

# AN INTELLECTUAL VISION OF THE PROBLEMATIC OF CONSENSUAL DEMOCRACY IN IRAQ: THE ABSENCE OF NATIONAL OPPOSITION IS A MODEL

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## ABSTRACT

*The most prominent obstacle to the implementation of democratic consensus in Iraq is the weakness of the legislative authority (the Iraqi parliament) because it was built on the basis of quotas and narrow party bloc and the adoption of the principle of power-sharing and influence between parliamentary blocs strife on the basis of sectarian and sectarian and national (Sunnis and Shiites and Kurds or Arabs, Kurds and Turkmen or Muslims and Christians. Etc.) instead of adopting the state administration curriculum known in constitutional jurisprudence*

*This resulted in a lack of trust between the parliamentary blocs participating in the government as well as the overlap between the three powers (legislative, executive and judicial) and the absence of political opposition.*

*And to consolidate the narrow party mentality based on the protection of the interests of the bloc and the party at the expense of community service and achieve its well-being*

*The result of this narrow partisan factionalism is the emergence of a particular model of administration that has a direct impact on the quality of the so-called administration of power.*

*And not the state administration?*

*And the administration of power and influence between the political blocs based on partisan and sectarian quotas and the result of the formation of the government does not inspire confidence and does not build a homeland nor constitutional institutions, and does not establish a climate saving the homeland*

*And that those concerned with the formation of the government of the political blocs that adopted the consensus democracy as a strategy to manage the affairs of the country did not have the national sense necessary to achieve sustainable development of the country and the development of appropriate plans and strategies to meet the challenges facing the question was the construction of structures and the provision of*

*all health services and educational and cultural and economic growth Raising the national income of the Iraqi individual ... etc*

*This resulted in the increase of people's poverty, need and destitution and the reason for the consecration of political consensus, which strengthened the presence of political blocs and the achievement of narrow interests at the expense of the public interest.*

*It no longer holds the luxury of raising contradictory slogans among the political forces that adopted and established the concept of democratic consensus, which served the interests of these political blocs exclusively and did not work on. To raise the level of growth to achieve future economic stability and achieve sustainable development*

*Keywords: An intellectual vision ‘ the problems Consensual democracy‘ in Iraq ‘ absence ‘ national opposition*

## **INTRODUCTION**

### **1 . Research Hypothesis:**

The premise of our research stems from the following:

First, after 2003, Iraq witnessed a change in the structure of the political system. It changed from a totalitarian system to a parliamentary system in which consociational democracy was applied as a means of expressing a strategy of governance through cooperation and reconciliation among the various political elites, rather than competing and taking decisions by majority.

Second, the Dutch thinker Aren't Lebardt invented the idea of harmonious democracy, which is also called integral democracy, based on the existence of a form of cooperation and harmony between the components of society rather than the state of conflict and competition between these components themselves.

Therefore, the consensus democracy led to the formation of a broad coalition among all the components of the community because the consensus democracy requires that there be a general consensus between the components of society and political organizations,

### **1 . 2Problematic search**

The problem arises from the following:

First, the choice in the Middle East and North Africa is not always between the democracy of the majority, the political minority and the consensus democracy, but between consensual democracy or totalitarian regimes based on one component of the state on the pretext of continuing national unity.

Moreover, the marginalization and marginalization of the different minorities in the multi-ethnic, religious, sectarian, linguistic and national state ... etc

Second: It seems that the principle of sectarian quotas and partisan and the reformist bloc imposed by the political parties in Iraq after 2003 until the present time under the wrong understanding of the interpretation of democratic consensus, which devoted sectarian and partisan quotas as an applied approach to governance so that,

Third, the method of sectarian quotas and partying has become even stronger than the constants of the permanent Iraqi constitution of 2005 (which adopted the parliamentary system to govern the country

### **1 . 3 .The first axis: definition of the concept of democracy ..**

First: Democracy is a form of government in which all eligible citizens participate equally - either directly or through their elected representatives - in proposing, developing, and developing laws. They include social, economic and cultural conditions that enable citizens to exercise free and equal political self-determination

The term democracy sometimes refers to the narrow meaning of a system of government in a democratic state, or in a broader sense to describe a culture of society

Democracy in this broader sense is a distinct social system that is believed and practiced by society and refers to a particular political and ethical culture in which there are concepts of the need for the peaceful and periodic rotation of power

And that the various concepts that have besieged the idea of democracy are a sign that history has placed great wealth and broad hopes, and that "the idea of democracy" has imposed itself almost two and a half millennia ago, even though Plato said it was the "rabble rule" The rhetoric that drives the emotions of the masses, more than influenced by the thought of the light

Plato (427-343 BC) came after Périclès (495-425 BC), the Athenian statesman and Plato Adri of Numerical Democracy, which was applied by Pericles

The success of the "idea of democracy", to remain hopeful throughout this history, is a shining demonstration of the dynamism of democracy and its dynamism that has made it one of the most important and powerful elements in the development of societies. .

#### **1 . 4 Second: Definition of the concept:**

Consensus democracy is a pattern of democracy, characterized by not only the majority as a single criterion of governance, and added another criterion is the consensus that includes the participation of elected minorities in government.

The Dutch thinker ArntLebhardt is one of the early theoreticians of consensual democracy in Western political thought. Lebhart pointed out that consensual democracy expresses a strategy in conflict management through cooperation and reconciliation among different elites rather than competition and decision-making by majority.

The consensus alternative is the most suitable for pluralistic societies. It offers a successful way to achieve democracy with a great deal of political unity and ensures that minorities are protected from any threat or threat to them by the ruling and legitimate majority.

Consensual democracy is a system in which the sources of authority are more numerous and closer to democratic systems in which civil peace is achieved, based on legitimacy and effectiveness, and can reduce civil violence and rationalize the possibility of recourse to it.

Inrent sees the following truth:

The realistic choice for many pluralistic societies in the non-Western world and the identification of Third World countries, particularly the Middle East and North Africa, is not an option between the British normative model of democracy and the consensual model.

The following legitimate question may arise:

How can the problem of separation and division be addressed in the multi-ethnic, linguistic, religious, national and ethnic communities living in a society in which the parliamentary system is applied within the framework of consensual democracy?

Ford Langer believes that the emergence of distinct regional sectors is accompanied by the parliamentary systems and in the framework of democratic consensus more autonomy or partial and as a result of the additional rush to demand full independence and separation, separation or civil war can occur here if the parliamentary system does not respond to the demands and solve them The problem suggests (Langer) the following realistic solutions:

First: the reduction of pluralism through the division of the state into two separate or more homogeneous and harmonized democracy on the basis of the broad coalition, which defines (quantum cartel) between the allied political forces for the purpose of achieving two things:

**1 / Consolidation of the democratic system**

2 / Maintain the soil unit

The success depends on the genuine desire of these allied political forces to recognize each other and agree on common programs and aspirations

Second: Eliminating the pluralistic character of a society based on ethnic, national, sectarian, religious and linguistic diversity through the application of the assimilation program because the consensual solution, which accepts pluralistic divisions as the basic building blocks of a stable system

There is another solution offered by Kalhoun based on an idea which it calls "mutual negativity" as an alternative to the majority. The use of components or minorities in multi-ethnic, religious, religious, and national societies is reasonable. Once minorities obtain this right they feel safe and convinced that excessive Its use leads to the disruption of the government and this does not serve their interests and thus give up for the public interest

The professor (Antoine Masra) the solution of the democratic consensus as an alternative to representative democracy in Lebanon and to solve the problems of community Why?

He believes that the lack of political consensus is usually associated with the eruption of local violence channels and the intervention of external forces, regional and international, which made the situation worse in Lebanon, resulting in civil war between all sects and sects. Lebanon is one of the most prominent Arab countries that have experienced a serious political crisis between the communities.

In the society of ethnic, national, sectarian, religious and linguistic pluralism after 2003, the debate over democracy intensified.

First: Kurds adhere to the principle of consensus as the guarantor of the rights of ethnic and national minorities

Second: the Shiite component of the National Alliance led by former Iraqi Prime Minister (Nuri al-Maliki) put the principle of the adoption of democracy of the majority and the political minority

And that the adoption of the principle of the majority in a multi-component country such as Iraq will lead to the majority and minority national or sectarian or religious and this will lead to Iraq to tyranny and control a class or component Shiite or Sunni or Kurdi on the rest of the other components

What is the solution?

The alternative was to reject the three components (Sunni, Shiite and Kurdish) to devote the principle of sharing power and influence among them was the presidency of the Republic of the Kurds and the presidency of parliament for the Sunni component and the premiership of the Shiite

And all rejected the adoption of the principle of broad coalition (cartel of government) because it does not serve the interests of these blocs, sectarian and sectarian narrow resulted in the formation of a sectarian allocation of sectarian government distributed the spoils and gains between these components (Sunni, Shiite and Kurdish) After 2003 until the present time

Which is contrary to the pillars of democratic consensus

The basic feature of consensual democracy is that the leaders of the sectors of the pluralistic society cooperate in a broad coalition to govern the country. This coalition, as in the democratic systems of consensus, is the most prominent and important political party or group in the country,

Its purpose - as the consensusists say - is to establish a "ruling cartel" that strengthens the democratic system and territorial integrity of the country.

The Grand Alliance requires strong, widely-spread parties, parliamentary blocs able to form stable constituencies, and clear programs that form the basis for relations with citizens and for the establishment of prosperous alliances. The large coalition requires the recognition and agreement of the main parties on the basis of common programs, aspirations and objectives.

### **1 . 5 Third: the foundations of democratic consensus: Consensual democracy based on four basic pillars**

First: a coalition government or a broad coalition involving the majority party and others.

Second: Reliance on the principle of proportional representation in ministries, institutions, administrations and elections.

Third: the veto power of both minorities and minorities in order to prevent the monopoly of power.

Fourth: self-management of the affairs of each group

### **1 . 6 The second axis: the reasons for the emergence of democratic consensus in Western political thought**

First: the changing majority: the political majority to occur in a society that is socially and religiously homogeneous ... in which the (changing) minority can get its majority, turning from opposition to power.

Second: the fixed majority: the majority of the ethnic or religious ... which corresponds to the static fixed any ethnic or religious ... There is no possibility of becoming a majority, and therefore there is no guarantee not to be conquered by the majority,

"Democratic tyranny is a constant threat," Pascal Sullen says in his book Liberalism. "It is very likely that a minority will be subjected to a majority of rights to be digested." This has already happened in many societies that adopted liberal democracy as British (Conquering the Hindu majority of the Muslim minority, which led to secession from India and its establishment of Pakistan), and there is no guarantee that the established majority will not be defeated by its permanent minority as in Israel The Jewish minority of Ag Liberalists were able to solve this problem only by acknowledging the need to determine minority rights at the constitutional level to ensure that they were not wasted by the majority, in what they called "consensual democracy

### **1 . 7 The third axis: the issues of consensual democracy in Iraq: the absence of national opposition**

The importance of political opposition in any country is linked to the manifestation of political pluralism on the one hand and the observer of the exercise of authority over its constitutional and legal powers on the other. "Although political and party systems differ in varying experiences and different societies, The need for political opposition within the contemporary political system of whatever nature.

According to some, the opposition and the government are poles, one positive and the other negative, in order to push the stream of progress, prosperity and stability to all elements of the state. "The presence of the opposition is an institutionalized health condition. It is necessary and is not a serious situation that could lead to the formation of the society and its exit from its democratic path. Forms.

"The existence of the opposition is the simplest expression of the existence of the same policy, the only safety valve against the possibility of internal conflicts turning into conflicts and wars in this context is monitored the situation in many Arab countries that excluded the opposition or Tnkl where almost all social protest movements turn into dissident movements Customary or sectarian or ideological ... Thus, the prevailing is the climate of confrontation and turn the opposition here to a protest team and lose its middle role between the ruling power and the people

Is there opposition in the democratic consensus applied in Iraq under the adoption of the parliamentary system?

No, because everyone in Iraq is in power and rejects the practice of the well-known opposition in the old parliamentary systems, including the British parliamentary system based on opposition and government, one of which is positive and the other negative.

However, the fall of the totalitarian regimes in the region and the rise of new democratic political forces and human rights organizations, in addition to the active role played by the Arab media and the free world, such as television and satellite channels, newspapers and magazines, These factors promoted the culture of acceptance of the other, pluralism, diversity and change, and fought vigorously against the dominance of the totalitarian culture and its foundations, as well as the decline and collapse of the socialist system. This formed a real nucleus - in theory - But in practice, it will not be easy to have many obstacles, including:

- internal to the culture of the region itself, such as sectarian and regional, tribal and tribal, and this model exists in most countries that seek to change and democratic transition, such as Iraq, Libya and Syria.
- the external system is the totalitarian system of the remaining system that continues to support and support the totalitarian regimes in the region for the continuation of their economic interests, they represent the direct obstacle to crystallize the features of this culture in the desired form, the change of regimes governing the region is the biggest victory of this culture, His name is the opposition

Consensual democracy is the granting of political forces that express the interests of the constituent groups of society the possibility of suspending the decisions of other political forces when taking decisions that harm their interests, regardless of the size of the mass, assuming the existence of a serious social division and conflict can be contained only through this formula

The consensual model is characterized by its ability to create real barriers that do not allow any social group to transcend the rights of another category, not by monopolizing power in whole or in part. The constitution regulates all the details of the consensus that make the political and party work in itself and even the electoral and parliamentary work a collective force The roles of everyone for the benefit of all.

And if what is taken on consensual democracy in the parliamentary system applied in Iraq

Is there no opposition or weak opposition?

This critique is fair because it is criticism based on pluralistic societies and under unequal conditions dictated by divisions, which can be called feudal political feudalism along the lines of the well-known feudalism

Consensual democracy no matter how far away from the abstract ideal the best types of democracy can be expected to be achieved in a realistic way.

In the absence of a state in Iraq that cares for the affairs of its citizens, these affiliations can disintegrate, and in a country where ethnic groups are persecuted, these sectarian affiliations are expected to fester.

Therefore, under a consensus system that makes all groups feel involved in the state, it is expected that these affiliations will decline as the system evolves and citizens feel that they are actual partners in the state. This is exactly what happened in Europe in the last two centuries of the founding of the state of citizens. When the state began to give a real interest to citizens, tribal affiliations fell after Europe was stuck in tribal affiliations and tribal wars for centuries.

Political reports in countries that have a consensual system confirm that the state's recognition of the rights of minorities under this type of democracy has increased their sense of belonging to the state and of class affiliations to secondary affiliations.

Thus, a Frenchman in Switzerland or Belgium, for example, feels more Swiss or Belgian than he did before implementing consensual democracy.

In exercising the rule of majority and minority in classical democracy, this rule has proved to be dangerous to national reconciliation and internal cohesion, because minorities, unable to gain power, feel marginalized and discriminated against. Then there is no loyalty to the regime, and it may no longer have loyalty even to the state itself.

All of this resulted in a new democratic formula, "consociational democracy", the democracy of power-sharing in a pluralistic society.

It is, therefore, a legitimate daughter, in every sense of the word, of democracy in essence.

## **CONCLUSION AND CONCLUSIONS**

Consensual democracy, which is the invention of democracy in the process of adaptation and the characteristics of different groups, has been found for the heterogeneous society and, in addition, the interests of existential and fateful groups contradict or contradict.

Only society is pluralistic. A pluralistic society is not a "pluralist political system" where partisan pluralism competes with one another, pluralism of opinions and expression, and opposition to the authority Even opposition to the regime, etc.

In numerical democracy, the numerical majority constitutes the highest balance in the political society. It is the ruling and decision-maker. In consensual democracy, society is not at the mercy of the ideology of the majority with a homogenous identity, which requires that the groups share their decisions and be relevant to their existential and fateful interests

That the leaders and leaders of the competing sects in Iraq after 2003 (a pluralistic society based on sectarian, sectarian and partisan) can increase the tension and political instability in the Iraqi political system and as happened since the formation of the Iraqi government after 2003, based on sectarian, sectarian and partisan, As a result of the adoption of a democratic approach based on doctrinal, sectarian, partisan and national policy of what is known as (the behavior of the political rival) and this behavior of the rival does not build a constitutional institutions and does not contribute to the achievement of sustainable development, which can be achieved to serve the citizen Of Iraq

Therefore, as a whole as a result of their feuding behavior between the political blocs that are composed of the government, they can also make a real effort to thwart any genuine national attempt to change this disgusting sectarian reality which has produced in Iraq an unstable political situation that has entrenched the concept of dispersion and cultural, sectarian and sectarian division between the political blocs Has had bad effects such as stagnation or destabilization of Iraq since 2003 until now

All States that have adopted consensual democracy have come after wars or political crises that have made the majority aware that it is inevitable not to marginalize minorities and give them a share of government. In practice, this is the dynamic that precedes any solution whatsoever, since those who prevail in the government do not accept to relinquish part of their powers except in the necessity.

In conclusion, we can conclude from all of the above that the consensus democracy in the practical sense that has been in the Iraqi political arena for more than five years, from 2003 until now

Which implies the rule of the people themselves to something closer to the provisions of the peace prevailing in some tribal customs, and this is so dangerous that it can be a blow and blow to the entire democratic process, and that the most prominent appearance of the game The political consensus between the political blocs composed of the government in Iraq since 2003 and until now, which has pursued over the past period a sectarian policy and political allocation based on the division of power and influence among them will not be able to run a state, but succeeded in the administration of power and there is a clear difference between the administration of the state Power management?

It has been clear for some time now that the national spirit and the desire to change towards majority democracy instead of consensual democracy, which proved to have failed as a method of governance in Iraq after 2003 until the present time

Democracy of the majority, which gives the desire in the hearts of the masses to participate voluntarily in the parliamentary elections and provincial council elections a desire to change and get rid of the reality of sectarian and political quotas abhorrent

Despite the fact that some of the political and cultural circles of different ideas, as a significant number of voters realized unequivocally that his democratic dream collided with appeasement vehicles to one party or another, and that the voter who challenged death for the selection of a representative was not at the level of those sacrifices Even with regard to some simple services, and will not accompany the deputy after the day apologized that he himself was a victim of his bosses in the party or political ladder, and in order to address the Iraqis what can be remedied must be reversed from the democratic approach to consensus to the democracy of the majority.

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