions (Karimipour, 1993: 5-57).

Turkey's severe vulnerability to the Achilles' heel is a significant weakness of the country, which has occasionally abused its neighbors. The Kurdish question will remain an important source of tension and contention between the three neighboring countries of Iran, Iraq, Turkey, and Syria for the foreseeable future, though Iran's maneuvering power over the Kurds is far greater than that of Turkey and Iraq. About 30% of Turkey's large military budget is spent annually on the Kurds. Turks have repeatedly argued with Syria and Iraq over this issue. Syria's threat to a full-scale war and a violation of Syria's territorial integrity and ongoing or periodic attacks on Syria and Iraq are part of Turkey's sensitivities in this regard (Karimipour, 2000: 56).

1.6 Key factors that have made Turkey and Iraq more vulnerable to the Kurdish problem than Iran:

-Kurds make up at least 25% of the population of Iraq and Turkey. Their population is much smaller in Iran. Therefore, the Kurdish population of Turkey and Iraq has been

an important factor in bargaining to gain greater share of political power, especially regional management.

-From the geographical distribution, the Shafi'i Kurds of Iran from the Zanganeh and Shibloo plains north of Maku city to the south of Paveh are located almost parallel to the boundary and have marginal expansion. However, other Kurds are scattered in almost all areas of northern Iraq, southeastern and eastern Turkey. For this reason, their mobility and maneuverability are far greater than those of the Iranian Kurds (Karimipour, 1992: 5-57).

-Due to oil reserves and resources as well as crossing oil pipelines through Turkey, the Kurdish areas of Iraq, Turkey, and Syria are critical to Iraq and Turkey. However, the Kurdish region of Iran, in addition to being borderline and high in water potential, has a lower role and function.

-By the end of the 20th century, Shafi'i Kurds in Iran had no role in managing and political power in the country. However, the acceptance of the dual notion by Iranian Kurds, as seen in statements by the most radical Kurdish groups and organizations, indicates the ethnic and linguistic proximity of Kurds to the rest of Iranians. Meanwhile, the Kurds in Iraq, Turkey, and Syria feel linguistically and ethnically separate from the political core of the country. However, religious proximity to the Arabs of Iraq, Syria, and Turkey's Sunni Turks has, to a certain extent, filled the linguistic and racial gaps.

-Such areas have made the role and function of the Kurdish regions of the two countries different from the core of the two countries. While the Kurdish territory of Iraq, Syria and Turkey is a constant and severe crisis area for Baghdad and Ankara. However, if tensions continue between the two countries, Kurds will remain as the sources of tension. At the same time, however, the Kurdish question can be one of the essential axes for achieving a long-term strategic understanding (Karimipour, 2000: 4-41).

In Turkey, where the Kurdish autonomy movement led by Ocalan was approaching victory, it was suppressed and temporarily abolished by political, military and security measures by the Turkish government and the arrest of Ocalan. The Kurdish movement in northern Iraq was rebuilt following the weakening of its central government after the Kuwaiti war, and regional and local authority was taken over by Kurdish political and social leaders and elites. In addition, Kurds have found important national-level roles in Iraq. The Iraqi president and foreign minister were elected by the Kurds. The nationalist demands of the Kurds against the national governments suffice to autonomy. At the regional level, however, some Kurdish elites appear to be seeking

independence, unity, and the establishment of an independent Kurdish state. In some cases, Kurds have sometimes been politically alienated by supportive forces and left without support (Hafez Nia, 2018: 175-176). On the whole, both nationally and regionally, Kurds embody the political aspirations of autonomy. In pursuit of the right to self-determination, it is unlikely that they will achieve their long-standing dream of a state and autonomous political sovereignty.

1.7 Intermediate (regional) level of analysis

Three main areas of the presence of trans-regional powers in the Persian Gulf, Anatolia, the Caucasus and Central Asia are oil and gas, geo-strategic features, some religious, linguistic and cultural interests. Seymour Hersch published an article in April 2014 unveiling a secret agreement between the CIA, Turkey and Syrian rebels to create what is known as the "rat line". This is not something new, but it is happening in Iraq, Syria and Afghanistan. This is the continuation of the old story and the story behind it. Al-Nusra and ISIS are ideological and organizational grandchildren or extremist elements that the US government created and used nearly 30 years ago. Then, the US created a fertile ground for them by invading Iraq in 2003. Without the power vacuum created by the removal and execution of Saddam Hussein, al-Qaeda and ISIS would not exist in Iraq. If Washington had not tried to overthrow Assad by arming, financing and training military terrorist groups in Syria, ISIS would not have been able to carry out storm attacks on Iraq and enter Iraq in June 2014 (Morales, 2016: 20).

According to Ghayyur and Nataqpour's research entitled "Factors Affecting Iran-Russia Convergence and Its Impact on National Security of the Islamic Republic of Iran", Iran-Russia Cooperation to Resolve Syrian Crisis and Their Participation in Confronting Presence and Influence of Powers Regional and trans-regional and their allies in the region (including the United States, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Israel, and Pakistan) as the two most important and influential factors in the national security of the Islamic Republic of Iran, accounted for most of the data; Is. For Iran and Russia, Syria is the most important strategic position in the Middle East, which has influenced developments in the region, especially Palestine and the Zionist regime. Large strategic considerations of the two countries towards the expansion of Western influence in the region, military, economic ties, and concerns about the strengthening of Western and Salafist currents have brought the two countries closer to Russian developments (Ghayyur and Nataqpour, 2013: 189).

Clear examples of this policy can be found in the Middle East in the face of takfiri

terrorism and the Syrian crisis. In this crisis, both Iran and Russia support the rule of law of Bashar al-Assad, and any political developments in the country are subject to the will of the people, not foreign intervention. Accordingly, the presence of terrorist groups and extremist currents around Iran and Russia can be considered as one of the important factors in the close proximity of the two countries, as the two countries realized at one point in time that they could not work together. Overcoming security threats is reduced. It is important to note that most extremist and terrorist groups have stated their ultimate goal of dominating Iran and parts of Russia where Muslims are present. Numerous maps published by ISIL, Jabhat al-Nusra and other terrorist groups indicate a tendency to campaign against Iran and Russia. The aim of these terrorist groups is to establish the Islamic Emirate of Caucasus in Russia (Bahman, 2016: 126).

In an interview with Amy Goodman on March 2, 2007, Wesley Clark (Ret.) explained that the Bush administration planned to occupy seven countries - Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Libya, Somalia, Sudan and Iran. Syria has always been on the list of Israeli attacks. Especially because Syria has been a secular, independent, multi-ethnic state in the Middle East and a loyal supporter of Iran and Palestine and has prevented Israeli domination of the entire Middle East. However, is Syria not a dictatorship? This is part of the great NIGYSOB game (Abbreviation: 'Now I Got You Son of a Bitch'). According to the game, they are constantly attacked, as some Arab heartlands refuse to surrender to the West and Israeli domination over the region. They become so unstable and insecure that they have to develop a security infrastructure that is authoritarian and totalitarian. Then, when these conditions were established in one country, the Western powers and the Israelis deliberately (ie, lying and pretending) shout about the lack of freedom in that country and began to overthrow the state (Quinn, 2016: 25).

As the easternmost member of NATO, Turkey has vast maritime and land borders with Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Russia, Iraq and Syria and is at the forefront of the NATO-Russia front. The US-Turkey strategic partnership is in tandem with NATO's development efforts. The agreement was reached after talks between Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan and US Vice President Mike Pence. Following the announcement of the agreement, Turkey and the United States issued a joint statement in English, the full text of which is as follows:

-Turkey and the US reaffirm their relationship as NATO members. The US is aware of Turkey's legitimate security concerns on its southern border.

-Turkey and the US agree that the situation in the field, especially in northeast Syria, requires that the two sides work more closely on the basis of mutual interest.

-Turkey and the United States remain committed to safeguarding the territory and population of NATO nations against all threats, based on an unshakable understanding of the "one for all and all for one" principle (Fars News Agency, 2019-10-18).

-The two countries reiterate their commitment to protect human rights, and the protection of religious and ethnic communities.

-Turkey and the US are committed to de-escalating activities in northern Syria. This commitment will include, where appropriate, cooperation on detention facilities and on groups migrated from areas formerly controlled by ISIS.

-Turkey and the US agree that counterterrorism operations should target only terrorists, shelters, posts, weapons, cars, and equipment and hiding places.

-Turkey reaffirmed its commitment to ensure the safety and health of all residents of all population centers in safe areas controlled by the "Turkish Forces". The country reiterated that it would take utmost care to avoid damaging civilians and civilian infrastructure.

-Both countries reaffirmed their commitment to maintaining Syria's political unity and territorial integrity and to an UN-led political process aimed at ending the Syrian crisis under UN Security Council Resolution # 2254.

-The two sides agreed that the existence of a safe zone continued to address Turkey's security concerns, including the refurbishment of the YPG's heavy weapons and the deployment of its strongholds and other combat positions.

-The safe zone will first be implemented by the Turkish Armed Forces and the two sides will increase their cooperation in all aspects related to its implementation.

-To allow the YPG to withdraw from the safe zone within 120 hours, Turkey will temporarily suspend Operation Peace Spring. Once this retreat is completed, the operation of the Peace Fountain will be stopped.

-The United States agrees not to seek further sanctions under the Executive Ordinance dated October 14, 2019, at the time of the Operation Peace Spring. In order to emphasize the progress being made to achieve peace and security in Syria, according to Security Council Resolution # 52254 the US Government will appropriately cooperate and consult with Congress.

-Both parties are committed to work together to achieve all of the goals set forth in this statement (Fars News Agency, 2019-10-18).

2 METHOD

Research method is descriptive and analytical. Although, Main question of this research is that in spite of topple of sad dam Hussein and creation of new state in Iraq and its constitution, why there are several and wide instabilities in this country and access to relative security and national government is theirs most concern important.

3 RESULTS

The change in population composition during the Hashemi and Saddam Hussein dynasties in the regional, agriculture, industry fields in the Kurdish areas has been implemented to weaken the Kurdish identity and the Kurds have been forcibly expelled from the Kurdish areas, especially Kirkuk, and Arabization Kirkuk has been made as Tamim Nationalism, while Kurdish local governments have never treated the Arab or Turkmen minority in the style of Ba'athists and Takfiri jihadist fundamentalists. The same mistreatment has taken place against Shiites in southern Iraq. The Kirkuk region is reconciling with the Kurdistan region in these three cases. First, the Kurds formally agree that the central federal government has exclusive control over the management of Kirkuk oil. Second, Kirkuk should have autonomy powers almost equal to those of the Kurdistan Regional Government, similar to those of the Kurdistan Region. Thus, in very sensitive cases such as education and security, Kirkuk must allow itself to be governed and protected from interference by the KRG, and third, the Kurds need to make arrangements for the distribution of power so that administrative power is shared equally among the three main groups (Turkmen, Kurds and Arabs as well as Christians). The Kurdish residents who were expelled from Kirkuk must return there. Some have suggested the establishment of an independent Kirkuk climate within the Kurdistan region. The Kurdish issue, the formation of a government of national unity and nation-building in Iraq is one of the most complex issues in Iraq. The historical deprivations of the Shiites must also be ended. With the escalation of disputes between different groups and currents in Iraq over the formation of the government, as well as differences between Iraqi Kurdistan and Baghdad after the Kurdish referendum and clashes between Iraqi government security forces and Kurds, and considering the oil resources of Kirkuk and southern Iraq, Comprehensive constitution and unifying political thought are felt more than ever . the Iraqi politicians' disobedience to the Iraqi constitution is the Achilles heel of democracy and the inefficiency of the democratic process in Iraq, as long as the issue is rooted. If not resolved, the most important component of good governance in Iraq will remain weak. The lack of a progressive

political culture in Iraq can be considered a weakness in good governance, and as long as the result of the changes is a function of the ethnic and patriotic situation in this country, we cannot hope for the formation of democracy and lasting political stability and a united Iraq.

Turkey has strongly denied any Kurdish autonomy and federalism and has taken military action against the Kurds in Syria (Yazdani, Tahanianzadeh, and Falahi, 2017: 180). In addition to the Kurdish question, Turkey also fears sectarian strife on its borders. Meanwhile, Turkey faces serious security threats at the border with Syria, and it has always feared that the Syrian crisis, similar to what has been experienced at the Iraqi border for many years, will again come back to it. In addition, when ISIL shocked the world with the capture of Mosul, Turkey was exposed to obscure relations with extremist groups such as ISIS and was accused of arming and training ISIS. Meanwhile, some sources believe that Turkey has allowed the sale of Syrian crude through its territory (Hennebusch, 2015, 18). The third factor affecting Turkey's security was the influx of refugees from Syria, one of the dire consequences of the Syrian civil war. This crisis has affected Turkey's financial capabilities and security. It has also created a difficult social situation in the southern regions of Turkey and has led to violent incidents in many cases.

4 CONCLUSION

Since the fall of Saddam's regime in 2003, political stability and the nation-building process have faced internal and regional obstacles and challenges, such as the rise of Takfiri terrorism, the issue of Iraqi Kurdistan, and the failure to establish a comprehensive national unity government in Iraq. After the US presence in Iraq, ethnic and religious factions became active inside the country, and various ethnic groups fought for power and exercised it in their favor. Since the Shiites make up the majority of the Iraqi population, they were able to gain the most powerful positions due to electoral political calculations. Gender divisions have also led to widespread corruption and poor governance. The holding of elections and the formation of a new government in Iraq has created a weak hope. The election result, unlike in the past, presents a new picture. For this reason, there are many small and large obstacles in the way of the new Iraqi government, and the unifying and inclusive political thought, the full implementation of the Iraqi constitution and the resolution of the Kurdish issue, the withdrawal of Turkey and the United States from Iraq and attention to important components of good governance can Save Iraq from the danger of political and

regional disintegration. In relation to Iraqi society, which has ethnic, religious and geographical divisions, the optimal use of resources for human-political, economic and social development is a necessity. It should be based on the principles of democracy mixed with local conditions and religious commonalities in a single religion. Guarantee the future of Iraq, and insisting on the religion of a particular ethnic group, relying on the support of the US and Israeli governments, and not allying against terrorism can lead to ethnic and religious instability.

The country could fragment along ethno-religious lines into sectarian mini states, potentially

including a militant Sunni state and an Iranian-leaning Shiite state. The country's fragmentation could be carefully calculated to reduce the potential fallout. The broad geographic distributions of Sunnis, Shiites, and Kurds seen.in Figure 1 suggest what the boundaries might look like. The biggest problems would come in the big cities like Baghdad and Mosul, where neighborhoods of contentious groups live cheek by jowl (hobbs(2009:267).

Baathist minority was governed on Kurds and Shia majority for more than thirty years. Arab nationalism, socialist system and secularism were most elements of political idea of Baathist party. New Iraq after the topple of saddam , became a and pluralistic and federal republic state with great authorities. The Kurd government has authorities more than states in the United States. Many laws in Iraq constitution emphasized on pluralism, religious and ethnic diversity and have condemned racism based on ethnicity, race, language, region and gender. (Mirheydar, 2019, 121) In the new constitution of Iraq has emphasized on respect to holly shrine of Shia and Sunni in Iraq and other religious sites and rituals as part of cultural and religious identity. But indeed, process of nation building and state building and promotion of the inclusive political idea have faced many difficulties , because process of nation building has not make in Iraq and Iraq people are not yet a real nation and necessary solidarity and convergence hare not among them, so this is origin of ethnic and religious divisions in Iraq(Naderi ,2007,49).Iraq   has cultural background and long history of several centrifugal tendencies and making Iraq by great power has fall it shade on unity of Iraq people. So. New state of Iraq, first of all and to preserve of unity and solidarity of Iraq people and prevent of breakup of Iraq must seek an inclusive political idea. Impotent of this issue is so serious because now Iraq widespread instabilities in Iraq has occupied Iraq people and government officials and fulfillment of relative security in Iraq is most important concern for them.

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