



**Brief Guide to
Iraq General Elections
December 2005**

**Danilo Bakovic
Baghdad, December 5, 2005**

Major Political Contestants

Led by Adnan al-Dulaymi and Tariq al-Hashimi

The Iraqi Accordance Front (Jabhat Al-Tawafuq Al-Iraqiyah), although largely composed of Sunni Arabs, claims to be a nonsectarian-based coalition that includes nationalist and Islamic forces. It is comprised of three leading Sunni Arab groups: the Iraqi Islamic Party, led by Tariq al-Hashimi; the Iraqi People's Conference, led by Adnan al-Dulaymi; and the National Dialogue Council, led by Khalaf al-Alyan; as well as leading national figures, tribal chiefs, and other known figures, Baghdad's "Dar Al-Salam" reported on 17 November.

The front's platform is based on ending the "occupation" of Iraq and working towards a unified government. It calls for peaceful resistance to the occupation and a strengthening of national unity and an end to the "proportional power-sharing system based on sectarianism and ethnicity."

The front calls for a review of the constitution and an amendment to the articles that "seriously endanger Iraq's unity and its regional safety." It also calls for an end to human rights violations "by some Iraqi security agencies" and the release of "all detainees and prisoners of war." It also calls for a comprehensive national project that would improve public services and living standards.

The front supports the repeal of laws related to the dissolution of military institutions and de-Ba'athification, and has called for a law to provide "just compensation" to Iraqis whose person or property was damaged by the Iraqi government or multinational forces.

Coalition Members:

National Dialogue Council (Khalaf al-Alyan)

the Iraqi People's Conference (Adnan al-Dulayimi)

the Iraqi Islamic Party (Tariq al-Hashimi)

Led by Iyad Allawi

The list's platform is based on national unity and it includes both Sunni and Shi'ite candidates. It seeks to build a democratic, modern, and open Iraqi society "that renounces sectarianism in political work and improves relations with Arab and neighboring countries."

The platform calls for increased security, economic development through the creation of jobs, a strong private sector, an end to corruption, providing free health care and medicine, education, improving the agricultural sector, and establishing a social security system that would provide for retired people as well as those families hurt by the regime of Saddam Hussein.

The list also calls for the establishment of a special program to benefit Iraqis in western areas of the country that were affected by the insurgency and a program to provide low-interest loans to home buyers.

Other parties to the Iraqi National List include the Iraqiyun List, led by Ghazi Ajil al-Yawir and Hajim al-Hasani; the Iraqi Communist Party, led by Hamid Majid Musa; the Independent Democrats Grouping, led by Adnan Pachachi (whose party failed to gain any seats in the last parliamentary election); the National Democratic Party, led by Nasir Kamil al-Chadirchi; the Arab Socialist Movement; and the Islamic Democratic Movement. Parliamentarian Husayn al-Sadr briefly joined the list but withdrew his participation on 14 November, saying he preferred to take the line of the Shi'ite religious clergy and support the political process in general while not lending his support to any one party or list.

Coalition Members:

Iraqi National Accord (Iyad Allawi)

Iraqiyun List (the Iraqis) (Ghazi al-Yawir)

Iraqi Communist Party (Hamid Majid Musa)

Independent Democrats Grouping (Adnan Pachaci)

Iraqi Republican Group (Nasir Kamil al-Chidirchi)

Arab Socialist Movement (Abdullah Alnissrawi)

Society of Turkman Tribes and Elites

Union Party

Loyalty to Iraq Coalition

Independent Iraqi Alliance

Independent Iraqi Sheikhs Council

Al-Qasimy Democratic Assembly

Alfurat Al Awsat Assembly

The National List

Ahrar

Led by Abd al-Aziz al-Hakim

The UIA includes supporters of Shi'ite cleric Muqtada al-Sadr -- who ran as independents in the January election -- as well as representatives from 16 other parties: the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI), the Islamic Al-Da'wah Party (both branches), the Islamic Virtue Party, the Badr Organization, the Justice (Al-Adalah) Party, the Islamic Hope Organization, the Hizballah Movement in Iraq, the Masters of the Martyrs Movement, the Central Grouping Party, the Iraqi Turkoman Loyalty Movement, the Islamic Union of Iraqi Turkomans, the Justice and Equality Grouping, the Reform and Construction Gathering, the Iraqi Democrats Movement, and the Free Iraqis Party.

There are 38 candidates from the Al-Sadr Bloc on the UIA list, according to the 16 November edition of al-Sadr's weekly "Al-Hawzah" -- including parliamentarians Baha al-A'raji and Qusay Abd al-Wahhab al-Suhail -- and Al-Basrah's Deputy Governor Salam Awdah al-Maliki.

The UIA platform calls for enforcing the Iraqi Constitution, promoting national unity, the de-politicization and reform of government institutions, the establishment of regional governments, the prosecution of Ba'athist criminals, providing basic services to citizens, improving economic conditions through investment and job growth, achieving social justice and improving living standards, guaranteeing freedom of speech, adopting a social security system, and providing free education at all levels.

Coalition Members:

Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution in Iraq (Abd al-Aziz al-Hakim)

Islamic Dawa Party (Ibrahim al-Jaffari)

Al Sadriah Advertising (Muqtada al-Sadr)

Islamic Da'awa Party-Iraq Organization

Bader Organization (Adil al-Amiri)

Islamic Virtue Party

the Justice (Al-Adalah) Party

the Islamic Hope Organization

the Hizballah Movement in Iraq

the Masters of the Martyrs Movement

Central Grouping Party

Iraqi Turkoman Loyalty Movement

Islamic Union of Iraqi Turkomans

Justice and Equality Movement

Reform and Construction Gathering

Iraqi Democrats Movement

Free Iraqis Party

730

Kurdistan Coalition List

Kurdish

Led by by Mas'ud Barzani

The Kurdistan Coalition List is headed by the two leading Kurdish parties: the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) and the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP). It also includes smaller Kurdish, Turkoman, Assyrian, and Chaldean parties, and independent figures such as Kurdish parliamentarian Mahmud Uthman. The Kurdistan Islamic Group joined the alliance in November, while four parties withdrew from the list: the Kurdistan Islamic Union, the Kurdistan National Democratic Union, Bayt Nahrayn, and the Kurdistan Peasants Party.

The Kurdistan Islamic Union cited the union's objection to the PUK and KDP's dominance over political life in Kurdistan as the reason for its withdrawal from the coalition. Likewise, Kurdistan National Democratic Union head Ghafur Makhmuri said his party withdrew because it did not want to take part in elections "without any privilege."

Coalition Members:

Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) (Jalal Talabani)

Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) (Mas'ud Barzani)

Kurdistan Islamic Group

Communist Party of Kurdistan

Socialist Democratic Party of Kurdistan

Al Kaldani Democratic United Party

Iraqi Turkman Brotherhood Party

Labor Party of Kurdistan

569

National Congress Coalition

Shi'ite & Sunnis (Secular)

Led by Ahmad Chalabi

The coalition includes Shi'ite and Sunni candidates and bills itself as a moderate alternative to the conservative United Iraqi Alliance (UIA). Chalabi, who ran on the UIA list in the January elections, said he left the UIA because he disagrees with its calls for an Islamic state in Iraq. "It is obvious that there is a need to have a list that represents a large segment of the Iraqi people who are faithful Muslims [and] who also believe in a democratic, pluralistic, and a federal system of government. They respect the religious authority but they do not recognize the political Islamic ideology," he said ("RFE/RL Iraq Report," 4 November 2005).

Other members to the National Congress Coalition include the Constitutional Monarchy Movement, led by Sharif Ali bin al-Husayn; Justice Minister Abd al-Husayn Shandal and former UIA member and parliamentarian Salama al-Khafaji; as well as moderate political and religious figures such as Sheikh Fawwaz al-Jarba.

Coalition Members:

Iraqi National Conference (INC) (Ahmad Chalabi)

Constitutional Monarchy Movement (Sharif Ali bin al-Husayn)

Democratic Iraqi Gathering

The First Democratic National Party

United Labor Democratic Front

Turkuman Act Party

The National List

Tareq Abd Al Kareem Al Shahd Al Budairi

The National List

General Secretary Bloc for the South Section of Iraq

Other Political Contestants

Led by Mithal al-Alusi

Al-Alusi, a Sunni Arab, announced his list in Baghdad on 7 November. The list's platform is nationalistic and rejects sectarian and ethnic identities.

The list calls for a revival of Iraq's economy, the rebuilding of the armed forces, strengthening the role of the judiciary, and solving public service problems. The list also calls for the "restoration of the dignity of university campuses" and the provision of social security "for all Iraqi citizens" The Al-Alusi list also supports a ban on militias and judicial reform; it contends that the current judiciary has been politicized in favor of certain parties, RFI reported on 7 November.

Al-Alusi hinted that his list, if elected, would not support the presence of multinational forces on Iraqi soil, telling reporters: "Before this government demanded the prolongation [of the mission] of the international coalition, it should better consult the Iraqi parliament." He later told the Hizballah weekly "Al-Bayyinah" in an interview published on 12 November that he supports a strategic alliance with the United States that would include the building of U.S. bases in Iraq "to protect [Iraq's] borders" in return for the United States providing military training to the Iraqi army, education for Iraqi students in the U.S., and increased American investment in Iraq.

Al-Alusi told "Al-Bayyinah" that Iraqis should emulate the examples of deceased "revolutionaries" such as Muhammad Sadiq al-Sadr and Mullah Mustafa Barzani, saying: "Why do we not seek to make our symbols national rather than group symbols?" He also called for a crackdown on Ba'athist and Sunni Islamic insurgents in western Iraq.

Coalition Members:

Iraqi Federalist Gathering

Iraqi Ummah Party

Led by Salih al-Mutlaq

While some members of the National Dialogue Council opted to join the coalition list Iraqi Accordance Front, Salih al-Mutlaq and others from the council formed the Iraqi Front for National Dialogue.

Al-Mutlaq told Al-Arabiya television on 26 October that he and others refused to join the Iraqi Islamic Party in the Accordance Front because of the Islamic Party 's support for the constitution.

The Iraqi Front for National Dialogue (Al-Jabha al-Iraqiyah Ilhiwar al-Watani) is billed as a coalition that is not sectarian-based. "The majority of the National Dialogue Council insists that the list is a national list that includes Iraqis from Al-Basrah to Al-Sulaymaniyah," al-Mutlaq said. "There is no room for us to be narrow-minded and focus on a sectarian bloc or entity, because this constitutes great damage to the country's interests.

We know that we may lose some votes. However, the national project must succeed," he told Al-Arabiya television on 26 October.

Leading personalities on the list include Hasan Zaydan, Fakhri al-Qaysi, Fahran Hawwas al-Sudayd, and Mahmud al-Azzawi.

Parties to the list include: The National Dialogue Council; the Iraqi National Front for a Free and United Iraq; the National Front for Iraq's Tribes; the Arab Democratic Front, which includes the Independent Iraqi National Bloc; the Arab Democratic Party; the Independent National Dialogue Council in Ninawa Governorate, which also includes the Turkoman Front, the Independent Turkoman Movement, and the Turkoman National Front; the Christian Democratic Party; and the Independent National Council in Salah Al-Din.

The list's platform is based on ending the occupation, rebuilding government institutions, and improving the economic and security situation in Iraq.

Coalition Members:

The National Iraqi Front (Salih al-Mutlaq)

Iraqi National Front for a Free and United Iraq

National Front for Iraq's Tribes

Arab Democratic Front

National Front for Iraq's Tribes

The Iraqi Sons Unified Movement

835

Independent Grouping of Iraq's Competent People

Shi'ite

Led by Ali al-Dabbagh

The 120-member “Kafa’at” [Competents] list reportedly includes a number of National Assembly members in addition to candidates from 15 of Iraq’s 18 governorates. Al-Dabbagh said that he withdrew from the UIA in protest of that alliance’s monopolization of power in the current government, where he claims positions were awarded based on membership rather than qualifications, Al-Iraqiyah television reported on 28 October. He has claimed however, that his coalition continues to support the UIA.

Al-Dabbagh told Al-Jazeera television that the platform is built on centrism and moderation; it supports a separation of religion from the state. The list also calls for an end to communal, national, and sectarian polarization and seeks to build a “culture of diversity” based on freedom of speech and freedom of choice.

531

Free Officers and Civilians Movement

Led by Najib al-Salihi

The Free Officers and Civilians Movement’s platform is based on national unity and democracy. The party has called for a review of the constitution; it also supports a rebuilding of the Iraqi army and security services. Al-Salihi has criticized the transitional government for not building an inclusive army, saying the current military is heavily reliant on Shi’ite and Kurdish soldiers. The movement has also called on the government to halt security operations in the Al-Anbar and Diyala governorates, which it says is harming civilians.

541

Future Iraq Grouping

Shi'ite

Led by Ibrahim Bahr al-Ulum

Bahr al-Ulum and parliamentarian Muntasir al-Imarah withdrew from the United Iraqi Alliance (UIA) to form the Future Iraq Grouping (Tajammu Iraq Al-Mustaqbal).

Oil Minister Ibrahim Bahr al-Ulum claims the Future Iraq Grouping (Tajammu ‘Iraq Al-Mustaqbal) unites “independent groups, clerics, tribal leaders, technocrats, intellectuals, and outstanding female activists in various fields,” Radio Free Iraq reported on 30 October.

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 democratic Iraq that protects human rights, where law is the rule and where justice is independent.”

561

Kurdistan Islamic Union

Kurdish

Led by Saladdin Muhammad Bahaddin

The Kurdistan Islamic Union (Yakgrtui Islami Kurdistan) withdrew from the Kurdistan Coalition List in protest against the influence of the two leading parties -- the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) -- in the region's politics. The union claimed that the KDP and PUK falsely reported a high voter turnout in support for the referendum on the constitution in Kurdistan.

In a 19 October statement posted to its website (<http://www.kurdiu.org>), the union said that it is its democratic duty to “not to take part in the [UIA] alliance [that has led] to a stagnation of political life, a [weakened] opposition voice and [a] narrowing [of] the democratic game.”

784

Iraqi National Common Council

Led by Laith Kubba

The list, led by current government spokesman Laith Kubba, claims to be a liberal, democratic, nationalist list made up of some 75 candidates from 12 governorates. Kubba has contended that Iraqis want a road map for their future, with a strong leader whom they trust leading the way. The list calls for a “realistic program” that will unify Iraqi Arabs from Mosul to Al-Basrah.

The list proposes one Arab region spanning the entirety of Iraq south of Kurdistan that would act as a counterweight to the Kurdistan region in terms of political influence and revenues from the central government.

The list calls for the reform of state establishments, rights for women, the building of a strong economic infrastructure, a withdrawal of foreign forces from Iraqi cities, and compensation for those who “suffered losses” under the Hussein regime or subsequent administrations. The list also supports presidential elections through a direct ballot.

Iraq General December Elections FAQ

The Council of Representatives is composed of 275 members, whose members shall be elected by a direct secret ballot to a four year term. In accordance with Article 61(D) of the Transitional Administrative Law, elections for the Council of Representatives shall be held on 15 December 2005.

How are the seats of the Council of Representatives distributed?

Of the 275 seats in the Council, 230 are apportioned to the 18 governorates based on the numbers of persons registered to vote on the IECI voter registry in each governorate for the 30 January 2005 elections.

No	Governorate	Seats
1.	Anbar	9
2.	Babil	11
3.	Baghdad	59
4.	Basrah	16
5.	Diyal	10
6.	Dohuk	7
7.	Erbil	13
8.	Karbala	6
9.	Missan	7
10.	Muthana	5
11.	Najaf	8
12.	Ninewa (Mosul)	19
13.	Qadissiyah	8
14.	Salahaddin	8
15.	Sulaymaniyah	15
16.	Tameem (Kirkuk)	9
17.	Theqar	12
18.	Wassit	8
	TOTAL:	230

The remaining 45 seats are compensatory and national seats. Political entities will win seats in a governorate in proportion to the share of votes they receive in the election in that governorate.

How many political entities are participating in this election?

There are 307 political entities registered with the IECI for the upcoming elections. There are 19 coalitions registered with the IECI. Some political entities will participate as part of a coalition in some governorates, and as an individual political entity in other governorates. However, in order to participate in the election in a governorate, a coalition or political entity must have submitted a candidate list to the IECI for that governorate.

When will the Council of Representatives be installed?

According to the TAL, the Council should assume office no later than 31 December 2005.

OCV Voting

OCV will take place in the following countries subject to host country agreements:

1. Australia
2. Austria
3. Canada
4. Denmark
5. Germany
6. Iran
7. Jordan
8. Lebanon
9. Netherlands
10. Sweden
11. Syria
12. Turkey
13. UAE
14. UK
15. USA

OCV will take place on December 13 - December 15, 2005.

The ballot for the OCV is the National Ballot, which will list the names of all coalitions and political entities that have submitted candidates for any of the governorate elections in Iraq. The voter must choose one of these political entities or coalitions.

Voters Eligibility

Who is entitled to vote:

- Iraqi Citizen
- Not deprived of his/her right to vote
- 18 years of age on the year of the election
- Included in the voters roll
- Voters outside Iraq
- Special Voters categories (detainees, military, police)

Candidate's Eligibility

- 30 years of age
- Not to be included in the de-Ba'athification programme.
- Not to have been illegally enriched.
- Should have not committed a crime of honor.
- High school certificate.
- Must not be a member of the armed forces upon nomination.

No residence requirement for running in a constituency.

One of every three candidates must be a woman.

Ballot Papers

There will be 19 ballot papers. One for each governorate and national ballot paper that will be used for special voting and OCV.

Governorate seats (example on Baghdad Governorate)

Baghdad Governorate has been allocated 59 seats in the national assembly.

After the voting is finished, it is determined that there have been 1,800,000 valid votes counted in the governorate.

The number of candidates and votes for each coalition and individual entity:

	Candidates	Votes
Coalition A	30	200,000
Coalition B	59	1,000,000
Coalition C	35	350,000
Political Entity D	20	140,000
Political Entity E	15	80,000
Independant Entity	1	30,000
TOTAL Baghdad		1,800,000

Step 1

Total number of valid votes is divided by number of seats in the governorate.
 $1,800,000 / 59 = 30,508$ (**Governorate Quota**)

Step 2

Divide the number of votes received by each party or independent candidate by the seat allocation quota.

	Step 2	Step 3	Step 4	Final
Coalition A	$200,000/30,508 = 6,56$	6		6
Coalition B	$1,000,000/30,508 = 32,78$	32	1	33
Coalition C	$350,000/30,508 = 11,47$	11		11
Political Entity D	$140,000/30,508 = 4,59$	4	1	5
Political Entity E	$80,000/30,508 = 2,62$	2	1	3
Independant Entity	$30,000/30,508 = 0,98$	0	1	1
TOTAL Baghdad		55	4	59

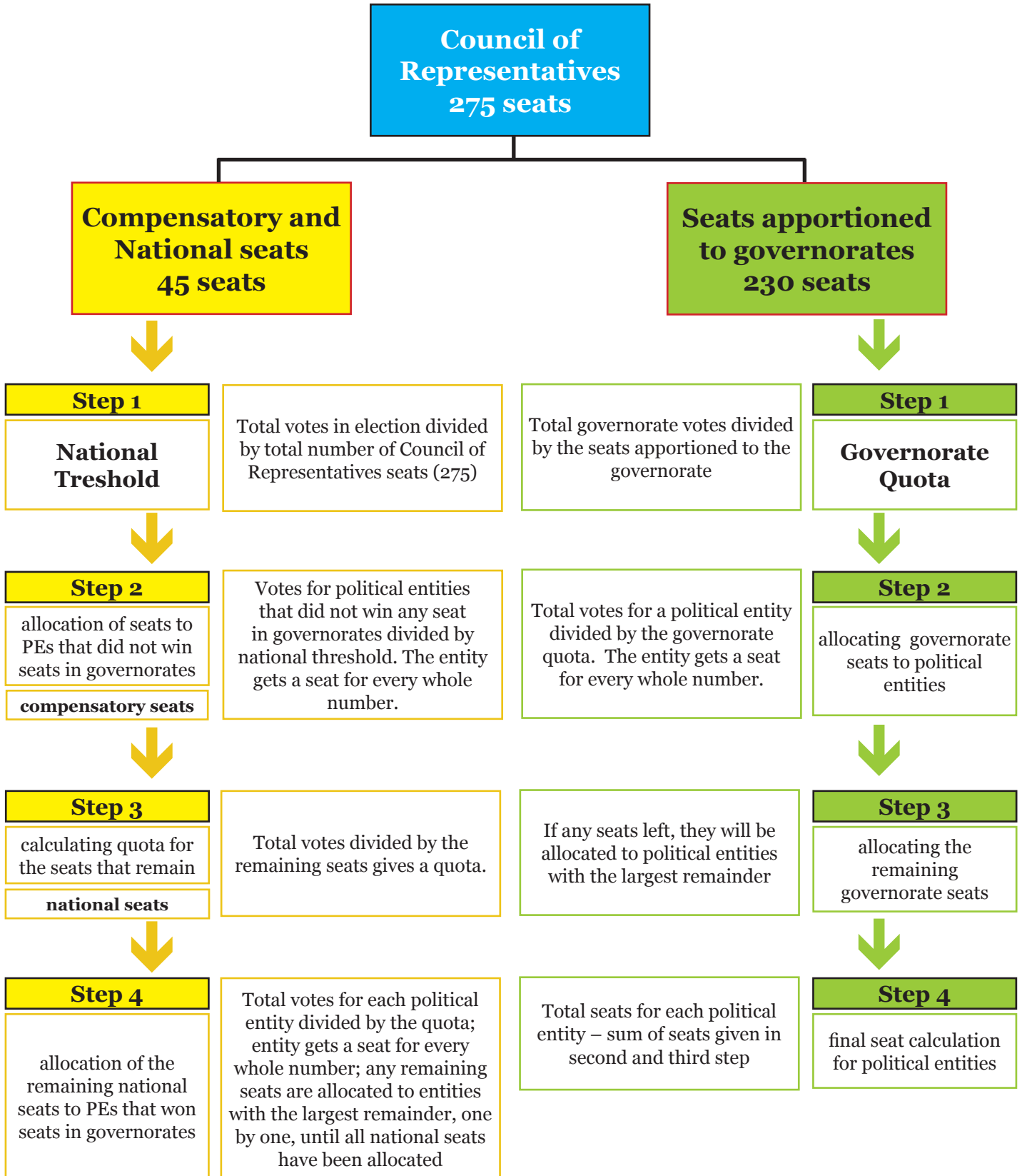
Step 3

Allocate seats according to whole numbers determined from step 2. disregard fractions

Step 4

Allocate remaining seats according to declining order of fractions.

Seat Allocation
For the Council of Representatives Elections
12/15/2005
FLOWCHART



Allocating compensatory seats to the political entities and coalitions

There are 45 “compensatory” seats in the council of representatives

They are called “compensatory seats”, because they are used to help parties who received spread/dispersed vote across the country. With the addition of these seats, each entity/coalition will have a number of seats in the National Assembly that more accurately reflects the number of votes they received.

The “compensatory seats” are divided in two kinds:

- a) Compensatory Seats allocated to entities that did not get governorate seats
- b) National Seats allocated to entities that got governorate seats

For the calculation of the compensatory seats the Out-of-Country, Hospitals and prisoners’ votes must be added to the votes from the governorates.

Awarding Compensatory Seats to Candidates

Compensatory Seats are awarded to individuals from among the governorate lists who did not win a seat;

The IECI will communicate to entities:

- a) How many compensatory seats they have obtained
- b) How many female candidates they have to put forward in order to meet the 25% Constitutional requirement

Step 1

Calculate the total number of votes by adding all the valid votes in all governorates plus the votes cast out-of-country, in hospitals and prisons and detention centers.

(1) Divide the resulting figure by 275

Total Number of Votes / 275 = **National Threshold**

(2) Divide the number of votes of each party that did not win governorate seats by the National Threshold.

Step 2

Entitled parties will be allocated full numbers resulting from the Step 1 (2).

Step 3

Deduct from 45 the number seats allocated (N) to entities that did not win governorate seats and those won by individual entities. (45 - N)

Total Number of Votes ÷ (45 - N) = **National Seats Threshold**

Step 4

Divide the total number of votes each entity (that won governorate seats) in all governorates including votes cast out-of-country, hospitals and prisons and detention centers by the National Seats Threshold=number of compensatory seats/entity

Calculate full numbers and remainders

When the full numbers are allocated, allocate largest remainders until all remaining seats are allocated.

What are the rules for making a candidate list?

1.) The list can include a minimum of 3 candidates (with the exception of the individual candidates) and up to 100 percent of the number of seats allocated to the governorate.

Example:

Governorate "X" has been allocated seven seats. Then any entity who is competing for the National Assembly in Governorate "X" can list up between 3 and 7 names on its candidate list.

2.) At least every third candidate of any list must be women.

3.) Seats shall be awarded to candidates and not political entities. No political entity may withdraw from a candidate the seat awarded to him.