



## The possibility to apply the democratic peace theory as a solution for disputes between the KRG and Iraq

**Qaraman Mohammed Hasan**

Lecturer, Department of Legal Administration, Law and International Relations College, Lebanese French University (LFU)

Lecturer, Department of law, College of Human Sciences, The University of Raparin

### ARTICLE INFO

#### **Article History:**

Received: 5/1/2018

Accepted: 28/2/2018

Published: Spring 2018

#### **Doi:**

**10.25212/lfu.qzj.3.2.34**

#### **Keywords:**

*democratic peace,*

*dispute, federal  
government,*

*Kurdistan Region,*

*Referendum,*

*Relationship,*

*Power,*

*International  
institutions,*

*liberal theory,*

### ABSTRACT

Democratic peace thesis expresses the essential principles of liberalism in many areas, but the most significant elements are power of individuals, international institutions and economic cooperation. This theory is a significant attempt to solve issues related to war and peace between states. This theory may account as tool for solving disputes between federal government in Iraq and the Kurdistan Region, if elements of the theory apply properly. While, Iraqi Kurdistan's referendum in 25<sup>th</sup> of September 2017 reignited many disputes between Baghdad and Erbil, there is a possibility to solve these issues peacefully. This paper argues that, if both sides practice democracy, there will be peace and prosperity between them. Therefore, the paper illustrates democratic peace theory by focusing on relationship between liberal theory and democracy in the first part of the research. The second part of the paper applies the democratic peace theory in three major areas regarding relationship between Baghdad and Erbil. Firstly, it explains the role of individuals and power of citizens in democratic states. Secondly, role of international institutions as a core point in liberal theory. Finally, it also illustrates the role of economic cooperation for achieving peace between states in national sphere.



*cooperation,*

*National sphere.*

## **Introduction**

After Peace of Westphalia, sovereign state system emerged in Europe and the system spread quickly worldwide. Researching about this system and relation between states have been developed by many scholars in Europe. For many decades, there were only two theories to explain the international relations. Realism and liberalism as a major dominant theory took a significant proportion of discussion in the last century. After the two World Wars, liberal theory was developed dramatically and one of the methods for expanding liberalism was promotion of democracy. Democratic peace theory was founded by Emmanuel Kant and developed by the US president Woodrow Wilson and many scholars in the liberal theory. According to the theory democratic states are not likely to have a war with each other. The proponents of the theory believe that strong economic relationship between states and having democratic institution within states will prevent war between states. The democratic peace theory can be implemented to determine future relationship between Iraqi government in Baghdad and Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) in Erbil. After the referendum in 25<sup>th</sup> of September 2017, majority of people in the south Kurdistan voted to independent. Thus, the relationship between the Kurdistan region and Iraq are not stable. This research is an attempt to illustrate that democracy and economic dependency will motivate both the KRG and Iraq to have peaceful relationship in the future. Firstly, the paper illustrates the relationship between liberal theory and democracy. Secondly, the research concentrates on the democratic peace theory in three major areas which are power of individuals, international institution and economic cooperation.

## **Liberal theory in the international relations and democracy**

There are many theories for understanding relationship between state and non-state actors in the world. Realism, liberalism, international political economy and international society are among major theories that analyzing different issues in international relations. Among all theories, liberal theory has significant contribution on democracy and promotion of democracy worldwide. Liberalism as one of the influential theories in international relations has been developed by many theorists during centuries. The theory emerged in Europe in late of the seventeenth century and expanded later especially after French and American Revolution (Fukuyama, 2006). At the end of the Second World War liberalism started a new stage with establishment of the United Nations. The UN is considered as obvious evidence of implementation liberal theory in international relations. Simultaneously, because quantity of wars was rare between democratic governments, application of democratic peace theory has increased dramatically. Most scholars in the international relations emphasize that the roots of this contemporaneous peace could belong to democratic peace (Jagers and Gurr, 1995).



According to number of liberal scholars, one of the main reasons for waging first and second world wars was authoritarian regimes. The dictators in these governments have unlimited authority to declare war or make a peace with other countries. Because there is not a democracy and people do not have an influence, it is not difficult for these leaders to declare a war (Jackson and Sørensen, 2015). Thus, the liberal theory is concentrating on creation peaceful relationship between states in the international sphere, but it could be useful tool for interstate disputes, too. After invasion of Iraq, the system and structure of Iraqi government has changed from authoritarian state to more parliamentary system. Kurdistan Region also working to build a democratic government. Thus, this part of the paper concentrates on democracy and democratic process in both Iraq and the KRG.

The relationship between democracy and peace is quite controversial. This controversial issue is returned to city states in Greece because democracy as a government form is returned to this period. Owen (1994) described the relation between democracy and peace as a "Puzzle". While, ancient Greek city states are considered as democratic states, but they fought against each other, and there was a war between them. However, there is an uncertainty about democracy in Greek states. From Thucydides' perspective, Athenians were a non-liberal people because for them being as a hero and occupancy were more significant than "self-preservation and well-being". In addition, it is argued that Sparta's democracy was not better than Athenians. For Spartans adventure and bravery were more important than power and ruling (Owen, 1994). Therefore, there is different vision for democratic government and the relationship between democracy and peace.

Democracy as a core element of liberal theory, does not have a single definition. There are different definitions of democracy between scholars. In his book '*Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*', Joseph Schumpeter affirms that the people's will is a significant element of classical democracy. He states the democratic procedure "is that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote" (Schumpeter, 2013). Huntington (19993) also confirms that choosing leaders in a public election is a main element in democracy for selection government from people (Huntington, 1993). According to Fukuyama (2015) the government can be accounted as democratic, if it is work for the whole society. Democratic governments are not acting based on rulers' interests. The process of democracy is accomplished, if there is a " free and fair multiparty elections" (Fukuyama, 2015). All these definitions concentrating on people power in democratic governments. Thus, the democracy can define as a process that people practice power by choosing government leaders and these leaders should govern the country according the people's will.

Moreover, Promotion of democracy and accepting the idea of democratic peace are different from one society to another because cultural and social aspects have great impacts on implementation of democracy. Some scholars look to democracy in Africa suspiciously because it is still weak. Democratization of the Middle East is a problematic process because the majority of Arab countries may account as a non-democratic country. Despite that, there is a restriction on a political movement in this region. It is claimed that Islam as an ideology has a different interpretation for governing compare to



liberal idea. Islam may challenge democratization process strongly, and it will be an obstruction for liberal democracy in the Middle East (Lewis, 1993).

However, according to Jagers and Gurr (1995) not all the Islamic world refuses the idea of democracy because there are visible examples for supporting this argument. Turkey and Indonesia are among major Islamic countries, but both of them supporting democracy with implication of essential elements of it. Both countries look to the idea from a different perspective, one of them through nationalism approach and another one through admiring western value. Jordan is also attempting to be a democratic country with all limitations because there is a regular election in the country and minorities have particular seats in the parliament. Therefore, it is precocious to decide that democracy and democratic peace cannot be implemented in all societies worldwide and Islamic world as particular (Jagers and Gurr, 1995).

In the case of Iraq, the western liberal democracy aimed to impose democracy on Iraq. According to some liberal scholars, invasion of Iraq in 2003, can justify as a liberal war because Saddam was a dictator that fought against his people and neighboring countries. However, the USA and its allies were more concern about their interests compare to promotion democracy in Iraq in 2003 (Deudney and Ikenberry, 2017). This could be a main reason for difficulty in implementing democracy in Iraq including Kurdistan Region. After terrorist attack on the US in 2001, Bush administration used the idea of democratic promotion in war against Iraq. According to was so-called Bush doctrine, there were four main principles in the white house strategy after 9/11 and one of them was promotion of freedom and democracy. They used democratic promotion as a justification of war (Ish-Shalom, 2008).

For example, Ferguson (2003) quotes two speeches of United Kingdom in the last century and the US in this century to explain the exploitation of democracy by hegemon powers. These quotes can be used to illustrate how empires used liberalization and democracy a justification for war invading another country. The first quote is from General Maude to the people of Iraq 1917 which states that "Our armies do not come into your cities and lands as conquerors or enemies, but as liberators" (Ferguson, 2003). The second quote is from President Bush and it also to the people of Iraq in 2003 which said "The government of Iraq, and the future of your country, will soon belong to you. ... We will end a brutal regime... We will help you build a peaceful and representative government that protects the rights of all citizens." (Ferguson, 2003). It is obvious from the two quotes how powerful states are using the term of 'democracy and liberal idea' for their own interests. Even the main objective of invasion of Iraq was not democracy, but the invasion assisted in promoting democracy. The system in Iraq changed from authoritarian, single party and dictatorship government to multiparty and parliamentary government after 2003. Iraq is federal state and the power is shared between federal government in Baghdad and the Kurdistan Region in Erbil. There are elections, freedom of speech, individual liberty inside there even it is limited. Thus, both Iraq and Kurdistan region have some elements of democracy, but these elements are not enough to consider them as a democratic government.



### **Democratic peace theory**

Following Emmanuel Kant democratic peace theory which argues that democratic states do not tend to fight each other, the US president Woodrow Wilson developed the idea after the First World War. According to Kant, republican may not wage war between them because individuals in the democratic states have a great impact on their governments. However, this cannot be interpreted that people in the non-democratic state more likely to go to war compare to the democratic state, but they do not have significant influence and the decision not belong to them (Lawson, 2003). In addition, President Wilson tried to connect the possibility of world order in peace with promoting democracy. It means that an implementation of the democratic peace thesis will avoid world from violence and the states will not fight each other (Lawson, 2003).

Kant's 'specific federation' and the value of democracy's idea was not having a significant impact in his time, and the thesis attracted attention of scholars and policy makers in the twentieth century. The idea was taken position in the western countries' foreign strategy and it was introduced to public discourses by western politician. More specifically, it was identified by many United States presidents from Woodrow Wilson in twenties century to George W. Bush in the twenty-first century (Baylis et al., 2013). The idea is similar to liberal traditional thought for establishing international legal system among countries with various culture and background. This thought is also close to Jeremy Bentham's idea that war can be solved by force of law. Bentham as liberalist thinker believed that disputes between identities for their own interests can be transformed to peacefully environment as a federation such as Swiss league and Unites States (Baylis et al., 2013).

The famous thesis "Perpetual Peace", which was written by a liberal philosopher Immanuel Kant in 1795, has attracted many scholars. There are many reasons of this attraction. Some proponents of the theory think it is related and necessary for experimental law in the international relations. While for others, it is an obvious respond for Realism that controlled security studies field for a long time. In addition, the assumption that democratic do not fight each other was adapted by United States foreign policy. Clinton emphasized that in his speech in 1994 and he described democratization as a major pillar in his foreign strategy. He stated that in 1994 "ultimately the best strategy to ensure our security and to build a durable peace is to support the advance of democracy elsewhere" (Owen, 1994).

From theoretical perspective, Kant's "Perpetual Peace" can be achieved through democracy with assumption of the democratic world. However, finishing the Cold war coordinated with beginning of a new period of establishing domestic and international institutions. This collaborated with increasing dramatically the quantity of democratic governments worldwide. Many countries have adopted democratic idea for build democratic structure in an unprecedented way during the last two decades. This reason with democratic promotion achieved optimistic outcome for resolving international crises peacefully (Hess and Orphanides, 2001).



Russett (1993) wants to explain the important of democratic peace in the twenty-first century as a peaceful solution for international conflicts. He offers strong evidence because there was no war recorded between democratic nations in 1946 to 1986. Maoz and Russett compared democratic and non-democratic as dyads such as USA and USSR are considered as non-democratic dyads, but they accounted USA and Argentina as democratic dyads just in 1966-72 and 1983-86. It means that if there were changing in regime toward non-democratic, they accounted as non-democratic. However, according to their result, non-democratic dyads substantially more like to wage war between them and they using force more than four times and half compare to democratic dyads. They also like to solve conflicts between each other by relaying on a military solution three times more than democratic dyads. This is a significant evidence for supporting Kantian thesis that democratic states rarely fight each other (Maoz and Russett, 1993) & (Jones et al., 1996)

However, some scholars have quite different understanding of Kant's democratic peace. From prospective of Oneal and Russett (1999) Kant was not liberalist and he was more likely realist about peace between states in the world. According to them, Kant confirms that states have a duty to secure peace in the international relations. They continue by arguing that Kant was known that war is ingrained in the anarchic international sphere. Therefore, states should be warned to behave wisely until they can establish a federation between states or international institution as a new conception. However, the two scholars also discuss that Kant believed of peace as a preferable solution. Kant also mentioned that the technique of using force may delay conflicts for a period, but it will never produce a permanent solution for international disputes (Oneal and Russett, 1999). From establishment of Iraq, Iraqi regimes have used force to solve disputes with Kurds. As a result, disputes have not been resolved, yet. For achieving peace between Iraqi government and the KRG, they can benefit from democratic peace theory. The theory can implement by concentrating on significant elements of it which are power of individuals, international institution and economic cooperation.

### **Power of citizens and individuals**

Most of liberal philosophers have focused on power of individuals since the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Liberalists emphasize on significant role of people in a domestic sphere and the reflection of this power in the international sphere. The same argument has been supported by proponents of the democratic peace thought. They believe that a peaceful environment inside the state will effect positively on the issues between states in the international environment (Dixon, 1994). William Dixon (1994) considers that international issues between national states are managed by individuals who have knowledge of politics, and they know the value of norms and interests. These individuals in power estimate reaction of citizens inside the state before taking any action in the international sphere Such as waging war or solving disputes by using force (Dixon, 1994).

In interpretation of Kant's theory, it is argued that if democratic states do not want to fight each other, it is returned for the power of citizens inside these states. In democratic governments decisions are made by public or their representatives. Because citizens usually pay the price of war, it is difficult





for them to inter a war with other governments (Zakaria, 1997). In democratic states, public will not allow their leader to declare a war because they are the main source for power. Public remains as source of power, if liberal and democratic constitution exists inside state. Iraqi people accepted federal constitution in 2005. Iraqi constitution is considered as fair constitution, but it not guarantees peace, if different groups in Iraq compromise with each other (McGarry and O'Leary, 2007).

However, Iraqi constitution has significant provisions toward liberal democracy and promoting basic principles of democracy. The constitution affirms that Iraqi people are main source for power in the country. The constitution has guaranteed individual rights and important role of civil society organizations. The most valuable point is the constitution prohibited enactment of any law that contradict with principles of democracy, basic freedom and rights (Jawad, 2013). This provisions are crucial for promoting democracy and enactment of public power, but it still requires practical movement for building democratic government.

The power of individuals is still weak in both the federal government and the KRG. However, there are some attempt to enhance citizen power in both side. For instance, Iraqi Federation of Oil Unions (IFOU) is considered as significant example of individual and civil society's power on government decisions. The IFOU enforced Iraqi government to pay attention to poor condition of Iraqi oil workers. The IFOU started with striking of work in many occasions against privatization oil industry. Moreover, when Iraqi government attempted to pass the draft of oil and gas law in 2007 without consultation of the IFOU, they opposed the draft law. According to the IFOU, the draft is dangerous for oil sector in Iraq because it grants more than a half of oil fields to international oil companies for more than twenty years. Because the pressure of the IFOU and other member of Iraqi parliament, the parliament has not approved the draft law (Isakhan, 2014).

The Change movement (Gorran) is another example for practicing democracy in the Kurdistan. Gorran established by Nawshirwan Mustafa in 2009. A few months after the establishment, Gorran participated in Kurdistan's parliamentary election and gained 25 seats of 111 of total seats of the parliament. Then, the movement participated in the new cabinet of the KRG. The Gorran holds number of ministers and the head of the Kurdistan's parliament now (Hevian, 2013). These examples can be considered as an attempt to build democracy, but it is not enough for building peace and stable country.

Just as Tip O'Neill explains "all politics is local", (O'Neill and Hymel, 1994), Iraqi disputes is returned to long term conflicts between various ethnic and religious groups inside Iraq. The dispute between Erbil and Baghdad may be solved by promoting democracy in both federal government and the KRG. The process of building democracy is continuing in both Baghdad and Erbil, but the process slow. The power of individuals is not strong enough to pressure on both governments. Thus, the disputes should be solved locally in the first stage by enhancing democratic process in the country. Then, regional and international actors may account as secondary players in this long term dispute.



Suganami (1989) argues that liberalism in the nineteenth century attempted to secure freedom of individuals through liberal national constitution. Having liberal constitution, separation of authorities and representing a government led to harmony of interests between individuals, and this achieves peace and prosperity in the domestic level. Therefore, international institutions can apply the same model by transforming these concepts in domestic government to the international sphere. However, freedom and right of individuals may challenge the modification in the international level because these interpret to right of self-determination with rights and commitments of state in international relations (Suganami, 1989).

The First World War was the transformation point for proponents of liberalism to change the traditional thought about peace. It means that the peace is not natural status, but the peace should be structured through international institutions. While, some scholars arguing critically that the peace and prosperity are not natural conditions, but they believe that peace and prosperity require advanced equipment to be constructed properly (Luard, 1992). Thus, maintain of peace in the world is one of the main objectives of the United Nations.

Supposedly, the US president Woodrow Wilson can be considered as renowned supporter for establishing international authority to manage the relation between states in the international sphere. He confirmed that peace can be guaranteed only by international organizations. Organizing international anarchy requires international institution with transparency in diplomatic agreements between states in the world. This led to building trust and faith in balancing of power between states and the security will not remain secret under unified international organization (Suganami, 1989). In addition, when peace secured inside national state, it will reflect in the international field, and it will be applied to international disputes by cosmopolitan institutions. In a situation that the peaceful resolution failed to apply, using force will be the final solution for preventing violence in international society. This illustrates the consistency of national and international sphere for achieving peace and avoiding violence from liberal perspective (Baylis et al., 2013).

Thus, peaceful and stable Iraq has positive impacts on all regional and international institutions. These institutions have responsibility to pressure on the federal government and the KRG to take peaceful methods in solving their conflicts. Determination of border between the KRG and federal government, oil revenue distribution and Kirkuk issue are among disputes in formation of Iraqi constitution in 2005 (Shakir, 2017). United Nations and its organization has a main role as an international institution to promote peace and democracy in Iraq. United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI) has ability to influence on both Baghdad and Erbil for this purpose. The UNAMI has worked in Iraq since 2003 and one of the main goals of the organization is provide consultation and solutions for disputes between federal government and the KRG (Katzman, 2012). The bridge of trust between Baghdad and Erbil is not strong following the referendum and more specially after interring Iraqi force into disputed areas. If UNAMI succeeds in creating an environment for dialogue between the two sides under its supervision, the trust will return and the possibility for solutions will increase. In this way, the process of building democracy and peace will enhance.





### **Economic Cooperation**

Another significant element of Kantian democratic peace that reflect the core idea of liberalism in the international relations is economic cooperation. According to the thesis, democratic states have more opportunity to create a strong economic environment, economic relations and reduce the interstate conflicts. After nineteenth century, the changing regimes toward democracy increased which led to open markets between democratic countries. According to Oneal and Russett (1999), there is a strong relationship between democratic peace and economic growth. Kantian theory not just had an impact on democratic states, but it also had an impact on non-democratic states regarding increase economic cooperation and reduce conflicts between states (Oneal and Russett). In his famous book '*End of History and the Last Man*', Fukuyama states that "A democracy's ability to peacefully resolve conflicts is greatest" regarding economic conflicts between different groups that have some common values (Fukuyama, 2006).

However, Immanuel Kant in the first section of "Perpetual Peace", which covers prefatory articles about peace between nations, discovers another dimension regarding economic relation between states. He states "No national debt shall be contracted in connection with the external affairs of the state" (Kant, 1996). According to him, states can assist and provide financial support for each other and develop the national economy by inside or outside support. Anywise, they should not think about using the power of credit to fight each other because it will be the riskiest form of aggression. Thereby, there are some rules that innovated by financial people regarding debts. If the debtor state could not return the money back, the state has to pay interests for creditor state. When the debts accumulate, it will provide additional fund for creditor state. As a result, this additional fund often with human nature's tendency of leaders makes waging war easier. They also may concenter as a major obstruction for achieving Perpetual Peace (Kant, 1996). The KRG is suffering of economic crisis because Iraqi government cut the KRG's budget since 2014. The KRG debts has exceeded \$17 billion. If Iraqi government provide the KRG economic assistance, the chance for dialogue will increase and a possibility for conflicts will decrease. (Shukor et al., 2017)

The federal government and the KRG have a strong economic relation because the KRG is considered as the main door for trading in the north part of Iraq. Ibrahim Khalil, Haji Omeran, Bashmakh and Perwis-Khan are major border crossing point of the KRG with both Iran and Turkey. Approximately, all products and goods from Turkey and a large proportion of them enter to Iraq through the Kurdistan Region (Raheem, 2012). In addition, the Kurdistan region is a one of main sources for fresh water in Iraq. The Tigris river and most of its tributaries are enter to Iraq from the Kurdistan region. Mosul dam, Dukan dam and Darbandikhan dam are considered as a major source for energy and water reserve for the KRG. Iraq can benefit from these sources for controlling and protecting fresh water in the country (Abd-El-Mooty et al., 2016).

## **Conclusion**

In conclusion, understanding the causes of war and peace was controversial issues through history of humanity. Democratic peace thesis as a significant element for liberal theory was considered as success attempt to make peace as best solution for international disputes. While, there are controversial issues for the state to be considered as a democratic state, there is also suspicious regarding implementation of democratic peace for various societies in the world. However, the most significant areas in which the thesis expresses liberal thought are power of individuals, international institutions and economic cooperation. In democratic states, because the voices of individuals are quite strong so it should be accounted by politician. In addition, International institutions cooperate for establishment of peaceful environment in the international sphere. Therefore, both liberalism and democratic peace emphasize the important of this point for lasting peace. Economic cooperation also has a significant role in reducing conflicts and providing peace condition in the relations between states. In the case of Iraq and the KRG, there are many disputes between them, but there is a possibility to solve these issues peacefully. Determination of border between the KRG and federal government, oil revenue distribution and Kirkuk issue are among major issues between both sides. Democratic peace theory could be considered a possible solution for ongoing disputes between Baghdad and Erbil, if both sides believe in democracy and work for promoting democracy in the country. However, the role of the main elements of democratic peace are still weak in both the KRG and federal government including power of individuals, international institutions and economic cooperation. Thus, there are some elements of democracy in Iraq, but if democracy exists, it is democratic without peace.

## **References**

1. ABD-EL-MOOTY, M., KANSOH, R. & ABDULHADI, A. 2016. Challenges of Water Resources in Iraq. *Hydro Current Res*, 7, 2.
2. BAYLIS, J., SMITH, S. & OWENS, P. 2013. *The globalization of world politics: An introduction to international relations*, Oxford University Press, 113-114.
3. DEUDNEY, D. & IKENBERRY, G. J. 2017. Realism, Liberalism and the Iraq War. *Survival*, 59, 7-26.
4. DIXON, W. J. 1994. Democracy and the peaceful settlement of international conflict. *American Political Science Review*, 88, 14-32.
5. FERGUSON, N. 2003. Hegemony or empire? *Foreign Affairs*, 154-161.
6. FUKUYAMA, F. 2006. Identity, immigration, and liberal democracy. *Journal of democracy*, 17,
7. FUKUYAMA, F. 2006. *The end of history and the last man*, Simon and Schuster.



8. FUKUYAMA, F. 2015. Why is democracy performing so poorly? *Journal of Democracy*, 26, 11-20.
9. HESS, G. D. & ORPHANIDES, A. 2001. War and democracy. *Journal of Political Economy*, 109, 776-810.
10. HEVIAN, R. 2013. THE MAIN KURDISH POLITICAL PARTIES IN IRAN, IRAQ, SYRIA, AND TURKEY: A RESEARCH GUIDE. *MERIA Journal*, 17.
11. HUNTINGTON, S. P. 1993. *The third wave: Democratization in the late twentieth century*, University of Oklahoma press.
12. ISAKHAN, B. 2014. Protests and public power in post-Saddam Iraq: the case of the Iraqi federation of oil union. *Informal power in the greater Middle East: hidden geographies*, 117-128.
13. ISH-SHALOM, P. 2008. Theorization, Harm, and the Democratic Imperative: Lessons from the Politicization of the Democratic-Peace Thesis. *International Studies Review*, 10, 680-692.
14. JACKSON, R. & SØRENSEN, G. 2015. *Introduction to international relations: theories and approaches*, Oxford university press.
15. JAGGERS, K. & GURR, T. R. 1995. Tracking democracy's third wave with the Polity III data. *Journal of Peace Research*, 32, 469-482.
16. JAWAD, S. 2013. The Iraqi constitution: structural flaws and political implications.
17. JONES, D. M., BREMER, S. A. & SINGER, J. D. 1996. Militarized interstate disputes, 1816–1992: Rationale, coding rules, and empirical patterns. *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 15, 163-213.
18. KANT, I. 1996. Toward perpetual peace. *Practical philosophy*, 8, 836
19. KATZMAN, K. Iraq: Politics, Governance, and Human Rights. 2012. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS WASHINGTON DC CONGRESSIONAL RESEARCH SERVICE.
20. LAWSON, S. 2003. *A Short Introduction to International Relations*, Polity Press; Malden, MA: Blackwell, 39-41.
21. LEWIS, B. 1993. Islam and liberal democracy. *ATLANTIC-BOSTON-*, 271, 89-89.
22. LUARD, E. 1992. *Basic texts in international relations: the evolution of ideas about international society*, Macmillan, 95-98.
23. MCGARRY, J. & O'LEARY, B. 2007. Iraq's Constitution of 2005: Liberal consociation as political prescription. *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, 5, 670-698.
24. MAOZ, Z. & RUSSETT, B. 1993. Normative and structural causes of democratic peace. *American Political Science Review*, 87, 624-38.
25. ONEAL, J. R. & RUSSETT, B. 1999. The Kantian peace: The pacific benefits of democracy, interdependence, and international organizations, 1885–1992. *World Politics*, 52, 1-37.
26. O'NEILL, T. & HYMEL, G. 1994. All politics is local. *London: Crown*.
27. OWEN, J. M. 1994. How liberalism produces democratic peace. *International Security*, 19, 87-125.

28. RAHEEM, H. K. Freedom to Trade Internationally and Regulation of Credit, Labor, and Business. *The Economic Freedom of Iraq*, 75.
29. SHAKIR, F. 2017. *The Iraqi Federation: Origin, Operation and Significance*, Taylor & Francis.
30. SHUKOR, A. R., KLAZINGA, N. S. & KRINGOS, D. S. 2017. Primary care in an unstable security, humanitarian, economic and political context: the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. *BMC health services research*, 17, 592.
31. SUGANAMI, H. 1989. *The domestic analogy and world order proposals*, Cambridge University Press, 110-113.
32. SCHUMPETER, J. A. 2013. *Capitalism, socialism and democracy*, Routledge.
33. ZAKARIA, F. 1997. The rise of illiberal democracy. *Foreign affairs*, 22-43.

### پوخته

دیموکراتی ئاشتیانه یه کیکه له و بیردۆزانهی که گوزارشت له بنه ما سهره کیه کانی تیۆری لیبرالیزم ده کات له کۆمه لێک بوارد و گرینگترینی ئەم بوارانهش هیزی تاکه کانی کۆمه لگا و هه بوونی دامه زراوه نیوده وله ته کان و هاوکاری و په یوه سته بوونی ئابوری ده گریته وه. دیموکراتی ئاشتیانه به بیردۆزیکی گرنگ داده نریت بۆ چاره سهرکردنی ئەو کیشانهی په یوه ستن به ئاشتی و جهنگ له نیوان وولاتان دا . له بهرئه وه ده کریت ئەم بیردۆزه وه ک نامراییکی کاریگهر سودی لێوه ربه گیریت به مه بهستی چاره سهرکردنی کیشه هه لواسراوه کانی نیوان عیراق و ههریمی کوردستان. ئەمهش کاتیک رووده دات ئەگهر ره گهزه سهره کیه کانی ئەم بیردۆزه به شیوه یه کی ریکخراو په یه وه بکرین . هه ره چهنده له دوای ربه راندۆمی ۲۵ی سیپتیمبه ری ۲۰۱۷ کیشه کانی نیوان عیراق و ههریمی کوردستان قولتر و ئالوزتر بونه ته وه، به لام ئیستاش هیوای ئەوه ماوه که ئەم کیشانه به به شیوه یه کی ئاشتیانه چاره سهر بکرین. له بهر ئەمه ئەم تووژینه وه یه جهخت له سهر ئەوه ده کاته وه ئەگهر هه ردوو لایه نی عیراقی و کوردستانی په یه وه ی دیموکراسی بکه ن به م شیوه یه کی که بیردۆزی دیموکراتی ئاشتیانه روونیکردۆته وه، ئەوا چاره سهرکردنی کیشه کان ئەگهریکی به هیز ده بییت له وولاتا . له بهرئه مه له به شی یه که می تووژینه وه که واتای دیموکراسی و په یوه ندی دیموکراسی به تیۆری لیبرالیزم روونکراوه ته وه. به شی دووه می تووژینه وه که جهخت له سهر ناساندن و گرینگی بیردۆزی دیموکراتی ئاشتیانه ده کاته وه . به شی سییه می تووژینه وه که ته رخانکراوه بۆ ره گهزه سهره کیه کانی بیردۆزه که که بریتین له هه بوونی هیزی تاکه کانی کۆمه لگا و رۆلی

دامه زراوه نيوده و له ته كان و هاوكارى ئابورى ههروه ها گونجاندنى ئەم ره گه زانه و به كار هينانيان بو چاره سه ركردنى كيشه كانى  
نيوان هه ريمى كوردستان و عيراق دا.

### الملخص

نظرية الديمقراطية السلمية تعتبر كالجاء الاساسى من فك رة الليبرالية بصورة العامة . النظرية تشارك مع الليبرالية في عناصرها الاساسية وهم وجود سلطة افراد المجتمع و دور الانظمة الدولية و تعاون والاعتماد الاقصادى بين دول العالم . الديمقراطية السلمية اداة مهم لحل المشاكل حرب و السلم في مستوى الدولى و الداخلى . لذلك يمكن الاستفادة من النظرية لحل المشاكل العالقة بين العراق و الحكومة اقليم كردستان , في حال استعداد الجانبين للتطبيق عناصر النظرية بشكل جيد . لان الاجراء الاستفتاء في الاقليم في 2015/9/25 اشتدت الخلافات بين حكومة الاتحادية و الاقليم و و خلق التوتر بين الطرفين. مع وجود هذه الخلافات هنالك الامكانية لحل المشاكل بطرق السلمية و عن طريق الاستفادة من نظرية الديمقراطية السلمية. لذلك البحث يشجع كل من الجانب العراقى و الكردى لتمسك بالمباىء الاساسية لنظرية الديمقراطية السلمية و الديمقراطية بشكل العام لاجل حل المشاكل بين الطرفين. و لتحقيق هذا الهدف ينقسم البحث الى ثلاث مباحث الاثائية . المبحث الاولى يركز على العلاقة الوثيقة بين الديمقراطية و فكرة الليبرالية. المبحث الثانى يخص لماهية النظرية الديمقراطية السلمية و اهميتها لحل المشاكل بين العراق و حكومة الاقليم . المبحث الثالث ينقسم الى ثلاث فروع لتوضيح عناصر الاساسية للنظرية وهم : اهية قوة الافراد المجتمع الديمقراطى و دور المنظمات و المؤسسات الدولية و تعاون والاعتماد الاقصادى.