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The Political Process in Iraq: Challenges and Reform Policies

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Abstract:

The most important thing that distinguishes the situation in Iraq after 2003 is the process that the United States of America established as its foundations to enable it, through what it called political consensus, to impose its conditions on the decisions that will control the future of Iraq.

Since 2003, the political process has faced many challenges, in addition to the problems and crises of the current stage, which came according to the equation and theory of power-sharing on the basis of political quotas, with its sectarian, national, ethnic and sectarian nature. and national components. And other dimensions, starting with the formation of the Transitional Governing Council on 7/12/2003 until the present day, which imposed an unstable political reality. Therefore, our research came to confirm the necessity of starting the processes of political reform and democratic empowerment within the Iraqi political process, which witnessed many crises and problems, as the policy project must be formulated with real programs and not just promises, as the above topic was addressed by dividing the research into three parts: Part One Discussing the reality of the political process in Iraq: its nature and dimensions. The second part includes the challenges of the political process in Iraq: internally and externally, while the third part includes the political process and its strategies: reform and modernization.

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العملية السياسية في العراق: التحديات وسياسات الإصلاح

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الملخص:

إن أهم ما يميز الوضع في العراق بعد عام ٢٠٠٣ هو العملية التي أرستها الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية كأسس لها لتمكينها من خلال ما أسمته التوافق السياسي من فرض شروطها على القرارات التي ستتحكم في مستقبل العراق.، منذ عام ٢٠٠٣، واجهت العملية السياسية العديد من التحديات، إضافة إلى مشاكل وأزمات المرحلة الحالية، والتي جاءت وفق معادلة ونظرية تقاسم السلطة على أساس المحاصصة السياسية، بكل أبعادها الطائفية والقوميّة والإثنية والقومية. الطبيعة الطائفية. والمكونات الوطنية. وأبعاد أخرى بدءاً بتشكيل مجلس الحكم الانتقالي في ٢٠٠٣/١٢/٧ وحتى يومنا هذا، وهو ما فرض واقعاً سياسياً غير مستقر، ولذلك جاء بحثنا ليؤكد على ضرورة البدء بعمليات الإصلاح السياسي والتمكين الديمقراطي ضمن العملية السياسية العراقية التي شهدت العديد من الأزمات والمشاكل، إذ يجب صياغة المشروع السياسي ببرامج حقيقية وليس مجرد وعود كما سبق، اذ تناولنا الموضوع اعلاه من خلال تقسيم البحث إلى ثلاثة مباحث بحيث تناول المبحث الاول مناقشة واقع العملية السياسية في العراق: طبيعتها وأبعادها. واشتمل المبحث الثاني على تحديات العملية السياسية في العراق: داخليا وخارجيا، بينما اشتمل المبحث الثالث العملية السياسية واستراتيجياتها: الإصلاح والتحديث.

الكلمات المفتاحية:

التحديات، الإصلاح، الانتماء الوطني، الديمقراطية، الخطاب الحزبي.

المقدمة

The most important characteristic of the situation in Iraq after 2003 is the process that the United States of America laid down its foundations to be able, through what it called the political consensus, to impose its conditions on the decisions that will control the future of Iraq, as It created a flaccid political process far from the principles of

true democracy that do not depend on political consensus, but rather that the opinion of the minority follows the opinion of the majority, even if the opinion of the majority is harmful to the interests of the country. One of its results was the failure to reach the stage of democratic awareness and the idea of a comprehensive national culture. Rather, most of the ideas of political entities are still simple and narrow ideas that exist to serve the interests of either a certain sect or a certain nationality or religion, and the inclusive political culture is absent due to the division that started since the formation of the government In 2004, in addition to the subjective factors associated with the weak cultural level and the lack of political experience for the Iraqi citizen, as this situation has emerged through partisan and official discourse through focusing on narrow affiliations and allegiances, not talking about patriotism and national affiliation except in electoral advertisements and government media.

Research Value: Since 2003, the political process has suffered many challenges, in addition to the problems of the current stage and its crises, which came in accordance with the equation and theory of power sharing based on sectarian political quota, with its sectarian, national, ethnic, and other dimensions, starting with the formation of the Transitional Governing Council on 7/12/2003 to the present day that imposed an unstable political reality.

Research Problem: The political process has become a reinforcement of a political reality that accompanies the continuation of the state of escalating political problems and differences with a steady pace, which creates a necessity to strive for a comprehensive review of the political reform equation by setting up different mechanisms capable of overcoming problems and differences hoping to reache a state of institutional political stability guaranteeing the implementation of an effective and real democratic political process. As the problem of research starts from answering several questions, the most important of which are:

1. What is the constitutional, political and social content of the political process in Iraq after 2003?

2. What is the political environment for post-change after 2003?

3. What is the nature of the challenges facing the political process in Iraq?

4. Is it possible to reach a state that prevails in the law in light of the current political process in Iraq?

5. What are the causes and weaknesses that prevent the completion of the political process in Iraq?

6. What are the chances of strengthening the political process in Iraq after 2003?

7. What are the most important policies and strategies that must be followed to reform and modernize the political process?

Research Aim: The aim of the research lies in the necessity of emphasizing the commencement of political reform and democratic empowerment processes within the Iraqi political process, which has involved many crises and problems, as a political project must be framed with real programs and not mere promises.

Research Hypothesis: The hypothesis indicates the necessity of applying the requirements of revaluation in the political process in Iraq to change many concepts and political behaviors that accompanied the implementation of the political process, in order to complete the requirements of political, legal and other reforms, as the political process has become facing many challenges that have affected its level of performance to the extent that it has become an obstacle to improving the performance of the political process.

Research Plan: In addition to the introduction and conclusion, the research includes three parts,: The first part deals with the reality of the political process in Iraq: the nature and dimensions. The second part includes the challenges of the political process in Iraq: internally and externally, while the third part includes the political process and strategies: reform and modernization.

I. First / the reality of the political process in Iraq

The political process is a political project formulated by political forces that believes in the political process. It is intended to consolidate and stabilize, and the overall process is characterized by continuity until it is embodied by a political system characterized by a type of stability and continuity, and relies on a constitution that governs and organizes its movement(1).

The political process means the emerging political activities of an emerging political system on the ruins of a system that was changed by an act from which the change was desired in both the form and content. This act requires bringing new alternatives to replace the old ones, as it is a process characterized by continuity until its foundations are intensified and established in a new political system that takes its major divisions from the political process itself(2).

The conditions and pillars of the political process are:(3)
1. Agreement, that is, the agreement of the political forces that are part of the political process on the main participants that belong to the state, entity, land, people and sovereignty.
2. Consensus, i.e. the agreement of the political forces that the political process belongs to everyone, and the process's outcomes affect all forces positively and negatively.
3. Acceptance, that is, the acceptance of political forces by one another on the basis that success and failure are in the balance of each of the political forces involved in the political process.

As far as the matter relates to the reality of the political process in Iraq, as the political process in Iraq is characterized by the tyranny of the politics of partisan and sectarian balances which are the main cause of Iraq's political and social conflicts, as well as what the Iraqi citizen

(1)- Dr. Khairy Abdul-Razzaq, The Political Process in Iraq and Problems of Reaching the State of Law, 1st Edition, Series of Books of the Iraq Center for Studies, Al-Binah Press, Baghdad, 2009, p. 5.
(2)- The same source, pp. 20-21.
(3)- The same source

suffers in terms of security and stability problems [1], and the reason for this is[2]:

1. The political forces refusal to recognize the various constituents of the components of Iraqi society and to recognize respect for the rules of democratic action that must be agreed upon, and to submit thereafter to what results from those rules in the framework of respect for the country's unity, stability and independence.
2. International agendas represent the most important and most responsible pillar in obstructing dialogue or efforts towards reform, dialogue, and reconciliation, and obstructing them in order to achieve the interim and strategic goals of international powers.
3. The regional environment represents an important impediment to any initiative for dialogue and reconciliation, and to contribute directly or indirectly to obstructing these endeavors.

The failure of the political process in Iraq was represented in several forms and on several levels [3]:

The political level : as the political process in Iraq failed to create a state of institutions through equality between citizens and push the feeling of discrimination against them and create a satisfactory reality for all regardless of sectarian, religious or ethnic affiliations and it did not take the political and administrative mechanisms that lead to creating a constructive and positive communication between State institutions and citizens and ensuring all their rights without discrimination, marginalization or exclusion and with ensuring the rights of national, ethnic and religious components and securing their representation, in addition to the ineffectiveness of the administrative apparatus in the executive authority specifically, and the inability to implement the state's policies, but lack of clarity in the philosophy of

(1)- Arab Strategic Report 2007 - 2008, Center for Political and Strategic Studies, Cairo, 2008, p. 233.
(2)- Dr.. Khairi Abdel-Razzaq, previously mentioned source, pp. 61-63.
(3)- Dr.. Nazira Mahmoud Khattab, The Political Process in Iraq Between the Pursuit of Democracy and Growing Corruption, The International and Political Journal, No. (35-36), College of Political Science, Al-Mustansiriya University, 2017, pp. 313-315.

government in the country, the things that reflected negatively on the national alignment, which was not dedicated or pursued by a central institution that has the power to impose its prestige on all.

The military level : as confusion appeared in understanding the role of the military and the distribution of security tasks between the army and the police and other dominant forces, as the army's mission became internal security, while the police played the army's role in protecting the borders, which led to the marginalization of the army's role and distorted the purpose of the armies. The borders are open and infiltrated to loot the activities of political and criminal gangs that existed in Iraq, as the mafias of the drug trade and gangs selling human organs, trafficking in human beings, kidnapping of children or women, robbery, killing, etc. have appeared without the army having a role in protecting the homeland or filling its gaps and preserving its social security.

The economic level : there is a state of inequality between the groups of the people and giving them opportunities in political and social life, which was reflected in the decline in their economic condition, the feeling of injustice and the low social and living standard, with the increase in poverty and unemployment rates, along with corruption growing in all its forms, with the smuggling of Iraqi wealth abroad without any control.

The social level : a state of congestion, nervousness, bulimia, factional, clan, religious, sectarian, and ethnic group alignment emerged as a result of wrong practices in all areas that make up the Iraqi scene, as the feeling of reassurance, acceptance of the other, or willingness to coexist with those who differ in religion, race, sect, etc., has been lost, in addition to the weakness of the collective national spirit, with the absence of compatibility between the various components of the Iraqi people, and the interaction with suspicion and hostility with elements from other cultures and civilizations.

The failure of the political process in Iraq has many effects, including[(1)]:

1. Destroying the structure of the Iraqi state, dismantling without reconstruction, and destroying the state's structure has not been accompanied by any seriousness in rebuilding, and the crisis of building the Iraqi state has become one of the most dangerous crises experienced by the Iraqis.

2. Dismantling the social fabric of Iraqi society; after years of a lack of clarity and seriousness in supporting the stability and rebuilding of Iraq, the issue of dismantling the social fabric of Iraqi society and the aggravation of the disintegration were raised by prevailing the dominance of one party or making it against the other, which has generated a state of differentiation in the composition of Iraqi society.

3 Destruction of the infrastructure of the Iraqi state without any reconstruction to be mentioned, whereas, everything that was brought up after 16 years was nothing but written proposlas without being put into effect on the pretext of losing safety.

II. Second / Challenges of the political process in Iraq: internally and externally

Since Iraq adopted the options of democracy, federalism, republican, and parliament, the political process is going on and has many problems, as it has not been able to achieve most of what is required of the political system, and the most important is to maintain security and stability and push towards prosperity [(2)], so an in-depth analysis of what has been going on in Iraq since 2003 Until today. An in-depth analysis of what is going on in Iraq since 2003 until today shows that Iraq has suffered from shock and emptiness, the weakness

(1)- See: Dr. Khairi Abdul Razzaq Jassem, American Policy in Iraq: Mistakes or Flop, Intended, Opinions on Gulf, Issue (49), Dubai, October 2008. and Dr. Khairi Abdul Razzaq Jassem, The Political Process, a previously mentioned source, p. 16.

(2)- See: Ghassan Tariq Zahir, Problematic relationship between economic development and political instability in developing countries: Iraq as a model, Al-Muthanna Journal of Administrative and Economic Sciences, Issue (5), Al-Muthanna University, 2015, pp. 100-102.

of the authority and the source of financing by virtue of the revenue that most Iraqis have relied upon since the 1970s, and by virtue of the high oil revenues, the state has returned to its role in adopting revenue, but it has overlooked the provision of security and stability, and most political forces have been preoccupied with power gains and side conflicts [(1)], and the matter ended up affecting citizens' lives when the index of spending on security rose and the index of spending on care and job creation decreased, and in the absence of hope for a breakthrough in the indicators of concern to citizens, that grumbling rose and calls for reform of the political process and perhaps the call for reform of the political system as a whole, meaning society and the environment of the political system have become relatively distant from the system, so the stability of the system is possible only through one of the following cases[(2)]:

1. Either respond to the social environment and reformulate the political system.

2. Or by opening channels of dialogue and a deeper interaction between the system and the environment in which it exists.

3. Or work to amend the environment in which the system exists, using the wealth of revenue, the media and other authorities that the political system deals with, especially those of religious men.

The political process in Iraq since 2003 has faced many challenges, including:

Regional challenges, as the opposition of the regional countries to the political process in Iraq which was established in 2003, is considered as one of the challenges facing the political process, as most of them have reservations about the political change that occurred in Iraq and its outputs since the political equation produced by the political process

(1)- Haifa Ahmad Muhammad and Sadad MaolodSaba, Iraqi political party trends after the occupation and its position on rebuilding the state, Journal of the College of Education for Girls, No. (23), University of Baghdad, 2012, p. 123.

(2)- See: Firas Abdul Karim Al-Bayati, The Political Process and Political System in Iraq 2005-2015, Journal of Political Issues, Issue (45-46), College of Political Science, Al-Nahrain University, 2016, p. 257.

did not have their advocacy and support, lest the change be In Iraq, the beginning of a change in the ruling regimes in those countries. In fact, the regional challenge is one of the most complicated challenges in terms of forming governments from 2003 until now. What the Iraqi political scene witnessing is the complexity of the relationship between political forces and their inability to understand is due to the regional influence on some political forces and personalities and directing and pressuring them to adopt certain positions and exaggerating the ceiling of demands in any negotiations, which has produced weak consensual governments(1). Some of the neighboring countries tried to influence the political process through establishing positions of influence in the Iraqi interior, by trying to win over some political forces or personalities and agreeing with them on a specific position and opinion towards the political process, and in a way that guarantees the interests of those countries, as those countries targeted to stir crises in the Iraqi political scene without any attempt to solve it, but to make it revolve in a state of chaos and as all these efforts are directed to obstruct the political process and weaken it(2).

The deposits of political tyranny, which had a major role in influencing Iraqi society and had a negative impact in the form of cultivating a state of intense fear of the existing political authority, which did not seek at that time to build a free citizen who possesses the real will to express opinions, but rather sought to build a submissive citizen with fear from the existing political authority. The former regime has intended to harness all means and achieve the dominance of political power and the absence of societal culture and its emergence under the influence of one-party ideas and political slogans, and instead devoted a culture of tyranny that justifies the monopoly of power by the ruler and the subordination of society to him. Therefore, the Iraqi society's lack of a model of political governance capable of

(1)- Mithak Manahi Al-issawi, Challenges of Forming the Next Iraqi Government, Center for Strategic Studies, University of Karbala, May 2018, Internet: http://kerbalacss.uokerbala.edu.iq/wp/blog/calegory/politics

(2)- Dr. Jassem Younis Al-Hariri, Regional and International Competition in Iraq and its Implications for its External Relations after the American Occupation, Dar Al-Jinan Publishing and Distribution, Amman, 2016, p. 184.

crystallizing a minimum level of societal will and expressing the multiple and different interests of society and working to codify them and providing the appropriate framework to reconcile them, has led to weak political maturity because of the Iraqis' failure to pursue democratic behavior, this legacy of instability is similar to the behaviors that are rooted in the Iraqi collective consciousness, and this constitutes a major challenge facing the building of a correct Iraqi society and then generates a state of instability whose results yielded when moving to a democratic phase after 2003 in particular(1).

The structure of political parties, as the structural and formative structure of political parties and actors active in the Iraqi arena and in the political process constitutes one of the factors of instability of the political process and political system, because most of them were born in non-Iraqi environments or as a result of unclear political or intellectual currents, which created an appropriate environment It has in earlier stages in the history of Iraq, as these parties and political forces found themselves unable to provide the means to achieve political stability and to express their independence and national loyalty not mixed with another loyalty, if their loyalty abroad did not overcome national loyalty, and this was reflected in the emergence of sectarian partisan culture at the expense of the national culture, which resulted in sectarian, tribal, sectarian, and ethnic culture(2).

Most of the ruling political forces, parties, and movements adopt the method of exclusion, marginalization, and conflict with the other party instead of dialogue and strengthening trust between them, as these parties and political forces are characterized by the following:(3)

(1)- Ahmed Fadel Jassim, Societal Instability in post-2003 Iraq: An Analytical Study of Societal Challenges and Future Prospects, Political and International Review, Issue (25), College of Political Science, Al-Mustansiriya University, 2004, p. 188.

(2)- Nazem Shawwaf Al-Shammari, The phenomenon of political instability in Iraq and its Arab and regional repercussions, political and international journal, No. (18), College of Political Science, Al-Mustansiriya University, 2011, p. 307.

(3)- Ahmad Fadhel Jasim, previously mentioned source, p. 195.

1. Lack of conditions for the Democratic Party.
2. Its loss of transparency and integrity, the acceptance of the other, and its cancellation of the principle of self-criticism.
3. Its lack of organization, real organizational structure, the inability to define intellectual frameworks, and its lack of a clear political program.
4. Weakness of its democratic milieu.

5. Not having the ability to mobilize the masses or compete with other currents.

The emergence of multiple parties without being based on real popular rules contributed to the fragmentation of political life[(1)], as most of these parties have traditional programs that did not integrate social components in a society suffering from divisions, but rather worked to nurture traditional affiliations in a society that suffers from divisions. Rather, it worked to nurture traditional affiliations and embodied them in political life, which reflected negatively on the political process and political stability, as it shifted from the national character to component parties and the interference of power became subject to the logic of the components instead of the election base [(2).]

Consensual democracy, which consensual political forces have adopted as a method of action in all stages that come after resolving the election results and determining the attack of political blocs according to what each block gets from the seats in the House of Representatives, after which all the winning blocs participate in the elections within the government formation and each according to their size in the House of Representatives. Each political block is given a number of ministries as an electoral benefit, to nominate ministers to occupy them according to what the bloc deems appropriate, and this is what made the Prime Minister restricted in choosing ministers who he saw fit to occupy ministerial positions each according to his specialty and his adequacy to work in the relevant ministry, and that resorting to consensual democracy is supposed to be an option to be forced when

(1)- Hassanein Tawfiq Ibrahim and Abdul-Jabbar Abdullah, Democratic Transitions in Iraq: Constraints and Opportunities, Iraqi Studies, Issue (3), Gulf Research Center, 2005, p. 31.
(2)- Ahmad Fadel Jasim Dawood, previously mentioned source, p. 202.

circumstances do not help to take another option, due to the divisions within society. Further, what is anticipated of consensual democracy is the possibilities presented regarding its inability to provide and maintain political stability. In consensual democracy, the government is formed from a broad coalition of political components that represent the components of society, which makes the decision-making process very slow, as the more limited the coalition is, the easier the decision-making compatibility process becomes[1], and if the adoption of consensual democracy at some point and for a certain period is due to considerations related to reassuring minority concerns and providing guarantees to guarantee their rights and equality before the law, and it is a step towards strengthening national unity and peaceful coexistence, it is considered a justification and the best option according to the view of the political forces represented in the House of Representatives and the government[2] However, the continuation of dependence and the adoption of consensus in turn affected the political process and negatively affected the performance and work of the government. However, the continuation of dependence and the adoption of consensus in turn affected the political process and negatively affected the performance and work of the government. As consensus remains a major threat to the political process and the Iraqi democratic experience since 2003, as trying to satisfy all the political forces that achieved results in the elections qualified them to be one of the blocks winning the elections is something that cannot be continued due to its negative consequences on the political process , which is reflected negatively on the life of the Iraqi citizen[3]. Since the year 2003, and for a period of 16 years, the political process has been characterized by the prevalence of consensualism between the political blocs, which has delayed the passage of many laws, and took a period of time in some of them until

(1)- Arend Lijphart, Democracy in Plural Society, Trans. Hussein Zeina, Institute of Strategic Studies, Baghdad / Beirut, 2006, pp. 80-84.

(2)- Ali Sabah Saber, The American Occupation of Iraq and the Problem of State Building 2003-2014, Master Thesis, Department of Political Science, Middle East University, 2015, p. 96.

(3)- Dr.. Ahmad Adnan Kazim, The Impact of the Political Will Conflict on the Iraqi Democratic Experience after 2003, Journal of International Studies, No. (53), Center for International Studies, University of Baghdad, 2012, pp. 71-72.

it is agreed to edit them and then vote on them[1]. Due to this consensualism and its apparent weakness in providing services, the confidence of the Iraqi citizen in the political process has declined, which was expressed by the Iraqi voter with his weak participation in the recent elections of the Parliament 2018, and what we find in these days of demonstrations and sit-ins calling for changing the entire political system due to its failure to manage the Iraqi state, as these demonstrations indicated a significant decline in the confidence of Iraqi citizens in the political process, an indication of a great degree of importance that requires great attention to what was included in the demands of the demonstrators, especially as it focused on providing services and job opportunities for the unemployed and other demands.

Sectarianism, as the parties that make up the political process in Iraq found a fundamental interest in solidifying societal and sectarian divisions, through the relationship of political sectarianism with power, wealth and influence, as the widening chasm between the sects that possess power, wealth and power, and another that has lost all or part of it, works to activate sectarianism in the hearts of members of the defeated sects and pushes them to protect themselves from the tyranny and strength of the dominant groups and may be pushed by the injustice of political authority that belongs to sect or sectarian affiliation or another ethnicity to the insurgency and armed disobedience, the formulas adopted by the civil ruler (Paul Bremer) through the distribution of government positions in the Governing Council on sectarian lines, and this mechanism does not fit with the mechanism of citizenship and the adoption of competencies, so these solutions were disastrous for Iraq because it contributed to the phenomenon of intransigence and vertical and sectarian division[2]. The application of the political process leads to the paralysis of the political process and state agencies and impedes the process of institutionalizing power and the legitimacy of sectarian loyalty by formulating the political path to the nature of conflict and violence, and then dismisses

(1)- See: The same source, p. 76.

(2)- Abdul-Jabbar Ahmad Abdullah, Mechanisms for Preventing Civil War in Iraq, Journal of Political Science, No. (34), College of Political Science, University of Baghdad, 2007, p. 8.

the national identity and the principle of citizenship and marginalizes the logic of rights and freedoms and adherence to the law and thus considered as a factor fragmenting the state and society[1]. The situation after 2003 created sectarian parties and conflicting political rallies, which intent on establishing affiliation and directing towards sectarian, partial and narrow affiliations that seemed to drag Iraq towards the internal conflict between its various components and to be among the most prominent causes of quotas and sectarian polarization[2].

The deterioration of the security situation, as the security standard is among the most important indicators for measuring the stability and instability of the political process and the political system, as societies that are politically unstable are experiencing security disturbances and transformations, because that turmoil is an inevitable consequence of the lack of success and stability of the political process and political system, as economic stability depends on the political and security situation in society, and is linked mainly to the lack of risks resulting from this, since investments flow to the society constantly whenever the risks decrease, and accordingly, the risks are the most influential factor on the economic situation in society because they do not encourage investment[3]. The security situation represents the common denominator for all the joints of life in any country. The deterioration of security in Iraq after 2003 has constituted a barrier and an obstacle to achieving stability in the political process and its success in the country[4]. After the fall of the previous regime in Iraq in 2003, the security and legal vacuum, chaos, looting, vandalism, sabotage and sectarianism prevailed throughout the country, and the sectarian ideas and programs put forward by most groups and organizations that

(1)- Walid Salem Muhammad, Institutionalizing Authority and Building the Nation-State: A Case Study of Iraq, Academics for Publishing and Distribution, Amman, 2014, p. 426.

(2)- Israa Alaaddin Noori, The Political Process in Iraq: Scenes of Continuity and Change, Iraqi Future Magazine, Issue (2), Baghdad, 2006, p. 51.

(3)- Ahmad Fadel Jasim Dawood, previously mentioned source, p. 202.

(4)- Moataz Ismail Khalaf Al-Subaihi, Civil State Policies in Iraq after 2003, unpublished doctoral dissertation, College of Political Science, Al-Nahrain University, 2017, p. 245.

appeared on the Iraqi scene after the American occupation played a large and influential role in the spread of sectarianism, especially after receiving support from some social figures and some of the neighboring countries and regional and international intelligence, as sectarianism took many forms of militancy and religious extremism, and this led to the growth of violence, killing and displacement that invaded the country, especially after the incident of bombing the shrine of the military imams in the Salahuddin governorate, Samarra district, a bombing that sparked the spirit of sectarianism and revenge. Iraq was on the verge of entering a fierce civil war, had it not been for the interference of some religious referential personalities and the containment of the crisis before its wider development, as there are many factors that contributed to feeding sectarian and ethnic extremism, pushing many of the Iraqi scientific minds that refuse to tear Iraq's unity to emigrate abroad, and what It results from conflicts within Iraqi society, starting with the political process that was built on sectarian and ethnic bases instead of political programs, disrupting personal and party interests on the interest of society, as well as the policy of fragmenting political unity adopted by the US administration during its occupation of Iraq and its endeavor to weaken the role of secular and democratic forces and giving the greatest role to tribalism and sectarianism in forming the Iraqi state. The emergence of the armed parties is varied and different, and if the parties that took up arms to terrorize the state and the citizen in order to settle accounts between the political parties, as the armed factions need external support to obtain money and weapons, they represent a disturbance in the equation of sovereignty, as the the proportion between security and sovereignty is direct, and the better the security situation, the more sovereignty of the state will be strengthened, as national security is a major manifestation of the reality of sovereignty and its continuation, as these parties spread terror in the souls of the people of Iraq, through carrying out terrorist operations or the spread of organized crime operations[(1)].

(1)- Kazem Ali Mahdi, Political Development and Crises in the Political System in Iraq after 2003, Journal of International Studies, No. (56), Center for International and Strategic Studies, University of Baghdad, p. 144.

The deterioration of the economic situation, as the economic obstacles and challenges are represented in[(1)]:

1. The imbalance of the economic structure, as this is evident through the domination of the oil sector over all other commodity sectors.

2. The imbalance of foreign trade through distorting the trade balance by inflating the crude oil revenues, and not from economically productive commodity sources, and this imbalance is a result of the structural imbalance. The structural imbalances in the Iraqi economy are obstetric imbalances, meaning that each imbalance generates another imbalance.

3. The high rate of economic contraction, which is an imbalance resulting from the absence of economic diversification, as well as an imbalance in the production structure, as there is an imbalance in the priority of the leading branches of the production process, especially the branch of the capitalist and manufacturing industry, as it is observed on the Iraqi economy that the food industries branch dominates the manufacturing industry.

4. Administrative corruption is exacerbated, whether at the level of local administrations or at the level of ministry activities.

5. The presence of a severe housing crisis, as well as the number of people displaced by military operations that increase day after day without any successful policies to confront this crisis.

6. Structural imbalance between exports and imports. Therefore, many countries benefiting from what is going on in Iraq are working to continue and maintain the conditions as they are, including the instability in the country.

7. The failure of local production to meet local demand and rely on importing from abroad, which eliminates every local product in different ways.

(1)- Abdul-Jabbar Aboud Al-Halfi, Iraqi Economy (Oil, Structural Imbalance, Unemployment), Iraq Center for Studies series, No. 30, Iraq Center for Studies, Baghdad, 2015, pp. 77-80.

8. Underdeveloped infrastructures.

9. The absence of studied economic strategies and policies for the present and the future, those strategies that secure decent living for the general community, after achieving a kind of social justice in the distribution of wealth and equal opportunities, in the absence of the economic philosophy on which economic policy depends and the application ranges in different economic fields , with the lack of a clear ideology for managing the Iraqi economy made most of the economic legislations that the country issued have many contradictions.

10. Weak economic growth rates and low income level, which led to economic instability. Failure to grow gross output at a rate that exceeds the rate of population growth, and to provide job opportunities for new entrants to the labor market, especially the graduates segment, reflected the decrease in income, which pushed individuals to negative practices, including the practice of organized crime activities.

III. Third / the political process and strategies: reform and modernization.

When discussing the issue of the political process in Iraq, we find that there is wide agreement that it is considered as a failed or faltering process at best, which is also accompanied by negative manifestations in its institutions, parties and people, as some believe that the reason for the failure of the political process is the absence of prominent and qualified political figures to lead the political process in an exceptional circumstance such as what Iraq went through after 2003 until now, in addition to the lack of conviction of politicians and their parties to political action or democracy, in addition to the parties' lack of experience, as instead of the politicians working to build a modern framework for the state that is in line with the demands of the masses, they gave way or encouraged the role played by tribal and clan formations, which affected the emergence of a peaceful political process and its development, and the principle of loyalty to the clan or class overwhelmed the loyalty to the homeland, and sectarian and private interests began to prevail over the public interest, as the political action was without rules, frameworks, or clear goals or

programs, with the multiplicity of political organizations, in addition to violations in the electoral process . Moreover, the phenomenon of the increasing role of religion in political life in Iraq in a way that was not usual in the previous periods, as religious forces emerged for the scene, which took roles in the political process, but their presence did not lead to close ranks and cohesion of the social fabric, as evidenced by the chaos and rivalry that Iraq witnessed as well as the conflicts between different groups(1).

The reforms represent the total applied procedures that aim to address the imbalance in one or more aspects of the general social and political system that takes place within the political and constitutional structure of the system itself, and it is a comprehensive process of transformation and change through several mechanisms, namely(2):

1. Political mechanisms / which are the guarantor of the democratic transformation through the flexible democratic interaction that takes place in accordance with the constitutional commitment to elections and the true expression of political pluralism while respecting the peaceful transfer of power and other procedural means.

2. Economic mechanisms / in the sense of ensuring social justice and equality in the distribution of wealth while relying on the principles of a balanced and stable economy through the application of sustainable development measures.

3. Social mechanisms / which are among the means of guaranteeing social balance between members of the same society and on the basis of settling all differences and inter-emergency differences and attention to middle-class groups.

4. Cultural mechanisms / in the sense of working on becoming a model of communicative political culture away from the culture of submission that prevailed long before 2003.

(1)- Dr. Nazira Mahmoud Khattab, previously mentioned source, pp. 15-16.
(2)- Dr. Amer Hasan Fayyad, Towards an Iraqi Thinking Map for Building Good Governance, Dialogue of the Thought Magazine, Iraqi Institute for Dialogue Dialogue, Sunnah (7), No. (17), Baghdad, June 2011, pp. 10-11.

Mechanisms for reform policies for the political process in all its fields in Iraq include several policies and strategies[(1)]**:**

1. The legal construction of a democratic state, by adopting the legal construction of a democratic state into a constitution characterized by:

- It is a permanent and non-temporary constitution.

- The Constitutional Council that formulates its provisions must gain the trust of the people, and it is not a formal council that serves the wishes of rulers.

- With the exception of some texts whose stalemate is in the interest of the people, the constitution should be amenable whenever the interests of the people so require, and it should also contain provisions that affirm the freedom to form and move civil society institutions.

As for the constitutional rules included in this constitution, they must achieve the common general foundations for any democratic constitution, which are:

- Respecting the opinion of the majority, as there is no sovereignty for an individual or a minority over the people in the democratic system of

(1)- See: Thamer Al-Amri, Dialectical Relationship between Administrative Corruption and Political Corruption, Scientific Seminar on: Administrative Corruption and its Legal, Political, Economic, and Social Dimensions, Bayt Al-Hikma, Baghdad, 2009, pp. 65-66. And Ismail Al-Shatti, Democracy as a Mechanism to Fight Corruption and Enable Good Governance On: Corruption and Good Governance in the Arab Countries, Center for Arab Unity Studies, Beirut, 2004, p. 458. and Rahim Hassan Al-Okaili, Corruption: Its Definition, Reasons, Effects and Means of Fighting it, Journal of Legal Studies, Issue (23), Bayt Al-Hikma, Baghdad, 2009, pp. 88-90. And Ali Khalifa Al-Kuwari, Towards an Inclusive Concept of Democracy in the Arab Countries, in: Researchers Group, The Contemporary National State, The Crisis of Integration and Dismantling, Center for Arab Unity Studies, Beirut, 2008, p. 112. And Dr. Ahmed Abdul-Amir Al-Anbari, The future of the political process in Iraq between the opportunities for arbitration in the election results and opportunities to observe political consensus, Journal of Political Issues, Issue (85), College of Political Science, Al-Nahrain University, 2019, pp. 67 - 68.and Ali Ahmed Faris, crisis resolution : Administrative corruption as a model, Center for the Future of Studies and Research, Internet: http://mcsr.net/activities/032.html

government, but there should be confidence in the majority vote, as democracy does not fit into the enslavement of minorities, nor does it conform to the rejection of these minorities to the majority, because democracy does not exist without recognition of a political field in which social conflicts express themselves, and decisions are taken, by majority vote, that society collectively recognizes as legitimate.

- Not to combine authorities.

- Ensure public rights and freedoms.

- Power trading.

- The rule of law dominates, and people are equal before it.

2. Activating the role of civil society institutions, as civil society represents those social forces operating in the middle between the family and the authority, such as political parties (outside the authority), human rights organizations, religious organizations, professional associations, independent media, and other non-governmental organizations. The existence of a healthy and active civil society is a major necessity in the success of democracy, because it represents the power of the individual and the group in influencing the decisions of the authority, and forcing it not to follow the path of tyranny, and achieving a balance between the practices of power and the needs of the people, so that it can even be said that there is no democratic state without the presence of its civil society. The main features of civil society institutions are: voluntary, independent, organized, and collective, in addition to the ethical and behavioral dimension that governs these institutions' relationships with each other and the direction of authority.

3. Creating a democratic culture, as democracy can be destroyed either from above at the hands of a despotic authority, or from below through chaos, violence, and civil war, or it destroys itself through the control exercised over power by the oligarchies (rule of a few), or parties that accumulate economic or political means to impose their choice on citizens who have turned to mere voters, and in order to distance the desired Iraqi democratic transition from the anticipated fate, there must

be a democratic culture and this culture is not only a publication of democratic ideas or a set of education and television broadcasts programs or publications addressed to the broad public. The culture of democracy is the perception of the human being who shows the most solid resistance in the face of any attempt to absolute rule until legally established through elections, and at the same time shows a determination to create and preserve the legal conditions for personal freedom, and for this democratic culture to exist, there are some basic principles that It should receive the attention of everyone in Iraq, namely[1]:

- Man, regardless of his ethnic, sectarian or religious affiliation, must be respected, valued and free, and he is not an instrument that politicians manipulate.

- Citizenship is a basic principle in any democratic country, so it must be adopted in dealing with the Iraqi people, and leave the narrow affiliations that lead to quotas, so the quota method that was adopted in Iraq after 9/4/2003 should be left, because it has serious consequences on political stability.

- The difference in values between the members of one nation is an eternal reality and a divine legislation that should not be denied, but rather must be accepted and debated on its basis.

- Abandoning the absolute thought that its owner is always right, and the other is always wrong, for such thought is what opens the door to tyranny and despotism.

4. Adopting dialogue, transparency, oversight and accountability in combating corruption, which is the most important factor for political instability through these three issues, whose circle should be expanded to contribute to curbing spoilers from corruption and falls within the scope of transparency, engaging citizens in the processes of oversight civil money or through their representatives in Parliamentary

(1) - And Ismail Al-Shatti, Democracy as a Mechanism to Fight Corruption and Enable Good Governance On: Corruption and Good Governance in the Arab Countries, Center for Arab Unity Studies, Beirut, 2004, p. 458

assemblies. Here, the problem of political participation is posed as an effective tool to fight corruption, as Parliament becomes a supervisor of government actions that pursues its implementation of projects and objects to all manifestations of corruption whatever their source is. When sincere political will is available to fight corruption, effective cooperation arises between Parliament and the government, and corruption sites are attacked and its symbols are harassed In order to be forced to withdraw from public life for fear of exposing and punishing them, as they are usually from the personalities of the political community who cover up behind the public money to assume a great position in society and are keen to cover up their corrupt behavior and when they feel the follow-up they disappear, leaving their positions to a new generation of spoilers to continue the mission benefiting from the experiences of their predecessors and collaborating with them in order to perpetuate a corrupt situation. Parliament can become a means of effective oversight of the administration's actions, but provided that parliamentarians have a level of awareness that enables them to understand things and aspire to serve their constituents with administrative methods and economic approaches, as well as monitoring techniques including principles and origins of accountability, planning and management. On the other hand, the oversight bodies of the Integrity Commission, the Financial Supervision Department and the departments of the Inspector General in all Iraqi ministries and governorates should be activated and provided with material means that enable them to perform their duties, including information systems, modern control techniques and auditing. In order to achieve more effectiveness on the level of oversight, the judiciary should contribute to the fight against corruption by examining the files that it receives from the Integrity Commission and the security agencies charged with fighting corruption and issuing deterrent provisions so that spoilers do not escape punishment and return to corruption again within the framework of the so-called reproduction of corruption.

5. The Iraqi parliament must have an active role in achieving good governance by applying the concept of true democracy in word and deed on the ground, and that its goal of democracy is not to reach

power exclusively, but a certain amount of freedom and expression must be available, and this case is useful in identifying corruption cases and publicizing it in front of people. Therefore, government institutions must be subject to accountability at any time and participate in making their decisions, as the legislative authority performs its legislative and oversight functions in a way that strengthens the rule through agreed practices, namely: ((hearings, approving the budget, issuing reports, interrogating ministers and officials In power, forming special committees, reviewing agreements, threatening to withdraw confidence from the government in cases of negligence and major crime)).

6. Activating and implementing the law through developing the current systems and legislations and applying the law to the abuser, so that it becomes a lesson to others, so that everyone becomes aware of the seriousness of corruption that is rampant in most government departments, taking advantage of the situation to withdraw some money in the name of increasing salaries and forgiving debts of all kinds, and some members of Parliament take advantage of the situation by freezing vital development projects in the state for bargaining, and some ministers take advantage of the situation by distributing projects and positions to relatives and what is happening today on the Iraqi scene between the legislative and executive branches is the biggest evidence of the root causes of corruption in state administrations, which made the survival of any government for a long time difficult, and thus it is difficult to achieve any reform plans for it in the absence of addressing the roots of corruption and punishing the real spoilers, whatever their social position and status. However, civil education, discipline, and religious guidance remain the successful means to achieve societal goals such as upholding the values and proper behavior of members of society, especially among new generations who believed in change. The success of the reform project and its purification from corruption depend on a set of objective conditions and circumstances, foremost of which is a democratic political climate, reinforced by a sincere political will and capable of facing the consequences of fighting corruption at both the national and international levels, given that globalization has led to the spread of mafias and the globalization of corruption, and this requires political

authority Reforming its relations with neighboring countries to be based on common interests and cooperating with them in combating illicit activities such as drug smuggling, money laundering, and arms trafficking.

7. Respecting the peaceful transfer of power, that is, the existence of mechanisms for the transfer of the political position to another, whether the incumbent is president of the republic or ministers in the presidential and parliamentary systems, respectively, where the process is carried out according to a free, fair and effective electoral mechanism under full and independent judicial supervision with a transparency that limits corruption, misinformation, and exploitation of public influence in the electoral process, as the peaceful transfer of power is linked to the existence of a true multi-partisan presence that allows actual competition between a number of parties with different orientations in order to transfer power from one party to another or the leader of one party to the leader of another party, which means that the peaceful transfer of power may not be straightened in the presence of a single party, although it is possible to have a kind of exchange between party leaders or leaders of different directions within it. As ensuring the peaceful transfer of power would provide an opportunity for all political forces to reach power in case they win the elections, whether they are the first winning bloc or if they are one of the winning electoral blocs according to the applicable electoral system, thus, resorting to any means other than elections to reach power cannot be accepted. Therefore, ensuring the peaceful transfer of power provides legitimacy to the political process, and at the same time maximizing the chances of success of the political process and a positive indication of its success.

8. The presence of free and fair periodic elections is essential to achieve the peaceful transfer of power, as elections are the only way to achieve periodic rotation of power after the passage of years, which allows voters to hold to account the president, prime minister, party, or party coalition which reached power in the previous elections. One of the most important requirements for achieving political stability and the success of the political process is to preserve the freedom and integrity of the elections, because the elections represent a tool that reveals the

people's orientations, and it is an expression of their choice of those who put their trust in them and wanted them to express their voice and trusted them to take care of their interests. Therefore, the more the elections are characterized by freedom and integrity, the higher the level of popular satisfaction with the political process and political system and those in positions of authority becomes. Thus, whenever the election results are accompanied by a kind of suspicion , there would be negative impacts on the stability of the political process.

9. Inaugurating a new generation of economic, administrative and financial reforms that touches various aspects of life in the country, in addition to introducing modern methods in management such as the planning method directed at the goals of projects, establishing a central room to direct government contracts and grants, relying on the idea of teamwork and the method of managing goals, setting specific goals for a specific period of time for each manager and other methods used by good management in many countries of the world.

10. Activating the role of accountability and justice. Accountability in this sense means putting everyone who takes a position in front of his responsibilities and creating monitoring systems to perform his job, especially in case of default or failure to perform the latter, and this is evident in countries that rely on the rule of law and the separation of powers and the existence of real political representation based on justice and transparency, without establishing this, accountability and justice become a politicized tool in the hands of the executive branch to strike opponents.

11. Establishing democracy that, if genuinely applied, will abolish centralization and the resulting corruption, as well as undermining personalism and devoting institutional culture in managing institutions, by creating institutional affiliation through changing decision-making methods and adopting consultative and democratic methods in decision-making, especially when the decision is public and is linked to the interests of everyone and not in matters Technical and specialist.

12. The independence of the judiciary, neutrality, impartiality and competence of the judicial system to fully perform its role in the Iraqi

state. Issuance and radical and comprehensive review of legal legislations, administrative structures, standards and applicable controls in performance, by following the following procedures(1):

- Adopting the periodic elections mechanism to choose the administrative leaders according to special terms, the most important of which are integrity, competence, experience, sincerity and experience, and under the supervision of committees formed in a transparent and impartial manner to monitor and guarantee the integrity of the election results.

-Follow a very precise mechanism when selecting employees for the purpose of appointment and subjecting them to a series of ethical tests to verify their ethics and their ability to resist various temptations before they are installed in the public office.

- Focusing on the standard of transparency in performance while simplifying the means of work and throwing its rings, and determining the deadlines for completing transactions, adopting the criteria of integrity, competence, and fairness in recruitment, promotion, and performance.

-Forming special committees to develop an integrated system for the performance of employees, to conduct periodic inspections between departments and ministries, and to prepare reports on this.

(1)- See: the policies of administrative reform: Yasser Khaled Al-Waeli, Administrative Corruption .. its Concept, Manifestations and Causes: with reference to Iraq's experience in corruption, Future Center for Studies and Research, Internet: http://www.annabaa.org/nbahomelnba80/010.htm
Jawad Kazem Al-Shammari, administrative corruption in Iraq and the required treatment, article published on the website of the Euphrates Center for Development and Strategic Studies, website: http://fcdrs.com/mag/issue-2-10.html
Adnan Al-Salhi, Administrative Corruption: A Crime with Official Wearing, an article published on the News Network for Studies and Research, online: http://www.annabaa.org/nbanews/2009/09/138.htm
Tariq Al-Dabbagh, fighting job corruption at the source or at the office? Al-Sabah newspaper, online: http://www.alsabaah.com/paper.php?source=akbar&mlf=interpage&sid=72318

- Establishing a workbook that includes dividing public jobs according to the nature of their tasks into categories and ranks that require from their occupants qualifications and knowledge from one level, that is, adopting the criterion of competence and experience.

- Determining a salary series for each of the categories mentioned in the work after conducting a comparative study of similar jobs in the public and private sectors.

-Establishing an effective and independent oversight system whose task is to supervise and monitor practices by ministers and employees working in each ministry and institution.

-Adopting periodic and sudden monitoring mechanisms and multiple follow-up committees, especially in the field of contracts and various financial issues.

- Paying attention to secret and electronic monitoring means and trying to complete the e-government project.

13. There should be a dialogue between all sects and nationalities, and this dialogue is based on solid foundations of honesty with the other and sincerity of the other and also a dialogue based on common interests, not the interest of one party without another, and if this dialogue precedes a theorization at all levels, and to become valid between the heads and deans of the sects in the country and that no one is excluded from this dialogue, as it will create an atmosphere of love, coexistence, meeting the parties and proximity to each other, away from all the quarrels, accusations and other things, and that recommendations come out of these dialogues between sects and nationalities, and that these recommendations are obligatory to work with, that is, they enter into force, not remain ink on paper. These recommendations include several things, including :

- Emphasizing the unity of Iraq and the Iraqis.
- Not to differentiate the colors of the Iraqi spectrum by race, sect or sect.
- Emphasizing the rejection of terrorism and all the bodies and organizations supporting it.

- Emphasizing the common points and rejecting the points of disagreement between the colors of the Iraqi spectrum.

Conclusion

When evaluating the political system and the political process in Iraq, the period extending after 2010 indicated that there is a need to make some reforms in the political system and the political process, and that the system is directed towards a dialogue with the societal environment, and that the system be more close to society if it wants to reach stability , this matter may call for a review of political action more than was achieved during the past few years, meaning that there will be a deeper reform project than presented, and that the reform be comprehensive, not formal or limited. After more than sixteen years since the political change in Iraq that occurred in the year 2003 with the fall of the regime, the establishment of a political system and a political process based on democracy and its mechanisms to reach power and its peaceful circulation, the political process was not up to the level of ambition, and did not achieve the expected results . The research has come to several conclusions which are:

1. There is a clear imbalance in the structure of the Iraqi political system that has been adopted since 2003 and that this imbalance hinders the existence of a successful political system that performs its usual customary functions.

2. The process of institutionalizing power is still weak and not continuous, and the process of institutionalization assumes the adoption of legal and constitutional institutions instead of personal relations and rationalization of political decision through strategic planning institutions rather than submitting to the moods and desires of the contradictory and opposing political elites that have neglected the national constant and the supreme Iraqi interest.

3. After sixteen years of democratic transformation, the Iraqi political elites lacked the clear vision of managing power, government, and the state in a manner that cemented this transformation and transferred it to a form of democratic cohesion and stability. On the contrary, the setback in the paths of democratic transformation is prominent.

4. The absence of a vision of the political elites is due to either the reason for its preoccupation with secondary conflicts and its uttering of sectarian-ethnic-sectarian logic and neglecting the basic matters that can serve the citizen or because of its limited capabilities, either in terms of civil political culture or the characteristics of democratic civil behavior.

5. The reform that can be achieved and successfully proceeded is that which does not deal with secondary matters or that are related to appearance more than substance. Ministerial change alone will not work unless there is reform for the entire Iraqi political system. This system includes the logic of reform as a political philosophy in which political elites believe in word and deed even if that includes its benefits and privileges, and reform as a means for political elites to reduce or eliminate the germs of political quotas and as an end for which political elites sacrifice for the benefit of a servant democracy, the social democracy that truly respects the Iraqi citizen.

6. The occurrence of confusion in the political scene after calls for reform by the executive and legislative authorities. The creator of this confusion has been the process of grappling with concerns between more than one point of view to deal with reform between what is agreed on the reform agenda, but it differs over the mechanism and means, and another that tries to disrupt the reform directly or indirectly without any true faith in it, and therefore, we believe that the true belief in reform must affect the essence and appearance, it must include buildings and meanings because real reform is not an audio phenomenon but rather a political behavior resulting from a political process that believes in change and in a peaceful way.

7. The broad and overlapping reform packages were supposed to be presented as priorities without raising the ire of many political forces that could carry out the process of obstruction.

8. The desired reform must include infrastructure and superstructures. Members of the House of Representatives are the product of the work of the High Electoral Commission, which has specific problems the electoral law, which is modified according to the interests and the

number of votes system, which digests many of the rights of the candidates. This means that reforming the parliament in Iraq requires amending the paths of access to it and that reforming the ministerial booth requires amending the paths and mechanisms of access to it, otherwise, the mechanisms that were adopted from 2003, where the agreements, quotas, and understandings of the powers controlling the political process within the framework of the spider web that will last with the continued regional and international compatibility around this, if there is no change in the operative language of the regional and international game that calls it a state-building project after a year 2003 and to hammer the foundations of a new political project in which includes at the very least a role for independents and civilians, even if limited , will open many new horizons to serve the democratic path and the citizen in Iraq.

The research reached several recommendations, the most important of which are:

1. Carry out special reforms at the level of government policies so that government performance is more able to meet the needs of society, and the most important thing is to reduce the degree of negative competition between political forces.

2. The necessity of working and eliminating the rampant corruption in order for Iraq to be able to achieve a peaceful mobilization of resources and to make optimal use of them that meets the aspirations of society in development.

3. The necessity to avoid the approach of consensus and quotas in the political process, given its negative effects.

4. The necessity of confining political action within the scope of the government and parliament and not to involve the street and society in it, because of the confusion and ethnic and sectarian sensitivity it causes.

5. The necessity of setting priorities for political action, focusing on national participants and the state's needs for continuity and national unity.

6. The necessity of adopting a state of law and institutions as the guarantor of the stability of the democratic system in Iraq.

7. Leaving the state of political consensus and not allowing it to continue, whether it is related to forming a government, or what is related to passing laws in the House of Representatives.

8. Adoption of specific criteria when assigning senior positions to the government, and this matter, if fully approved, will be withdrawn on the tasks below it, as well as in relation to the selection of applicants for government jobs.

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