If we take in consideration the real situation of United Russia now, the main conclusion will be, that this country is still in the transformation state, after the Soviet union had been broken, toward economical system that work according the market supported by a system that work according to the political, ethnic and religions differences.

This transformation state resulted in repeated transformation in the political in the country starting from the first year at which United Russia had been formed that is 1992 till the beginning of the twenty first century, this seems to be continuing.

Ending this state is coupled with reaching economical and political stability internally and externally, which is clear from the activities which pointed for previously.

The breaking down of Soviet Union had resulted in a very dangerous period of time, and may be a mess on the political feild of Russia, what happened was a major event. From a country which was considered the greatest force against United State, and a leader for a military treat involving all eastern Europe, and from a country that, indeed, had the largest traditional military force capable to threat and act in the middle Europe in a way that reverse the strategic equilibrium which arise after the 2nd world war. The Russia people and leadership founded them selves, after the Soviet Union had broken down, in front of bitter reality, that there is no heavy traditional force any more in the middle of Europe, no countries in the eastern Europe that fallow the new United Russia.

Also both the Russian people and leadership faced the fact that the United State controlled the whole world, and became univocal with no other pole against it.

Therefore, the new Russian decision maker should think logically to re-arrange the priorities.

So the strategic planning plays an important role in re-assessing the priorities and re-using the recourses in away that serve the strategic aims in the new international environment which is full of action with limited resources.

All of these facts affected the two periods of president Yeltsen and then Poten. In these periods Russia faced difficult exams, all of them were dangerously affecting the political act of Russia.

The internal affairs remain the direct affector of the Russian Strategy. There are three political direction internally, the Russian nationalist adopting the Urassian theory calling for a leading role in the major wild mass, that forms Russia and Asia, agreeing with them the Russian communists and military leaders in the previous Soviet military force.

The third direction adopted the free economy (market economy), as away for economic planning. As a result of all what had been mentioned, the decision maker, remained wandering in determining the strategic option as an attempt to find answers for what is he facing.

Also the disturbance the internal affairs in the form of ethnic disruptions, attempts to separate, and when heroism founded home in Russia specially in the caufcas an cheicheen, had made the Russian picture and action unclear to put strategies in facing these affairs, or in external dealing.

Before the Soviet Union had been broken down the United States was the greatest force against Soviet Union that form a daily threat to the Russian strategic options.

After breaking down of this Union, the United State is on the top of international pyramid with its forces that used in a unique form in the second Gulf War, and Balkan and Afghanistan.

The event of September, the 11th, made United States more aggressive in using its force.
there for it is important for the Russian strategic planner to face the American action, which is a source of worry which may affect the Russian strategic option. So United states tried hardly in the nineties to incorporate United Russia and minimizing its action, so that no force would threat the American strategy after the Soviet Union had broken down.

On the European side, the Russian view for Europe is unclear, Russia feels itself as a part of Europe, leading to dealing with Europe in an extended form. On the other hand most of Europe became part of the Nato, and became a strong economic force in the form of European Union.

Other factors causing worry to United Russia include china, the relation between the two countries would depend upon the strategic interest and upon disagreement about boundaries. So developing relations with chins is a priority.

Indin also is considered one of the forces that is impotent for Russia, for a historical traditional relation with the previous Soviet Union.

The role and effect of economical and military relations between Russian and Iran will be very important in this field.

The main changes in the Russian situation are:
1. Indeed it is not a great force any more, and it follows external force.
2. Decrease corporation with most economic and political partners.
3. Decreasing the level of national and international security: Military, political, economic, and ideological.
4. Absence of strategic stability on a large part of Russia.

what is needed from Russia to plan a new strategy:
1. The new strategy should contain all the previous positive factors, which was part of the international activities of Russia before revolution or of Soviet Union.
2. Absolute independence in making external political decision.
3. Depending on its own forces, with making use of external help.
4. Giving up excessive thinking of external policy.
5. Developing external political relation in all directions.

Directing the external policy toward finding external political environment that makes the country developing in ascending manner, and to develop economy, and increase the living standard for Russian people.
The study has focused on the Turkish political system under the constitution of 1982. The study has been divided into four chapters.

The first one dealt with the political development of the Turkish constitutional political and institutions until 1982. This chapter was divided into three sections. The first discussed the constitution and political institution under the 1924 and 1961 constitutions. The second discussed the role and effect of the political parties under the constitutions of 1924 and 1961. The third section dealt with other political and social forces which played an important role under the 1924 and 1961 constitutions.

The second chapter dealt with the constitutional and political institutions under the 1982 constitution. It was divided into three sections. The first discussed the role of the Turkish military institution in the Turkish politics, the second discussed the 1980 military coup in addition to the 1960 and 1971 military coups. The third section studies the legislative and executive institutions focusing on studying the grand national assembly and the presidency and the prime ministership.

The third chapter studied the role of political parties and other political forces under the 1982 constitution. It was divided in to three sections. The first section discussed the law of political parties as well as the law of elections. The second dealt with ideological orientations. The political parties which was divided into right and leftwing parties and Islamic parties. The third discussed the role of the most active political forces on the Turkish political arena, such as student unions, labor unions, the press, Islamic movement, the Jews.

The last chapter discussed the orientations of the Turkish political system toward Iraq since 1982. It was divided into three sections. The first dealt with the attitude of Turkey toward the Iraq-Iran war. The second discussed the invasion of Iraq to Kuwait and the attitude of the Turkish government toward it. The third section discussed the attitude of Turkey toward the invasion of the united states to Iraq in 2003.

In conclusion, I have found out that Turkey’s orientation toward Iraq has been linked to its own interest.
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<td>Full Name as written in Passport</td>
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<td>Dissertation Title</td>
<td>THE UNITED STATES AMERICAN STRATEGY TOWARD SOUTHWEST ASIA AT THE TURN OF THE 21st CENTURY</td>
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Abstract

Needless to say that's achieving national security, which required achieving security, welfare, and international statue of U.S.A regard as main objects of American strategy, whether in the past or in the present. The American outlooks to the foreign policy based upon superior national security, when we look for to the history of American s policy and its strategies since end of Nineteenth century and until era of president G.W.Bush, we will find that's search for super power and influential role in the world regard as main object of American policy. In order to achieve that's objects, USA employ many of tools like military, sub military, diplomatic, economic cooperation, demilitarize, and avoid to owned atomic energy by rogue states, that's means regard most useful means to safeguard American security. So the American strategy try to establish and develop military existence in South West Asia, develop collaboration relations with influential centric states like India, Turkey, and Israel, beside that's USA, try to ensure stability in regions which related with American economy with relations like export .petrol, natural gas, and many other commercial relations.

When the President G.W.Bush took over the power in White House, many radical changes had happen in American Strategy, especially after, September, 11,2001. So we can argue if that’s changed associated with war against terrorism or firmly establish American hegemony upon the world after seized many great territorial powers. Also the variables in American strategy based upon economic .interests more than security changes, as the American propaganda view

Needless to say the wars against terror lead to expand American influence, especially in Middle East, which regard as fatherland of terror and extreme wings which violated American territory, when the USA forces will be in region that’s will lead to re oriented of Middle East, in the way which ensure the main principles of American strategic thought, which represent in democratization of Middle East s states, and call for liberation the markets. May be the current events in Middle East, similar to that's in past, especially after, the Second World War, which lead to permanent American existence in Western Europe, and north east Asia, today the fight against terror lead to increase American s military and economic power, in region to extent degree. Sometimes many of political analyses conclude that's USA looks to region as the region of anarchy, while the American strategic thinkers draw the curve of crises, .which make influential disasters of many Western capitals and inside Washington also

In the past, and especially in last three decades the USA, play the role of guard in region to save its essential interests, like assured the free naval transition in Mediterranean, and Persian Gulf, to
safeguard the petroleum supplies, and ensure security of its allies, like Israel, and moderate states in region. Yet that objects strictly different at the present, the American foreign policy safeguard to achieve territorial stability, in region, which leads to ensure American vital interests.

May be cant hypothesis the real objects of USA, while its American official propaganda called for establish democratic regime, or reorganized the traditional regimes, liberation of economy, anti terrorism efforts, in that's thesis we try to answer about the potential objects of American national interests in South West region. Yet the real challenges which curb the American strategy in region, represents in avoiding dangers, obstacles, which confront the American plan, that's obstructs like existence of Qaida (base) and other forces which express opposite attitudes toward American interests, beside the great powers which confront hegemony of USA.

When USA start to rebuilt the Grand Middle East, and reformed in order to be able to enter another states or powers, that’s lead in some times and particular situations to more complexities in region, especially when the new situations, lead to arise some old forces or wings, left many effects didn’t limits upon Iraq, or their neighbors or Islamic worlds, but influenced upon political circles in USA, itself. In little words, the main objects of American strategy in South west Asia, represent in three essential ends, that’s its: Unites States continue to stirring up the problems of minorities groups in Middle East, which lead in many ways to convulse the Islamic-Arabic identity, that’s would be lead the region to contain the Geopolitical borders to pave the way toward the New Middle East which able to acceptance of Israel in its membership. According to American interests in Central Asia, which American investments in its reach to$2000, billion, in order to safeguard that’s interests, US, try to divert many states or powers adjacent to Central Asia, with many internal problems make its unable to threat that’s interests, that’s lead to another effect, US will not enforce to make partnership with Israel, to safeguard its interests in region, while it can ensure security of Israel by enforcing its to make final settlement with Arabs, or support Israel’s military arsenal to ensure its military hegemony in Middle East.

The succeeding of US, in achieve stability and welfare in region, will be lead its to exploit that’s succeed to turn the whole region into security block can be confronted any threat comes from China,Japan, and Russia¦. And that’s allow to USA from benefit the natural resources of region, and turn it’s into ideal global American region, in fact that’s potential idealist hypothesis which stand the American calls for establishing Grand Middle East, although its suffer from some failures in Iraq, and Afghanistan.
The thesis discusses through three chapters, in addition to introduction and conclusion, the concepts of violence and terrorism, and their effect on west and Arabic Islamic thinking. Both sides are accusing each of directing terrorism and violence against one another.

The introduction explains what the thesis is about, searching problems and the aim of thesis generally. The thesis gives supposition that religion or religion interpretation is understood according to man's point of view. Fanaticism and other personal motives are real reasons of increasing violence and terrorism cases. The first chapter explains concepts of violence and terrorism through two themes. The first theme is the concept of violence: its definitions, motives, treatment and handle methods, and interfered ideas. The second theme is the concept of terrorism: its definitions, motives, treatment and handle methods, and interfered ideas. The second them is the concept of terrorism its definitions, motives, interfered ideas, and international efforts to handle this dangerous phenomenon.

The second chapter explains in detail the development of violence and terrorism in west and the stages of its appearance clearly in such away it becomes a symbol of glory and praise. Most similar to what happened in French Revolution, terrorism was a symbol of virtue. Also, the chapter explains the effect of religion and fanaticism in growing violence and terrorism, and that is through finding out whether religion is the real reason of growing the idea of infidelity other beliefs and nations or not.

The third chapter is about Arabic Islamic thinking. Its discussion gives great attention whether the Holy Koran encourage the idea of violence and terrorism or encourage peace generally. Also, it explains certain events in how Islamic history and Islamic was used, for a long period of time, as a pressure power against opposers who protested against political authority. This, of course, represents disobedience to rules of any religion, but it is a struggle for the sake of authority. The first theme in this chapter is about Ibn- Hanbal and the terrorism in Amawi and Abbasi ages. The second theme is about modern Islamic movements which are hidden under the veil of religion to have certain political aims which their head is authority. As it is known, that any party, regradless of its name, has the right to reach to authority if it is qualified to such a task. This operation should be crowned with peaceful counsel and negotiation, not by violence and terrorism against innocent people to create
The end of the thesis represents many conclusions concentrated on the idea that the aim of terrorism is spreading horror everywhere not destroying. But the aim of violence is destroying. There should be a distinction between the two previous concepts and the idea of "armed fight" which is a legal right to all countries to decide and defend their right and destinations. And, this right is given by all religions and international rules. Violence is using power by individuals against political authority. Terrorism is using power by political authority against individuals. We always try to be neutral in discussing this subject. It is a simple effort that is added to all efforts concerned with this subject. The reader may be find what is useful, but it is still an attempt to understand certain facts.

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<td>Full Name as written in Passport</td>
<td>SAWSAN ALASSAF</td>
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<td>(✓) PhD</td>
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<td>Dissertation Title</td>
<td>Deterrence strategy under the U.S. military doctrine</td>
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After the fall of the Soviet Union, the American deterrence strategy had to face different assumptions, some of them regarded as theories, others concluded that were the withdraw and the end of the deterrence strategy which related for decades with deterred side during the cold war era, according to a review of the main aspects of that strategy, its conceptions, mechanisms and its applications that ended with the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Of course, it might be natural that that the age using power, struggles, tensions ... at last, to begin a new era of international peace. But on the other side there were assumptions focusing on the continuation of deterrence with new mechanisms and new strategic means and instruments, that were forced by the necessities of controlling policy and the stability of supremacy and unipolarity of the United States. Those assumptions changed the levels of deterrence. And according to it, there will be no bipolar deterrence or comprehensive one. So we are now in front of new level of thought when the United State adopted an uni deterrence strategy that working together with strategy of the one power that raised during and after the Second Gulf War against Iraq at 1991.

Then, the second shock came at the 11th of September to be used as a cause and to declare the return to the unilateral deterrence strategy with mechanisms of (anticipation, preemptive and abortional strikes) in the coming wars, depending upon a three-phase policy of (war against terror, humanitarian interference and a universal spread of U.S.A) to achieve two main goals: first protecting American national security, and second to ensure global control under what they call project of a (New American Century).

Thus, with the beginning of the 21st century, and the assertion of some states to gain nuclear weapons, simultaneously with the revolution in military affairs, the American experts formed the (New American 21st Century) project to keep the United States world supremacy through controlling and unilaterality with needs to reserve the essential role of American military institution whether on the level of field military action or on planning for confrontation strategies with the big powers. And because unilaterality would increase, of necessity, from the external involvements in military interventions to keep controlling and dominance over the world as a real execution, and in the shadow of the fact of the continuous importance of the military factor on international balances, it became a necessity to create real transformations in the American military doctrine. That doctrine had been translated practically into a new strategic planning to express a new security – military policy that serve the essential political
goals and to achieve the vital strategic goals of United States. This, in turn, needed to put some amendments on the new political—military subjects, so it is still to be away from what is used to be regular and known, and also it became in a contradiction with world legality that was adopted by the international law and United Nations Charter.

According to that, the realization of security became based upon the use of power and the mechanisms of anticipation and abolitionist strikes that was started to use it in the war against Afghanistan and the occupation of Iraq under the presence of countering international terror, and a direct deterrence letters to the others by threatening to resort to the use of power in any time and anywhere to punish the countries that were called as helping and backing terror and terrorists.

On that realization for a new strategy, the United States would work to reform the consist of international relations, especially that is relating its relations with the regional powers and/or countries coming in front (Syria, Iran and North Korea).

The impacts of such a strategy would be too influential on power relations of the countries that are looking to back to a structure of balance of power in international order to be stable through active multipolaris, the most important of them are (Federal Russia, European Union and China). For this the United States would continue in resort to the classic deterrence strategy with the big powers to prevent the rising of any competent one.

In this thesis I tried to approve, through a future strategic analysis that:

The United States would continue to act according to deterrence that is based essentially upon the possibility of the use of power to achieve the security from her point of view. And because the nuclear powers can not abolish the capabilities of each other, then the new American strategy would change the dealing with the free would by freeing her conduct away from partnership and world unanimity, and because her future wars would needs a continuous changeable military power. The United Nations Organization is going to suffer too from that strategy. The divergent between its wish to be functional on the universal level, from one side, and on the other its realization that it is sense by the lack of capabilities and the will of the United States to use it on behalf of American goals, security and interests.

The wars that the United States had carried on and that is going to carry on in the future on bases and the ambishes for world leadership would keep her policy of no admission in the sovereign boundaries of other countries, nothing is going to make her obliged to any ethics, morals restrictions on international legality, as far as the matters or the issues related to her goals in controlling the world order and keeping it as far as she can unilateral. So she is going to keep resort to the use of military power with or without the agree of United Nations. She will keep resort to legitimize her measures by forming alienations to carry on a definite act, and to be dissolved after that, and, of course, she might resort to a unilateral action in necessity.

The structure of this study is consist of five chapters. The first one was conceptual to determine deterrence. The second was searched the transformations of deterrence strategy from defense into offense in the shadow of current international changes. While the third one was about the new American military doctrine after the cold war, and its applications after the events of the 11th of September 2001. The forth chapter analyzed the new American strategy in theory and application, that were connotation, mechanisms, its impact and its consequences.

At last, the study tried to search in the future and predict it in chapter five, through the linkage between deterrence strategy and the new tools with the stability of the new international world order.

The chapter was addressed as: The new deterrence strategy and stability of current world order.
This thesis deals with citizenship, which is one of the political issues, which has received consideration of contemporary Islamic intellectuals and researchers, because it reflects the relationship between individuals and the state, and because of the meaning, indications and traces that it includes.

This study stammering from a hypothesis that ((The contemporary Islamic thought has its own vision about citizenship, which based on the reading of its fundamental resources)), using the historical, analysis and the comparison approach.

Citizenship is a western concept came to the Islamic culture after the arise of the nation state, so the thesis tries to trace the historical root of this concept, and its development until now, and define the contemporary Islamic vision to this concept, in the first chapter.

The second chapter treated with nationality as the legal face of citizenship, dealing with the of Muslim out of the Islamic state, and his legal relation with it from one side, and other religious followers who inhabit in the Islamic state.

The third chapter of this thesis deals with rights and privileges, which the individual enjoy as a citizen, and deals with the obligations the citizen should carry out toward the state, the government and the society.

The forth chapter: the ways to enhance citizenship includes the theoretical aspect of Islam and the practical aspect.

The fifth chapter: the obstacles of citizenship, includes the narrow loyalties, such as national fanaticism, sectarianism and extreme thoughts, such as despotism and globalization.

The study reached to some conclusions that enhance the thesis hypothesis.
The principle of interference in U.S. foreign policy post-Cold War

2006-2007

If interference concept was expressing of an activity could be funding temporal and conditional due to reflect this size of contrariety in the dimension of humanity existence basing on the power and conflict system that arise from it. Thus, this contrariety request a delicate understanding of its theoretical system, as well as mechanisms of its executive practicing. This thesis describe these system's structure from US foreign policy because it is represent the best pattern of interference action.

Establishing the origin of theoretical and intellectuals in the US foreign political behaviour starting from interference system, that was the basic problem that we touch it as the assumption of the study aiming to connect material elements with social and intellectual behaviour. As well as dialectical relations between the abilities and intentions of the state and between level of this ability, and also between its looking for intervention action like US foreign policy.

The thesis composed from four chapters, first one cleared interference position in the policy of national power, besides defining of essence of interference concept. Second chapter establishing the origin of US interference tendency based on many considerations such as ideological, economic, and scientific, as well as watching roles of US decision units in making decisions of interference. Third chapter focus on executorial mechanisms of interference action in US foreign policy in both peaceful and none peaceful executorial means taking from Iraq and Afghanistan as field of study. Forth chapter dedicated to look up to futurist vision trying to clearing up the nature of effective changes in the path of the future, and also clearing its futurists probability to be shaded by interference prospect and its community, as well as clearing probability of US interference policy decline.

Truly 11 September happens shifted US foreign policy toward policy of preventive interference, but also the result of interference will depend on the size of success in Iraq politically and military. We think that US will be directed toward selective interference to easy projects, less costs, and did not request much time, involve framework of universal leadership prospect that US foreign policy will not abandon it.
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<td>Full Name as written in Passport</td>
<td>Nagham Mohammed Saleh</td>
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<td>Dissertation Title</td>
<td>Islamic Movements in Almaghreb Alarabi Morocco – Tunis – Algeria</td>
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| Abstract | Arabic Maghreb countries have been witnessing since the end of 1980s of twentieth century the raise of Islamic Movements. These movements were founded basically as reform movements to react to crises that dominate the region in its various political, social, economical dimensions. They contribute in increase calls for Islamic renew and aware to negative factors of political system. But they bias from being reform since agree to involve in political process and participate in elections. The political openness and bargain of democratic transforms which the political regimes in Arabic Maghreb allowed has its affection in increase the role of Islamic Movements and able them to public appearance as political organizations which could in short time to impose the existence as a basic side in political scene in the region.

Islamic Movements in Arabic Maghreb countries divided into two directions. Although similar in characteristics and objectives, but they differ in their relations to political authority and attitude in participation in political life under existent regimes. The direction that was accepted in authority conditions to participate in political life. Another direction refuses these conditions and prefers stay in opposition.

These movements can put their features on events and has a real role in direct them, they make a real opposition, which threat existent political regimes and expose them to danger. All that evokes political regimes to seek each measure that can surround Islamic Movements and reduce their roles. Even in permitted cases for some Islamic Movements to participate in political life, they limit this participation in borders that do not affect on the political regimes. Thus, these regimes deal with Islamic Movements between containment and keep away.

The Islamic Movements had to face all these attempts to reserve their existence and take all procedures for active and wide participation.
The Turkish subjects have a main interest in academic studies. The Turkish Policy comes at the front of it. This because of two reasons: first: The politics life & its out effects, second: The strategically place of Turkey especially after the cold war. It could keep this importance which is threaten her after the falling of Soviet Union.

According to this, the study comes to show the real changes of Turkish Foreign Policy. It gives two main theories: first: Turkey has never lost her main strategy after the cold war, even though there are some changes in the nature of peace to face the Soviet danger from the Turkey & Foreign point of view. This leads to the unsettlement in some places such as Central East, Central Asia, Caucasus, and Balkan. & (Terrorism), from the American Point of view. Second: the extent in the aims of the Turkish Foreign Policy is studied to show the main aim that the West chose. This is showed by (NATO) to keep place in Europe by membership in European Union to get out the political, economical, & Technological affairs.

This study is written according to the following plan:

Introductionary Chapter: It is based on the decision of Turkish Foreign Policy. After studying the theory of the decision concept, we have taken the role of the formal offices which are made by 1982 Constitution. It is showed by Turkish National council, Executor Empire exampled by the president of the country who reflects the unity of the country, the ministry, & the military. The last one has made many effective roles in political life in Turkey. The informal offices which are made by political parties, & Propaganda. Those have their own roles & the effect is according to its situation from the center of making decision.

Chapter One: To know the main bases of getting the main quality of the Turkish Foreign Policy, & its effects after that period. Thus, we have made a unit about the Turkey & (NATO), The Problem of Cyprus, & its effects upon the Turkish Foreign Policy, & the membership between Turkey & the Common European Market which leads to take the membership (the partner) with the Europe Union.

Chapter Two: The extent of the background (historical – analytical) above. It has studied the nature of the Turkish Foreign Policy after the cold war towards the West. This is by studying & analyzing the aims of Turkey & its role in (NATO) after the changes that happened, its role, & the Turkish aim to extent its membership.

Chapter Three: It studies the Turkish Foreign Policy toward the Central East by analyzing the disagreement between Turkey & her neighbours (Syria & Iraq) which based upon the cases of peace, rivers & boundaries. It also analyses the Turkish situation towards the Gulf Wars Second 1991, Third 2003, & what happened at the first when the Iraqi government lost her control upon the north which makes Turkey there politically & military, & also what happened at the second when Iraq is invaded. This leads to the negative effects in peace which makes it threaten the Turkish policy. It also studies the military relation between Turkey & Israeli, her aims, effects, the situation of some countries & Turkish role with Arab – Israeli Settlement.
Frankly speaking, the conclusion of the study ascertained the strategically importance of Turkey which reflects the main idea of the fall down of Soviet Union. The main cause of deleting the Turkish Role in the West. If that interest has its negative effect because the Cold War End, it will get new roles in new places such as Balkan, Central East, & Central Asia.

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<td>Dissertation Title</td>
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| Abstract | Difficult to determine the ends of the comma and conclusive curve in the evolution of international relations, where usually identifies these intervals default to be adopted by researchers in the common areas established before the interval and after, they often get changes cumulative might be crossing it without taking notice, but it paves the way for much of the transformations (Transformations) in the evolution of the international system, but the adoption of these joints is necessary for the purposes of preparing and arranging study approaches and methodology where the warranty depends international political system elements in the equation of continuity and change in the mechanisms of conflict transformation in international relations as a means, however international units to manage this conflict.

I have the form of the collapse of the Soviet Union, the end of the Cold War and the birth of a new phase in the evolution of the international system, and the form of this variable mainly to the variables next Esbges as essential inputs led to shifts in the nature of the ingredients and the concept of the power of traditional and standards as a means to classify forces and actors on the international scene as well as to changes in the structure of the system. For the purposes of this study, despite the diligence that the international political system currently embodied in the model pole unilateral, but there is also a diligent another based on inter signs and objective indicators confirm that the situation experienced by the international political system it is only an exceptional case and that the international system passes to a new international political structure differ from those which in transition, and it will end, which accompanied its inception.

These interactions began to produce new mechanisms for managing the conflict after the Cold War on the ruins of mechanisms prevailed in the Cold War era still under crystallization did not give full
results of some of them seemed to features and resulted in the content and the other tends to create a state of equilibrium with the structural elements and previous concepts. We have produced these interactions and speed turned variables ability marginalization and strengthen mechanisms for sites at the expense of other mechanisms, there are mechanisms for continued and another disappeared and diminished role and the other was transformed from one state to another. The study diligently to put the approach and try to formulate laws to follow the movement of these mechanisms in the management of international conflict, and its relation to the rules of the structure of the international system shift from one style to another. Based on all this, we see that the study of the variables that we understand it in terms of the equation of continuity and change in the mechanisms of international competition and conflict can play a central role in understanding the dynamics of international relations and the transition in the international system to study the main patterns of interaction that take place within the limits of the international system. That scientific progress consists of the removal became incapacitated model for a new interpretation of the facts, and try to bring a new model to explain these facts in a more acceptable manner.

At the end of 1978, China had began a new stage of development when the Chinese Communist Party decided in its eleventh conference to put a national strategy to modernize China. This strategy depends on realism and pragmatism in its dealing with the inner and external facts and on the reform of economic structure which is considered as the base to other structure reforms.

Capabilities of China’s modernization experiment had helped it to succeed and be continuance to face the globalization systems. This means that the inner reform and external openness enables china to make a new experiment which is called (Socialism Market Economy). This experiment has mixed effectively between the social system thought and the capital one.

But in spite of the obstacles and challenges that china faced, it had succeed achieving big domestic, regional and international a compliments, like rising standard of livings Chinese people, creating a strong industrial base which has the ability to rival its regional counterparts, making its
military power a stronger than the India one and taking its economy an advanced rank in the global economic system.

The aim of this thesis is to prove this hypothesis: that the economic modernization had has a big role to the success of experiment of modernization in china. That means the economic variable is an independent one and all the political, military, social and cultural ones are subsequent to it.

To answer this hypothesis, we had divided thesis to five main chapters:

- First chapter deals with a theoretical framework which had five sections:
  (concept of modernization with its characteristics and requirements, the basic approaches of modernization study, types of modernization, passive reflections of modernization and finally criticism of modernization school).

- Chapter two deals with the economic dimension of china’s modernization the institutional and organizational structures of the Chinese economy, while second section consists the openness of the Chinese economy into the global.

- Chapter three deals with the political and military dimensions of China’s modernization, first section studies the political dimension of modernization process while second section deals with the military dimension of modernization process.

- Chapter four deals with the social and cultural dimensions of Chinese modernization and cultural dimensions of sections, first section deals with the social dimension of China’s modernization while the second section deals with cultural dimension of China’s modernization.

- Fifth Chapter deals with the helpful and obstacle factors to the modernization process and its future and consist of two sections, first section deals with the factors that help and obstacle the modernization process, while the second section deals with the role of modernization in forming China’s future.

Finally, we end up the thesis with some conclusions and results.
No doubt that changes took place in the German foreign policy after the unity, the matter which caused Germany to be more powerful and effective in the international community, and it adopted unprecedented attitudes in comparison with its former ones.

The German policy became effective and sought to have an effective role in the middle east in a very distinctive way by tackling issues concerning priorities, interests, and the attitudes it adopted. The German beliefs occupy an important place within the priorities of the German foreign policy in the middle east. These beliefs also have an effective impact in adopting policies and stands towards the area. The German foreign policy, in the Arab-Israeli conflict based on many basics, the important of which are the followings:

1. The special relation with Israel, and its right to survive and to be secured, the matter which has been considered as fundamental priority in the German policy towards the middle east.
2. Keeping the Germans’ relative balance between their obligations towards Israel and its survival on the one hand, and their satisfaction that the Palestinians have the right of self-determination on the other; and this is represented by the German emphasis on the necessity for establishing a Palestinian State side by side with the Israeli one, and the establishment of such a state is included with the Israeli security interests.

Since the German unity, the successive governments have been shaping their foreign policy in the middle east within the European frame, and keeping away from individualism for the sake of achieving some aims, the most important of which is to make the European partners feel assured, and that Germany will be away from an individual adventure, associated with the German realization of the importance of the American role in the middle east, and in coordinating the Arab-Israeli peace process. The American occupation to Iraq also represented the appearance of the German role in the middle east when the US showed its intentions take a military operation against Iraq and Germany demonstrated its opposition and reservations towards the American rigorous stand against Iraq before starting the military operations.

Although Germany insisted not to take a direct part in the war, it participated on the other hand in supporting the political operation in Iraq after 9/4/2003. The German attitudes towards the non-proliferation of nuclear and mass destruction weapons lead to the rejection of the going on development in the Iranian nuclear program because of the threaten of this program to the German interests in the gulf which Germany seeks for developing and increasing them within the German interests in Iran.

As for the Kurdish issue, Germany naturally has an attitude towards such an issue, which is considered as one of the important issues in the middle east, because of the wide Kurdish colony existing in it. The Success of any policy requires some conditions, internal and external factors, such as the increasing of the capabilities and powers by which a new trend will emerge in the German foreign policy. These capabilities and powers will determine by themselves their effectiveness in the German policy towards the middle east in two different directions:

The first: The use of the increasing power of Germany in practicing stronger impact in the middle east as well as participating in collective decisions’ making.

The second: Germany may try to dissolve or stop its collective relations in the middle east in order to fulfill its own foreign policy in a more individualistic way. Both of the expected directions assures that the increasing power of Germany will lead to a deep change in its foreign policy. So the German policy in the middle east will be with three faces in the future:

1. The continuation of the German efforts in the middle east within the completion of the international organizations, and such policy can be called (The Organizational Policy), which means that Germany will go on working in the middle east within the frame of the European Union and The UN.
2. The German efforts within the frame of the primary economic interests which includes companies, groups of interests and investments, we can call this policy (The Profiting Policy). In other words, the German trend in the middle east will be towards the economic profits and even the political ones that can add to Germany new capabilities.

3. The German efforts within the frame of the basic values that prevail the German society in accordance with the basic German law and the ideal principles in Germany's foreign policy, we can call this policy (The Ideal Policy).

The most important thing to observe is that Arabs may reject the American role in the area, but in the contrary they refuse to give this role to any other power, and even if some of the Arab countries try to give it to a new power, in the end this new power will be tied to the American domination in the area. The German academic view thinks that there is a contradictory visions among the Arabs themselves concerning the active European existence in the policy of the middle east. Though the welcoming of the press to the European role as an alternative to the American absolute domination, the reality proved that Arabs always preferred joining the Americans' arrangements to keep the Europeans away from the real scene of peace negotiations for example, and this is in virtue of accepting the American domination. More than once, the Americans made it clear for the European powers that their appearance, role and initiatives in the peace process of the middle east are not welcome by the Arab rulers, and accordingly, the future of the German policy in the middle east will be contingent to the American existence and satisfaction.

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**University of Baghdad**

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<td>Department</td>
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<tr>
<td>Full Name as written in Passport</td>
<td>HAMSA QAHTAN KHALAF</td>
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<tr>
<td>( ) Master</td>
<td>(√ ) PhD</td>
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<td>Dissertation Title</td>
<td>Political reform in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC)</td>
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**Abstract**

The trend to change has overrun the Arabian states in the region during last few years, and the rate of its influence varied from one to another.

The Arabian Gulf States dealt with the global inclination towards democracy, and political freedom in terms of liberalism in a positive, and flexible manner better than many Arabian States more ancient in being tuch with democratic evolution in its significance.

The member of Arabian Gulf States Cooperation Council witnessed two waves of political reforms during last decade, the first one took place in the nineties decade last centry, and the second started at the end of that decade, and it is still on process. Both waves put political systems of Gulf States on modernization threshold after long time of stagnancy.

The features of the first wave resemble in two aspects in countries never knew before the existence of institutions, and legislations that control political life, and the process of contribution in it.

The first aspect was the establishment of the state consultative courts by assignment in Saudi
Arabia, and Bahrain in 1992.

The second aspect was the legislations, and principles issued in Saudi Arabia in 1992, and in Oman in 1996.

The second wave witnessed Qatars initiative in issuing its permanent constitution in April 2003 in conjunction with adopting the mechanism of general election to form the state consultative courts instead of assignment.

The United Arabs Emirates adopted a system combined between assignment, and election, while Oman cancelled governmental role in selection, and assignment of the courts members, with enlargement of the base of contribution in political process.

There were reasons behind Gulf States pursue to adopt political reforms since the decade of nineties last centry and they are:

- Economic, and social evolutions in these states during seventies, and eighties decades last century due to petrol revenue increases, which led to emergence of educated section of society claimed political reforms, and participation in political process.

  This section played a role in making a specific change in political awareness among the citizens.

- The variables followed the innovation of Kuwait, and the war in 1991 has risen questions about the nature of political systems, and the expected political evolution in Arabian Gulf States after the clarity of weakness, security disclosure, and debility of military power in those states despite their huge defence expenditures.

  These variables inspired people to pay attention to political process, and they looked forward to take share in it, and not to let it quitrent to a particular section of society, practical reality prove its defects in facing crisis.

- The trend of Gulf States to achieve legitimacy through enlargement of base of political partnership and resorting to elections instead of achieving it through fulfillment, because of the following:

  a. The increase of international pressure demanding democratic change especially after September 9.11th 2001.

  b. The recognition of increasing importance of political reform in Gulf states as an immune method to reduce possibilities of violence like what happened in Bahrain at large scale in 2005.

The present study comprises an introduction, a preliminary section, five chapters, and a conclusion.

The preliminary section is about the concept of political reform. The first chapter deals with the first reform endeavour in Gulf States. The second chapter investigates elements of political reform in Gulf States, the first section studies internal elements, while the second section examine external elements.

The third chapter devoted to constitutional reforms in three sections. In the first one we study the constitutional amendment in Kuwait, and in Bahrain. The second section is devoted to study legislation, and principles issued in Saudi Arabia, and Oman, while the third section examines the permanent constitution in Qatar, and in the United Arabs Emirates.

The fourth chapter deals with political reform through investigations of elections, and contribution in political process, human rights, civil society, and the right of expression.

The fifth chapter deals with political reform deterrent through studying regulations, and constitutional frame work feebleness with in the members of the Arabian Gulf States cooperation council, besides investigates social, economic, and cultural elements taking into consideration the future
of political reform in these countries. The conclusion of the thesis includes a summary of the results reached to through the present study.

University of Baghdad

College Name | POLITICAL SCIENCE
Department | POLITICAL SYSTEM
Full Name as written in Passport | Nadia Fadhil Abbas

( ) Master (✓) PhD

Dissertation Title | The problem of nation building in Indonesia and its reflection on the national unity

Year | 2006-2007

Abstract

Indonesia is considered one of the largest archipelago in the world. It consists of 17 thousand islands and lies in the south east of Asia, positioned between Asia in the north and Australia in the south and having the Indian Ocean on the west and south, the pacific ocean on the east and the china sea on the north.

Indonesia suffered from a long and harsh colonization since the 15 century by Portugal, Netherlands and Japan. After its independence in 1945 the Indonesian government was left with a complicated historical and geographical heritage. The Indonesian leadership tried after liberation from the colonization to form a single central government from the geographical, population, central and economical formula. The following government depended on the army and gave it liberty in facing the disputes, they gave its leadership an economical and political power which resulted in massacres and violations of human rights. The people of some islands and regions today like Ache, Ambon Kalimantan, Arian Jaya demand their independence following the example of East Timor that got its independence in May 2002. Some of the political movements demand federal government. These regions witness a wave of violence and struggle between the native in habitant and immigrants and between Muslims and Christians that jeopardizes the national unity of the Indonesian nation. According to what has been presented the study tackles "the problem of building the nation in Indonesia and its reflection on the national unity" through the following chapters:

The first chapter deals with the theoretical frame in studying the concept on the nation.

The second chapter deals with the political, social and economical environment of Indonesia and the establishment of the modern government.

The third chapter deals with the political system in Indonesia and the building of the government.

The fourth chapter deals with the reasons behind the existence of secessionist movements in Indonesia.

The fifth chapter deals with the most prominent secessionist movements in Indonesia and its reflection on the national unity.

Finally the study concludes to what extent the national unity in Indonesia will be able to hold on among the surrounding interactions of external interference by foreign greed in this rich country in addition to the internal condition presented by the geographic, racial, cultural, religious disputes, the economical crisis, corruption and absence of social justice. The Indonesian nation despite having multiple races and languages, the attempts of division, it is tolerant and works on maintaining its existence to remain as independent whole with a cultural, educational and religious specialty.
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<td>Dissertation Title</td>
<td>National Unity and the Iraqi political system (study in the obstacles and solutions)</td>
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<td>Year</td>
<td>2006-2007</td>
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<td>Abstract</td>
<td>To talk about unity in diversity, the centers of power must be able to function freely, so if the Iraq minorities submerged or suppressed by the majority, it considered a denial democracy. Wherever society shaves such diversity, wherever different groups exist side by side the chances of survival of the entire community are greater, so power must exercise interims of common programmers, common attitudes and common ideals. Many think that the diversity of Iraq and the multiplicity of centers of power is a source of weakness for the country, but the right view that the greater the number of centers of power in a people provided these centers a balance with one another and a harmony among them the stronger the country. There are a number of different groups within the country, the problem arise if these groups emphasize their individuality and threatens the unity of the Iraqi nation, or interferes with the heath of the political body, but the dangers may also arise if the political body submerge or suppress the individuality of the separate groups. If groups are formed on flexible consideration, it will make a greater cohesion for the community.</td>
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<td>Master PhD</td>
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<td>Dissertation Title</td>
<td>THE AUTHORITY CONCEPTIN THE POLITICAL INTELLECT OF THE IRAQI ISLAMIC CONTEMPORARY PARTIES</td>
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<td>2006-2007</td>
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<td>Abstract</td>
<td>The Islamic religion comprise of a comprehensive perspective for the universe since creation passing by living of human being on the earth and till the life after the day of resurrection. Within this comprehensive perspective, The</td>
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Islamic philosophy can be searched about existence of human being in the universe whereas it gave him a distinguished view not as he is a speaking creature but as he is assigned to carry the letter of the life according to the divine legislation. The human carry a great mission whereas the heaven and the earth rejected that, also God honored him by giving him earth and granting the capabilities especially (mind and realizing) and finally, God make him his successor in the earth.

The prophecy of Mohammed came to determine the final system of this successor which remain as an eternal guide for the human being regarding his faith about the reality of the existence and how to manage and organize his life affairs. This system includes all the behavior of the human which the first source is the afflatus of the God to his Prophet and this afflatus brought forth two original versions (i.e.) the Holy Quran and the Prophetic Hadith.

Every society should have a sort of a system so that it could the promise of meeting this needs and requirements. This system, in a way denotes the division of the society members into two classes: a ruling class that would exercise the regulations and laws and a ruled one that would submit to those laws and yield obedience to the former one. Thus, authority comes up with the emergence of a human community, without which a system cannot be fulfilled within the community. And if this authority were necessary to achieve such a system, then it would be bound to preserve the liberties of the individuals under it. In this way this authority would be bound by impenetrable restrictions and if it did so, turned into tyranny and dictatorship.

The more developed the human societies, the more evolved the forms of authority and by time they would turn into laws and regulations responsible for the organization of society and no sooner a state exists than the laws and regulations have become more stable and sophisticated.

In order to change what was previlieged before the Islamic religion, the Islam established three main levels in the community, the first one is the intellectual level through establishing knowledge and learning bases. The second is the social level of the community which was subject to the authority and tyrant of the tribe whereas it establish consultation, justice and equality to secure the community from splitting and collapsing. The third one is the level by which it can be built strong bases which are responsible for securing and establish the State. The prophet Mohammed combined at that time between religion and politics at the same time and this was the main factor of the consolidation of the Islamic community at that time.

The relation between religion and politics has an old rooted and this relation imposed itself in all humanitarian communities either the primitive or the developed ones. The religious political parties are considered an intermediate relation between the religious and the political field in the community. The Islamic religion in the political concept of the Islamic jurisprudent is considered as a religion and the present life, faith and politics and managing the present life and the afterlife together and it witnessed a kind of Islamic political parties. In the Iraqi community, the relation between religion and politics was distinct and related directly with the great role of the religion scholars in the political existence in this community starting from struggling the British occupation of Iraq during the first world war and passing by facing the Iraqi Government and the consequent political regimes and
This was characterized by peace one time and violence in other times, expressing itself by parties and organizations which adopted the Islam as their belief and method in the life and got using from the modern parties experience and examples which were existed in the last stages of the Othman State and after that time.

The transferring of the Islamic modern political concept from theory to application range connected with the attitudes of the Islamic parties and movements whereas they are endeavoured to express that concept. The same regarding the Islamic parties and movements in Iraq especially these parties have their political ideas which accord on some concepts and separate in anothers in particular the matter of political authority which responsible for administration and organizing the community affairs regarding function and legitimacy source of this authority in addition to execute its political activity and forming Islamic political parties which practice that activity in the community.

This research indicates most of the concepts which were presented regarding the essence of the authority in the Islamic modern political concepts firstly and the essence of the partisanship in that concept secondly due to the close relation between each other.

The complexity related with the political nation of the Iraqi Islamic modern parties require to start from an assumption in the light of which the research items are discussed in details. Therefore, this research will begin from an assumption that there is a relation between religion and political fields in the Islamic modern political concept in general and in the political concept of the Iraqi Islamic modern parties in particular which have their own concepts regarding the nature of the relation between the religion and the political fields through their ideas about the political authority and the concepts based on the Holy Quran and the Sunna of the Prophet Mohammed which related with it.

In order to indicate the concepts raised in this research, it is required to adopt a scientific method based upon detering analysing and correcting the information to reach to the result.

Though that using one method in the academic research is an essential but it is not adequate, therefore, it was required to use a combination method basing on combining between more than one scientific method due that the subject matter of the research is complex and this lead to adopt a historical descriptive method to get acquainted with the concepts of the Islamic Scholars regarding the authority through various eras in addition to the comparative analysis method to analyse the intellect concepts and make a comparison between them.

The research sets out of a fundamental principle, that is the demonstration of most of the previous theories about the identity of authority in the contemporary political Islamic thought, firstly and the identity of assuming the thought of a party, secondly.

Owing to the nature of strong bond between one another and then moving towards projecting this object on the political thought of the contemporary Iraqi Islamic parties and movements, which attempt to put their political thought into practice or finding a general framework in which enters the relation between the religious and the political a state of balance.

The clarification of the problematically relating to the political thought of the contemporary Iraqi Islamic parties and the end that the research is trying to reach.
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<tr>
<td>Full Name as written in Passport</td>
<td>GHAIDA SAEED ABDALMAJEED</td>
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<td>( ) Master</td>
<td>(✓) PhD</td>
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<td>Dissertation Title</td>
<td>Turkish-U.S. relations 1991-2005</td>
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Turkish-U.S. relations -one of the issues of concern to the researcher in the field of politics for being a relationship between two important actors in the international arena, particularly the Middle East

The United States had a significant interest in U.S. win over Turkey toward the West, Turkey found interest in it too, so we found a member of NATO

The reverse is expected after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the importance of Turkey in the U.S. strategic perception is not over, especially since the geographical proximity of Turkey seemed more strained, not to mention the paradigm shift west pursued by Trkiyawalve the United States wants him to the U.S. to be an example in the region

I was impressed by Turkish relations - the U.S. for the period (1991-2005) variables radical and substantial and these variables Amadaklah or international factors internal affected this relationship lies in the political parties, Turkish, which plays a key role in the political process, The other factor is the Kurdish issue, the file Turkey dealing with extreme caution the United States has used as a pressure on the Turkish governments where not pursuing a consistent policy over the issue and seemed always against the violation of human rights

There are other external factors such as the Cyprus issue is a source of concern for the strategic alliance between the two countries since the sixties to the present

The other factor is the issue of the request to join the European Union Turkish dream and obsession of its foreign policy. And that the United States is trying to prove her U.S. it is only able to persuade the Europeans to accept membership

As for the Iraqi file, as it seems influencing factor strongly on the relationship between the two countries, which were in turn in 2003 to a major crisis during the Iraq war and the U.S. occupation him because Turkey refused to participate and it seems the economic factors and security is the reason behind it more than the fact that the Islamist party has himself in the formation of the government, but at the same time you do not want Turkey to lose its alliance with the United States Maintaining strategic relationships with them and with the West in general is a major goal of its foreign policy goals since its founding in 1923
Throughout its four chapters, the study addresses the problem of rebuilding the state in general, particularly in Iraq. In chapter one, I have handled the different methods that have discussed the origin of the state and the method of its transformation.

The differences among these methods used to be based on the difference in the stages of the state development and the different variables focused on by researchers. The state in this study is linked to the community in which it is formed taking into consideration the surrounding circumstances, the geographical environment, the way of forming relations of power among the members of the community and methods of interaction among institutions in the state.

The third world states constitute an essential part of this study in which we describe their general features and particular conditions. This was whether in terms of the general view of the state as defined by the occupation, the geography of the state, or the historical conditions that form its social structure. Chapters two and three focus on all issues related to Iraqi state. This starts from the problem of forming the authority through foreign will. In this regard, Iraq has had experienced two stages that are different in terms of their international conditions and internal environment. In addition, there was a difference in terms of method of constituting the state and reconstructing after the damage. The study gathers most of theoretical knowledge and practical expertise in order to synthesize the hypotheses of constructing the state within the occupation.

This is not to justify such an illegal act, but rather to make countries who are under the oppression of occupation move away from the mistake of lack of planning for the post-occupation stage, namely (Building the state).

The bulk of this study focuses on the relationship between the state’s institutions and the structure’s of society as another attempt to prove the theoretical hypothesis based on the idea of connecting the general frame of the state, particularly the form of the government and regime with the economic and social formula of the community such as oppression, slackness, waste, dictatorship and lack of...
In addition, others should not try to annul the hypothesis of the acceptance of these characteristics by the eastern communities. We take their suggestions without inspecting them.

Chapter three and four, which encompass eight sections, deal with the institutions in Iraq in terms of their relationship to styles and relations of production. This covers laws of lands and methods of compromising ownership of lands, the fragmentation of certain parts of the traditional image (the tribe) and the restructuring of the relationship between the head of the tribe and its members. The fragmentation process has stopped at the stage in which the occupying authority needed to rely on tribe paradigm. Hence there was an exchange of credentials among kings and ministers, the military bureaucracy and the owners through the parliament. Through the military institution, the social rivalry has extended to the state field. The problem was represented in the impossibility of moving from one production phase to another without leading the state to a coup. In other words, it is rather impossible to separate the economical and the political aspect in which the state moved to the economic welfare. In order to move to the capitalist style, the state had to absorb the surplus and reuse to produce the capitalist style. In this regard, it moves to putting laws of agricultural revolution and nationalization of oil and financial and industrial institutions. At this time, the role of oil sponsorship came to the front, which gave the state a great dependence in the community, needless to say, that the movement towards the capitalist style requires the intervention of the state in the management of the industrial process. In accordance with the method of forming the productive sectors of Iraq, the state – through its government- has become the leading employer and contractor, thanks to its public sector. Hence follows the fragmentation of classes and transforming citizens to audience for the state because of different methods such as recruiting and the supply card, which has strongly linked the lives of people with the state. The role that the industrial revolution has played was represented in breaking the social domination networks among people and regulating the community in a hierarchical way in addition to developing it. The function of the state’s institutions was limited to security, protection and regulating the movement to different production styles. This is in the time the community itself remained fragmented as proved in the Iraqi case. This has led to expanding the functions of the state. In this regard, the military institution has replaced the civil institution in a certain stage. In addition, the political parties have turned out to be staunch swords based in the class difference, which was concomitant with the ethnic and racism differentiation. Hence, came the violent attacks in 1958-1959.

It is worth mentioning that the formation of the state took four centuries starting from the sixteenth century to the twentieth century, particularly towards the end of World War I. Hence, it becomes the
most prominent political form, which can't be ignored. The reason is that it proved to be the most successful form of meeting the political and military requirements for the changing world economy and the international system. It also proved the only political entity that was able to deal with the need for the national independence and unity that accompanied the involvement of the public in the political scene. The great position the state acquired in the European example has constituted a model for the majority of the communities that have struggled for their independence from the colonial power. Despite the divergent contexts, the state remains as a political scene that it is hard to disappear, notwithstanding all the conflicts the Arab world is witnessing. In this regard, the conflict in Iraq is a good example on the strong basis of the state as a full entity whose inhabitants refuse to be replaced by any other entity.

Socialization is a continuous process through which an individual can acquire biological, psychological development in addition to emotions, feelings, knowledge, values, judgments, practices, and culture that has political dimensions. Political Socialization is process run by some social Agencies that go under effects of some biological, environmental and cultural factors. An observer can notice that there is a difference in political behaviour of individual, groups and political communities. So, this study deals with the problem of why there is a difference in political behaviour in each of Kuwait and Bahrain? In an answer to this question, we hypothesized that there is a relationship between the pattern of political socialization and political behavior. This study also is going to answer some questions, that are related to its hypothesis, such as:

1. What is the role of this socialization agencies in Kuwait and Bahrain?
2. What are the factors that affecting the socialization agencies?
3. Is there political dimensions to the socialization patterns?
4. Is there mutual effects between political culture and political Socialization?
5. Is there any similarities or differences in Political socialization between Kuwait and Bahrain?
6. What is the future of Political Socialization in Kuwait and Bahrain?

In order to prove our hypothesis and answer all those questions, we have depended on so many studies, theoretical and case studies literature of political socialization in many different countries as well as Kuwait and Bahrain. Also the Compound Approach, that consists of some methods, had been used. Hence, for example, the
Social Causality had been used, where the political socialization considered as cause and the political behaviour as the result of it.

The importance of this dissertation is to study and analyze political behaviour in Kuwait and Bahrain through biological or physical, psychological, economical, social, and foreign environmental effects and not only through one-sided explanations such as political or internal ones as had been done by most of the time by many studies. Also the importance of this study is to search in a subject, i.e. political socialization, that very related to the social and political stability in both countries. One may say that the success of political socialization in Kuwait and Bahrain can demonstrate a good example to be followed by many neighbouring countries. The study tried to collect, bring to the surface and analyze the most literature of political socialization in Kuwait and Bahrain. I hope that I have made a contribution to Arabic and Iraqi scientific Library a new source in such difficult subject which have been studied through a good methodology and high concentration concerning political sociology.

We have divided our dissertation into five chapters: Chapter one consists of four sections, dealt with the political Socialization theoretically. The first section discussed the definition of the political socialization. The second traced the roots of political socialization. The third studied the importance of political socialization. The last tried to discover how political socialization is acquire. Chapter two studied the socialization in Kuwait. This chapter consisted of three sections. The first concentrated on agencies of political socialization in Kuwait. The second dealt with factors that affected these agencies. The third studied the effect of culture on political socialization. The third chapter studied the political socialization in Bahrain. It is consisted of three sections. The first studied the social agencies. The second studied the effects of some factors on political socialization. The last section searched the effect of culture on political socialization. The fourth chapter dealt with the comparison between Kuwait and Bahrain concerning political socialization. It consisted of three sections. The first section focused on comparison on the level of social agencies. The second dealt with the comparison on the level of factors that affected the process of political socialization. The third studied the comparison on the level of effecting of culture on the process of political socialization. The last chapter studied the future of political socialization in Kuwait and Bahrain. It consisted of two sections. The first section studied the relationship between political socialization and the citizenship and political Islam. The last section studied the relationship between political socialization and political integrity and stability.

In conclusion It has been found out that Political Socialization in Kuwait and Bahrain is run by primary and secondary agencies. Those agencies go under the effects of some biological, environmental and cultural factors while running the political socialization process. In addition, It has been concluded that there is a mutual effect between political Socialization and culture. It has been found out that there is a political dimensions to the pattern of socialization in Kuwait and Bahrain. In other words, the study proved that the roots of political behavior is come from social origin before its political one. It has found out too that political socialization in both countries is similar in many ways: agencies of socialization and the factors affected them. However Kuwaitis’ socioeconomic status is better than that of Bahrainis’ therefore less negatively affected by the sectional differences and the external interferences. As a result Kuwait is more socially and politically stable than Bahrain since the majority of people satisfied with the regime. Moreover The regime of Kuwait has been legitimized more than the Bahraini one has done by the external environment too though Kuwait endangered threats and occupation by Iraq.

Finally, it has been concluded that the future of socialization in Kuwait and Bahrain is depending on some on internal and external levels. The more the factors such as the legitimacy and effectiveness of the regime agencies of socialization are satisfied with the regime performance the more it socializes its members on acceptance of the regime and vies versa. The socialization of this type will lead to lessen the opposition to regime, such as the "political Islam", achieve social and political integration and stability in the end. Based on that, one can expect that socialization in Kuwait will reproduce, to an accepted level, support to the regime and political stability while will reproduce less support to the Bahraini one. In the end one can say that this study has proved its hypothesis and answered all its questions. Moreover the study has been sub–concluded that the Arabic and Islamic political socialization in Kuwait and Bahrain is a successful one as long as it has been achieved a satisfaction from especially nowadays.
Democratic conversion represents the regression of authority ruling systems in all its forms and types to replace other systems in rule depending on real public choice, legitimate political institutions and honest elections as means to exchange and reach power. Also, this conversion is considered a substitute for the individual rule and violation of law and constitution. Several countries have witnessed this experiment in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Easter Europe. Even, the 1980s period is taken to be an indicator of the third world influence by the democratic wave which has helped some Arabic countries to adopt democratic rule systems and to put an end to the uniparty system.

The reasons behind deserting the authority system and turning to democracy from one state to another differ. The reasons of conversion may be stemmed out from inside the society itself because democracy is imposed on society from outside, or the democratic conversion may be resulted from the government desire itself believing in this system advantage or influenced by the experiments of countries adopted this principal. As examples, the political and economic conversions witnessed by the (ex) Soviet union and the rest of Eastern Europe States at the end of 1980s of the last century represented by the fall of antiparty system and the adoption of multiparty system, as well as the end of Cold War period by promoting US position as the great and only power and US role in supporting the process of democratic conversion and human rights in the Arab Homeland. In this respect, the information and communication revolution and its role in pumping an intellectual political and economic extension beyond States’ geographic boundaries cannot be neglected.

The democratic conversion in the Arab Homeland was exposed to several hindrances, some concerning the nature of ruling systems that attaches democratic concepts and sometimes excludes them totally from practice, and some other concerning the policies adopted by Arabic systems in treating the minorities swinging between coercive merging and the trials of comprehension and containment or granting them a nominal autonomy.

The Arabic political systems witnessed democratic conversions in the political and constitutional construction. Those conversions took various shapes and forms such as admitting the principal of authority peaceful circulation and public right and freedoms. In addition, the Arab Homeland witnessed an escalating orientation towards admitting the organizational multiplicity, yet it did not extend in its range until the 1990s decade in specific including several Arabic countries but in different
The issue of the democratic conversion future in the Arab Homeland shows a lot of hindrances standing in the way of achieving radical changes in the Arabic reality in one hand, and the factors preparing and readying the reality to the occurrence of the major conversion process in the foundation of that reality in the other hand. The Arabic reality in its fact owns two kinds of powers or elements: reliability powers resisting the sudden change or conversion and the renovation powers providing the ground and preparing the theatre for the new reality. So, we can witness the being of democratic conversions as a result of what is surrounding the Arabic world of international quickly alterable and changeable circumstances and developments represented by renewed political and social trends and beliefs.

Hence, the importance of civil society institutions emerges in creating the conversion process as presenting awareness and developing a work to get out of the jurisprudent and political obedience and to stand against the foreign domination. Also, the importance of the political reformation can not be neglected through occupying an important position on the political conversion map for the special importance of institutional frameworks in settling and establishing the foundations of these changes.

In addition to the opinions referring to the capability of the democratic conversion or the continuity of the current authority systems, there is another opinion refers that the capability of violent change provoked by the public is a standstill probability, even though it is unlikely. In other words, democracy is the organizational embodiment of peoples’ right in determining their destiny and electing their representative and interests and rights conservative.

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<td>The American Foreign policy towards Syria 1989-2004</td>
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Abstract

The process of decision making in the American foreign policy towards Syria -

The protection of Israel's security was an American priority for the administrations of Goerge Bush, Bell Clinton and Goerge W. Bush. While the settlement of Arab-Israeli conflict has been prioritized by the formers, the latter had no concern in this regard. The United States kept demanding Syria to deny the resort for the Palestinian
organizations and stop the Syrian support and fatherhood for Hizbullah in Lebanon that were categorized as terrorist groups.

The existing administration has considered the stability of Iraq as a major aim. Many American accusations of destabilizing Iraq were made against Syria. In addition, America has called continuously to disarm the Syrian alleged mass destruction weapons. By analyzing the mechanism of Policy making, the study has made clear that the American presidency was the most important institution. In terms of means, the American administrations have been using the pressures by accusing Syria of supporting the terror. Other issues like the Syrian existence in Lebanon; the undemocratic nature of Syrian regime and human rights abuses were highlighted. An act to account Syria was passed by the congress and approved by the president Bush.

Moreover, the economic sanctions and the political and financial stake and carrot manners were adopted to change the Syrian behavior.

. - The internal factors that affect the American foreign policy towards Syria

The study admits that the religious and cultural bases of the American society have eventually contributed in the rising of the Christian Zionism and the new conservatives. Both ideologies are sharing the hatred towards Arabs, including Syrians. Those growing trends of thinking have been affecting clearly on the policy making process towards Syria.

The orientations of American mass media regarding the Syrian issues were negative and impacted by the official visions. Consequently, the Public had nothing but to believe and adopt those visions. The Zionist Lobby has superseded the Arabic one, in terms of effectiveness and involvement in the process of foreign policy making.

. The external factors that affect the American policy towards Syria -

There are various Arab factors, among them the Iraqi one is the most significant, at least from the American point of view. Iraq has been considered as a strategic pillar of the Syrian national security until the American invasion of this country in 2003. A similar impact has the Egyptian variable. Egypt played a major role in the peace process and represented a strategic partner for the United States. Regionally, Israel has derived its influence from its strategic location, the Religious – cultural interconnection with the American society and its effective lobby in the United States.

Turkey, the Syrian neighbour, had its particular disputes with Syria. Its impact was derived from its important status in the American strategy, the membership in NATO and its cooperative partnership with Israel. Iran maintains a friendly relationship with Syria. This relationship is feeding also on the aggressiveness towards United States and the Iranian seeking for the mass destruction weapons and opposition to the Middle East peace process.

Internationally, there were different variables that contributed to make the United States the only superpower. This fact has sparked Syrian thinking to reform its map of alliances by restoring relationship with Egypt and joining the International alliance led by the United States to enforce Iraqi forces to retreat from Kuwait in 1991. Affected by the same variables, Syria participated in Madrid conference, sponsored by the United States, to commence the peace negotiations between Israel and Arab countries.

The former Soviet Union and its successor, Russia, had historical relations with Syria and played a role in sponsoring the peace process. Russia is the main source of Syrian weapons and could use the Syrian gate to restore
The impact of European Union was a by product for its economic power. Europe is a strong and promising candidate to be a competitor to the United States and has its part in the peace process and Euro-Mediterranean partnership.

The Contemporary American policy towards Syria in the post cold war period -

Three important factors have been framing the trends of the policy: Lebanon, the second Gulf war and peace process. When the interests of two countries met, Washington overlooked the Syrian political and military dominance in Lebanon.

In the second Gulf war, the United States has succeeded to bring Syria in the International Alliance, and subsequently in the peace process.

Clintoon administration sought to settle the Arab- Israeli conflict on the Syrian truck. In spite of its prominent efforts, this administration has failed to achieve the peace because of the Israeli defiant attitude.

The existing administration of Goerge W. Bush has framed its policy basing on the intimate relationship with Israel, war on terror, Iraqi crisis and Syrian existence in Lebanon. While the administration did not direct attention into the peace process, the war on terror was one of the fields on which it gained the Syrian cooperation. But quickly, the position has been changed as a result of the American accusations against Syria of supporting and sponsoring insurgency in Iraq. The Syrian existence in Lebanon was one of the issues instigated by the United States.

Three scenarios have been suggested by the study about the future of American foreign policy towards Syria. The scenario of selective policy in which the stake and carrot policies will be used predominantly, the scenario of regime isolating and the scenario of regime change. The second scenario is more probable because the first one was already failed and the third one is not possible due to the American engagement in the Iraqi morass.

In conclusion, the American foreign policy towards Syria since 1989 onward has failed to include this country in the sphere of American influence in the region.
function through the declaration of the U.S. and S.U (later Russia) their readiness to work through the UN and Security Council. The United States showed a high degree of cooperation with the council when Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1990. The Gulf war has been clearly seen as a period of success of American policy in securing the cooperation of security council and this engendered a temporary optimism in the possibility of the success of United Nations and particularly Security Council in working as an agent of the new world system declared by the American administration in 1990. However, that condition did not continue for a long time for the main question of post cold war Security Council has become how to make the U.S. Deal with its cases and procedures. In the meantime, the main question of the US was how much the Council work to consolidate the American interests could. In order to achieve its interests the US worked together with the coalition of the countries that desired it to re-define the concepts of threats of international peace and security.

On the level of aims, the US faced many challenges some of which had to do with the centrality of international law and the legality of its policies that became questionable. Could the US by using or marginalizing the Security Council create an environment, which was securer and more stable and could lessen the size and quality of the new international threats? A revision of the American policy in the aftermath of cold war shows that the US pushed the Security Council in certain cases to send strong signals of activity, whereas in other cases it weakened the efforts of the Council, and that contradictory attitude can be a result of the variety and diversity of American interests. There are other variables like public opinion, the activities of the congress and the executive policies that limit council’s relations with the US. However, despite that the question of how much will let the US itself in it’s war against terrorism or interference in the affairs of other countries to be tied to any internal or international concern as it was seen in it’s defense of it’s military action in Afghanistan after the attacks of Sept.11, 2001 as an act of self defence. So was the case with Iraq. In both of the cases of Afghanistan and Iraq the US did not ask for the permission or authorization of the Security Council.

The same is the case with the threats of the spread of weapons of mass destruction for there is a tendency in many countries to own these weapons as protectors against American threats where as American tendency is towards increasing the sanctions against such countries. This is unilateralism policy of the US cannot be supported in the Security Council because it will lessen the desire of the other countries in participating in the efforts of monitoring these weapons and securing their non–spread.

In the field of democracy, the Council has not been designed to have a continuous existence in the political life of the member countries but it was said to be international and mainly to take actions to keep international peace and security.

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<td>Abstract</td>
<td>The Scandinavian countries-Sweden, Norway, and Denmark- contain only a very small part of the world’s population, but their experience, especially in recent decades, constitutes A very significant aspect of the human effort to solve the problems men Face. Exciting and controversial developments have Focused much attention on Scandinavia. All the Nordic countries intensely pursue the guest For justice and individual equality and have initiated some institutions such as the ombudsman that have Found imitators around the globe. Medical services are among the best in the world, Innovative ideas Find expression in social organization, in arts and crafts, in technology and industry. The Scandinavian countries had each adopted some system of proportional representation For the election of all or many of their National and local political assemblies. These systems differed one From another. Although Full democracy with universal suffrage for both men and women was Not introduced in any of the Scandinavian countries before the 20 th century, basic democratic institutions are much older, and the peaceful struggle For democracy through the years has in itself been strong political education for these Nations. Scandinavian countries has successfully established solid welfare state. IF other countries are to learn lessons From the</td>
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Scandinavian model, they must note that sound policies are most likely to be effected if the following factors are taken into consideration: careful planning, the inclusion of all concerned groups in the policy-making process and patience with regard to the development of programmers.