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1. Provincial Council Elections at a Glance

The provincial council elections will be held on 31 January 2009. The elections of the districts and subdistricts councils will be held within six months after this date.

Article 6 of the Provincial Council Election Law states the following: "Provincial council elections shall be held in the first stage, and district and subdistrict council elections shall be held in a second stage within six months after the date of holding the first-stage elections (Independent High Electoral Commission [IHEC], 8 October 2008).

1.1. Facts, Figures

As announced by the IHEC, 14,431 candidates will run in the provincial council elections (www.uniraq.org, 3 January 2009).

According to an IHEC official quoted by Al-Malaf.net, the elections will be held in 14 out of Iraq's 18 governorates. The elections will not be held in the governorates of Arbil, Dahuk, Al-Sulaymaniyah, and Kirkuk, the official added. She also reported that the "number of voters is [approximately] 14,780,000 in the 14 governorates, that the number of polling centers is 6,500, and that the number of seats is 440" (3 December 2008).

According to the official website of the IHEC in Iraq, 427 Iraqi political entities, consisting of individuals and parties, were approved by the commission to run in the 2009 provincial council elections (2 December 2008). Some of these political entities are represented in the 36 political coalitions which were certified by the commission (14 November 2008).

The elections will be held in Baghdad and other governorates on the same day (IHEC, 8 October 2008).

1.2. Distribution of Seats

According to Article 24 of the Provincial Council Elections Law, "the provincial council comprises 25 seats to which one seat is added for every 200,000 people over a population of 500,000 according to the latest statistics approved in accordance with the ration card on the basis of which the voters' register was drawn up" (IHEC, 8 October 2008).

The following table shows the population and the number of seats for each of the 14 governorates taking part in the elections:
# Table 1: Population, Number of Seats Per Governorate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Name of Governorate</th>
<th>Approximate Population</th>
<th>Number of Seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Al-Anbar</td>
<td>2,665,000</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Babil</td>
<td>1,751,900</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Baghdad</td>
<td>6,400,400</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Basra</td>
<td>1,500,000</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Diyala</td>
<td>1,271,000</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Karbala</td>
<td>572,300</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Maysan</td>
<td>420,000</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Al-Muthanna</td>
<td>538,000</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Al-Najaf</td>
<td>931,600</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Ninawa</td>
<td>2,509,800</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Al-Qadisiyah</td>
<td>887,000</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Salah-al-Din</td>
<td>2,146,500</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Dhi Qar</td>
<td>1,454,200</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Wasit</td>
<td>853,618</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Distribution of Candidates Running in 2009 Provincial Elections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Governorate</th>
<th>No. of Seats</th>
<th>No. of Candidates</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Al-Anbar</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>543</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babil</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1,449</td>
<td>386</td>
<td>1,063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baghdad</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>2,455</td>
<td>690</td>
<td>1,765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basra</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1,287</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diyala</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>638</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karbala</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1,192</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maysan</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>736</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>539</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Muthanna</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>880</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Najaf</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1,068</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>787</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ninawa</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>409</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Qadisiyah</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>888</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>653</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salah-al-Din</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>587</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhi Qar</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1,069</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>779</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wasit</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1,230</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>440</strong></td>
<td><strong>14,431</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,912</strong></td>
<td><strong>10,519</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(www.uniraq.org, 3 January 2009)

1.2.1. Seats for Minorities

The election law allocated six seats for minorities: one seat for the Christians; one seat for Mandaean Sabians in Baghdad; one seat for each of the Christians, Shabak, and Yazidis in Mosul; and one seat for the Christians in Basra (www.intekhabat.org, 14 December 2008).

1.2.2. Women Quota

The Second Paragraph of Article 13 stipulates that 25% of the elected candidates should be women, saying that "a woman should be added to every three winners irrespective of whether there are other male winners" (IHEC, 8 October 2008).
1.2.3. Electoral System

In contrast to the elections of 2005, which were based on the "closed list" system, the mixed list formula will be adopted for the provincial council elections. This formula, according to Qasim al-Abbudi, director of the Election Department at the IHEC, "combines the advantages of both the open and closed lists and is acceptable by all political entities" (Al-Iraqiyah TV, 10 November 2008).

- According to Article 9 of the Provincial Council Election Law, nominations will be made on the basis of the open list system.

- According to Article 10 of the Provincial Council Election Law, the number of candidates in the list should not exceed the number of seats allocated for the district.

- According to the third paragraph of Article 12 of the Provincial Council Election Law, the voter may vote for the open list or for one of the candidates from the open lists in his electoral district (IHEC, 8 October 2008).

The new voting system is a mix of the open list and the closed list. In 2005, Iraq had a closed list vote. The new system will allow Iraqis to pick from individuals, parties, or coalitions. The votes will be tallied to see how much each individual or party gets across the entire province, and then positions on the council will be given by the percentage each received (abumuqawama.blogspot.com, 25 September 2008).

1.3. Oversight

The IHEC was established in 2004 as the Independent Election Commission of Iraq (IECI) by the Coalition Provisional Authority as the exclusive electoral authority in Iraq. In 2007, the IECI was renamed the IHEC in accordance with Law 11 (2007) of the Council of Representatives. The IHEC describes itself as a "professional, independent and neutral commission that is subject to the oversight of the Council of Representatives." The IHEC has the exclusive authority to announce, implement, and deliver regulations, rules, and procedures related to referenda and elections. The IHEC stresses that it is responsible for ensuring that Iraqi citizens can participate in decisionmaking processes through their elected representatives and the peaceful delegation of authority (IHEC website, 29 December 2008).

In a statement to the Al-Iraqiyah TV, official television of the Iraqi Government, IHEC Director Faraj al-Haydari said that 43,000 observers have been trained by the UN Assistance Mission in Iraq (UNAMI). Those observers, together with those trained by the IHEC, total around 83,000. He added that invitations were sent to civil society organizations, trade unions, diplomatic missions, international organizations, the Arab League, the Organization of Islamic Conference, and the EU to take part in overseeing the elections. He noted that the IHEC has formed a legal committee to investigate complaints related to the elections (29 December 2008).

Staffan de Mistura, head of the UN Mission in Iraq, has said that new standards have been designed to prevent any election fraud. In a news conference in Baghdad in early December,
he warned that some groups have tried to delay the elections. He said that the UN Mission has trained more than 40,000 observers and will train more people so that the number of observers will rise to 200,000 in order to prevent fraud. He noted that there are "advanced technical measures" that will be adopted to control the voting process. He refused to reveal these measures, saying that they are "part of the secrets of the electoral process" (Ilaf.com, 1 December 2008).

1.4. Provincial Councils

According to the Provincial Council Election Law, which was endorsed by the Council of Representatives on 24 September 2008, each province, known in Iraq as a governorate, shall have a council made up of a fixed number of minimum seats, which is 25 seats, and that one seat shall be added for each additional 200,000 of population over 500,000 within the administrative boundaries of each governorate and according to the census (www.iraqiparty.com, 29 December 2008).

In the Baghdad Provincial Council, for example, the fixed number of minimum seats is 25. Baghdad Governorate has a population of 6,400,400. The total number of seats for the Baghdad Province Council is 57 plus three minority seats (25+32+3=60). The same principle applies to the other governorates according to the population density of each governorate (www.iraqiparty.com, 29 December 2008).

1.4.1. Powers of Provincial Councils

The powers of the provincial councils are defined as follows on the official website of the Iraqi Islamic Party, at www.iraqiparty.com:


2. Once elected, the head of the council and his two deputies may be dismissed by the vote of an absolute majority of the members of the council.

3. ISSUING PIECES OF LEGISLATION, REGULATIONS, AND INSTRUCTIONS TO ORGANIZE THE ADMINISTRATIVE AND FINANCIAL AFFAIRS WITHIN THE BOUNDARIES OF EACH GOVERNORATE IN A MANNER THAT DOES NOT CONTRAVENE THE CONSTITUTION OR FEDERAL LAWS.

4. COORDINATING WITH THE RELEVANT MINISTRIES IN THE SPHERE OF DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING PERTAINING TO THE GOVERNORATE.

5. BEING ENTITLED TO PREPARE THE COUNCIL'S FINANCIAL BUDGET DRAFT AND TO INCORPORATE IT INTO THE GOVERNORATE'S GENERAL BUDGET.

6. ENDORSING THE GOVERNORATE'S GENERAL BUDGET DRAFT WHICH IS PRESENTED BY THE GOVERNORATE.

7. OVERSEEING ALL LOCAL EXECUTIVE ACTIVITIES TO ENSURE THE GOOD PERFORMANCE OF THEIR [EXECUTIVE AUTHORITIES'] WORK.
8. Electing the governor and his two deputies by an absolute majority of the number of members of the council.

9. Dismissing the governor and his two deputies by an absolute majority of the number of members of the council.

10. Nominating three candidates to occupy the higher posts of the governorate by an absolute majority.

11. Appointing or dismissing the representatives of offices of the governorates at the Iraqi embassies and consulates abroad.

12. Being entitled to present a petition to join two or more other governorates in order to form an [autonomous] region. This petition requires the support of at least one third of the governorate council's members.

13. Endorsing the security plan presented by the security establishment in the governorate.

14. Choosing the governorate's logo.

15. Approving bylaws for the councils.

16. Endorsing administrative changes to the districts and subdistricts by a simple majority" (29 December 2008).

1.4.2. Provincial Council Committees

Each provincial council must set up 14 committees. The committees will operate in accordance with the bylaws that will be approved by the members of the council in its first ordinary session. Each committee will consist of at least three members and will have a chairman and a deputy chairman. Each committee will have an internal bylaw. Councils at the municipal and local levels must set up analogous committees. The analogous committees will also have regular weekly or semimonthly meetings and will present recommendations and the minutes of meetings of the presidency of the governorate's councils (www.iraqiparty.com, 29 December 2008).

According to the Iraqi Islamic Party website, the most important committees are as follows:

1. The Services Committee. It will be in charge of services (water, sewage, hygiene, environment) with the relevant ministries in the central government.

2. The Energy Committee. It will be in charge of all types of fuel and electricity issues. It will hold meetings with the ministries of oil and electricity. It will work to solve problems and obstacles that occur in the areas or within the administrative boundaries of the governorate.

3. The Reconstruction Committee. It will be in charge of reconstruction, including infrastructure and construction projects, and others.
4. The Media Committee. It will be in charge of communications by supervising media coverage of the provincial council's work in TV, radio, and local newspapers.

5. The Tribal Chiefs' Committee. It will be in charge of affairs of tribes in the governorate. It will also work to activate and strengthen bonds among the tribes.

6. The Councils' Affairs Committee. It will be in charge of the affairs of the municipal and local councils, which are affiliated with the provincial council, as well as [the affairs of] their members.

7. The Legal Committee. It will be in charge of legal cases of the provincial council and the municipal and local councils. It will also resolve legal disputes within the council.

8. The Administrative Committee. It will be in charge of the management of the council, including financial affairs, real estate, services, logistical affairs, purchases, and others (29 December 2008).

1.5. Previous Elections

Since 2003, provincial council elections have been held only once, and this coincided with the parliamentary elections held on 30 January 2005. These elections were widely boycotted by Iraqi Sunnis for several reasons, including a US assault on the Sunni city of Al-Fallujah, and witnessed limited participation by Al-Sadr Trend's followers.

- **In Baghdad**, for example, the provincial council was allocated 51 seats. The Unified Iraqi Coalition (UIC), a major Shiite coalition bringing together the Iraqi Islamic Supreme Council; the Islamic Da'wah Party, the Sadrists before their defection from the UIC; and several other small Shiite groupings won 28 seats. The Sadrists won 11 seats. The Al-Fadilah Party won six seats, and the Communist Party won two seats, one of which was given to the only Sunni member on the Baghdad Governorate Council. The National Democratic Alliance won two seats. The Independent Al-Bayan Iraqi Grouping won one seat, and independents won one seat (Al-Ra'id.net, 2006).

- **In the Diyala Governorate**, the Coalition of Islamic and National Forces came first with 84,390 votes. The IIP followed, winning 55,000 votes, and the Democratic Kurdish-Arab-Turkoman Alliance won 30,268 votes (Xinhuanet.arabic, 12 February 2005).

- **In Dhi Qar**, the Islamic Al-Fadilah Party List came first with 103,114 votes. The Iraqi Islamic Supreme Council followed, winning 100,273 votes, and the Islamic Da'wah Party won 89,263 votes. The IISC won the largest number of votes in both the Al-Najaf and Karbala Governorates (Xinhuanet.arabic, 12 February 2005).
2. 2009 Provincial Council Elections

2.1. Significance

The upcoming 31 January provincial elections in Iraq will likely provide good indicators as to the maturity of Iraq's political system and show the popularity of secular versus religious political parties/coalitions as well as the newly established "awakening" councils, which played a significant role in curtailing violence in Iraq in 2007 and 2008.

The elections are likely to be especially significant because of the expected increase in Iraqi participation and changes in the makeup of traditional powerbrokers.

- The Sunni Arabs and many of the Al-Sadr Trend's supporters, who boycotted the last provincial elections in January 2005, have decided to take part in these elections. Although the Al-Sadr Trend is not running a list of candidates under its own name, it has indicated that it will endorse two entities and urged its followers to vote in the provincial council elections (Al-Kufah News Agency, 4 January; Al-Sharqiyah, 4 December 2008). Aqil Abd-al-Husayn, head of the Al-Sadr parliamentary bloc, said that the Al-Sadr bloc decided to support the Free People Trend List No 284 and the Integrity and Construction List No 376 (www.alsadronline.net, 11 January 2009).

- In the 2005 provincial elections, the major Shiite parties -- the Iraqi Islamic Supreme Council and the Da'wah Islamic Party -- banded together under the UIC. In contrast, this time they will participate in the elections under separate lists, so the election will "demonstrate their relative political appeal" (Al-Jazirah TV, 14 November 2008).

- Former Iraqi Prime Minister Iyad Allawi has expanded his secular coalition, the Iraqi National Project, with new secular political parties. He said in an interview with the independent Jordanian daily Al-Ghadd that the list includes parties and movements that "do not accept sectarian politics" (25 December 2008).

- The Iraqi Islamic Party (IIP) -- which has long dominated the Al-Anbar Governorate Council -- will face competition for the first time in the governorate from several groups, including those headed by Awakening Council figures Ahmad Abu-Rishah, Ali Hatim al-Sulayman, and Hamid Hayis, all of whom have demonstrated a contentious relationship with the IIP. Al-Sulayman and Hayis, in particular, have over the past year threatened to oust the IIP from the governorate. Hayis said in a statement to the Saudi-owned daily Al-Sharq al-Awsat: "Our battle will be waged during the elections of the provincial councils" (21 September 2008).

- While elections are not taking place in the governorates of the Kurdistan Regional Government or in the disputed governorate of Kirkuk, lists sponsored by the leading Kurdish parties are competing in elections in four provinces -- three of which contain territory to which the Kurdistan Regional Government has laid claim. Some local Kurdish officials have expressed concern that the Kurdish parties could lose influence in these disputed provinces -- especially in Diyala and Ninawa -- with the anticipated increase in Sunni participation in these areas. Ibrahim Hassan Bajalan, head of Diyala's
provincial council, earlier called for postponing the elections in Diyala, saying the situation in the multiethnic governorate was not appropriate for holding elections in January (Al-Sulaymaniyah KurdSat, 9 December 2008).

Officials representing a wide spectrum of Iraqi political forces have widely underscored the significance of the upcoming elections. Some went as far as contending that the outcome of the elections will re-draw the political map in Iraq.

- Abd-al-Aziz al-Hakim, leader of the Iraqi Islamic Supreme Council (IISC), described the upcoming provincial council elections as "an important turning point in the history of Iraq," reiterating his call for effective participation in them (Al-Sharqiyah TV, 9 December 2008). MP Rida Jawad Taqi of the IISC predicted "dramatic" changes in the political arena, including the emergence of "new forces from the independents" (Al-Iraqiyah TV, 14 November 2008).

- MP Muhsin al-Sa'dun from the Kurdistan Alliance bloc said that there will be many changes in the political map and new blocs and alliances will emerge as a result of the provincial elections. He described the upcoming elections as "extremely important" as they would "identify the characteristics of the local administrations for all Iraqi governorates" (Al-Iraqiyah TV, 14 November 2008).

Likewise, prominent Sunni and Shiite clerics urged active participation in the elections.

- Shaykh Abd-al-Mahdi al-Karbala'i, representative of Grand Shiite Cleric Ali al-Sistani in Karbala, urged the people of Iraq to "strongly participate in the coming provincial council elections." He warned against failure to go to the ballot boxes, saying this "will hold the citizen partly responsible for not allowing the right person to arrive at the right place [best person to be elected to the appropriate position]" (Al-Furat TV, 19 December 2008).

- Shiite Shaykh Muhammad al-Haydari, imam and preacher of the Al-Khillani Mosque, urged "all Iraqis to participate in the elections and elect the right and competent persons" (Al-Iraqiyah TV, 19 December 2008).

- Sunni Shaykh Dr Harith al-Ubaydi urged "all Iraqis" to participate in these elections so that the "incompetent and dishonest persons who only care for their personal interests" will not be elected. He said that "the provincial council elections are very important because they are for local governments and local administrations in the governorates, which include the head of the governorate council and its members who elect the governor" (Baghdad TV, 26 December 2008).

- Shiite preacher Sayyid Sadr-al-Din al-Qabbanji said that "the Iraqi people will record a new national epic through their intensive participation in the coming provincial council elections" (Al-Furat TV, 19 December 2008).
Elections as Gauge of Iraqi Political Preferences

The provincial elections may also provide a gauge of the relative strength of Iraq's religious parties and the anticipated competition among Shiite parties over control of the southern governorates' councils. In the last provincial elections, in December 2005, religiously affiliated parties won control of all the councils, with the exception of the Kurdish region and Kirkuk (AFP, 9 November 2008).

- Iraqi political analyst Abd-al-Karim al-Aluchi said the elections will witness a "heated rivalry" among the Iraqi Islamic Supreme Council, the Da'wah Party, the Iraqi Al-Tawafuq Front, and the IIP. He noted that Prime Minister Al-Maliki and Abd-al-Aziz Al-Hakim, leader of the Iraqi Islamic Supreme Council, which dominated most of the provincial councils in southern Iraq in the previous elections, will compete over control of the southern governorates (www.islamonline.net, 17 December 2008).

- The Iraqi Islamic Supreme Council and the Da'wah Party are "two pillars" of the ruling Shiite alliance, and their separation is likely to create "a wide fissure" and "undermine the parliamentary power of this coalition" (Al-Jazirah TV, 14 November 2008).

- Iraqi MP Iyad Jamal-al-Din of the Iraqi List criticized what he described as "the poor managerial, executive, and procedural conduct of the religious political parties" that have dominated the political arena in Iraq since the downfall of the former regime. He noted that the role of "religious political parties" in Iraq is diminishing (Al-Arabiyah TV, 24 November 2008).

Polls Show Declining Support for Religious Parties

Observers have cited polls indicating that support for religious parties in Iraq is declining. A September 2008 survey of 11,198 families from 10 governorates across Iraq conducted by the Baghdad University and the Iraqi NGO Al-Amal Association -- which identifies itself as a nonpolitical, nonsectarian, and nonprofit association of volunteers actively engaged in projects for the benefit and well-being of the Iraqi population -- revealed the following information:

- Only 22.7% of 12,000 people polled in 10 provinces said they will vote for religious parties or blocs (AFP, 9 November 2008).

- Some 26.3% said they will vote for independent candidates who are not running under the tickets of any political or religious parties, while 23.7% said they will select democratic and secular blocs (AFP, 9 November 2008).

The poll also showed that the population of several Iraqi cities is inclined to vote for nonreligious parties.

- In Baghdad and the Salah-al-Din and Al-Anbar Governorates, two-thirds of those polled supported the secular parties (Al-Jazirah.net, 8 November 2008).
• As for the participants in the poll from Al-Najaf City, where the office of Shiite authority Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani has announced that he does not support any religious group or party in the elections, 56% of them said they would vote for the religious trends (Al-Jazirah.net, 8 November 2008).

• In the poll of Al-Amal Association, the rates of support for the secular and nonreligious parties varied in the other Iraqi governorates. In Basra Governorate, the southernmost part of Iraq, 70% of the respondents said they would vote for independent figures and nonreligious parties. A similar result was registered in Diyala Governorate, whose capital is Ba'qubah City, east of Baghdad (Al-Jazirah.net, 8 November 2008).

To view the full results of the survey, double-click on the following icon (.pdf):

According to another survey conducted by the government-owned newspaper Al-Sabah, in which 16,277 Iraqis of all ages participated, more than 90% of the respondents rejected using religious symbols in the election campaigns of Iraqi parties (1 November 2008).

• Iraqi journalist Nazim Abd-al-Razzaq told Al-Jazirah.net that the poll results show "the end of the influence of the religious expansion on people in Iraq" (8 November 2008).

• Dr Khalid Abd-al-Al, professor of political science at Al-Mustansiriyah University, said that "there is a big tendency in Iraqi public opinion toward rejecting the interference of religion in politics" (Al-Jazirah.net, 8 November 2008).

2.2. Contending Coalitions

The following 36 coalitions have been certified by the IHEC to compete in the 2009 provincial council elections. These coalitions represent alliances made by groups from within the 427 parties and individuals authorized to run in the elections. Each coalition has compiled a joint list of candidates -- drawn from the parties and individuals belonging to it -- for each of the provincial council races in which it is competing.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID Number</th>
<th>Name of Political Entity</th>
<th>Names of Entities Forming Coalition</th>
<th>Place of Submission</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 2         | Kurdistan Alliance in Diyala (Platform) | Patriotic Union of Kurdistan  
Kurdistan Democratic Party  
Kurdistan Socialist Democratic Party  
Kurdistan Islamic Union  
Kurdistan Toilers' Party  
[Parti Zahmatkeshan Kurdistan]  
Kurdistan Communist Party -- Iraq | Diyala Office |
| 5         | National Ishtar List (Platform) | National Bayt Nahrayn Union  
National Chaldean Council  
Independent Assyrians Grouping Movement  
Qurrah Qush Notables Council  
Bayt Nahrayn Democratic Party  
Chaldean Culture Society | Dahuk Office |
| 6         | Iraqi National List | Iraqi National Accord Movement  
Loyalty to Iraq Grouping | National Office |
| 7 | Fraternity and Peaceful Coexistence List (Platform) | Patriotic Union of Kurdistan
Kurdistan Democratic Party
Kurdistan Islamic Union
Kurdistan Islamic Group -- Iraq
Kurdistan Socialist Democratic Party
Iraqi Communist Party
Kurdistan Communist Party -- Iraq
Turkoman Fraternity Party -- Iraq | Salah-al-Din |
|---|---|---|---|
| 8 | Civilians (Platform) | Iraqi Communist Party
Democratic National Party
National Grouping
Democratic Civilians | National Office |
| 9 | Ninawa Fraternity List (Platform) | Kurdistan Democratic Party
Chaldean Democratic Union Party
Patriotic Union of Kurdistan
Assyrian National Party
Kurdistan Islamic Union
Iraqi Communist Party
Kurdistan Communist Party -- Iraq
Kurdistan Socialist Democratic Party | Ninawa Office |
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<th></th>
<th>National Al-Hadba List</th>
<th>Unified National Al-Hadba Grouping</th>
<th>Ninawa Office</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Iraqi Justice and Reform Movement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Iraqi Republican Grouping</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Iraqi National Council of Commons</td>
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2.3. Profile of Coalition Entities

The Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), led by Iraqi President Jalal Talabani (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

**Party Description:** Founded by Talabani in 1975 after separating from the Kurdistan Democratic Party, the PUK is headed by liberal leaders and is very active in the southern part of Kurdistan in Iraq. The party has intimate relations with the United States and Iran but has cold relations with Turkey (*Al-Jazirah.net*, 23 May 2006).

- Based in Al-Sulaymaniyah, the PUK controls the Al-Sulaymaniyah Governorate in the eastern portion of northern Iraq (www.rferl.org, 14 December 2005) and has set up a Kurdish parliament. The party is believed to have received support from Syria and Libya in its early years, and possibly Iran. The PUK, which publishes the newspaper Kurdish-language daily *Kurdistani Nuwe* and the Arabic-language *Al-Ittihad*, joined the Iraqi opposition supported by the US Government in the 1990's (www.globalpolicy.org, 6 July 2004).

- The Kurdistan Region Government is jointly run by the KDP, the PUK, and other Kurdish parties (www.krg.org, 29 June 2007).

- According to its website, the PUK says that it "struggles for democracy, freedom and equality; struggles against dictatorship, war, occupation, and aggression; and struggles against national, class, religious oppression, suppression of human rights, gender discrimination, and terrorism" (www.puk.org, 27 December 2008).

**Party Website:** www.puk.org
The Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), led by Mas'ud Barzani (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

Party Description: Established by Mustafa Barzani (1903-1979) in 1946, the KDP largely relies on the Barzan tribe and is mainly active in the northern city of Arbil. The party says that it works hard to strengthen the basis of the federal state and the Kurdistan National Assembly which was made by "the sacrifices of thousands of our people" and adds that it works hard to mobilize international support for it. It claims that it is becoming the strongest political party in Kurdistan (www.kdp.se, 22 December 2008). The KDP enjoys good relations with Turkey, the United States, and the West but has cold relations with Iran (Al-Jazirah.net, 23 May 2006). The Kurdistan Region Government is jointly run by the KDP, the PUK, and other Kurdish parties (www.krg.org, 29 June 2007).

Party Website: www.kdp.se
The Kurdistan Socialist Democratic Party, led by Muhammad Hajj Mahmud (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

**Party Description:** Founded in 1994, the Kurdistan Socialist Democratic Party is a splinter group of Mas'ud Barzani's Kurdistan Democratic Party; aligned with the Talabani-led PUK. It joined Kurdistan Alliance List for the December 2005 legislative elections (www.homeoffice.gov.uk, 30 April 2007). Its executive is based in Al-Sulaymaniyah, where it participates in the PUK-led government. The party took part in drafting proposals for a post-Saddam federation (www.iraqwatch.org, August 2006).

- Mr Muhammad Hajj Mahmud, secretary general of Kurdistan Socialist Democratic Party (KSDP), has stated that the demands of the people of Kurdistan are right and justified and that the Kurdistan Region Government is negligent. He said: "The government is sleeping on one side and is unaware of what is happening in Kurdistan. They are busy with the business of their own party. Here [in the PUK-led administration] the person in charge of a party committee is also in charge of the district administrator, and the person who is the organizer of the party center is also in charge of the governor" (Al-Sulaymaniyah Hawlati in Sorani Kurdish, 5 October 2005).
The Kurdistan Islamic Union, led by Salah Muhammad Baha-al-Din (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

Party Description: According to its website, the party identifies itself as "a national and reformative party that seeks to find a solution to the political, social, economic, and cultural issues of the society through an Islamic perspective." It stresses that it opposes terrorism and extremism (www.kurdiu.org, 22 December 2008).

Established in 1992, the Kurdistan Islamic Union was formed and led by Salah Muhammad Baha al-Din, who held a seat on the former Iraqi Governing Council. The party adopts a reformative approach away from violence, had participated in the Arbil Government formed by Barzani, and has close relations with the Egyptian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood Movement as well as with former Turkish Prime Minister Nejmettin Erbakan (Al-Jazirah.net, 23 May 2006).

It is said to draw a strong base of support from the student population and is reportedly on good terms with Kurdistan Democratic Party head Barzani and PUK chief Talabani (www.globalpolicy.org, July 2004).

Party Website: www.kurdiu.org

The Kurdistan Communist Party -- Iraq, led by Kamal Shakir Muhammad Ahmad (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

Party Description: The Kurdistan Communist Party -- Iraq declared itself a party in 1993 after separating from the Iraqi Communist Party. The party is headed by Kamal Shakir, who succeeded Karim Ahmad in April 2004, and was one of the first political groups to call for an Iraqi interim government after the fall of the Saddam Husayn's regime. The party has an estimated 5,000 members (www.globalpolicy.org, July 2004).

Party Website: www.kurdistancp.org
Iraqi National Accord Movement (INA), led by Dr Iyad Hashim Allawi (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

**Party Description:** Founded as an opposition party in 1991, the INA is a movement that aims to preserve Iraq's territorial integrity and prevent any interference in Iraq's domestic affairs. It strives to achieve a true democracy and enact laws that respect human rights; it also seeks to build a modern Iraq based on the principles of freedom and political pluralism (www.wifaq.com, 20 December 2008).

**Leader Description:** Born in 1945 in Baghdad, Dr Allawi graduated from the Faculty of Medicine at Baghdad University, obtaining a master's of science in medicine from London University in 1976 and a doctorate in medicine from the same university in 1979. He is a neurologist and businessman who began his opposition to the former regime in 1971 when he moved to Beirut. He left Beirut in 1972 to begin his studies in the United Kingdom (www.cpa-iraq.org, 30 December 2008).

Allawi has been a consultant to the UN Development Program, the WHO, and the UN Children's Fund. After surviving "the brutal attack and assassination attempt" ordered by Saddam Husayn, Dr Allawi continued his efforts against the regime and cofounded the Iraqi National Accord, which attempted a failed 1996 coup against Saddam. Dr Allawi, who is a secular Shiite figure, became a prime minister in the post-Saddam era (www.wifaq.com, 20 December 2008).

**Party Website:** www.wifaq.com
The Kurdistan Islamic Group -- Iraq, led by Muhammad Najib Hasan Ali Bapir (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

**Party Description:** An Islamic movement that emerged in Iraqi Kurdistan on 31 May 2001, the Kurdistan Islamic Group -- Iraq is headed by Shaykh Muhammad Bapir who was arrested by US forces in July 2003 and remained in custody for 22 months. Its spiritual leader is Shaykh Muhammad Barzanji. The party participated in the Kurdistan and Iraq elections and presently has two members in the Iraqi National Assembly and six in the Kurdistan parliament. The party aims to guide society to the Islamic life reflected in the life of its individuals as well as in public fields, like politics, economy, and social relations, and it struggles for the rights of Kurdish people including self-determination for Kurdistan. The party has a weekly newspaper, in Kurdish, named Komal [The Group]; a biweekly student newspaper, Warcharkhan [The Turning Point]; and a women's magazine, Saya (www.islamicgroup.net, 27 December).

**Party Website:** www.islamicgroup.net

**Ali Bapir Website:** www.alibapir.com

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Iraqi Communist Party, led by Hamid Majid Musa (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

**Party Description:** Hamid Majid Musa, the secretary general of the party, said that the party's participation in the provincial council elections stems from "the importance of building the state of law and democratic institutions" and the important role the provincial councils will play in running the state's affairs, providing services to citizens and "combating corruption and bureaucracy" (www.iraqcp.org, 21 December 2008).

- The party won only two seats in the 2005 parliamentary elections (Al-Jazirah.net, 7 April 2005).

**Party Platform in Al-Muthanna Governorate:** "Our Iraqi Communist Party [ICP], which has stood, throughout the hard years of its struggle, alongside the interests of the people and the country and offered for its sake convoys of martyrs from the best of its sons, shall always be faithful to the achievement of these noble goals.

We the communists in Al-Muthanna, and out of our belief in the principles of the party, pledge to you complete credibility and integrity for which you have known us. We shall be loyal and faithful to the achievement of the platform of our list, the list of the ICP No 307. Your support
for us means supporting your own interests and the interests of your sons and your future. Therefore, we appeal to you to support us so as to:

1. Successfully tackle the problem of electricity by covering the needs of the governorate and upgrading the electricity network in the cities and rural areas, as well as enacting laws that regulate the work of the private sector in this field.

2. Expand the drinking water network and deliver water to all areas and villages and distributing it fairly by setting up modern networks for purifying and desalinating water.

3. Set up a modern sewage network throughout the cities of the governorate and do maintenance on it all the time.

4. Devote attention to the road network within the governorate, link rural areas and the city with a modern road network, link the governorate with a highway network, and build bridges.

5. Expand the establishment of schools in the cities and rural areas, provide all the requirements and qualified teaching staff, and eliminate illiteracy.

6. Eliminate administrative and financial corruption and adopt the principle of putting the right person in the right place.

7. Care for childhood by establishing kindergartens and nurseries and setting up health centers for children.

8. Adopt women's issues in all fields and adopt projects for rehabilitating and developing them.

9. Tackle the problem of unemployment by providing job opportunities for the unemployed.

10. Tackle the housing crisis by establishing residential compounds and allocating plots of land for the citizens and providing the necessary raw materials for construction.

11. Provide basic services to peasants, reclaim lands, set up modern networks for irrigation and drainage, and pay serious attention to investment in Bedouin areas and offer them all facilities and encourage the use of modern techniques in agriculture.

12. Pay attention to livestock resources, provide the necessary veterinary services and fodder, and establish modern slaughterhouses for poultry and cattle.

13. Rehabilitate and develop the security agencies in the governorate and support them with the methods that help them fulfill their duties away from all kinds of quotas.

14. Devote attention to sports and athletes and support clubs and teams, set up stadiums and sports halls, and pay attention to popular teams.
15. Rehabilitate and develop the factories of the public sector and support owners of small workshops and factories.

16. Support artists and men of letters by offering everything that could upgrade the cultural level in the governorate and pay attention to the culture of the child.

17. Adopt and support professional and trade union work and civil society organizations.

18. Offer the necessary facilities for investment in the governorate to serve development and progress.

19. Set up border centers with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to develop trade, travel, and tourism so as to develop the governorate.

20. Devote attention to municipal services and parks and pay attention to the city.

21. Expand health services in all cities and rural areas of the governorate by increasing the number of health centers and supporting them with medical staff and equipment.

22. Devote attention to the press and media people and help them perform their mission in full freedom and encourage freedom of opinion and expression."

(All excerpts taken from www.iraqcp.org, 16 December 2008)

Party Website: www.iraqcp.org

The Turkoman Fraternity Party -- Iraq, led by Walid Muhammad Muhammad Salih Sharkah (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

Party Description: Headquartered in Kirkuk, the Turkoman Fraternity Party -- Iraq is allied with the Kurdish parties that oppose the Iraqi Turkoman Front. The party is represented at the Iraqi Council of Representatives by Walid Sharkah (iraqalaan.com, 14 September 2008).

In press statements, Walid Sharkah, secretary general of the Turkoman Fraternity Party, called for considering the Turkomans an integral part of the Iraqi people and that they should enjoy the right to participate in the current political process in Iraq, similar to the Arabs and Kurds (www.alitthad.com, 16 May 2008).
The Democratic National Party, led by Nasir Kamil Rif'at al-Jadirji (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

**Party Description:** The Democratic National Party was established by Kamil Rif'at al-Jadirji in 1946 and comprised Shiite, Sunni, and other religious scholars and clergymen (asharqalawsat.com, 15 May 2003). It identifies itself as a national party that believes in equality among all Iraqis and says that it supports federalism in principle, provided that it is not based on sectarianism (www.ahewar.org, 2 February 2008).

**Leader Description:** Nasir Kamil Rif'at al-Jadirji is a former member of the Governing Council, a Sunni lawyer and businessman, and the son of Kamil Rif'at al-Jadirji, former head of the party (www.asharqalawsat.com, 19 May 2003).

**Party Platform:** "Our list seeks to work seriously to build a democratic state, in which social justice is achieved in a society that is free of poverty, ignorance, disease, and to set up a civil society system, in which the authority of constitutional institutions prevails and in which the national identity is respected. Concerning our governorate, our list, the Democratic National Party List, works hard to achieve the following:

1. Selecting the heads of administrative units and the directors of departments and their divisions from those who are characterized by integrity, a sense of patriotism, and full devotion to work. Also, taking to account any person, who got involved in administrative and financial corruption or who abused public funds, fairly and in accordance with the laws.

2. Providing public services and working to solve the problem of electricity in a manner that ends the continuous power outages. Also, working to make water fit for human use through setting up networks for supplying fresh, sterilized water to all parts of the governorate.

3. Improving health services, providing health insurance for all citizens in the governorate, paying attention to the cleanliness of the environment, combating pollution, focusing attention on the health of mothers and children, and seeking to meet patients' needs for medicines.

4. Improving the infrastructure of education, in all its stages; providing all textbooks, supplies, and stationery free of charge before the start of each school year; opening centers to stamp out illiteracy among citizens; paying attention to teachers through improving their living standard and respecting their sacred profession; and purging educational institutions [possible reference to Ba'thists].

5. Paying attention to the method of economic planning; saving the governorate from backwardness, which it is experiencing in all fields; and setting up local factories, most
important of which is a large factory for recovering salt, processing it, packing it, and exporting it. This will provide a huge amount of money for the governorate and lead to utilizing the skills and potential of graduates of vocational and technology institutes. Also, developing the cement factory and brick factory.

6. Developing municipal work, stopping the competition (for constructing pavements without paving roads), improving the service performance of municipalities, commencing the construction of sewage networks, working for planting trees in the governorate, and cleaning all roads of neighborhoods to ensure the removal of all waste.

7. Paying attention to the agricultural sector, enhancing water resources, setting up irrigation networks, using modern machinery, and encouraging farmers and supplying them with selected seeds, fertilizers, and pesticides.

8. Providing job opportunities for all jobseekers and eliminating unemployment.

9. Resolving the housing crisis through expanding the construction of housing compounds.

10. Paying attention to women, given that they make up half of society; giving them their full rights, which are stipulated in the laws; working to care for them; and achieving equality for them with their fellow men in all walks of life.

11. Paying attention to youths and allowing them to practice their sports, artistic, literary, and social activities and hobbies.

12. Developing tourism in the governorate, given that Al-Samawah City is the center of Sumerian civilization and the historical antiquities of ancient Uruk; allowing geologists to explore for antiquities; and promoting investment in developing and restoring the Sawah Lake to attract tourists.

13. Developing the security forces and selecting Army and police personnel on the basis of competence, academic qualifications, good manners, integrity, and citizenship.

14. Caring for creative persons in all fields and working to encourage the return of qualified migrants

(All excerpts taken from www.sawtalahali.com, 16 December 2008.)

Democratic Civilians, led by Izzat Salman Sadiq Abu-al-Tamin (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

Izzat Abu-al-Tamin is an Iraqi academic and political activist (freemediawatch.org, 31 August 2004). No further information.
The Chaldean Democratic Union Party, led by Abalhad Afraym Sawa Hanna (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

**Party Description:** The Chaldean Democratic Union Party, which was established in 2000, is a strong promoter of the Chaldean national movement and a defender of the Chaldean political and national rights. The party supports the Kurds' choice of federalism in the Kurdistan Region and believes that the adoption of a federal system in Iraq will help end security lawlessness, terminate terrorism, and settle most of Iraq's problems. It believes that the Kurdistan Region is an integral part of Iraq (www.kaldaya.net, 25 October 2008).

**Party Website:** www.chaldeanparty.com

The Assyrian National Party, led by Namrud Baytu Yukhanna (IHEC website, 22 December).

**Party Description:** The Assyrian National Party describes itself as a national and secular party that calls for separating religion from the state. It stresses its commitment to defending the rights of the Chaldean-Assyrian community and objects to being described as a Christian religious party (www.telskuf.com, 12 July 2008).

**Party Website:** www.atranaya.org (under construction)

**Party Description:** The Unified National Al-Hadba Grouping is a Mosul-based political group led by Athil Abd-al-Aziz Muhammad al-Nujayfi, brother of Iraqi MP Usamah al-Nujayfi. It comprises a number of coalitions and groupings, including Al-Shabak, Turkomans, Yazidis, and Christians, in addition to other parties in the Mosul Governorate (www.watanee.com, 30 July 2008).

It adopts an anti-US stand and promotes building a free and independent Iraq. It justifies its non-participation in the former provincial elections by stressing that it chose to stay away from a sectarian-based political process that only brought harm and destruction to Iraq (Al-Jazirah.net, 28 May 2008).

In press statements, Al-Nujayfi said that the grouping seeks to preserve the Arab and Islamic identity of the Ninawa Governorate and to foil attempts seeking to annex some cities in Mosul to the Kurdistan Region. He adds that the grouping rejects the US "occupation" of Iraq and calls for safeguarding Iraq's unity, disbanding all militias, and maintaining the Arab and Islamic identity of Iraq (www.niqash.org, 30 June 2008).


The Iraqi Republican Grouping, led by Sa'd Asim Abbud al-Janabi (IHEC website, 22 December 2008)

**Party Description:** It opposes foreign interference in Iraq's domestic affairs and accuses Iran of undermining security in Iraq through financing armed militias in Iraq (www.aliraqnews.com, 11 November 2007).

In press statements, the grouping's secretary general noted that his grouping strongly opposes the annexation of Kirkuk to the Kurdistan region and rejects the division of Iraq into regions (iraq4allnews.dk, 1 August). It also accuses the Kurdish parties and the Iraqi Islamic Supreme Council, led by Abd-al-Aziz al-Hakim, of collusion with Iran to divide Iraq on ethnic and sectarian bases (www.news.gov.kw, 20 December 2008).

This OSC product is based exclusively on the content and behavior of selected media and has not been coordinated with other US Government components.
The Iraqi National Council of Commons, led by Sa'd Khudayyir Abbas Shuwayrid (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

**Party Description:** It calls for preserving Iraq's unity, sovereignty, and independence and ending the US presence in Iraq; it believes that dialogue among various political entities is the best way to build a strong and unified Iraq (www.alsabaah.com, 22 November 2008).

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The Iraqi Islamic Party, led by Tariq Ahmad Bakr al-Hashimi (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

**Party Description:** According to its website, iraqiparty.com, the Iraqi Islamic Party is a Sunni party founded in 1960 and evolved from the Muslim Brotherhood Movement. It is led by Tariq al-Hashimi, the party's secretary general and one of Iraq's two vice president since 2005. The party's political program includes the following:

- Liberating Iraq from occupation, safeguarding its independence, and resisting all kinds of submission to foreign parties (www.iraqparty.com, 22 December 2008).
- Promoting Islamic values and teachings in Iraq (www.iraqparty.com, 22 December 2008).

In the December 2005 elections, the IIP, the largest Sunni party, ran as the leading party of the Iraqi Al-Tawafuq Front, which won 44 seats (BBC, 21 June 2006).

**Party Website:** www.iraqiparty.com

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The Reform Front in Diyala Governorate, led by Izz-al-Din Ibrahim Yasin Muhammad (IHEC website, 22 December 2008). No further information.
The General Conference of the People of Iraq, led by Adnan Muhammad Salman Butay al-Dulaymi (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

**Party Description:** The General Conference of the People of Iraq is a Sunni political entity led by former chief of the Sunni Waqf Office and head of the Sunni Iraqi Al-Tawafuq Front (www.aawsat.com, 4 August 2005).

- The party harshly criticized the Iraqi Government and the US "occupation" forces, accusing them of adopting a double-standard policy against the Sunnis in Iraq (www.asharqalsa.com, 10 December 2006).
- The party also adopts an anti-Iran stance, accusing it of interfering in Iraq's domestic affairs through supporting, financing, and training armed militias in Iraq (ncr-iran.org, 8 August 2007).

**Party Website:** www.aletesam.org

The Iraqi Turkoman Justice Party, led by Anwar Hamid Ghani Jirjis Bayraqdar (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

**Party Description:** Jirjis believes that the Turkoman parties should have good relations with all the players in the Iraqi political arena, including the Kurdish political parties (www.turkmenelinews.com, 8 February 2008).

The party accuses the United States of seeking to divide Iraq and plunder its resources (www.aliraqnews.com, 27 September 2007).

**Party Website:** www.akturkmen.com
The Independent Tribal National Grouping, led by Umar Hayjal Hamad Shabib al-Juburi (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

**Party Description:** The Independent Tribal National Grouping describes itself as an independent political entity that is not affiliated with any party or foreign agenda. It seeks to achieve independence, bring about the withdrawal of the US-led foreign troops, and regain the Islamic identity of Iraq (intg-iq.com, 22 December 2008).

- The grouping is running in the local elections in alliance with the Iraqi Islamic Party (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).
- According to Al-Juburi, the grouping's goals are "building the state of institutions and advancing reconciliation." He added: "The grouping believes in the participation of the tribes in the political process after they fulfilled their duty in terms of combating armed groups and contributed to the enforcement of law" (Al-Hayah, 18 June 2008).

**Party Platform:**

- Achieving Iraq's independence and maintaining non-interference in the affairs of the neighboring countries
- Preserving the country's security
- Maintaining national unity and renouncing racism and sectarianism
- Building the state of the law and constitutional institutions (intg-iq.com, 22 December 2008).

**Leader Description:** Al-Juburi is an adviser to Iraqi Vice President Tariq al-Hashimi and head of the Human Rights Office in the IIP (IIP website, 22 December 2008, 12 April 2008).

**Party Website:** intg-iq.com

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The Kurdistan Toilers' Party, led by Qadir Aziz Muhammad Amin (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

**Party Description:** According to the London-based daily *Al-Sharq al-Awsat*, the party is considered to be a radical entity. It was established in 1985 by Kurdistan Socialist Party members who left the party due to ideological differences and is headed by Qadir Aziz. Aziz wants a federal system in Iraq that would be a "national, geographic federal system, based on the recorded historical and geographic facts" (30 July 2003).

The Kurdistan Toilers' Party worked with the Kurdistan Socialist Democratic Party in December 2000 to try to negotiate an end to fighting between the Kurdistan Workers' Party, PKK, and the PUK (*Al-Jazirah.net*, 23 May 2006).

The Independent Sons of Iraq, led by Tawfiq Humud Shanan al-Yasiri (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

**Leader Description:** Al-Yasiri was the official spokesman for the Iraqi military opposition council that was established in London in 2002 to topple the former Iraqi regime by military officials who defected from the Iraqi Army (*news.bbc.co.uk*, 19 July 2002). Al-Yasiri was the leader of the Shams al-Iraq electoral list in 2005. He was abducted on 17 November 2005 and released on 19 November after paying a ransom (*Alwatanyh.com*, 24 November 2005).
The Awakening of Iraq Conference, led by Shaykh Ahmad Buzay Futaykhan Abu-Rishah (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

**Party Description:** The Awakening of Iraq Conference was established to fight Al-Qa’ida in the Al-Anbar Governorate by Sunni Shaykh Abd-al-Sattar Abu-Rishah, who was assassinated on 14 October 2007. The party says it seeks to terminate Al-Qa’ida's influence in Iraq, stop the killing of Iraqis, and fight sectarianism; it adopts a pro-US stance and calls for making Iraq a strategic ally to the United States (sahwataliraq.com, 22 December 2008).

Commenting on the goals of the party, Abu-Rishah said that "it aims to correct security, economic, and political policies in Al-Anbar." He added that "it will focus on services and creating job opportunities in Al-Anbar" (iraqalaan.com, 20 October 2008).

**Party Website:** www.sahwataliraq.com

The National Independents Grouping, led by Kamal Turki Aftan al-Kubaysi, secretary general of the grouping (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

**Party Description:** The grouping forged a political alliance with the Iraq Awakening Conference in Al-Anbar Governorate. Commenting on the party's decision to run in the provincial council elections, Al-Kubaysi said: "Al-Anbar Governorate is in dire need of development in the security, political, and economic fields." He said that this alliance will achieve what other political forces did not achieve. He said that these forces only "gave promises to the residents of Al-Anbar and controlled the governorate council during the past five years" (iraqalaan.com, 20 October 2008).

The Independent Iraq of Pride Bloc, led by Sabri Turki Abbas Abd (IHEC website, 22 December 2008). No further information.


**Party Description:** An Iraqi political party formerly known as the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI) and established by the late Muhammad Baqir al-Hakim in Iran on 17 November 1982. Al-Hakim was later assassinated by Al-Qa'ida in Iraq (Al-Sharq al-Awsat, 7 September 2003).

**Leader Description:** Abd-al-Aziz al-Hakim is a National Assembly member and a prominent Shiite figure who succeeded his brother, Muhammad, as head of the Council in 2003, the Council's military arm. Al-Hakim spent 23 years in exile. He opposes the presence of foreign military forces in Iraq, demanding they withdraw by peaceful means only. He is said to have strong relations with Iran and is the son of Muhsin al-Tabtaba'i, the late senior grand Ayatollah of Al-Najaf (Al-Jazirah.net, 3 October 2004).

**Party Website:** [www.almejlis.org](http://www.almejlis.org)


The Badr Organization, led by Hadi Farhan Abdallah al-Amiri (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

**Party Description:** The Badr Organization is the Iranian-trained wing of the Iraqi Islamic Supreme Council, the largest Shiite party in Iraq. During the US-led crackdown on militia groups in 2003, the 10,000-strong militia changed its name from the Badr Brigade to the Badr Organization of Reconstruction and Development and pledged to disarm. The group, however, has reportedly remained armed, and today operates mainly in Shiite-controlled southern Iraq, where a number of local governments are dominated by the IISC's representatives. Sunni leaders have accused the Badr Organization of revenge killings against Sunni clerics and unlawful kidnappings (www.cfr.org, 9 June 2005).

Hadi al-Amiri (www.newstin.ae, 23 December 2008)
**Hizballah Movement in Iraq**, led by Hasan Radi Kazim Qati al-Sari (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

**Party Description:** Reportedly an affiliate of the Iraqi Islamic Supreme Council, the Hizballah Movement in Iraq is led by Shiite leader Abd-al-Aziz al-Hakim. It was established as a rival to the Hizballah of Iraq group led by Abd-al-Karim Mahmud Hattab al-Muhammadawi (www.roadstoiraq.com, 14 August 2008). Its main offices are located in Al-Najaf, Baghdad, and Basra; the movement joined the UIC and is closely sponsored by Abd-al-Aziz al-Hakim, chairman of the Iraqi Islamic Supreme Council (*Al-Qabas*, 13 June 2008).

The party issues a daily newspaper called *Al-Bayyinah* (*Al-bayyna.com*, 22 December 2008).

**Leader Description:** Hasan al-Sari is also a minister of state for marshlands affairs in the current Iraqi Government (*Al-Qabas*, 13 June 2008).

**Party Website:** www.algalibon.net/new

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**Party Description:** Affiliated with the Supreme Council of the Islamic Revolution in Iraq, the movement is active in both Iraq and Iran (www.historiae.org, 9 April 2008).

**Leader Description:** Al-Musawi is a Council of Representatives member and a chairman of the Tribes Committee at the parliament (www.historiae.org, 9 April 2008).

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Party Description: In statements to the pro-Saudi London-based *Al-Sharq al-Awsat* newspaper, Al-Sulayman said that the people of Al-Anbar should take part in the elections to maintain Al-Anbar's "tribal identity and national unity." He stated the party comprises Iraqi tribes in Al-Anbar and central and southern Iraq and is "open to all national Iraqis." According to Al-Sulayman, the party's goals are to "eradicate sectarianism, stress our Arab identity, and restore Iraq's national identity away from the alien sectarian divisions" as well as to curb the parties that "use Islam as a cover" (*Al-Sharq al-Awsat*, 24 September 2008).

Al-Anbar Salvation Council, led by Hamid Farhan Hayis (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

Party Description: Al-Anbar Salvation Council was established in Al-Ramadi City, capital of the Al-Anbar Governorate, in May 2006 to fight Al-Qa'ida. It includes many tribes in Al-Anbar Governorate and the awakening forces (iraqalaan.com, 14 October 2008).

- In press statements, Hayis, head of Al-Anbar Salvation Council, said that the grouping seeks to build the Al-Anbar Governorate and restructure it administratively (iraqalaan.com, 15 October 2008).
- Hayis said that Sunni Al-Tawafuq Front, headed by Adnan al-Dulaymi, "does not represent the Sunni Arabs and we did not elect them." Hayis accused the Sunni IIP, led by Tariq al-Hashimi, of helping Al-Qa'ida expand its influence in Al-Anbar Governorate (17 September 2008).

The Iraqi Ambition Party, led by Jabbar Hasan Mahmud al-Mulla Khadr (IHEC website, 22 December 2008). Khadr is also known as Abd-al-Jabbar al-Fahdawi, a former member of the Al-Anbar Salvation Council (www.niqash.org, 28 November 2008).

The Independent National Grouping for Iraq's Sons and Tribes, led by Judi Kazim Muhammad (IHEC website, 22 December 2008). No further information.
The Iraqi Democratic National Alliance, led by Abd Faysal Ahmad (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

Abd Faysal Ahmad is a member of the Iraqi Council of Representatives (*Al-Hayah*, 18 December 2005). No further information.

The Democratic Society Movement (Hamad), led by Ahmad Shayya Ghubayshi al-Barrak who is also head of the Commission for Resolution of Real Property Disputes (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

**Party Description:** The Democratic Society Movement was established in 2004. Al-Barrak became the movement's secretary general in May 2006 (www.hamadiraq.com, 14 December 2008). The movement's goals are as follows:

1. Entrench the principles of democracy in the Iraqi society.
2. Provide the basic services to the Iraqi citizens.
3. Achieve social and economic stability.

**Party Platform:**

2. Entrench the foundations of the state of the law.
3. Encourage the political participation of the people.

**Party Website:** www.hamadiraq.com
The Independent National Cadres and Elites, led by Fathallah Ghazi Isma'il Hajji (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

**Party Description:** The name of the coalition to which this party belongs -- Fattah al-Shaykh's List for Young and Independent Cadres -- contains a reference to the leader of the National Independent Cadres and Elites party, which ran successfully in the January 2005 general election. Former MP Al-Shaykh is the editor of the Sadrist newspaper *Ishraqat al-Sadr*. It is not known to what degree the current Independent National Cadres and Elites is related to Al-Shaykh's 2005 party. A December 2008 statement by Muqtada al-Sadr denied any connection to the Cadres and Youth Movement (Higher Media Commission of Martyr Sayyid Al-Sadr's Office, 22 December 2008).

The Renaissance Movement for Iraq's Youth, led by Sajid Hattab Muhi Rahif (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

**Party Description:** No description. The movement's goals are as follows:

- Encourage the youths to contribute to building Iraq.
- Enforce the law and implement the constitution.
- Defend the legitimate rights of youths (iraqc.com, 14 December 2008).

The Independent Cultural Grouping, led by Humud Khulayf Mijwil (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

**Leader Description:** Mijwil is administrator of Al-Hurr Subdistrict, 10 km west of Karbala (imamhussain.org, 1 November 2007).
The Future Iraq Grouping, led by Ibrahim Muhammad Bahr al-Ulum (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

**Party Description:** Independent political entity formed by Dr Ibrahim Muhammad Bahr al-Ulum, former minister of oil (islamonline.net, 1 January 2005). Muntasir al-Amarah, a prominent member of the grouping, noted that the grouping comprises figures who are not supported by any internal or foreign parties and who depend on their own money to run in the elections. He criticized the ruling parties in Iraq for failure to shape economic and administrative policies that are appropriate to the Iraqi society (www.almowaten.com, 15 December 2008).

- Bahr al-Ulum ran in the January 2005 elections as a member of the UIC but withdrew from the Shiite bloc prior to the December 2005 race (Al-Sharqiyah TV, 4 November 2005).

- The grouping pledges to follow "a principle of close cooperation with others for the sake of achieving the main goal, which is the building of a free, federal, constitutional, and democratic Iraq that protects human rights, where law is the rule and where justice is independent" (globalsecurity.org, 23 November 2005).

The Independent Solidarity Bloc, led by Muhammad Muhammad Salih Jawad al-Haydari (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

**Party Description:** The bloc is affiliated with the UIC (Al-Sharqiyah TV, 23 November 2008). Qasim Dawud, former national security advisor, is the bloc's spokesman (almalafpress.net, 5 May 2008).

**Party Website:** tadhamun.org (under construction)

The First Martyr Current, led by Ali Jasim Muhammad (IHEC website, 22 December 2008). No further information.

The Iraqi People's Grouping, led by Rahim Sayhud Lazim (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

**Party Description:** Describes itself as a national political entity that is administratively and financially independent from other well-known Iraqi political parties.

**Party Platform:**

- Achieving independence of Iraq and sovereignty of Iraqis
- Building a state of civilian institutions
- Entrenching democracy and peaceful rotation of power
- Consolidating human rights principles and national values
- Encouraging freedom of dialogue, equality, and respect of law
- Devising educational programs to shun violence and sectarianism
- Rejecting terrorism and cementing the values of tolerance and peaceful coexistence (iraq-ipc.com, 22 December 2008)

**Party Website:** iraq-ipc.com


Party Description: The Al-Anbar Tribes Chieftains and Intellectuals Bloc is a newly established political entity comprising a number of tribes and intellectuals in the Al-Anbar Governorate. The bloc says it seeks to assume control of the security file in the governorate and activate the role of law in the society (aliraqnews.com, 8 June 2008). The bloc's head said that "the aim of this bloc is to reform society and walk the right path" (aswatnews.org, 8 June 2008).

The Islamic Da'wah Party, led by Nuri Kamil al-Maliki (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

Party Description: The Da'wah Party is one of Iraq's oldest Islamic parties. It was established by Iraqi cleric Ayatollah Baqir al-Sadr in 1968. The party includes various groups, some of which exist in the Arabian Gulf and others in Lebanon. The party does not favor the Iranian style of religious rule (Al-Jazirah.net, 27 May 2007).

The party is currently led by Iraqi Prime Minister Nuri Kamil al-Maliki (Al-Arabiyah.net, 6 June 2008).

Party Platform:

- Building a constitutional, democratic, and federal Iraq where citizens enjoy equal rights
- Providing safety and security for citizens
- Ensuring participation of women in the political, economic, and social life in Iraq
- Respecting human rights principles
- Ensuring the independence of judiciary" (al-daawa.org, 22 December 2008)

Party Website: al-daawa.org
Independents, led by Husayn Ibrahim Salih al-Shahrustani (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

**Leader Description:** Dr Husayn al-Shahrustani is the Iraqi oil minister and a nuclear scientist. He was a member of the UIC and won a seat in the 2005 parliamentary elections. Al-Shahrustani took part in the former Iraqi nuclear program but was arrested in 1980 and sentenced to death on charges of relaying information about the Iraqi nuclear program to foreign sides. Al-Shahrustani managed to flee prison to Iran in 1991 and then moved to the United States (*Al-Jazirah.net*, 4 May 2005).

![Husayn al-Shahrustani](image)

The Islamic Da'wah Party -- Iraq Organization, led by Hashim Nasir Muhammad al-Humud al-Musawi (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

**Party Description:** The party is a Shiite splinter group from the Islamic Da'wah Party, which is currently led by Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki. It has 13 seats in the Iraqi Council of Representatives (*Al-Arabiyyah.net*, 17 September 2007). The party is closely connected to Iran (www.kitabat.com, 9 November 2008).

**Party Website:** [www.islamicdawaparty.org](http://www.islamicdawaparty.org)

![Party emblem](image)

![Hashim al-Musawi](image)
The Solidarity in Iraq, led by Muhammad Mahdi Muhammad Baqir (IHEC website, 22 December 2008). No further information.

The Islamic Union of Iraq's Turkomans, led by Abbas Hasan Musa al-Bayyati (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

**Party Description:** The Islamic Union of Iraq's Turkomans adopted a moderate Islamic approach since its inception. The party calls for enhancing the role played by Islamic Turkomans in Iraq and seeks to achieve the legitimate rights and aspirations of Iraqi Islamic Turkomans (iuiturkmen.net, 22 December).

**Party Website:** www.iuiturkmen.net

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*Abbas al-Bayyati*  
(www.alsumaria.tv, 1 November 2007)

**Party Description:** Al-Muhammadawi stresses that his group, which was established in 1994, opposes the establishment of a Shiite state in a separate region in southern Iraq, noting that "the talk about Islamic rule in Iraq aims to fragment the country." He denied any links between his group and that of Lebanese Hizballah Party, saying that his party is "a liberal Islamic party" that opposes the establishment of a separate Shiite region in the south or an Islamic rule in Iraq. In a recent interview, he denied accusations that his group is implicated in drug trafficking, which he said were made by IISC leader Abd-al-Aziz al-Hakim (*Al-Arabiyyah.net*, 17 April 2007).

Al-Muhammadawi, who is a former member of the Iraqi National Assembly, noted that his group supports the establishment of a "pluralistic federal region in southern Iraq" on geographical and political bases and not on "sectarian bases" so as to serve the interests of Iraqis living there who "suffered oppression, isolation, and destitution over the years" (*Ilaf.com*, 9 July 2005).

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**The Islamic Movement in Iraq**, led by Hasan Hamid Rahimah (IHEC website, 22 December 2008). No further information.

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**The Iraqi Islamic Action Organization**, led by Muhammad Jasim Muhsin Abbas (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

**Party Description:** The Iraqi Islamic Action Organization is an Iraqi opposition organization led by Shiite religious authority Muhammad Taqi al-Mudarrisi (*asharqalawsat.com*, 23 April 2003).

Ibrahim al-Mutayri, the former secretary general of the Organization, was killed in a car bombing in Baghdad on 24 November 2005 (*Al-Arabiyyah.net*, 24 November 2005).

**Party Website:** iao-iraq.org

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**Party Description:** The Iraqi Front for National Dialogue is a Sunni front formed by Salih al-Mutlaq in September 2005 (www.asharqalawsat.com, 22 December 2007). It split from the Iraqi National Dialogue Council after Khalaf al-Ulayan agreed to join the Tawafuq coalition (Al-Arabiyyah TV, 26 October 2005).

According to www.ankawa.com, the party was founded with the following objectives:

- To "resist" the "occupation and salvage Iraq from sectarianism"
- Abrogate all forms of "exclusion" that is based on internal conflicts
- Redraft the Constitution to safeguard Iraq's territorial integrity and unity of the people
- Build the Army and security forces along "national standards and away from ethnic or sectarian quotas"
- Contribute to rebuilding Iraq (1 December 2005)

**Party Description:** The National Dialogue Council withdrew from the Al-Tawafuq Front "against the background of the differences that led to the resignation of Parliament Speaker Mahmud al-Mashhadani" (Al-Sharqiyah TV, 24 December 2008).

**Leader Description:** Al-Ulayyan is a member of the current Iraqi Council of Representatives (*Al-Arabiyah.net*, 24 December 2008).


**Party Description:** Successor to the Reconciliation and Liberation Bloc, whose leader, former MP Mish'an al-Juburi, left Iraq amid charges of embezzlement and pro-Saddam sympathies. A number of political figures have agreed to dissolve the Reconciliation and Liberation Bloc and the Unified Homeland Party and replace them with the Iraqi Arab Grouping in view of the current conditions in Iraq and pressure exerted on the two entities. In a news conference in Baghdad, Abd-al-Karim Alí Abtan, head of the grouping, said that "Mish'an al-Juburi was relieved of his post as head of the bloc and party based on a decision that was adopted unanimously" (akhbaar.org, 23 April 2008).

The National Democratic Grouping, led by Taha Khudayyir Fadil (IHEC website, 22 December 2008). No further information.


The Iraqi Dignity Front, led by Thamir Kazim Zaydan Khalaf al-Tamimi, also known as Abu-Azzam al-Tamimi (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

Party Description: The Iraqi Dignity Front was established by a group of Awakening Council members led by Abu-Azzam al-Tamimi in Baghdad on 14 April 2008 (Al-Jazirah TV, 20 April 2008).

In an interview with Al-Jazirah TV, Al-Tamimi said that one of the "mistakes of the resistance was that it worked in the military field and did not exploit its efforts politically." He added: "Our decent resistance did not have a specific and clear political platform." He said that one of the goals of the party is to "abolish sectarian, political, and social quotas on all levels." He continued: "In our bylaws and the Front's goals, we reject federalism, the undermining of Iraq's Arab identity, sectarian quotas, distribution of wealth among the region. All resources should be in the hands of the central authority" (20 April 2008).


Party Description: The National Independence Movement was declared in Baghdad on 12 June 2008. The movement said that it calls for renouncing sectarianism. It is independent and includes a number of tribal chiefs and civilians. It seeks to preserve the unity of Iraq, renounce sectarianism, and fight the militias. It also seeks to emphasize Iraq's unity and Arab and Islamic identity, schedule the withdrawal of the "occupation" troops from Iraq, and restrict weapons to the state (Al-Malaf Press, 12 June 2008).

Will and Construction, led by Mahmud Dahham Muhjim (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

Party Description: According to the constituent statement posted on the group's website, aerada.org, the movement was established by Iraqi "elites" to unify Iraq to achieve liberation and freedom and "rebuild it as part of the Arab and Islamic nations (17 December 2008).

The goals of the group, according to the party website, are as follows:

1. Achieving Iraq's territorial unity
2. Achieving unity among the Iraqi sects and ethnic groups
3. Achieving Iraq's economic unity

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4. Stressing the importance of Iraq's military strength
5. Returning the displaced persons
6. Stressing the sanctity of Iraqi blood
7. Combating all forms of terrorism
8. Spreading democracy
9. Supporting national reconciliation (17 December 2008)

The group reports, in the statement, that it set these goals in view of the fact that Iraq's sovereignty is "not complete due to the occupation" and the "existence of religious, sectarian, tribal, and racial extremism." The statement also notes that the group is a political and social group that does not have a "parochial ideology" and that it seeks to achieve reform in and rebuild Iraq. It states that the group is for all Iraqis (aerada.org; 17 December 2008).

**Party Website:** www.aerada.org

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**The Popular Movement for Iraq's Unity**, led by Khalid Muhammad Ahmad (IHEC website, 22 December 2008). No further information.

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**Party Description:** According to a statement posted on the party website, the grouping aims to preserve Iraq's territorial integrity, the Iraqi people's unity, and Iraq's resources; build the state of the law; protect the rights of citizens; and use democracy as the only means for the rotation of power. The grouping also believes in "openness and coexistence, rejects any revengeful stands or practices aimed at exclusion" and says it is open to "all good ideas." It says that Iraq's sovereignty can be achieved through "ending the foreign occupation and all forms of regional influence." It also expresses rejection of "all forms of extremism."

**Party Platform:**

1. The grouping seeks to end the presence of the foreign troops and achieve "full independence through legitimate ways and means."

2. Reform the political process through amending the Constitution, correcting the course
of the political process, and supporting the establishment of a democratic system that will ensure the participation of all Iraqis in power, and respecting the principle of the peaceful rotation of power, preserving Iraq's Arab identity, and respecting the Iraqi people's human rights, and adopting a "real" national reconciliation plan.

3. Reforming the state institutions through restoring the prestige of the state by the building of state of law, fighting all forms of terrorism, supporting civil society institutions, spreading the freedom of expression, combating all forms of financial and administrative corruption, and rebuilding the security and military institutions. Al-Ani is a member of the Council of Representatives for the Sunni Al-Tawafuq Front (www.nfgiraq.com, 22 December 2008).

**Party Website:** www.nfgiraq.com

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**The Independence and Renaissance Movement**, led by Mundhir Abtan Sabbar (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

**Party Website:** irm-iraq.org (under construction)

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**The Iraqi National Unity Grouping**, led by Nihru Abd-al-Karim al-Kisinzani, a Kurdish religious figure (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

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**Party Description:** In a statement to *Al-Sabah* newspaper, Al-Luhaybi said: "The Council is a new political entity that rises above narrow affiliations and seeks to start the reconstruction of Iraq according to new and sound standards." He said that the Council "pins hope on the academic figures and intellectuals to lead the new decisive stage in the contemporary history of our homeland." He added: "The Council seeks, through its participation in the upcoming elections, to assert the unity of Iraq, save blood, reject violence and terrorism, support the democratic achievement, call for national reconciliation, reject quotas, and support the political process" (14 June 2008).

Al-Luhaybi is Iraqi Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki's adviser for tribal affairs (Saudi Press Agency, 18 October 2006).
Bayt Nahrayn Democratic Party, led by Rumyu Huzayran Naysan Hikari (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

**Party Description:** Established on 1 November 1976 after holding its founding conference in the United States, the Bayt Nahrayn Democratic Party identifies itself as a democratic party representing the interests of the Assyrians inside and outside Iraq. The party strives to gain the legitimate rights of the Assyrian people and calls for establishing a pluralistic, federal, and democratic rule in Iraq. It also supports the Kurdistan Region Government and the Kurdish people's rights to self-determination (bet-nahrain.net, 20 December 2008).

**Party Website:** bet-nahrain.net

The Chaldean Culture Society, led by Bulus Sham'un Ishaq (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

**Party Description:** Established in Arbil on 1 December 1998, the Chaldean Culture Society identifies itself as a cultural society that has no political or sectarian affiliation with any party; it is primarily concerned with the Chaldean culture, art, heritage, and all Syriac-speaking people (kaldayta.com, 20 December 2008).

**Party Website:** www.kaldayta.com
The Independent Assyrians Grouping Movement, led by Anwar Matti Yusuf Bahi (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

**Party Description:** Established in 2004, the movement is democratic and national in nature; its founding statement noted that it seeks to establish a secular, democratic, federal, and unified Iraq. It strives to realize the rights of the Chaldeans, Assyrians, and Syriacs *(Al-Sharq al-Awsat, 28 February 2004).*

The National Chaldean Council, led by Diya Butrus Sulaywa (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

**Party Description:** A national political and democratic body established in April 2002, the National Chaldean Council seeks to achieve stronger coordination and a more focused agenda for the different Chaldean organizations and activists in the homeland and in the Diaspora (chaldeansonline.org, 22 December 2008).

**Party Website:** www.chaldeansonline.org
Qurrah Qush Notables Council, led by Salim Yunu Mansur Auqi (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

**Party Description:** Established in Baghvida in Mosul, the Qurrah Qush Notables Council describes itself as comprising "a number of elites who strive to provide all kinds of services to the local community and maintain contacts with relevant official parties" (baghdeda.com, 17 October 2008).

![Party emblem](baghdeda.com, 17 October 2008)

![Salim Auqi](www.baghdeda.com, 17 October 2008)

The National Bayt Nahrayn Union, led by Kyurkis Khushabah Mikha'il (IHEC website, 22 December 2008).

**Party Description:** Established in 1996, the party seeks to attain self-determination and provide the Assyrians and Chaldeans with an administrative zone in order to protect this minority (ankawa.com, 22 December 2008).

![Kyurkis Mikha'il](www.ankawa.com, 22 December 2008)

Loyalty to Iraq Grouping, led by Husayn Ali al-Sha'lan al-Salman (IHEC website, 22 December 2008). No further information.

This OSC product is based exclusively on the content and behavior of selected media and has not been coordinated with other US Government components.
2.4. Platforms

<table>
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<th>Coalition Name: Civilians</th>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;Integrity, Credibility, Competence&quot;</td>
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| "We have nominated ourselves for the elections in the Civilians 460 List, driven by our sincere desire to exert our best efforts and energies in order to improve the reality of our beloved city, Baghdad, in the fields of basic services and reconstruction and to tackle the crises from which the capital suffers for the good and welfare of its population. Based on your confidence in us and your votes for the candidates of our list, we look forward to achieving victory in the Baghdad Provincial Council. We promise you to work hard in order to implement our platform, represented in strong security, better services, and more job opportunities."
| "Through your love of beloved Baghdad and your eagerness to make it a capital that befits its loyal citizens, Civilians 460 works for:"
| 1. Helping in achieving security and maintaining stability. |
| 2. Following up electrical projects to provide a high rate [of supply] of electricity for our houses and enterprises. |
| 3. Providing healthy drinking water for every house in the capital and the periphery. |
| 4. Distributing fuel (gasoline, oil, kerosene, gas) smoothly to houses and automobiles without [long] lines. |
| 5. Laying and expanding sewage networks in every mahallah [block]. |
| 6. Cooperating with the relevant government agencies in order to remove roadblocks and tackle traffic congestions. |
| 7. Providing services for those with special needs, widows, and retirees as part of efforts to raise the living standard of all citizens. |
| 8. Reviving industrial areas, developing them, and providing the necessary services to them. |
| 9. Following up and developing schools, kindergartens, public libraries, and youth and sports centers. |
| 10. Paying attention to health centers, environmental services, and health conditions for the vegetable and fruit outlets and cattle slaughterhouses. |
| 11. Working to close the file of migration and displaced persons. |
12. Expediting the execution of reconstruction projects and providing job opportunities for the unemployed.

13. Giving preference and precedence to housing projects over other projects.

14. Turning Baghdad into a green oasis.

15. Cooperating with the Integrity Commission and other oversight agencies to tackle financial and administrative corruption.

16. Developing coordination and cooperation between the provincial council and all government agencies and establishments.

"O daughters and sons of Baghdad who are loyal to their city and who seek a better future for it: Give us your votes, and we will give you honesty and [hard] work."

(All excerpts taken from www.nahrain.com, 17 December 2008)

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**Coalition Name: The Democratic Alliance List in Maysan**

"For a prosperous Maysan

"O Zealous sons of Maysan,

"O chivalrous sons of Al-Amarah,

"Your brothers in the Democratic Alliance List in Maysan (425) have come together under the slogan of a prosperous Maysan, with an honest spirit and clean hands, which are full of honesty and continuing loyalty for the good of this governorate and its faithful sons. In doing this, they are motivated by a sincere desire to make every effort to improve conditions in this beloved city in the field of providing basic services, reconstruction, and tackling the crises the city is suffering. This will only happen by relying on your confidence in us and your votes for the candidates of our list.

"We pledge to you that we will work tirelessly in order to implement our platform, which includes strong security and greater services and job opportunities, characterized by integrity, honesty, uprightness, and ending administrative and financial corruption. We assert that we will follow our platform (the Democratic Alliance in Maysan):

1. Following up electricity projects to provide a high percentage of electricity and deliver potable water to every house and quarter.

2. Ensuring the fair distribution of foodstuffs to needy people and improving the items of the ration card.
3. Providing job opportunities for the unemployed, including them in social security, and providing vocational training centers for those who are able to take this training.

4. Institutions and law and order are key features of the list of the Democratic Alliance in Maysan.

5. Improving the situation of women in Maysan in order to improve their social conditions and provide the right circumstances for a better life for them.

6. Devoting attention to higher education, raising the standards of education, developing schools and kindergartens, devoting attention to youth and sports centers, and devoting attention to public libraries so as to create a generation that has cultural and social awareness while building sports facilities and playgrounds that contribute toward developing them.

7. Devoting attention to the agricultural situation by providing the requirements needed by farmers and peasants and contributing to the paving of roads between villages, providing modern agricultural machinery, and supporting irrigation projects.

8. Eliminating the phenomenon of mendicancy in the governorate and tackling it in a humanitarian manner that respects the dignity of Maysan citizens.

"Sons and daughters of our beloved governorate,

"There are so many requirements for a decent living, and we will work hard to provide them for you and to build a better future for you."

(All excerpts taken from www.tareeqalshaab.com, 22 December 2008)

Coalition Name: Fraternity and Peaceful Coexistence List

"The Fraternity and Peaceful Coexistence List consists of eight political parties that include a group of Kurdish, Arab, and Turkoman figures within the boundaries of the governorate of Kirkuk.

"The district is in dire need of service, health, and educational projects and improving the performance of services for the citizens. This requires firmly establishing the principle of equality, fraternity, and coexistence among the components of this fraternal city and instilling mutual trust and the spirit of love and harmony that prevailed -- and still prevails -- and perpetuating it. Therefore, the Fraternity and Peaceful Coexistence List is struggling for:

1. Ensuring the success of the political process and the basic principles of new Iraq, striving for a state of law, supporting the legitimate state establishments, consolidating and maintaining the law and fighting outlaws, solving all problems in accordance with the Constitution and laws, and fighting terrorism and terrorists."
2. Firmly establishing the principle of fraternity and peaceful coexistence among the three main components in this city, achieving justice and equality in administrative posts, making the percentage of the population of each component as the standard for this through joint dialogue and understanding, and making the percentage of [the number of votes in] the elections as the standard for assuming key posts in the city.

3. Making serious efforts to provide the best basic services for the citizens, following up the execution of service projects accurately and in full transparency, following legal and proper ways in awarding projects to contractors, along with following up the phases of execution, fighting administrative and financial corruption, and calling to account those who fail to perform their duties.

4. Making continuous efforts to reduce the rate of unemployment and to create job opportunities for unemployed people from the three ethnicities without exception.

5. Making serious efforts to hire graduates after they finish their studies. Also, making efforts to establish educational institutions within the boundaries of the district, such as universities, colleges, and vocational and technical institutes to allow students to continue their studies."

(All excerpts taken from www.pukmedia.com, 18 December 2008)
interpretation of the definition of competent people, who include the Iraqi men and women who have a strong presence among the citizens in all governorates of Iraq and who include tribal chiefs and degree-holding technocrats and the politicians who have devoted themselves to serving the deprived citizens, who are awaiting real, clear, and concrete action on the ground to provide solutions and address the daily suffering of the Iraqis. Therefore, we present our election platform, which is a pledge that we make in front of God, and to our citizens, that we will seek the following:

"Security

"We seek to achieve high security efficiency for the Iraqi forces through rehabilitating them to be able to manage the security file in a manner that achieves social stability and peace through professional, qualitative forces, while avoiding the militarization of society.

"Services

"We seek to raise the standard of basic services, to which the citizen expects officials to devote their biggest effort, and to rationalize resources in an efficient way to create a better situation that achieves a boom in providing services through accurate planning and organization.

"We seek to activate and encourage the private sector to perform its essential role, which is an alternative to the domination of the state, in running the commercial, industrial, tourist, and agricultural sectors and all economic fields; to encourage national and foreign capital to take its full role in developing and advancing the country; to achieve big job opportunities to absorb unemployment; and to retrain and rehabilitate individuals to achieve the highest degree of development.

"We seek to achieve the highest health and educational care, which is binding for the state through effective laws, and to launch a housing policy to resolve the crisis of housing for the citizens to be undertaken by the private sector through encouraging investments.

"Financial and Administrative Corruption

"We seek to implement the slogan that no one is above the law, to impose transparency that is binding for the key members of the state, and to oversee public performance and hold it accountable through achieving a high degree of efficiency for the oversight and integrity agencies.

"Women

"We seek to allow women to take their effective role through real participation in political life and [assumption of] leading posts in the state and to protect their dignity in light of divine values and the culture of Iraqi society.

"Federalism

"We seek to establish the right of Iraqis in preventing the emergence of despotism and new dictatorships through distributing and sharing power, as the citizens deem appropriate and
accept, through the mechanisms of democracy and a system that ensures that there will be no return to the centralized and totalitarian system.

"Youths"

"We seek to rehabilitate the generation of youths, who are the leadership of the future, to assume an effective role in order to participate in public life and to be the engine for the forces of civil society and its institutions, to build developed and advanced Iraq, to develop the sports sector through an open-minded concept to provide sports for all groups of society, and to support youth activities."

(All excerpts taken from www.nahrain.com, 16 December 2008)

Coalition Name: The Islamic Action Organization

Highlights of the Political Platform of the Islamic Action Organization:

1. "Strong belief in the religious authority and its cultural, political, and social role.
2. Joint vision for achieving the Iraqi people's interests.
3. Serving people in good as well as in bad times.
4. Independence of political decision.
5. The Organization is ready to cooperate with all national and Islamic forces to achieve the higher principles and interests."

Basic Principles of the Platform:

1. "Every Muslim has the right to preach Islam through the correct methods.
2. The future must be built on justice and fairness and away from injustice, marginalization, and exclusion of any people.
3. Renouncing all forms of sectarian, racial, and party discrimination.
4. Upholding the principles of political pluralism, the checks and balances system, independence of the judiciary, the responsible freedom of the media, and the peaceful rotation of power among the political elites representing the Iraqi people. Federalism or decentralization preserve the rights of all sects and ethnic groups. Administrative corruption should be fought.
5. All Iraqis yearn for independence and sovereignty. We seek to expedite the departure of the foreign troops from Iraq in accordance with constitutional and legal mechanisms.
6. The achievement of security depends on the future of the occupation, relations with the neighboring countries, the stability of the political system, and the role of the security
agencies. Security is based on the legitimacy of the political system, which is contingent on the departure of the occupation.

7. Iraq reconstruction should be carried out by the Iraqis. The economic policy should be based on justice, appointing qualified people, creating jobs, and encouraging the private sector to give long-term loans.

8. Supporting the Iraqi family, which is the nucleus of the society.

9. Upgrading the level of education in all levels.

10. Culture is the basis for any political or social system.

11. Dialogue should be the means for any agreement or dealing among the political forces. We should establish the best relations with other countries, particularly Arab and Islamic countries.

12. The religious seminaries should play a leading role in the nation.

13. The national and religious parties should aim to serve the nation.”


Coalition Name: The Kurdistan Alliance in Diyala

"The Kurdistan Alliance List in the Diyala Governorate seeks, first and foremost, to serve and promote unity of ranks in our beautiful governorate. It is the list of (peace, fraternity, construction). We hope that you will consider it the list of every citizen in this governorate, which we wish would return prosperous and proud of its sons and wealth.

"Under the slogan (peace, fraternity, construction), the Kurdistan Alliance List in Diyala introduces itself to the masses of the patient Diyala Governorate as a common denominator for all the components of the sons of the governorate. Stemming from this, it deems itself the true representative of the aspirations of the people of Diyala, including Kurds, Arabs, and Turkomans. It will do its utmost in order to enhance the historic relations between the sons of the governorate, which, in turn, will be the first brick on the path of reconciliation and maintaining security and peace. Therefore, we appeal to the dear voters to vote for our list, which carries number 173 and which will live up to your ambitions and wishes, with the help of God. "And say: Work (righteousness): Soon will Allah observe your work, and His Messenger, and the Believers [Koranic verse; Al-Tawbah, 9:105].

"Platform of the Kurdistan Alliance List No 173

"We, the Kurdistan Alliance List, pledge to our educated masses in the Diyala Governorate that we will do our utmost to achieve the following:

[This OSC product is based exclusively on the content and behavior of selected media and has not been coordinated with other US Government components.]
1. Providing security and stability through building strong national security institutions that represent all shades of society to maintain security and order and guard the borders, while boosting efforts for national unity.

2. Fighting corruption of all forms and holding those involved accountable in accordance with the law and away from politicization.

3. Improving water and electricity networks, providing oil products to the citizens, improving health care, and developing educational institutions.

4. Absorbing unemployment, providing equal job opportunities to all citizens, helping youth and disabled people, and providing families that were hurt during military operations with compensation and social security while formulating a plan for supporting Iraqi families.

5. Supporting the agricultural sector, helping peasants, and providing most requirements of agricultural development.

6. Trying to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women and protecting motherhood and childhood.

7. Rebuilding villages and areas that sustained damage."

(All excerpts taken from www.pukmedia.com, 17 December 2008)

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**Coalition Name: The Kurdistan Alliance List in Baghdad**

"Give Us Your Confidence and We Will Give You Security and Prosperity"

"Our list (439) is considered the only one that includes all components of the Iraqi people (Arabs, Kurds, Turkomans, and Assyrians). Our candidates have been selected from your ranks. They have competence, integrity, and different specializations. With the aim of transferring the experience of a successful administration, we look forward to gaining your confidence to win and work for:

1. Taking part in fighting terrorism and maintaining the security and safety of the citizen and his property.

2. Activating production sectors to provide job opportunities for the unemployed to reduce unemployment rates.

3. Rehabilitating, training, and developing the capacities and aptitudes of youth to polish their scientific, artistic, athletic, and cultural talents, and building playgrounds and sports halls in all quarters and areas of Baghdad.
4. Setting up entertainment centers, children's playgrounds, and public parks in all quarters of Baghdad and establishing sports cities that befit the capital, Baghdad.

5. Improving the items of the ration card to include all the needs of the Baghdad families and allocating a part of oil revenues to the Iraqi family.

6. Reviving the plan for the Baghdad metro to alleviate or end the traffic problem within the capital and building many highways, overpasses, tunnels, and bridges in areas where there are traffic jams.

7. Finding successful solutions that provide electricity.

8. Providing potable water to all quarters and homes in Baghdad.

9. Extending liquid gas pipes to all residential houses.

10. Fixing and developing sewage networks and extending them to all quarters.

11. Developing and constructing residential quarters and rehabilitating houses and streets and building modern housing compounds.

12. Developing the educational sector and building more schools to end overcrowding at schools and having 25 students at every class.

13. Environmental pollution is a source of the outbreak of diseases and epidemics. Therefore, our list will work for the implementation of programs to address pollution, including landscape pollution, and rehabilitating and developing tourist areas to serve Iraqi families.

14. Activating the role of the Central Organization for Standardization and Quality Control to protect consumers and prevent industrial and commercial fraud.

15. Developing the health sector and providing health insurance for all citizens and providing hospitals with the most advanced medical equipment.

16. Caring for orphans, widows, and incapacitated people and providing services to people with special needs and specialized, civilized homes.

17. Caring for motherhood and childhood.

18. Improving the situation of Iraqi women and providing projects that achieve a decent life for them.

19. Fighting all forms of corruption and squandering of public funds and working to rationalize expenditures.
20. Respecting human rights principles based on international laws; fighting all forms of religious, racial, and sectarian discrimination; and promoting the culture of tolerance and accepting the other.

21. Lifting the injustice done to the Fayli Kurds and returning all their properties and rights that have been seized.

22. Protecting houses of worship, freedom of expression, and the exercise of religious rituals by various religions and sects.

"Vote for the Kurdistan Alliance List because it has emerged from the womb of suffering to be a champion of the poor."

(All excerpts taken from www.pukmedia.com, 17 December 2008)

Coalition Name: The National Trend in Basra

"Let Efforts Be United To Achieve Security and Construction of Basra. Vote for List 428, List of the National Trend in Basra: Integrity and Justice, Equality and Freedom.

"To the people of our beloved Basra -- the Basra of openness, coexistence, tolerance, and generosity and the city of sacrifices and martyrs: The rich and the poor, the merchant and the toiler, the worker and the peasant have all lived in this city. We have all lived together -- Muslims, Christians, Sabians, and other components -- through good and bad times alike, and we offered sacrifices and martyrs for the sake of a democratic Iraq free of dictatorship and domination to achieve a state of institutions, ensure rights and freedoms, renounce violence and militias, enhance the rule of law, and activate different opinions on the basis of national partnership and raising high the concept of citizenship away from sectarianism and racism. We call on you to let your minds be the judge, establish the law, get away from violence and militias, accept different views, and deal with the reality for the purpose of building our city. There is a pressing need for building democratic institutions and boosting the rule of law.

"To the men of literature, writers, artists, scholars, doctors, lawyers, teachers, engineers, and all people who employ their hands and intellect; to the sons and daughters of brave Basra, the sons of the city of uprisings and revolutions, we present our platform, which stems from the interest of the people and the country. We ask you to stand united in the face of terrorism, intimidation, rape, theft, blackmail, kidnapping, murder, and assaulting the property of the state and people, wasting rights, and losing hope: Let us take a stand for change and to stop this decline, to which the occupation forces, regional interventions, especially Iran, have contributed, and start rebuilding the city and spreading security. We ask you to stand against the slogans and calls that do not serve the people of Basra, such as the slogan of federalism of the south and the center along sectarian lines and other slogans.

"We support the creation of the Basra region when the right circumstances become available. We ask you to elect personalities who are known for their political history and clean record to
be members of the provincial council and to bear the concerns of the citizens of Basra and to work for real change to avert the failure that has marked the current council, which has forgotten its responsibility toward the sons of Basra. We call on you to elect those who work for the achievement of the needs and ambitions of the sons of Basra in a democratic and pluralistic Iraq. This is what the list of the National Trend in Basra promises you."

*(All excerpts taken from www.almowaten.com, 21 December 2008)*

**Coalition Name: The Ninawa Fraternity List**

"The Ninawa Fraternal List, in its national and democratic forces, has another rendezvous with you to renew loyalty to our beloved governorate and work together hand in hand to restore security and order and to develop it by restoring it to its previous state of fraternity, peace, coexistence, tolerance, and harmony.

"We have together gone through the experience of saving Mosul City, the city of prophets and messengers, and watching over its security, stability, and reconstruction. We are with you to continue together the march of fraternity in accordance with national principles and citizenship, which are based on the values of freedom and equality and on the foundations of participation and consensus in making decisions, away from the mentality of tutelage and superiority.

"The Ninawa Provincial Council is enhanced by our participation and presence, and the march of fraternity, peace, and democracy in beloved Ninawa is achieved by your votes for our list.

"Election platform of the Ninawa Fraternal List for the 2009 provincial council elections

1. Our list gives priority to fighting terrorism, sabotage, and crime in order to enhance security, stability, and the rule of law.

2. Working for strengthening the bonds of love and fraternity, guaranteeing personal and religious freedoms, and renouncing all forms of discrimination.

3. Working for firmly establishing the principle of rule of law, separation of powers, and independence of the judiciary.

4. We struggle for eliminating administrative and financial corruption and activating the role of the Financial Oversight and Integrity Commission.

5. Securing compensations for those who sustained damage or were displaced, returning them to their places of residence, and giving them fair compensation.

6. The Ninawa Fraternal List works for improving the living conditions and services for the citizens; providing them with basic services, including water, electricity, and healthy housing; and improving the items distributed under the ration card system.

7. Working seriously for raising the standard of health services; supporting the medical,
health, and technical staff; paying attention to the cleanliness of hospitals and health establishments; and endorsing the full health insurance system.

8. Boosting tourism, making it a future industry, and supporting it financially and morally; and expanding green areas, protecting them from damage, and benefiting from them economically.

9. Making efforts so that Ninawa Governorate will get its fair share of the general budget and of the reconstruction programs and spending it fairly.

10. Working for developing the countryside in accordance with modern scientific principles, upgrading the agricultural and irrigation situation, supporting farmers, and providing agricultural supplies, as well as paying attention to the animal and fish resources.

11. Respecting the high standing of religious scholars, men of religion, and shaykhs and safeguarding the sanctity of places of worship. Also, allowing religious scholars, men of religion, and shaykhs to participate in achieving security and peaceful existence in the governorate.

12. Paying attention to the families of martyrs and securing a decent life for them.

13. Supporting and enhancing the role of women in society and working to expedite the enactment of laws to activate their role in political, social, economic, and cultural life.

14. Paying attention to the programs for providing care for mothers, children, and orphans, and to the need to improve the situation of retirees, old people, people with disabilities, and handicapped people.

15. Working for supporting the rights of the working class, fighting unemployment among workers, supporting wages, and guaranteeing their retirement and unionist rights.

16. Supporting and backing civil society organizations.

17. Paying attention to youths and sports and developing the relevant establishments to absorb their energies and talents.

18. The Ninawa Fraternal List believes in the freedom of thought, expression, religion, assembly, and demonstration and it works for building a prosperous democratic society.

19. Working for endorsing all rights of the components of Ninawa Governorate, achieving equality for all, and guaranteeing their cultural, political, and administrative rights in accordance with the Iraqi Constitution.

20. Working for enhancing the spirit of religious and sectarian tolerance, guaranteeing religious and sectarian freedom for non-Muslims, and renouncing all forms of religious and sectarian discrimination against them.
21. Guaranteeing respect for human rights and the basic human freedom, irrespective of color, race, religion, sex, and sect, and continuing to adhere to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

22. Paying attention to the student sector through providing internal [lodging] sections, paying monthly allowances [to students], obtaining scholarships, and providing job opportunities.

23. Our list seeks to support and protect antiquities, museums, and public libraries; to boost the activities of writing, translation, printing, and publishing; and to pay attention to cultural, artistic, and traditional activities.

24. Our list believes in a free, independent press and in supporting journalists and providing the necessary protection for them.

25. Working for supporting universities, institutes, and schools in the governorates, including their establishments and staff, and enriching their cultural offices and centers.

"It is noteworthy that the Ninawa Fraternal List consists of:

1. The Kurdistan Democratic Party.
2. The Patriotic Union of Kurdistan.
3. The Kurdistan Islamic Union.
5. The Chaldean Democratic Union.
6. The Kurdistan Communist Party.
7. The Iraqi Communist Party.
8. The Kurdistan Socialist Democratic Party."

(All excerpts taken from www.pukmedia.com, 18 December 2008)
**Coalition Name: The Shahid al-Mihrab and Independent Forces List**

"The next provincial council elections constitute an extremely important political and national obligation and a real challenge that we must overcome with a great success by choosing qualified and faithful people who make sacrifices and who are keen on offering the best services to all sons of the Iraqi people without exception or discrimination based on partisan, religious, ethnic, sectarian, or regional principles, especially the deprived segments and categories, which had faced injustice, persecution, marginalization, exclusion, and neglect under the defunct regime.

"Based on this, the Shahid al-Mihrab and Independent Forces List (290) has defined the following priorities and principles within the context of its election platform:

"First: The Citizen's Opinion and Creed

"Abiding by the directives of the religious authority, respecting the opinion and creed of the citizen, supporting and encouraging Islamic rituals through which the citizen expresses his creed, including the Husayni rituals, and providing the appropriate atmosphere for performing them in the best way that matches the image of new Iraq in terms of providing freedoms to people to express their beliefs and opinions within the framework of the Constitution and the law that emanates from it.

"Second: The State of the Citizen and Institutions

"Working to build the (state of the citizen), and not the state of the official, meaning that the state should be in the service of the citizen; promoting and strengthening the state of institutions; fighting administrative and financial corruption and activating the role of integrity commissions; and eliminating red tape, which hurts and exhausts the citizen without gaining anything.

"Third: The Constitution and the Powers of the Governorates

"Abiding by the permanent Constitution on which the majority of the sons of our Iraqi people voted and enhancing the powers of the provincial councils and local governments approved by the Constitution to improve services and security throughout the governorates of the country.

"Fourth: Services

"The list will work on the national level and in the governorates to provide the necessary services to citizens. It believes that this is part of the natural rights of citizens. In addition, these are part of the natural responsibilities of anyone who assumes a position of responsibility on any level. Extending services to the citizen, while preserving his dignity and respecting his will, is one of the manifestations of the state of the citizen, which we seek to promote in our new Iraqi reality.

"Fifth: Parents of Martyrs and Prisoners"
"Devoting the greatest measure of care and attention to parents of martyrs, political prisoners, and victims of the takfiri and Saddamist terrorism by endorsing laws and pieces of legislation that would alleviate their moral and material suffering, besides activating the laws and pieces of legislation that have not been implemented yet.

"Sixth: Investment

"Activating the Investment Law and working to attract investments by providing the appropriate climate and conditions for investment in order to activate and speed up projects of construction, provide job opportunities for the largest number of people, and absorb unemployment. This is in addition to micro loans for people who seek to start their own businesses to develop a large base for local investment by providing the right environment. Also, adopting phased and strategic plans and projects to address urgent needs and demands of all people and to build a strong economic foundation that would lead to qualitative shifts in the governorates. This can be done by taking advantage of the resources available in these governorates and repairing and developing infrastructure, installations, and vital projects, such as sewage networks, electricity lines, drinking water, roads, bridges, and housing projects.

"Seventh: The Education Sector

"Devoting attention to the education sector by expanding the construction of schools for all stages and also universities and the various institutions of higher education, developing the capacities and skills of teaching staff, promoting the establishment and construction of educational institutions by civil society organizations, providing all the requirements and conditions that would create educated generations, and devoting greater attention to the regions and governorates that lack schools and sufficient educational institutions based on the population density.

"Eighth: Youths and Fresh Graduates

"Creating and introducing practical and realistic programs for the development of the young generation of graduates of universities and institutes by creating the right job opportunities, whether in the institutions of the state or in nongovernmental institutions and projects.

"Ninth: Women

"Devoting attention to women in society, since women represent a key pillar of the social entity, irrespective of the position and job assumed by women, and creating the appropriate conditions to activate and enhance these positions, functions, and roles, especially for women who had faced persecution and deprivation.

"Tenth: Health Care Program

"Working to create a national health care program that guarantees caring for the health of the Iraqi human being, especially motherhood and childhood, chronic cases, and people with
special needs, and expanding the building of various health institutions based on the latest
technologies and resources to contribute to the improvement of the health and environmental
situation for all segments and categories of Iraqi society; devoting great attention to people
with chronic illnesses and disabilities and old people in a way that ensures providing their
living needs, which guarantee and preserve human dignity. This expansion will focus more on
rural areas and the regions that have not received proper attention in the previous stages.

"Eleventh: Civil Society Organizations

"Promoting the role of professional, worker, student, and women unions and federations and
all civil society organizations in general in the economic, cultural, social, and political spheres
to generate great, broad, and constructive action in society.

"Twelfth: Free Media and Freedom of Expression

"Working to enhance freedom of expression by supporting free media based on professional,
neutral, and objective principles and encouraging the presentation of different ideas, visions,
and viewpoints within the framework of the law and the Constitution in order to promote the
culture of society and achieve the greatest degree of political and nonpolitical participation by
all members of society.

"Thirteenth: Tribes

"Tribes represent an important and vital part of the Iraqi social system. Therefore, devoting
attention to them and promoting their role and presence in all arenas is an important priority
that is the subject of attention.

"Fourteenth: Agriculture

"Since agriculture is one of the sources of wealth in Iraq, devoting attention to developing the
agricultural situation and improving the conditions of farmers and peasants in all aspects is of
great importance. This attention is represented by providing the required material and technical
requirements and resources that would bring about a great and large agricultural development
in the country of the valley of the two rivers, as well as promoting broad investment in the
agricultural sector and developing food industries that basically depend on local agricultural
produce.

"Fifteenth: Subdistricts, Villages, and Rural Areas

"Working to develop the infrastructure of the subdistricts, villages, and rural areas, providing
the necessities of life of which they had been deprived throughout the past decades, and
developing the level of the existing services.

"Sixteenth: The Housing Crisis

"Working to address the housing crisis from which a large number of Iraqi people are suffering
by continuing, and expanding, the distribution of housing land plots and giving loans to build
houses on them, besides building residential compounds and distributing them to those who are
eligible in return for easy payments, while giving preference and privileges to some social segments and categories, such as orphans, widows, people with disabilities, parents of martyrs, and people who have faced political discrimination.

"Seventeenth: National and Religious Tourism

"Devoting attention to tourism--religious and nonreligious--since it is one of the important sources of income, especially since Iraq has an ancient civilization and is considered the cradle of prophets, messengers, and the chaste imams, peace be upon them. Iraq also has a large number of natural sites that constitute special tourism destinations.

"Eighteenth: Sports

"Devoting attention to sports and working to expand the construction of sports establishments of all kinds and seeking to use the best and most modern means to promote the sports level in the governorates and on the national level."

(All excepts taken from www.alforattv.net, 28 December 2008)

Coalition Name: The Iraqi National Congress

"The election platform of the Iraqi National Congress [INC] includes the following goals:

1. Independence and complete sovereignty for the Iraqis over their country.
2. Transfer of wealth from the government to the people.
3. Welfare state, prosperous economy, fraternal society.
4. Improving the life of people and raising the per capita income.
5. Raising the standards of services.

"The main slogan of the INC is: Your wealth is for you ... our future is in your hands.

"The priorities of the election platform of the INC are as follows:

"First: The Security File: To offer new ways to address tensions, lack of security, and prevalence of violence by building a national military and security establishment away from quotas; adopting the policy of forgiveness; opening channels of frank and peaceful dialogue with the active parties in Iraqi life; adopting real development programs for the economy and containing the problems of unemployment in view of the INC's belief, based on its own studies of the problems of violence and extremism in the world, that military means and force to cancel the structures of extremism once and for all, even if there are relative successes on the surface. These successes only bury the viruses of violence under the social soil to explode like time bombs in the future. The problem of violence needs a serious political and economic program to develop a tolerant political speech and curb unemployment and poverty.
"The INC devotes attention to the following:

1. Providing services, especially in areas where there has been lack of security.
2. Returning displaced persons to their homes and supporting them financially to carry out renovation work and facilitating a new start for them."

"Second: Administrative Corruption and Favoritism:

"The INC seeks to fight administrative corruption by putting in place a stringent program for monitoring state institutions and their employees and focusing on reforming the institutions that are most corrupt and developing the concept of good citizenship, which is associated with the moral dimension that is inspired by our religious, cultural, and social heritage."

"The platform then lists other aspects, which include the following:

"Third: Basic Services:
A. Electricity
B. Water
C. Fuel
D. Sewage
E. Roads and Transportation
F. Health Services
G. Housing
H. Social Protection
I. Environmental Pollution
J. Desertification

"Fourth: Education Sector

"Fifth: The Agricultural Sector

"Sixth: The Livestock Sector

"Seventh: The Industrial and Commercial Sector

"Eighth: The Vocational Sector

"Ninth: The Banking Sector
"Tenth: The Tourism Sector

"Eleventh: The Cultural and Artistic Sector

"Twelfth: Iraqi Antiquities

"Thirteenth: The Sports and Youth Sector

"Fourteenth: The Media Sector

"Fifteenth: The File of Post-US Withdrawal Iraq: We do not see in the programs of the government and the Iraqi political forces any proactive practices that work for the stage that will follow the withdrawal of the United States with the exception of the INC, which has been following closely the results of the US elections and the attitudes of the American people, who are grumbling about the presence of their Army in Iraq and the negative effect of this on the US economy, given that it is spending $12 billion a month on the forces that are presently in our country. This has increased the severity of the economic crisis in the United States. The prices of foodstuffs there have increased four times. The important question: How will the situation in Iraq be after their withdrawal? What are the alternate programs that we should prepare as of now if they withdraw from our country?

"The INC platform concerning this issue is based on the following:

1. Adopting a national political speech away from sectarianism and canceling the quotas on its basis and getting rid of its impact and effects.

2. Working seriously to make national reconciliation succeed and warning of the dangers of division, which could lead to wars and woes that we do not need.

3. Establishing a national front that works to promote the independence and sovereignty of Iraq and defending its unity, land and people.

4. Adopting the policy of forgiveness and peaceful dialogue in resolving Iraqi-Iraqi differences."

(All excerpts taken from www.inciraq.com, 28 December 2008)
Coalition Name: The State of Law Coalition

1. "Entrenching security and stability and consolidating the principle of the rule of law.

2. Combating administrative and financial corruption.

3. Nominating figures who enjoy integrity, expertise, qualifications, and honesty to fill important posts in the governorate in a manner that makes them serve rather than rule the people.

4. Encouraging investment in a bid to achieve economic and construction progress for the sons of the governorate.

5. Ensuring a just and honest expenditure of the governorate's budget to implement construction and services projects.

6. Fostering young people and students and supporting their scientific, athletic, and social activities.

7. Fighting unemployment and seeking to secure job opportunities for young men, graduates, and the unemployed.

8. Taking care of the role of women and children and seeking to secure a residence for each family.

9. Fostering widows, divorced women, orphans, the elderly, people with special needs, and other segments of impoverished people.

10. Supporting and developing institutions supporting the families of martyred or imprisoned persons" (Afaq TV, 10 January).

Coalition Name: The National Ishtar List

"Out of our belief that our Assyrian/Chaldean/Syriac people is one people, we (the national establishments and parties of our people) have decided to participate in the elections of the councils of governorates, districts, and subdistricts in one list so as to unite us, express the unity of our people, and unify our national rhetoric. The purpose of this is to attain the legitimate rights of our people in accordance with what is stipulated in the Constitution and implementing its clauses and articles, especially those pertaining to our people, to ensure our stay on the land of the forefathers, the land of Wadi al-Rafidayn [Valley of the Two Rivers], which has been distinguished by its sciences and civilizations over the stages of history.

"Our list consists of the following establishments and parties:"
1. The National Chaldean Council.
3. The Independent Assyrians Grouping Movement.
4. The Chaldean Culture Society.
5. The Qara Qush Notables Council.
6. The National Bayt Nahrayn Union.

"We affirm that our Assyrian/Chaldean/Syriac people is a deep-rooted people in Iraq, since its roots in the soil of the Land of the Two Rivers date back more than 7,500 years. Today, we are working to maintain the unity of Iraq, land and people, and we are struggling with all components of the Iraqi people in order to fight chauvinistic ideas, ethnic narrow-mindedness, and sectarian and racist feuds. We always call for adhering to our people's traditions of tolerance, equality, and social solidarity and rejecting fanaticism, whatever its form and source. We are struggling together with all components of our people for the purpose of enhancing and strengthening the pluralistic federal democratic system, which allows our people to enjoy its legitimate nationalist rights, as part of Iraq -- land and people. We would like to affirm that our list, the National Ishtar List (513) will work in Baghdad Governorate for:

1. The full representation of the sons of our people in the state's legislative, executive, and judicial establishments.
2. Working for returning all emigres and displaced persons to their homes and places of residence, regaining their rights and properties, compensating them for the harm done to them, and continuing to search for missing and kidnapped persons and providing care for their families.
3. Youths and students are considered to be the backbone for building Iraq and its future. We work for ensuring that youths and students will enjoy all their rights and freedoms that are guaranteed by the Iraqi Constitution, providing job opportunities for them, guaranteeing the hiring of all graduates of all stages [of education] and specializations, supporting marriage through setting up a fund for supporting youths, preparing everything necessary to provide education and training, including vocational training, for them, and guaranteeing the development of their qualifications and creative talents.
4. Our list works for defending the rights of women and it categorically rejects all forms of discrimination against women. It also works for enhancing the role of women alongside men in all fields.
5. Establishing cultural, social, and art clubs, forums, and societies for all sectors of our people, as well as providing Internet services and information.
6. Holding cultural, intellectual, and scientific festivals and activities, honoring outstanding persons, and granting them awards and certificates of appreciation.

7. The National Ishtar List works for participating in building the infrastructure of Baghdad Governorate, such as paving roads; providing electricity, water, and sewage; and setting up [public] parks, recreation parks, and sports playfields that meet international standards, as well as children's playgrounds.

8. Resolving the housing crisis through setting up housing projects financed by the state for low-income people, while focusing on the construction of housing compounds, attaching importance to vertical construction, and launching real estate loans.


10. Paying attention to men of religion from all sects of our people and strengthening and enhancing ties among men of religion from all religions to promote the culture of tolerance and fraternal coexistence.

11. Remunerating all those [government employees], who were forced to leave their jobs because of security conditions and who took refuge in other areas inside and outside Iraq, for the period of their absence from service and working to pay them all their salaries and dues during this period.

12. Lifting the injustice against the sons of our people, including experts, academics, and qualified persons, and appointing them to key posts in the state departments.

13. Paying attention to the families of martyrs, missing persons, and handicapped people, as well as the victims of wars and terrorist actions before and after the fall of the defunct regime.

14. In view of the fact that there is no candidate who represents the brother Armenians in the Baghdad Provincial Council, our list will work for providing support and backing for the brother Armenians and all their cultural, sports, and other establishments.

15. Supporting and developing the economic infrastructure in the fields of agriculture and industry, setting up plants and factories, and supporting national products, including industrial, agricultural, and animal products.

16. Setting up a prosperous economy and market to achieve welfare and prosperity in Baghdad Governorate, paying attention to the private sector, and supporting it.

17. Supporting the teaching of the Syriac language in all stages of education and preparing staff for all specializations.
18. Tackling unemployment, making this the main goal of the country's economic policy, and giving priority to investment programs to create incentives for the areas and sectors that have been suffering from discrimination and neglect since the time of the former regime and until our present day.

19. Paying attention to children, caring for them, and opening nurseries and kindergartens.

20. Caring for the retirees from the sons of our people, supporting and establishing social establishments for them, working to care for old people, and providing support for low-income people.

21. Caring for orphans, handicapped people, and those suffering from paralysis, deafness, muteness, and blindness, in addition to widows and unmarried women.

22. Working to return employees who were dismissed for political reasons to their jobs and remunerating them for the period of their dismissal from service.

23. Improving, and raising the standard of, the ration card items, qualitatively and quantitatively, and tackling the phenomenon of rise in prices on the market.

24. We seek to create an appropriate ground for the existence of a free, independent press and to provide material and moral support for the independent press establishments.

25. Guaranteeing Iraq’s territorial integrity and sovereignty, safeguarding its international borders, and firmly establishing the unity of Iraqi society through enhancing religious and nationalist fraternity.

26. The National Ishtar List seeks to rely on Iraq's own capabilities in the field of maintaining security in Baghdad Governorate to enhance security and stability.

27. The National Ishtar List adheres to respecting the Iraqi citizen's rights, as expressed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and all international conventions that complement this declaration, and in accordance with the rights and freedoms that are guaranteed by the Iraqi Constitution. At the same time, our list works for consolidating the principle of citizenship and equality among all Iraqis, without discrimination on the basis of religion, ethnicity, color, sex, race, sect, or on the basis of anything else.

28. Renouncing the policy of sectarian and ethnic quotas, ending the manifestations of sectarian polarization, consolidating national unity, and choosing the right person in the right position, based on the principle of true citizenship."
Coalition Name: Al-Tawafuq List

"The Al-Tawafuq Bloc is participating in the provincial council elections for:

1. Enhancing security and safety.
2. Helping establish a national, qualified, and competent police force.
3. A fair, independent judiciary.
4. Clean water for a healthy society.
5. Securing housing for every citizen.
6. Paved roads.
7. An uninterrupted supply of electricity.
8. An advanced industry and a productive agriculture.
10. Constructing advanced hospitals and providing sufficient medicines.
11. A more beautiful and cleaner Baghdad.
12. Integral schools and advanced universities.
13. Serving orphans and widows.
15. Repatriating and compensating displaced persons.

"Details of the election platform:

"-- The security file: Security constitutes the chief concern of the Baghdadi citizen after the bitter years he has gone through under the security disorder. This makes it our top priority. We work to reduce the danger of this vital file through:

1. Police (a national, qualified, and competent police force): The current situation of the police points to problems that have to do with the insufficient armament, the weak response to security information, the widespread disorder and negligence, the spread of administrative and financial corruption, etcetera. In order to overcome these problems and obstacles, we will work for:
• Putting emphasis on setting up a police apparatus that is far from sectarian and racist affiliations and loyalties.

• Opening new centers for the police according to the population density and rehabilitating the existing centers.

• Increasing personnel and vehicles and providing modern, high-tech equipment.

• Raising the level of education of workers in the police apparatus in the field of human rights.

• Providing material and moral incentives for police personnel.

• Fighting administrative corruption.

2. Courts (a fair, independent judiciary): While some courts have jurisdiction over a large geographic area, we notice the small number of buildings, which are not fit for use, the big shortage of judges and investigators, the non-adoption of modern methods in work, and the spread of administrative corruption. Therefore, we will work for:

• Providing new courts that cover the geographic area of administrative units.

• Constructing modern court buildings.

• Establishing a new judicial institute.

• Increasing the staff working in courts in all specialties.

• Activating the role of oversight of the judicial system.

• Activating the role of the public prosecution to safeguard the rights of citizens.

• Activating the role of the media toward the judiciary.

"-- The economic file:

1. Industry: The industrial sector in Iraq in general and in Baghdad in particular is going through a critical stage. It suffers from the halt of production at most of the industrial enterprises, the lack of strategic industrial projects, and the old production lines and not restoring them. In order to achieve an advanced industrial sector, we will work for the following over the next four years:

• Setting up strategic industrial projects (especially heavy and electronic industries).

• Restoring the non-operating enterprises and factories and supplying them with the necessary requirements, including electricity, tools, etc.
• Encouraging giving loans to private factories and facilitating the supply of raw materials to them.

• Improving the living standard of workers.

2. Agriculture: The agricultural sector suffers from the insufficient attention to land reclamation, the use of traditional methods of agriculture, and the insufficient use of sophisticated machinery. Therefore, we promise you that we will achieve the following:

• Reclaiming lands using modern scientific methods.

• Setting up modern agricultural villages.

• Using modern methods in agriculture.

• Helping farmers by providing raw materials at subsidized prices.

• Adopting the plan of granting agricultural lands to the graduates of agricultural colleges and institutes.

3. Everybody is aware of the serious spread of unemployment in Iraqi society in general and in Baghdad in particular, taking into consideration that the rates of unemployment have reached serious levels. In order to solve this problem, we will work hard for:

• Conducting an accurate study of the real rates of unemployment in Baghdad, along with a list of the available job opportunities.

• Opening the door for hiring the holders of degrees at the different state departments and establishments.

• Supporting the private sector and investment, given that this leads to providing job opportunities for the unemployed" (www.iraqiparty.com, 11 January).
• Activating the role of local government agencies in overseeing the administrative establishments in the governorate.

• Working to draft the best laws that would preserve the rights and freedoms of citizens in the governorate, while ensuring that they do not conflict with the Constitution.

• Activating the role of civil society organizations and improving their oversight role.

"Second: Basic Services and Infrastructure

"The Housing Sector

"For a long time, housing has constituted a pressing issue for all sons of Diyala. The crisis has intensified because the number of housing units has remained unchanged compared to the increase in the population. There are several reasons for this, most important of which is the poor economic [purchasing] power of the sons of the governorate. Therefore, through our work, we will seek to achieve the following in this sector:

1. Reorganizing the areas with illegally-built structures inside the governorate in a manner that creates the right atmosphere for construction activities.

2. Drawing up a practical plan to build a sufficient number of housing compounds to absorb the increase in population in the governorate.

3. Setting up a system whereby the local government guarantees providing loans to enable citizens to build appropriate houses for them.


"The Roads and Bridges Sector

"The roads and bridges in Diyala are old and poor in general. Naturally, this is due to several reasons, at the forefront of which is that most of the roads in the governorate have not been paved for a long time. This sector also suffers from a real lack of allocations for maintenance, as well as the lack of practical plans to expand the network of roads and bridges inside the governorate to face the increase in the number of civilian cars. Besides, most roads in the governorate suffer from the lack of traffic signs. All this has led to the increase of the rate of traffic accidents inside the governorate. This will prompt us to work for:

1. Setting up asphalt plants inside the governorate to facilitate the implementation of the work plan for this purpose.

2. Re-paving the roads that are fit for use in the governorate.

3. Linking the parts of the governorate with a network of roads and bridges that are provided with traffic signs.

"The Drinking Water Sector
The sons of Diyala Governorate are experiencing a real water crisis. The production capacity of the operating central projects and pumping stations, which number 30 projects, and the collection tanks, which number 130, is estimated at 49,615 cubic meters, while the total needs of drinking water of the sons of the governorate are estimated at 633,308 [figure as published]. Therefore, the citizens who live in the districts get 300 liters each compared to the individual's normal needs of 400 liters, while the citizens who live in the villages get only 250 liters each. Therefore, will work to achieve the following:

1. Improving the water networks in the governorate.
2. Replacing the existing operating pumps with other pumps with a higher production capacity from the best international sources.
3. Installing new units with new pumps in unserved areas.
4. Reducing the amount of water that is wasted here and there inside the governorate due to the erosion of water networks through repairing the broken networks.
5. Seeking to set up new water projects inside the governorate in the future.

"The Sewage Sector"

"From the aspect of sewage service, the cities and districts of Diyala include areas that suffer from a total lack of sewage networks, as the case is in Bani-Sa'd, Al-Abbarah, Habhab, the center of Al-Khalis District, Al-Mansuriyah, Khanaqin, Jalula, Al-Sa'diyah, Baladruz, and Al-Miqdadiyah. They also include areas that lack rain drainage networks, as the case is in Abi-Sayda, Al-Wajihiyah, and Qurrah Tabbah. Besides, Diyala has been suffering from the lack of a central wastewater treatment plant until now. Statistics show that only 7% of the residents of the governorate are served by this sector, while 93% are not served. Therefore, we will work for achieving the following:

1. Improving the present sewage networks.
2. Setting up new networks.
3. Setting up a central wastewater treatment plant.
4. Setting up plants for the treatment of heavy water and rainwater.
5. Providing maintenance requirements.
6. Setting up new plants for the treatment of heavy water.

"The Telecommunications Sector"

"In the served areas, the ratio of telephone service to the number of housing units in Diyala is only 13%. According to the official statistics of the governorate, there are 31,000 telephone lines in the entire governorate. Even if the telecommunications sector operates at full capacity,
there will be 61,000 telephone lines. This means providing this service to only 26% of the residents of cities. At present, there are no telephone lines to distribute to the residents of rural areas. Therefore, according to our program, this sector will be addressed as follows:

1. Repairing the damage that was caused to telephone lines by acts of sabotage.
2. Providing terrestrial telephone lines to all areas in the governorate.
3. Working to maintain the supply of electricity to ensure the continuation of telephone service.
4. Providing specialized engineering personnel.
5. Training the engineering personnel currently working in the governorate to improve telephone service in the governorate.

"Third: The Social Development Sector

"Diyala Governorate lacks the investment plans that are necessary for improving the situation of the governorate, although it is characterized by its abundant natural resources, including minerals and agricultural production. This has resulted in a drop in the economic growth rate inside the governorate. To tackle this bitter situation, we will do the following:

1. Seeking to draw up an urgent plan to exploit natural resources.
2. Working to boost the production capacity of the factories in Diyala.
3. Exploiting agricultural lands in a better way, based on international plans in this field.
4. Developing human resources and seeking to eliminate unemployment.
5. Enacting a series of laws on investment inside the governorate.
6. Creating the right atmosphere for promoting investment inside the governorate and providing the facilities necessary for this.
7. Establishing a chain of investment banks all over the governorate.
8. Working to activate and boost the private sector inside the governorate.

"Fourth: The Education Sector

"Like other parts of Iraq, Diyala Governorate suffers from the lack of scientific planning for the education sector. Therefore, this sector was characterized by the small number of those enrolled in kindergartens, the small number of experienced people within the teaching staff, the high rate of males who are enrolled in schools compared to females, and the fact that classrooms are crowded with a large number of students in a noticeable way. All this has led to an increase in the percentage of failing students in all stages of education. Therefore, we will work in this sector as follows:
1. Drawing up scientific plans that can be implemented to organize this important sector.
2. Providing buildings for the sector of kindergartens.
3. Providing the suitable teaching staff for kindergartens.
4. Working to ensure that school-age children join schools.
5. Raising the level of members of the teaching staff inside the governorate.
6. Paying attention to the construction of schools in the villages and rural areas of Diyala.
7. Seeking to provide good teaching staff for the villages and rural areas.
8. Working to conduct maintenance work on existing schools and expanding them for the purpose of solving the problem of overcrowded classrooms.

"Fifth: The Social Sector

The social sector in Diyala is mainly characterized by the weak role of civil society organizations, the lack of any institutional attention to youths, and the general failure in the social care system. Therefore, we should act on this situation as follows:

1. Making serious efforts to create a job opportunity for every citizen who is able to work in a way that suits his qualifications and in his specialty.
2. Working to raise the awareness of women, given that they are the cornerstone of society.
3. Building clubs for caring for youth and providing all requirements for these clubs, including gymnasiums, parks, etc.
4. Supporting civil society organizations and activating their role in society, in cooperation with the local government.
5. Paying attention to the family and children inside the governorate.

Raising awareness all over the governorate in a way that prompts it to cooperate with the local government and health agencies in it for the purpose of reducing the cases of death among mothers and children."

(All excerpts taken from www.dyala480.com, 13 January 2009)