THE ROLE OF IRAQI LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY IN DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION DURING THE PERIOD (2003-2021)

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Abstract

This study aimed to identify the role of the Iraqi legislative authority in the democratic transition during the years (2003-2021), by rising a main hypothesis stated that there is a correlation between the role of the legislative authority and the democratic transition in Iraq. To verify the validity of this hypothesis, and answer its questions, the descriptive analytical approach, the institutional legal approach, the elite theory, the comparative approach, and the systems analysis approach were used. The study concluded that the legislative authority did not contribute to the democratic transformation in Iraq, but rather contributed to perpetuating political backwardness, after the Iraqi parliaments were established on a sectarian basis, and political differences prevailed between political forces within the parliaments, which in turn was reflected in the public mood. Moreover, the legislative authority did not exercise its legislative role, and deliberately obstructed the passage of laws in the interest of the political deals held by the political forces, in addition to the absence of the oversight role of the legislative authority due to the spread of corruption, loyalty to the political bloc, and its preference over the public interest. In light of the results obtained, the study recommended adhering to the national option and defending it to achieve universal citizenship that fuses all subsidiary loyalties within its crucible, formulating joint cooperation between all political forces and currents in a manner that achieves the general interest of all, and working hard to combat all manifestations of widespread administrative and financial corruption very much in Iraq.

Keywords: Legislative Authority, Parliamentary System, Democratic Transition, Iraq.

INTRODUCTION

The political system in Iraq before (2003) was presidential based on the separation of powers at the theoretical level, but in practice, all powers were concentrated in the hands of the head of state, and after the dissolution of the Iraqi state in (2003), Iraq adopted the parliamentary system, as Article 1 of the Iraqi Constitution of 2005 stipulates that: "The Republic of Iraq is one independent federal state with full sovereignty, with a system of government of a parliamentary republic (parliamentary) democratic, and this Constitution is a guarantor of the unity of Iraq" (Constitution of Iraq issued in 2005, article 1).

The aim of changing the Iraqi system from presidential to parliamentary was to start the process of democratic transition, and spread the democratic culture among Iraqis. Although about two decades have passed since the transition from the presidential system to the parliamentary system, Iraq is still suffering from political instability and successive crises, and the legislative authority in Iraq faces many criticisms related to its failure to implement the democratic parliamentary experience, and its contribution positively to political destabilization in the institutions of the Iraqi political system.

This study comes to shed light the contributions of the legislative authority to the democratic transition in Iraq during the period (2003-2021), during which Iraq lived with (5) parliamentary councils.

Statement of Purpose

The American occupation of Iraq in (2003) established a new stage of political life represented by changing the nature of the system of government, and the transition from a system in which powers are concentrated by one person to a system of distribution and sharing power. The shift was also made from the simple state to the federal composite state. Political parties emerged that contributed to the formation of political blocs that affected the formation of the political construction of the new Iraq after (2003).

Although the goal of the transition to the parliamentary system was the transition towards democracy, the legislative authority in Iraq has contributed to political instability, according to the study (Alsayed et al., 2017; Kamel, 2014), as there are prevailing patterns in political practice in Iraq, such as sectarianism, sectarianism, clans, and ethnic intolerance, hindering the processes of political reform and democratic transition (Muhammed, 2013: 2). Also there is a flaw in the administration of the Iraqi state since its inception and even after the collapse of the former Iraqi system, in addition to the absence of good governance, lack of rationality in decision-making, and the lack of transparency, accountability and accountability, which led researchers to say that the democratic transition in Iraq is a process of failure; due to a complex combination of historical, political, geographical, economic and social factors (Fuzi, 2016: 113).

In the midst of these tensions, the role of the legislature in the democratic transition in Iraq, as a legislative body entrusted with the functions of legislation and monitoring government performance is questioned, and this question is what the problem of the current study revolves around.

Hypothesis of the Study

The current study is based on the main premise stated that there is a correlation between the role of the legislature and the democratic transition in Iraq, as the study will try to prove whether this correlation is positive or negative, in light of the researcher's findings.

Importance of the Study

The scientific importance of this study stems from the importance of parliamentary councils in establishing democratic practice, and given the important role of parliamentary councils in establishing the rules of democracy, it was necessary to highlight the success of the parliamentary councils in Iraq in the democratic transition, whether by preventing the executive authority from monopolying government performance, controlling government performance, spreading democratic culture, or combating corruption. In this, the enrichment of the Arab Library of this important topic, and complementing the lack of previous literature that dealt with the linkage between the legislative authority and the democratic transition, especially in Iraq, and the legislative body that has the powers of legislation and oversight, is a body capable of bringing about change, The process of political development and the growth of democracy was linked to the role of the legislative authority representing the will of the people, as the parliamentary councils were the starting point for ideas of freedom, equality and popular

participation in governance, and the parliamentary councils are the most capable body to create the appropriate climate towards democratic transformation, and frame political work in political forces that are united by professionalism and institutional in their work, and create a strong national political action.

Also, it is hoped that the results and recommendations of this study will help the Iraqi legislature to take the mechanisms that contribute to pursuing the right path of democratic transition.

Objectives of the Study

This study seeks to identify the role of the Iraqi legislative authority in the democratic transition during the years (2003-2021). According to this main goal, the study will try to achieve the following sub-goals:

1. Shedding light on the concept of democratization, and the statement of its mechanisms.

2. Highlighting obstacles to Iraq's democratic transition.

3. Recognizing the contributions of the legislature to the democratic transition in Iraq.

Questions of the study

This study attempts to answer a main question, which is: What is the role of the Iraqi legislative authority in the democratic transition during the years (2003-2021). This main question stems the following sub-questions:

1. What is democratic transition, and what are its mechanisms?

2. What are the obstacles to the democratic transition in Iraq?

3. What are the contributions of the legislative authority to the democratic transition in Iraq?

METHODOLOGY

The current nature of the study requires the employment of a set of scientific research approaches as follows:

- **The analytical descriptive approach**, which is characterized by being phased, consists of a set of interrelated and sequential stages, each of which reached the subsequent stage. This approach begins by identifying the problem of the study, to formulate the hypotheses, then test and analyze them, reach the results, and propose recommendations in the light of those results (Malih & Al-asouli, 2020: 36). The researcher will rely on the case study as one of the tools of the analytical descriptive approach through observations, documents, data and studies of the legislature in Iraq, in addition to the contribution of the descriptive approach as a whole to helping the researcher by identifying the problem of his current study, and formulate its hypothesis based on a correlational relationship between the legislative authority and its impact on the democratic transition in Iraq.

- **The institutional (legal) approach**, in order to learn about the nature of the legislative authority in Iraq, its competencies and powers, how to choose its members, and the extent of its political weight within the Iraqi political system.

- **Elite theory,** to identify the formation of the elite in the Iraqi legislative authority, and their culture and political values that determine their trends and political behaviour.

- **The comparative approach,** to clarify the similarities and differences between the performance of the five parliamentary councils that Iraq witnessed during the years (2003-2021).

- **David Easton's systems analysis approach,** which is one of the most widely used methods of analysis in political science, as the unit of analysis consists of the political system that includes inputs, transformation, outputs, and the feedback that connects them.

The researcher justifies his use of a systems analysis approach to study the performance of the legislative authority in Iraq, which represent the system's inputs from the influences and pressures of the internal, regional and international environment, to which the legislative authority in Iraq was exposed, and how it deals with those pressures and influences (conversion), and what decisions were made of them in response to those pressures and influences (outputs), and what are the reactions of the internal and external environment to those decisions (referencing).

Terms of the study

- **The legislative power:** It is the authority elected by the people, which derives its power and legitimacy from it, and therefore, it is the supreme authority or the first authority, and it is the deliberative body that has the power to adopt laws, and the legislative authority is defined by several names, including: Parliament, Congress, the National Assembly, the People's Assembly, and the House of Representatives, and the states differ in the components of their legislative powers. Some countries have the legislative power in it one-chamber is called the system of the individual council, and from the states are those in which the legislative power has two chambers, and it is called the two-chamber system (Kamal, 2014: 381).

- **Democratic transition:** It is the sequential processes aimed at moving from an undemocratic government to various forms of power sharing, governance and public accountability in new systems of government (Bseuni, 2004: 17).

- **The executive branch:** It is a political institution with wide powers, whose task is to implement laws and decisions, and implement the prescribed public policy, and works on the rule of law initiated by the legislative authority (Al-Mashaqbeh,2015:52). The executive branch includes the head of government, his ministers, his advisers and the heads of the various organs of that authority. It represents the real organization of the state in the body of a president and a council that makes all decisions related to the general policy of the state, and it is called the bureaucratic apparatus, which represents a rational system designed to implement public policy in the light of fixed legislation (Al-Mashaqbeh, 2020: 168-169).

Structure of the study

This study will be divided into two topics, so that the first topic deals with the obstacles to the democratic transition in Iraq, while the second topic deals with the reflection of the performance of parliamentary councils on the democratic transition in Iraq.

First topic: Obstacles to the democratic transition in Iraq

The concept of democratic transition refers to a gradual process in which societies are transformed from non-democratic to democratic countries, through processes related to the legitimacy of political power, the structure of the legislative power, the nature of political parties, and the pattern of the prevailing political culture (Khalaf, 2018: 175).

Abdul Hassan (2020) pointed out that the democratic transition involves profound changes in the basic dimensions of the political system represented by the political dimension, the structural dimension, and the cultural dimension, and that these deep changes result from the existence of contradictions among them, which leads to the inability of the current system to deal with them, which requires the establishment of a new, more democratic political system (Abdul Hassan, 2020: 215).

According to Samuel Huntington, the world went through three waves of democratic transition (Al-Atty and Abu Raqiqa, 2019: 185), and the third wave of democratization began on April 25, 1974, in Lisbon, Portugal, after the military coup by naval officers succeeded, and this coup was the spark of the global breakthrough towards democratic transition (Huntington, 1993: 61).

Democratic transition is one of the most prominent political changes witnessed in the world, as many countries have shifted from authoritarian regimes to democratic systems based on participation and political pluralism, they began the process of democratic transformation in Southwest Europe, and then moved to Latin America, and the continent of Asia after the establishment of democratic governments in India, South Korea, and Japan, through a number of African countries, led by South Africa after the demise of racial discrimination (Al-Meqdad, 2006: 139).

Huntington (1993) defined democratic transition as movements from an undemocratic to a democracy that takes place in a certain period of time, and the transition movements outperformed the opposite direction (undemocratic) during this same time period (Huntington, 1993:73).

The presence of waves of democratic transformation and waves of anti-transformation is evidence of the difficulty of the transition process towards democracy, as the processes of democratic transformation are characterized by ambiguity and complexity, and are closely related to the extent of development of the political, social and cultural conditions prevailing in society (Al-Wuhaishi, 2015: 57; Abdul Hassan, 2020: 215); as the process of democratization is one of the most overlapping processes in which changes and forces overlap, which makes it a very complex process, and that does not take a single path, for each experience has its own paths (Al-Wadaan, 2011: 324).

One of the indicators of the difficulty of democratic transition is the results of the study (Sorenson,2015), in which he showed that the term democratic transformation is in rigid, especially in the countries that are located in the gray area, that is, describing it as a list of democratic transitions is a description in which there is a lot of optimism and besides reality, because these systems fall under the classifications of hybrid or flawed democracies (Sorenson,2015: 89), as the democratic transition represents a temporary stage that lies between the collapse of the totalitarian system and the establishment of a political system that may be democratic, or may result in a new authoritarian system, or fall into chaos that may reach civil war (Al-Wuhaishi, 2015: 55).

The process of democratic transition goes through four stages, which can be sum it of the following (behind, 2018: 176):

- **The first stage:** the actual decision-making stage for the transition to the democratic system, that is, the availability of political will, and the emergence of a consensus on responding to demands for transformation and building political institutions such as parliamentary councils.

- **The second stage:** the transition from the authoritarian system and the readiness to shift towards democracy, and at this stage political conflicts are intensifying, which threatens that the political system remains undemocratic and at the same time, conditions are in place for the transition to democracy.

- **The third stage:** the stage of the actual start of democratic transformation, and this is done through the issuance of laws related to elections, the organization of political parties, the determination of the electoral system, the date of elections, and the rest of the laws governing political work, which ensure the participation of all segments of society in political life.

- **The fourth stage:** strengthening or securing democratic transformation, which is called democratic maturity after establishing a set of rules and practices that support the cohesion of representative institutions, and develop the democratic political culture.

Reasons for democratic transition

Huntington indicated that there are five reasons for democratic transformation, the first of which is infection, when the peoples begin to demand democracy and the peoples of other countries are affected by these demands, and their governments demand transformation, for example, what happened in Eastern Europe (1991), and the second is the collapse of the authoritarian government after its inability to provide the basic needs of citizens, for example the collapse of the Soviet Union. The third is the economic growth that creates the middle class that will later demand that it engage in the political process, for example the case of Taiwan and South Korea, and the fourth is the political will after political leaders realize that democratic transition is the surest option to maintain the stability of the political system, and the case of South Africa, and the fifth is the external role that puts pressure on the authoritarian regime, which contributes to its collapse, such as the American intervention in eliminating the

political system of Philippine President Marcos, and the American intervention to eliminate the regime of former Iraqi President Saddam Hussein (Al-Wuhishi, 2015: 57, 60).

In the context of talking about the reasons for democratic transformation, it is worth noting the patterns of transformation, there is a transformation from above, when the ruling elite is stronger than the political opposition, and leads the transformation process and begins with reforms from the top, and there is transformation from the bottom, which leads to the collapse of the political system after the opposition movements overthrown it, and there is a cooperative transformation, and it is done through the cooperation of the regime and the opposition in the transformation process (Abdul Hassan, 2020: 216; Ibrahim, 2018: 40; Saadawi, 2019: 37-39). Finally, there is a transformation through external intervention such as the Iraqi case (Al-Wuhaishi, 2015: 60).

Conditions of democratic transition

Democratic transition processes are characterized as long-term processes, and require many conditions, and Huntington has defined the conditions for democratic transformation with a high level of economic wealth, a market economy, the equal distribution of income and wealth, social modernization, the presence of a middle class, the presence of a strong bourgeoisie, increased awareness through a high rate of education, the existence of a political culture that allows political and social pluralism, the entrenched the idea of respect for the law, a low level of political violence, a political leadership that believes in democracy, and low levels of political extremism (Huntington, 1993: 97-98).

Al-Wuhaishi (2015) pointed out that the democratic transition is achieved after the establishment of constitutional arrangements between the main political actors around the new political system, the issuance of a new constitution that meets the aspirations of all members of society, the institutionalization of state structures, the rule of a political culture that respects human rights, the rule of law, the formation of a government emanating from free, transparent and fair elections, the presence of effective political parties, and a strong civil society (Al-Wuhaihi, 2015: 61). According to the study (Al-Aati & Abu Raqiqa, 2019) that one of the conditions for democratization is the existence of an open political system that allows political participation, the circulation of power, and the recognition of the civil and political rights of all citizens (Al-Aati and Abu Raqiqa, 2019: 189).

Sorenson (2015) pointed out that modernization, wealth, high levels of education, urbanization, the media, the crystallization of democratic political culture, and the availability of resources to reduce tensions resulting from political conflict, all these conditions that make the process of democratization viable (Sorenson, 2015: 52).

Al-Luzhi (2012) indicated that citizenship is one of the most important conditions for democratic transformation, as citizenship guarantees the right to equality towards collective choices such as elections, for example, and the commitment of decision-makers to be responsible for all their actions, and provides the condition of their disqualification in the event of failure to perform the tasks entrusted to them, and citizenship ensures that the governed respect the legitimacy of the choices pursued, and leads to the recognition of rights and duties,

joint and peaceful recognition of access to power and circulation through periodic elections, competition between political parties, and the accountability and accountability of rulers (Al-Luzhi, 2012: 78).

Al-Rikaani (2021) indicated that among the conditions for democratization are the availability of self-economic, political, social and cultural factors, and a community structure that can accept and adapt to democratic values (Al-Rikani, 2021: 207).

According to Mahdi (2018) it was stated that the existence of a democratically written constitution, the enshrining of the principle of separation of powers, the independence of the judiciary, and the control over the constitutionality of laws are all necessary conditions for democratic transformation (Mahdi, 2018: 47-53).

With regard to the role of the legislative authority in the democratic transition, this elected body, which is representative of the people and expresses their will, is the guarantor that the people remain in power despite the exercise of it by parliament, and for this reason, the provision that the council is fully elected or the majority of its members by the people, is what makes the government a democratic representative, and the period of time in which the council represents the people must be stipulated; as the council represents the people and expresses its will related to the change and development of its requirements and ambitions. Therefore, the people must be referred to from one period of time to another, which is called the legislative chapter, and the holding of new elections in order to ensure that the council remains representative of the people, and a true expression of its will (Al-Bushi, 2020: 5-6).

The legislative authority contributes to controlling social conflict, and the representation of social interests in public policies. The legislative authority is preparing the legal ground for a number of political reforms through its legislative role, such as the enactment of laws that require respect for freedom of expression, political, partisan and cultural organization, and in-depth legislation to respect for human rights. The legislative authority also contributes to creating opportunities for political participation of citizens through the periodic elections of the Council. The contribution of these elections to achieve social harmony after agreeing on common goals and programs between different segments of society, in addition to achieving the national belonging of individuals and increasing their sense of real participation by believing in their ability to influence the political pattern of government through the role of the legislative authority in the political system, expanding the base of popular participation through its representation of all economic, political and social segments within society, as well as expanding the umbrella of social harmony through the legislative authority's representation of ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities, and providing them with the opportunity to participate in the general political system (Al-Lawzi, 2012: 56-60).

The role of the legislative authority in the democratic transition also comes through its supervisory function on the actions of the executive branch, which is an officer to direct the government's performance to correct its paths by sending a warning message about irregularities or wrong practices in government performance, which the government feels that it is not alone in making decisions and public policy-making in the state, which will ultimately

lead to popular satisfaction; as this constitutional institution exercises its supervisory powers through its representatives in the parliaments (Al-Waddan, 2011: 329).

The legislative authority prepares the political reality of political development, by working to organize the opposition and develop its role in the movement of the political system. This is done by allowing the political opposition to nominate representatives to run in the elections of the legislative body under the introduction of universal suffrage, and not excluding any political group from the right to nominate representatives for parliamentary elections, which leads to the development of the relationship between the political opposition and the political system within legitimate frameworks, and opens the way for political dialogue, which avoids destabilizing society any potential political conflict that may lead to political stability. The legislative authority also plays an important role in preparing and developing the economic reality through proposals submitted by deputies to the government to implement social, economic and service projects, in addition to the contribution of the legislative authority in strengthening the authority of the central government by deepening the political participation of citizens in various regions of the state (Al-Luzhi, 2012).

There is no dispute that the process of democratic transition was imposed on Iraq by the external factor represented by the American occupation (Abdul-Hassan, 2020: 211), and what was promoted during this period is the desire of the American administration to consolidate democratic rule in Iraq, and to establish an institutional organization capable of managing the various divisions in Iraqi society peacefully (full, 2014: 380), and under the Constitution of Iraq issued (2005), the system of government was chosen to be a federal republic with a parliamentary republic (parliamentary) democratic (Iraq Constitution issued in 2005: Article 1).

Accordingly, parliamentary councils are considered one of the most important institutions in the parliamentary system, and at the theoretical level, they are concerned with important and broad powers, but on the ground, Iraqi parliaments face many obstacles that limit the effectiveness of their work, and these obstacles can be summated by the following points:

1. Political obstacles:

The most important of these political obstacles is what was imposed by the American occupation of Iraq in (2003), and the accompanying decisions of the occupation authority numbered by (1) and (2) on the establishment of the Interim Government Council, which was established on a sectarian basis, and consists of (25) members representing the multiple components of Iraqi society, according to its demographic reality, and the majority of the Shiite component was (13) members (60%), (5) Sunni members (19%), (5) Kurdish members (19%), one member (1%), one member of the Assyrians (1%) (Ali, 2021: 279).

Thus, the American occupation has enshrined sectarianism in Iraq, and relied on the sectarian formula instead of adopting citizenship (Khalif, 2018: 179), and is defined Sectarianism as: "a set of behaviors that express the use of natural nervousnesses (racial, religious, ethnic, linguistic) to circumvent or neutralize public policy law, and transform the predity from a public interest framework into an instrument of special interests (Mahdi, 2018: 61),

In addition to the political obstacles, minorities and political forces have made since the year (2003) attempts to weaken the central authority of the state, especially the Shiite component, and the Kurdish component (Fawzi, 2016: 118). The successive crises experienced by Iraq have been a reason for the lack of integration of the Iraqi political system in its final form, as these crises affected the essence of the Iraqi political process. For example, the idea of consensual democracy has been put forward based on the fragmentation suffered by the multi-ethnic and multi-ethnic and multi-siminal Iraqi people, and to ensure that the components of the Iraqi people are represented in political forces, each of which has their own specificity from others, and despite the success of consensus in many democratic countries such as Switzerland, for example.

However, Iraq, in which signs of the practical establishment of consensual democracy after the fall of the former regime appeared, did not succeed in this experience because of the adoption of sectarian quotas and the continuation of their work starting from the government of Iyad Allawi (2004), passed the Jaafari government (2005), and the Maliki government (2009-2014), and not an end to the Abadi government (2014-2018).

Accordingly, the experience of consensual democracy in Iraq has resulted in the problem of disrupting the political decision in the event of a lack of consensus among the blocs participating in the political process. Examples of this are the dispute over the adoption of the provincial council elections law stalled by the consensus front, and disagreements over the adoption of the one-year budget that was stalled (2014) by the Kurdistan Alliance bloc due to the dispute over the percentage of the Kurdistan Region in the budget (Khalaf, 2018: 179).

2. Economic obstacles

The Iraqi economy is characterized as a rentier economy based on oil as the only source of production (Fawzi, 2016: 143). The rentier economy in Iraq is closely linked to politics, as through oil, the former regime developed the independence of the state in its confrontation with society. Thus, the state moved towards amplifying its apparatus and reducing its dependence on society, which resulted in the weak role of civil society, especially in economic affairs. After the fall of the former regime, resources became moved and distributed according to political loyalty, and there is no clear vision to create a diversified production economy, which contributed to the increase in the phenomenon of unemployment (Abdul Hassan, 2020: 2111), which is defined as: "The phenomenon of individuals of working age not practicing economic activities during a period of A certain time for circumstances beyond their control despite their ability and desire to work (Khalaf, 2018: 188).

The structure of the Iraqi economy was greatly affected after the American occupation in (2003): as there were structural imbalances that left their clearly negative effects on the infrastructure and resulted in economic problems that prevented progress in economic development processes. This failure was reinforced by the absence of economic legislation, such as the Tariff Law, the Reconstruction Law, the bill to amend the social security contribution system, and the oil and gas bill (Khalaf, 2018: 184).

3. Historical obstacles

Since its establishment, Iraq has not known a peaceful transition to the power, and did not witness real elections. Since the year (1958), the era of military coups began when Abdul Karim Qasim overthrew the monarchy (Fawzi, 2016: 116). The coup attempts continued during the Republican era in the years (1958-1980), until they reached (4) successful military coups, (8) failed coup attempts, and (15) a coup plan that aborted before it was carried out. The coup of (17 July 1968) succeeded in reaching power. The law of the leading party was imposed, which obliged all state institutions to implement the decisions of the conference of the Baath Party, and the name of former Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, who officially ruled Iraq in 1979, and strengthened his power in a state in a state (1979), was imposed. Imbued with political tensions, he adopted a method of governance based on terrorizing bad models in the state, chasing them and assassinating opponents, until it was agreed upon by the United States and removed from power, and the dissolution of the Iraqi state in 2003 after the American occupation of Iraq.

After the dissolution of the Iraqi state, the United States failed to manage Iraq, and this failure was transmitted to successive governments that perperated administrative failure, and established sectarianism.

4. Cultural obstacles

A traditional political culture is spreading in Iraq, subject and pastoral; because of the prevailing cultural and value system, represented by the supremacy of the pattern of authoritarian culture by the ruler over the convict, the existence of values and customs that perpetuate democratic deficit, and the dominance of traditions that lack democratic practices, and do not contribute to the maturing of civil behaviors such as respect for the other opinion, and respect for pluralism (Al-Rikane, 2021: 221-223).

The supremacy of the authoritarian style has led to the absence of political awareness, which is defined as the individual's perception of the reality of his society and his regional and international environment, knowledge of the nature of the political, social and economic conditions that surround him, knowledge of the various problems of the era, knowledge of the effective and influential forces in decision-making locally and globally, and political awareness requirements, including education, experience, and media freedom, which includes the right of the individual to freely obtain information from various sources (Al-Mashaqbeh & Shqair, 2020: 54).

Also, one of the cultural obstacles is the collapse of the educational system in Iraq coinciding with the collapse of the Iraqi state, where the illiteracy rate after the American occupation of Iraq (42%) after it was (0%) in the era of the previous regime, in addition to the violent and terrorist practices used by students against each other, and the suffering of school and university professors from kidnapping or threatening for the purposes of ransom, office or excluding the other, which led them to emigrate because of the threat of death, which formed a knowledge gap through the migration of elites within the plan to draining minds, all of which led to the destruction of the educational system in Iraq, and led to the disturbance of socialization operations.

5. The establishment of political parties on a sectarian basis

Since the American occupation of Iraq in (2013), Iraqi political parties spread and varied between Islamic, liberal, communist, nationalist, and ethnic parties, after the Baath Party was in control of all aspects of political life in Iraq (Mahmoud, 2019: 4), where party activity under the former regime was limited to the outside by political parties called "hotel parties", and these parties had no supporters in Iraq, and some of them turned into sectarian parties with military militias (Fawzi, 2016: 123).

Since the spread of political parties in Iraq after (2003), and their number increased to reach (2021) about (267) political parties (Shafiq News, 2021). These parties suffer from conflicts between their leaders. These conflicts have reached the splitting groups from the parties that contributed to their establishment. For example, after the year (2010), the Sadr movement split into blocs and alliances, including those representing the first Al-Sadr school, which are the rule of law, and some of them represent the school of Sadr II, who are the Sadr, and among them represent the wise line and they are the Supreme Council, and some of them represent the line of Wilayat al-Faqih, they are Badr, ibs and battalions, and some of them represent the line of Sheikh Muhammad Al-Yaqoubi (Khalal, 2018: 181).

Iraqi political parties are characterized as parties that do not have real political programs and are characterized by their intellectual and structural weakness and do not have a mass base because of the novelty of their establishment and the insufficient knowledge of their leaders on the Iraqi arena, and their components are primary, clan and sectarian (Mahmoud, 2019: 7). Iraqi political parties are also based on ideologies aimed at dismantling Iraqi society into sub-components, and they are a party to the existing violence in Iraq, and have contributed negatively to feeding the civil war in order to preserve their interests and presence in Iraqi society (Fuzi, 2016: 123).

This structural and intellectual weakness of the Iraqi political parties was reflected in the parliament, where the phenomenon of the withdrawal of some political blocs from the House of Representatives and the Council of Ministers was repeated, which led to the disruption of the work of the Legislative Council of Representatives represented in the adoption of many laws (Khalaf, 2018: 181).

6. Weakness of Iraqi civil society institutions

Civil society is considered the incubator of democratic construction that includes all interactions and relations in society, in addition to the role of civil society in consolidating community awareness by spreading the democratic political culture that expresses citizenship and building the rule of law (Al-Rikani, 2021: 238).

As a result of the spread of the pattern of subordinate and traditional culture in Iraqi society, the concept of civil society in Iraq has not crystallized, and the civil society institutions that existed in the era of the previous regime were subject to government intervention, and were ineffective.

After the American occupation of Iraq, the number of Iraqi civil society institutions increased until they reached about (5071) civil society institutions. However, these institutions face many obstacles that limit the effectiveness of their work. These institutions are based on ethnic and sectarian, and they are incubators for political parties because of the support provided by these parties, as Iraqi civil society institutions are described as extension of sectarian or ethnic parties and currents or Religious, and there are also some religious institutions that try to hinder the growth of independent Iraqi civil society institutions that are not subject to any ideologies (Al-Rikaani, 2021: 240).

The disadvantage of Iraqi civil society institutions is that their members do not have knowledge experience in social work. Thus, they focus on political issues more than on social issues, and do not contribute to participating in proposing laws that are in the public interest. There are criticisms directed at Iraqi civil society institutions that they are not independent and subjective in their assessments, and that corruption is widespread in them as a result of the lack of sufficient control over their work, whether by donors or by the state (Al-Rikaani, 2021: 242).

7. Administrative and financial corruption

Since the year (2003), corruption has spread significantly in all joints of the Iraqi state. After the fall of the former regime, many reports have been published that indicate that corruption and bribery have reached, under the civil governor of Iraq, "Paul Bremer" dollars (8 billion and 800 million). The successive Iraqi governments have been accused since the year (2005) of squandering more than one billion dollars resulting from the sale of oil without meters, and from internal and external smuggling of oil, and the presence of waste in oil production estimated at (400-800) million dollars per month. The volume of administrative and government corruption since the occupation of Iraq (2003) and until (2008) has reached about (24) billion dollars. Corruption in Iraq takes many forms, including the unjust passage of contracting, tenders and investment contracts, mediation, and the crystallization of the phenomenon of ghost employees, who are people who are paid salaries but are not in their workplace, and their salaries are shared among corrupt leaders (Fawzi, 2016: 128), in addition to disrupting the issuance of laws, and the exploitation of public position (Mohammed, 2013: 4-5).

There are many obstacles that prevent the fight against corruption in Iraq: the most important of which is the sectarian quota system, which led to the poor performance of parliamentary councils due to the bargaining in the relationship of the parliamentary blocs over the lack of accountability of the defaulters; because this exposes the other parties to accountability (Fawzi, 2016: 128), and the agreement of all parties and political forces to keep the current situation as it is, the lack of sufficient legal legislation to eradicate corruption, and the lack of seriousness in the fight against corruption, are all these other obstacles to combat the phenomenon of corruption in Iraq (Mohammed, 2013: 10).

8. Constitutional obstacles

The Constitution is the governing reference for the nature of the political, social, and economic life of all members and institutions of society, and is the legal basis that determines the relationship between members of society, and sets out their rights and duties (Al-Maqdad, 2006: 123).

Constitutional life in Iraq suffers from instability, starting with the interim constitution that was issued on (July 27, 1958), and included only (30) articles, ending the Iraqi Constitution of (2005), whose articles were drafted in a hurry and in precise and mysterious circumstances, which made him suffer from fundamental problems that prompted political parties to demand its amendment. Some of the texts of this constitution are vague and can be interpreted in more than one face, which caused the enforcement authorities confused, and prompted them to interpret the articles of the constitution according to their interests, which led to the emergence of many differences between the political forces (Khalaf, 2018: 177), and contributed to enhancing the weak performance of the legislative authority, whether for its legislative or supervisory role.

9. Election laws

Despite the adoption of the proportional representation system that allows each party to reach a number of seats commensurate with the votes it received, and despite the advantages of this system to guarantee the right of minorities and small parties to be represented in the House of Representatives (Mahmoud, 2019: 6), this system has enshrined sectarianism in Iraq (Ali, 2021: 287).

Iraq has also been subject to several electoral laws since the American occupation, but all these laws have carried many contradictions, and have been described as having been drafted as a result of a political agreement rather than a legal text (Kamel, 2014: 396).

10. Weak levels of political participation

This is due to the nature of the electoral system, the deterioration of the security conditions, and the lack of crystallization of a democratic culture in the mentality of the Iraqi people, which led to the absence of the role of the popular opposition, and it's also absence in the parliamentary councils, and the failure of any parliamentary bloc to exercise its oversight role for fear that other blocs will take the same action against it (Kamel, 2014: 393)

11. Deterioration of the security conditions

The US occupation of Iraq contributed to the expansion of terrorism due to the vacuum caused by the dissolution of security and military institutions, and the escalation of the political and societal division. The phenomenon of terrorism spread significantly in Iraq after the year (2003), which contributed to restricting the communication of the ruling political forces with citizens, and doubling the number of protections instead of the House of Representatives contributing to improving the security situation. Terrorism targeted the bombing of many sovereign ministries, especially in the year (2009), such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Finance (Khalaf, 2018: 183).

In light of the security collapse and sectarian conflict during the years (2007-2010), ISIS took control of some Iraqi cities starting in 2014, resulting in the destruction of the infrastructure of entire Iraqi cities, as happened with the city of Mosul (Al-Zaben, 2019: 78).

12. Demographic structure

Iraqi society consists of sect and nationalities in which social and tribal relations overlap. Iraqi society is described as an ethnically and religiously diverse mosaic society; as there is (14) ethnic and religious sects live in it. The most prominent minorities in Iraq are:

Turkmen, Christians who represent the second largest religion in Iraq after the Islamic religion, and who are divided into Chaldeans, Assyrians, Syriac Orthodox (June), and Armenians, and there are also Mandaean Sabeans, and Yazidi who are Kurds living in Sinjar in northern Iraq, and Shabaks, a non-Arab Muslim sect divided between a Shiites and a Shiites and a Shafi'i year, speaking in a mixture of Arabic, Kurdish, Persian and Turkmen, and Jews whose existence in Iraq dates back to the Babylonian exile (597 BC) and (586 BC.) during King Nebuchadnezzar era. And the Kakakia, a group closed to itself, whose customs and traditions are secret, Baha'is, Sunni Arabs, and Shiite Arabs, and they are the largest sect in Iraq in terms of ethnic and religious nationalism (Al-Jabbul, 2021: 171-175).

Iraqi society lived during the rule of the previous regime on the basis that the state is a strict apparatus that prevents the explosion of social tensions, but the disappearance of the old state, which was ironly arresting the contradictions of society, and preventing clashes between its cultural and social expressions, led to the collapse of the sponsoring power of internal contradictions. One of the biggest mistakes of the US administration was that it did not specify its goal on April 9, 2003) by overthrowing the regime, but also the overthrow of the state as well, causing the spread of sectarianism and rejection of the other, social divisions, and the fragmentation of the unity of the national fabric. Sub-loyals of the clan, tribes, and sect deepened after the occupation of Iraq in (2003)

The ruling elites worked on the political employment of the sect and the religious through slogans and practices that feed and support it materially and morally to win the battle with the other party. Successive governments did not succeed in producing effective cross-sectarian political power, but rather they enshrined social disintegration. Among the reasons for this disintegration are the negative attachment of societies to historical legacies, the weakness of a culture of pluralism and diversity, the predominance of narrow interests and sub-loyals over the public interest, and the wrong interpretation and employment of religion to serve political interests (Khalaf, 2018: 2018).

13. External intervention

The external environment in Iraq has an undeniably large role, and the United States considers the first influence in Iraq, whether security through occupation, or politically through the imposition of democracy, failure to manage Iraq after the dissolution of the Iraqi state and its institutions, and the uprooting of the Baath Party in the year (2003).

Since the US occupation of Iraq, and the stages of his US administration, starting with the military rule led by J. Garner, and then the civilian governor "Paul Bremer" (Al-Jabbul,2021: 146), then the establishment of the Transitional Governing Council on a sectarian basis, interfering in the drafting of the constitution, and the drafting of the Political Parties Law No. 97 for the year 2004, and the US Senate approved in (2007) a non-binding resolution to divide Iraq into three countries (Sunni, Shiite and Kurdish) that exercise self-government under a weak confed federal state (Khalaf, 2018: 188), all of which entrenched the American failure to democratize Iraq.

Returning to external interference, Iran has a political agenda in Iraq represented in the Iranian desire to exercise a wider regional role. Iran was the first country to recognize the Interim Iraqi Governing Council, which included a Shiite majority, as previously mentioned by the researcher. It also supported the Iraqi Constitution of (2005), and was accused of intervening in the elections of the year (2005) and (2010), and seeking to influence the process of forming the Iraqi government through its relations with Shiite parties and its alliance with the Kurds. Iran also financed Iraqi militias by sending Iraqi training groups in Iranian camps, sending Iranian intelligence elements to Iraq to train and lead Shiite militias, and incite the assassination of Sunni figures (Al-Jabul, 2021: 153-154).

Second topic: The reflection of parliamentary council's performance on the democratic transition in Iraq

The year (2003) was dated to establish a new Iraq dominated by the United States, which since the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union has become the dominant over the world. Regardless of the arguments that will be made to occupy Iraq, but the United States, through its domination of donor institutions and the United Nations Security Council in the absence of international balance (East, 2010: 62), has put the form of the political system in Iraq since the year (2003), and there are those who go beyond that date, as studies indicate that the abolition of the sovereignty of the Iraqi state in the era of the former regime has crystallized since the First Gulf War through the inspection of weapons of mass destruction, and the entry of employees of The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to the positions of the sovereign state, in addition to the blockade and its repercussions and its negative economic and psychological effects on the Iraqi citizen, and since the end of Operation Desert Storm, former US President George W. Bush directed to plan a military operation to overthrow the Iraqi regime. Under former US President Bill Clinton, the Iraq Liberation Act was passed by the US Congress in (1998), and the law was implemented only under former US President George Bush Jr. in (2003) (Sharqi, 2010: 70; Abdul-Hassan, 2020: 223).

Accordingly, the form of the political system in the new Iraq, which came with external will without obtaining a national consensus on political, economic, social and security issues (Khalaf, 2018: 172), was initially supposed to establish a cultural legal constitutional structure suitable for the adoption of the parliamentary system, the most important of its institutions are the parliamentary councils, which are the core of the parliamentary system.

In this topic, the researcher will explain the contributions of Iraqi parliamentary councils to the democratic transition during the period (2005-2021), through a measure that includes a number of indicators that measure the role of parliaments in the democratic transformation, and these indicators are: enacting laws, controlling social conflict, promoting citizenship, supervisory role, organizing the opposition, developmental role, political participation.

1. Contributions of the First Council (2005) to the democratic transition in Iraq

The first electoral cycle witnessed by Iraq was after the fall of the Iraqi regime, and the beginning of the American occupation. In this cycle Iraq was considered one electoral constituency, and the electoral regulations were obliged to include one woman for every three male candidates, parties or groups that have armed formations were not allowed to participate (Al-Mayadeen, 2021: www.almayadeen.net).

Under the first paragraph of Article (49) of the Iraqi Constitution 2005, the Iraqi House of Representatives was composed of a number of members at the rate of one seat per hundred thousand people of Iraq representing the entire Iraqi people, they are elected by direct secret universal suffrage, and taking into account the representation of all other components of the people in it (the Constitution of Iraq promulgated in 2005). Accordingly, (230) seats were allocated to the 18 Iraqi governorates in the 2005 elections, and the competition was won for (45) compensatory seats on the basis of proportional representation at the national level (Kamel, 2014: 7-8).

The elections of the Iraqi House of Representatives for the year (2005) were held under the Election Law No. (16) of (2005), which consists of (30) articles, and was issued by the Iraqi National Assembly in accordance with paragraphs (A-B) of Article (33) of the Iraqi State Administration Law for the Transitional Period and based on the provisions of Article (37) of this Law (Election Law No. (16) Of (2005).

The First Iraqi Council of Representatives exercised, after the fall of the former Iraqi regime, its competencies in security and mysterious conditions, and in light of American interference in all the elections, and in the decisions of the Council. There were many political figures, such as Iyad Allawi (Prime Minister at the time), who were not eager to hold elections because of their prior knowledge of what would be in Iraq after more than 35 years of totalitarian rule. The Baath Party dominates, Iraqis who had not had a democratic experiment or an electoral process since the royal era, which ended on July 14, 1958 after the coup of Abdul Karim Qassem, and the prevailing opinion was that Iraqis needed security stability more than they needed to vote in the elections, in light of the insecurity and foreign interference (Fayad, 2020).

However, about (12.000.000) voters went to the ballot boxes, and elected (275) deputies, and the vote was (75%) (Katzman, 2006:6). Around (6655) candidates belonging to (307) political entities and (19) electoral coalition competed to be a member of the Iraqi Council of Representatives for a period of four years, and to elect a President of the Republic and the President of Representatives and the House of Representatives and the Council of Ministers. The most prominent candidate blocs for the elections were: the Iraqi (Shiite) coalition, which carried the sequence number (555) and the Iraqi list (731), the Kurdistan alliance that carried

the sequence (730), and included the Kurdistan Democratic Party, and the Iraqi National Congress, which carried a sequence of (618) and was a national rival alliance led by Ahmed Chalabi, and the list (People's Union) of the Iraqi Communist Party, in addition to a number of Sunni groups, under the name of the Iraqi Accord Front, and one of the most important parties participating in it is the Iraqi Islamic Party (Fayad, 2020).

The voting was not held in the 2005 elections according to the political program of the blocs, but rather it was motivated by religious, national or sectarian affiliation because of the circumstances experienced by Iraq, and the role of the American occupation in consolidating sectarianism. In this context, it should be noted that the United Iraqi Coalition was determined to win the elections in any way to tighten control over power in Iraq and establish Shiite rule, under the pretext that the Sunnis have ruled Iraq since the era of the Ottoman Empire, although the Shiites participated in the rule of Iraq through the royal and republican governments, especially in the era of the Baath Party (Almaslah, 2017).

The atmosphere of the parliamentary elections was fraught with security tension, as terrorist operations were ravaging Iraq, and sectarian fighting was most intense, kidnappings and killings on identity and regional interference, especially by Iran (Fayad, 2020). Even after the elections were held, MP Mohammed Awad was assassinated on April 12, 2007, a member of a political party from the Iraqi National Dialogue Council, where he was killed during a bombing in the Iraqi parliament, in addition to injuring 22 people (Knight, 2007).

2. Contributions of the Second Council (2010) to the democratic transition in Iraq

The number of members of the Second House of Representatives (2010) increased to (325) members based on the ration card data according to the statistics of the Ministry of Commerce for (2005), and the population growth rate of 8.2% per governorate per year was added annually (Kamel, 2014: 386).

The elections of the Second Iraqi Council of Representatives for the year (2010) were held under the law amending the Election Law No. 16 of 2005, which included (7) articles only. One of the reasons for enacting this law was for the purpose of holding free, democratic and fair elections in Iraq and in order to raise these elections to the required level in accordance with approved international standards and popular demands, this law was legislated (2009 amending the Election Law No. 16 of 2005).

One of the most prominent amendments to the new electoral law was the adoption of open constituencies for the first time, in light of international and local recommendations, and under popular pressure represented by the outbreak of many demonstrations and the presence of risks of boycotting the elections, which would make them lose their legitimacy (Al-Mayadeen, 2021).

The most controversial issues in the passage of the amendment to the election law, which was quickly approved by the Presidency Council, and came as a result of sensitive negotiations among senior Iraqi legislators, were the distribution of parliamentary seats between the provinces, the distribution of compensatory and minority seats, especially the dispute over

voter lists in the city of Kirkuk, in northern Iraq, and the dispute over whether or not Kirkuk should be part of the Kurdistan region (Malcom Kerr-Carnegie Middle East Center, 2009).

The elections of the Second Iraqi Council of Representatives were held on March 7, 2010, in which 12 coalitions and 167 entities participated, presenting 6,281 candidates to compete for 325 seats, and the State of Law Coalition won first place, and Nuri al-Maliki was assigned to form the government for a second term on November 25, 2010 (Al-Masalah, 2017). The participation in the elections reached (62.4%) (Arabia.net, 2010).

The performance of the Second Iraqi Council of Representatives has been marred by many problems, initially, popular protests appeared, and cases were raised against members of the Iraqi Council of Representatives, to demand the return of their salaries until they were broken by the stalemate that wrapped in the formation of a new government, as the deputies have met only once since they were sworn in June 2010, and did not perform any work except their participation in closed meetings between the parties on the fate of the position of prime minister and some other sovereign ministries. The reason for all this was the differences of the outgoing Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki and his main rival former Prime Minister Iyad Allawi about who will take over the post of Prime Minister, all in light of the deterioration of security and exploitation Armed movements take advantage of the political vacuum, and carry out acts of violence (Aljazeera.net, 2010).

Later, by virtue of his financial and security influence and with the support of Iran, Al-Malikibispered Judge Medhat Al-Mahmoud, then President of the Federal Supreme Court, was able to interpret the constitution in favor of the rule of law coalition, and this interpretation was contrary to the provisions of the Iraqi constitution, which had granted the right to the 2005 elections to the Shiite coalition to form the government as the winner of the elections. Thus, the leaders of the new coalition interpreted Al-Qadi Al-Mahmoud's interpretation to their advantage, while the leaders of Iraqiyad considered this interpretation as a coup against democracy, electoral merit, the results of elections and the Iraqi constitution (Fayyad, 2020).

3. Contributions of the Third Council (2014) to the Democratic Transition in Iraq

The elections for the Third Iraqi Council of Representatives were held on April 30, 2014, these elections were distinguished by their contesting after the American withdrawal from Iraq in the year (2011) (almasalah,2017).

The elections were held under a new law that abolished Law No. (16) of 2005 and its amendments to the year (2009), provided that the House of Representatives consists of (320) deputies distributed among the provinces, in addition to (8) seats for minorities, and the amended "Saint-Lego" system was adopted, which is a modified version of the statute that was invented in 1902, and is used to count votes by distributing them to electoral seats in districts where there are multiple seats. This mechanism ensures the protection of the right of small blocs. The electoral cycle in the year (2014) witnessed the absence of the polling process in the cities of Fallujah and Al-Karma, due to the tension of the security situation in them (Al-Mayadeen, 2021).

The elections of the third Iraqi Council of Representatives for the year (2014) competed on about (227) political blocs and parties with a rate of (9039) candidates for (328) seats in parliament, and the State of Law Coalition topped the results of these elections, followed by the mass of the Sadrist movement (Free Alliance) (almasalah, 2017).

The Third Iraqi Council witnessed severe violence, as a result of the American withdrawal from Iraq in the year (2011), the influence of the Arab Spring, and the protests against the performance of the Council. The sessions were held amid tight security measures. The sessions also witnessed boycotts of the political blocs because of political differences (Aljazeera.net, 2014).

The Third Iraqi Council of Representatives was characterized by the feverish competition for the distribution of ministerial and parliamentary positions, the absence of a legislative and parliamentary role, and the lack of clarity between the relationship between the government and the parliament. The minister does not accept the opinion of the deputy who is supposed to represent the people and their interests, and the deputy does not follow what the minister does, especially if he is from the same political bloc, which lost the rights of the people between the executive authority and the legislative authority (DW, 2020).

4. Contributions of the Fourth Council (2018) to the democratic transition in Iraq

The elections for the Fourth Iraqi Council of Representatives (2018) were held after the announcement of the defeat of ISIS in the year (2017), and the amended electoral law for the year (2017) was adopted, which divided Iraq on the basis that each province represents an electoral district, and the modified St. Lego system was used, which aims to guarantee the right of minorities, and (8) quota seats were approved for minorities (Al-Mayadeen, 2021).

The elections of the Fourth Iraqi Council of Representatives were held on May 12, 2018) with the participation of 87 parties and coalitions (23 coalitions, 45 parties, and 19 individual lists), in which 6,990 candidates (4979 males, 2011 females) competed for 329 seats: (321 general seats, 8 for minorities). These elections were characterized by a weak turnout and low participation rate, which amounted to less than (45%), which is the lowest percentage ever since the first parliamentary elections were held in (2005), with Iraqi political forces confirming that the real participation rate did not exceed (20%) (Hussein, 2018).

The fourth parliamentary session of the year (2018) was considered the most turbulent conjunction with previous electoral cycles, and represented a state of political and legislative failure, and was at the forefront of state institutions that contributed to the consolidation of quotas and corruption, from the presidency of the council to the committees, as they are shared on the basis of partisan and genitative quotas, which makes them subject to certain orientations that hinder the work of the committees, whether on the legislative side or on the regulatory side (Shabeb, 2021).

These elections were also marred by accusations of forging the results, the burning of a number of ballot boxes in areas in Baghdad governorate, the cancellation of the results of some funds in some governorates, the freezing of the work of the Independent Election Commission, and

the assignment of a judicial body to count and manually count for about (10,000,000) million votes (Al-Ghazi, 2019).

As in the previous councils, it was not initially agreed to choose the head of the council, because of the continuous differences between the political blocs, and because of security events, and after (5) the speaker of the council was elected by Mohammed Al-Halbousi by a majority (167), and in the fourth session of the House of Representatives, the candidate of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan Barham Salih as President of the Republic was voted by an absolute majority for the votes of the members of the House of Representatives (Al-Ghazi, 2019).

As a result of the repeated political failures, the Fourth Council voted to dissolve itself on October 7, 2021, with early elections to be held on October 10, 2021, after the protests that prevailed in Iraq, which demanded the dismissal of the government, and the establishment of a new political process whose secretions would be an efficient national government, after the Council failed in its legislative role, and its supervisory role, which was limited to only one questioning, and five questions were addressed to the two questions and hosted the head of the Media and Communications Commission on misleading the Communications Commission of the Council of Ministers regarding the renewal of renewal of mobile phone contracts and non-compliance with the terms of consumer protection, in addition to other legal violations such as the failure to perform 4 deputies to the constitutional oath, namely: (Nuri Kamel Al-Maliki, Haider Al-Abadi, Rakan Saeed, Saad Al-Aidani). The board remained with 325 MPs (Shabib, 2021).

The voters of the Fifth Iraqi Council were distributed among (83) electoral districts and (8273) ballot boxes, and (3240) candidates competed, including (950) women, and (789) independent candidates for (329) parliamentary seats, including (83) seats representing (25%) of the total allocated to women, in addition to (9) seats for minorities distributed among Christians, Shababak, Sabeans, Yazidis and Faili and Faili Kurds (Al-Hurra, 2021: www.alhurra.com), and the election participation rate was about (41%) (France press, 2021).

The results of the elections of the Fifth Council (2021) were shocking to the political blocs that lost their strong presence in the previous councils in favor of other new blocs and their achievement of remarkable results, and this is what leads the researcher to present (3) scenarios for the future of the Iraqi Council of Representatives and its role in the democratic transformation. Recognizing the existence of many obstacles that prevent the work of official institutions in Iraq, led by the legislative institution, and with the recognition also that the democratic transition was imposed on Iraq from abroad, and that it needs an institutional and cultural structure and neutralization of the external role. With the modernity of the democratic experience in Iraq, it is possible for the parliament to contribute to subsequent sessions in the process of democratic transformation (the first scenario), especially after the final results of the elections (2021), which brought a clear change in favor of parties of a national nature compared to parties with regional or sectarian tendencies. It is also noted that there The existence of a new political awareness among Iraqis has crystallized with the suffering of Iraqis, and their participation in demonstrations and protests, the most important of which are the demonstrations of 2019.

As for the second scenario, it is that the current situation will remain the same in light of the spread of political favoritism, foreign interference in the political process in Iraq, and the spread of corruption in all joints of the state in Iraq.

Regarding the third scenario, it warns that a counter-movement will be generated refusing to change the current situation, and will do all means to thwart the experience of the Fifth Council. This scenario strengthens the attempts of the losing political blocs of the traditional Shiite parties represented by the Fatah Alliance to reject the results of the elections, and to resort to legal and illegal ways to challenge them, in the presence of a large number of factions that have weapons outside the framework of the state, which is offset by the possession of other currents of many armed militias, which may portend a civil war (Al-Dabbagh, 2021).

CONCLUSION

This study aimed to identify the role of the Iraqi legislative authority in the democratic transformation during the years (2003-2021), by putting forward a main hypothesis stated that there is correlation between the role of the legislative authority and the democratic transformation in Iraq, where the study found that this correlational relationship is negative; as the legislative authority did not contribute to the democratic transformation, but rather it contributed to the consolidation of political backwardness, after the Iraqi parliamentary councils were established on a sectarian basis, and political differences prevailed between the political blocs and forces within the parliamentary councils, which in turn reflected in the public mood, and the legislative authority did not exercise its legislative role, and deliberately disrupted the adoption of laws in the interest of deals The politics complicated by the political blocs, in addition to the lack of a supervisory role for the legislative authority due to the spread of corruption, loyalty to the political bloc, and its preference over the public good.

But there is still a glimmer of hope in the role of the legislative authority in the democratic transition in Iraq after the dissolution of the Fourth House of Representatives itself, and the elections of the Fifth Parliament took place, which produced a significant number of significant number of independent candidates compared to previous sessions, in which the major traditional blocs lost many parliamentary seats compared to what they had in previous electoral cycles, which gives hope for the development of the legislative and supervisory role of the legislative authority in Iraq, in light of the crystallization of a new political opinion arising from the multiple disappointments in the performance of the former parliamentary councils.

This scenario remains open in light of the presence of many obstacles that limit the effectiveness of Iraq as a country first and its official institutions second, the most important of which is the sectarian system enshrined by the American occupation of Iraq in 2003, and its use as an abhorrent alternative to the bond of inclusive citizenship for all components of the people. This is in addition to other obstacles that will be addressed gradually after the elimination of the sectarian quota system, noting that this transformation will not occur in the near term, and requires the compatibility of political blocs and active forces within the political system. For this, this scenario remains open to several possibilities in light of political changes and changes in the regional and international environment.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In light of the results obtained, the researcher recommends the following:

1. Adhering to and defending the national option to achieve universal citizenship that fuses all sub-loyments within its potency.

2. Formulation of joint cooperation between all political forces and currents in the public interest of all.

3. Establishing a committee to review the Iraqi constitution issued in the year (2005), and to amend the vague texts that are likely to be interpreted more than one place, and interpreted in accordance with the private interest.

4. Accelerate the enactment of laws governing political life, commensurate with the representation of all components of the Iraqi people.

5. Working hard to combat all manifestations of administrative and financial corruption that are very widespread in Iraq.

6. Conducting more studies that analyze the role of the legislature in the democratic transition, because this body has a fundamental role in consolidating democracy.

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