

THE IMPACT OF IRAQI POLITICAL DISCOURSE AFTER 2003 ON IRAQI FOREIGN POLICY

Khalid Farhood Jdaem, Imad Mohamedsalih Abdulhussein, Oday Abdulaali Kadhim

Department of R&T, College of Media, University of Thi-Qar, Iraq
College of Media, Department of Digital Media, University of Thi-Qar, Iraq
College of Nursing

emad.alassad@utq.edu.iq, khalid.farhood.a@utq.edu.iq, oday.abdulaali.kadhim@utq.edu.iq

Abstract

Every country in the world must have a political discourse that defines its domestic and foreign policy, and this discourse must be based on concepts and programs that serve its basic interests. Discourse is not just a passing speech or act in the global political arena, but rather a constant element that determines the orientation and role of the state, defines its borders and its relationship with other countries, especially neighboring countries as well as countries in the region, and then extends to the outside world. Therefore, it is necessary to know the nature of the Iraqi Islamic political discourse after 2003, which is considered a separation between two different political systems, as this current regime came after the American occupation of Iraq and adopts democracy and pluralism in managing the state and determining foreign policy. The research sheds light on the nature of Iraqi political discourse and its trends, especially in light of the complex internal and external circumstances, and whether terrorism has positively affected the return of Iraqi political discourse to the right track, and the extent to which the authors of the discourse exploit this matter to improve their situation and their future in light of the crises and instability that the world is experiencing, especially in the Middle East. Where the speech before 2003 carried a nationalist speech and carried some

Keywords: political discourse - foreign policy - political system - regional crises

Introduction

The Iraqi political discourse was the basis for determining the course of the Iraqi political system and its foreign policy and determining the course of foreign policy at the regional and international levels. As we know, the discourse before 2003 took an Arab nationalist discourse, but after 4/9/2003 it took the style of sectarian Islamic discourse in its relationship with the countries of the world and the region. The political discourse It is not just passing words, actions or deeds in the world of international politics. . Rather, it is one of the vital constants that determine the direction of this or that country, and define its borders and its global role and the world. The nature of its relations with other countries, especially its neighbors and countries in the region, is changing. In turn to the outside world, political discourse therefore tends to reflect

the nature of the regime, the degree of its respect for the rights of its people, the transparency and nature of the economic system, and the limits of freedoms granted to the people. All this is on the internal level. As for the external level, it should start from the country's national interests, especially the influence of the political world is the most prominent, and the Islamic and political worlds play an important role in defining and describing international relations and dealing with them. Face

Differences and tensions, recognize and establish alliances, gain friendships, and solve problems through mediation for the advancement and development of your nation.

Research Importance

The importance of this research lies in the following points:

1. Providing a discussion about a major transformation represented in the practical application of democracy in state administration. Especially after 2003, and its impact on the quality of Iraqi Islamic political discourse and its foreign policy.
2. Revealing the understanding and strength of the parties that represent the political and Islamic discourse in Iraq, and that make it influential. The most prominent influential people in supporting or reducing the impact of this speech are also indicated
3. Proposing some recommendations and solutions that help improve the effectiveness and impact of political and Islamic discourse, especially foreign relations

Research problem

The problem of this research is that the political discourse in Iraq after 2003 is considered a temporary and strategic discourse in terms of timing and place, as this discourse was dispersed and changed due to sectarian and ethnic tensions that kept it away from its true goals. What is the nature of Islamic political discourse in Iraq and its trends after 2003 in light of a complex period and environment internally and externally? Did terrorism contribute positively to putting Iraqi political discourse back on the right track, and to what extent did the proponents of this discourse exploit this to enhance and develop their reality and future?

Research hypothesis

There is a hypothesis in this research that says that adhering to national affiliation only and bringing in or ignoring other affiliations in political work and managing the country, whether internally or externally, in addition to maintaining a single interaction with all regional and international political entities, will make the Iraqi Islamic political discourse effective and influential in its foreign relations and their future. On the other hand, it will be able to confront all local and international crises. If the discourse abandons this, it will continue to decline and will be an ineffective or ineffective discourse.

Research Methodology

The analytical approach of discourse analysis was used to understand and analyze the current situation of political and Islamic discourse in Iraq, with the aim of understanding the problem and answering the questions raised. The historical approach was also used to understand the nature of Islamic political discourse before 2003, and we used the forward-looking approach to draw future possibilities for Islamic political discourse in Iraq in the short and medium term

based on the current reality. This is in order to link all these findings and explanations together in the research.

Search structure

The methodology of this research was revised into three sections, in addition to the introduction and conclusion, in which the most important results and recommendations were pointed out. The first section focuses on the Iraqi Islamic political discourse after 2003 and deals with its nature, characteristics, and trends at the internal, regional, and international levels. While the second section reviews the response of Iraqi Islamic political discourse to regional crises. Including the Syrian crisis, the Gulf crisis, the right-wing crisis, the crisis of the US-Iranian nuclear agreement, in addition to the crisis of the American recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. The third section deals with expectations for the future of Iraqi Islamic political discourse between continuity and escalation or cessation and decline in the near or medium future.

The first topic

Iraqi political discourse after 2003

Political discourse is usually known as the main language or performance for performing political actions and pushing the political agenda to bring about political changes. Political discourse represents a theoretical concept based on perceptions organized within logical frameworks that represent the political reality in any society and within a specific time frame. In addition, political discourse is a declared message to the state. Explains its formal and informal institutional work. Political discourse can also indicate political meanings and understanding by expressing it in a linguistic and profound manner that expresses details and conclusions in order to persuade and gain everyone's trust through the ability to convey the point of view of the masses politically at home and to the entire world abroad. This is done in order to maintain the authority of a political system. Strong, effective and influential, because the issue of preserving the chain can only be resolved through the basis of its internally and externally directed political discourse, which is first represented by the president or the person in power (the king) or any other authority in the state that possesses these students whose actions are translated within and outside the borders of the state. This also applies to Iraqi Islamic political discourse, which has a long history dating back to the emergence of the modern Iraqi state. Although this discourse was controlled to some extent by the British during the British mandate over Iraq until 1932, differences continued in its form, content, and characteristics according to each political system and the nature of the culture of the ruling political class at different historical stages, facing many challenges that... I worked on .It was formulated and strengthened to become more systematic and deliberate, especially in the early twentieth century or in the forties and fifties. But it did not take long until this discourse was described as a discourse of crisis power affecting the unstable political situation under a highly centralized and totalitarian regime, as it began to be expressed as a media discourse that reflects the individual's system of rule . Consequently, he faced significant opposition starting in 1990 or much earlier, and this seems somewhat normal if we take into account the great challenges facing political discourse both in Iraq and in the developed

world. Especially after World War II and the issuance of the Universal Human Rights Law in 1948, there were tremendous innovations in tactics, science, revolution, and expression, whether by political actors in the government . or by parties and organizations, or even by journalists, given that the media is considered the authority. Fourth, based on this, we will attempt in this research to address the nature, types and characteristics of Iraqi political discourse, especially after 2003, and then identify the trends of this discourse during this stage ٥

First: The political discourse in Iraq after 2003 is characterized by its special nature

The American occupation of Iraq in 2003 led to major political transformations in the country, especially in the political system, as a new Iraqi political discourse developed, different from the previous discourse. Although delving into the nature of Iraqi Islamic political discourse is not a new topic, the methods, methodologies, and angles of view It has been renewed, especially in the last two decades. Therefore, in order to understand the political discourse correctly, then use linguistic, cultural and semiotic research methods to uncover new points contained in the political discourse through linguistic regularity. It is important to understand the physical presence of a politician, the things he carries, the signals he sends, the tone of his voice, and other signs. It is also necessary to know the background of his speech and the historical contexts that affect his performance and ideas, whether it is based on religion, physical, cultural, economic, social, or other. It is also necessary to know the audience it targets, internally and externally, and the means it uses to influence it. Given this, the distinctive feature of the new Iraqi political discourse is the extent to which it interacts with the individual citizen and the groups to which he belongs, partisan political groupings, blocs, or even local organizations. This, in turn, will contribute to raising the level of vision among citizens and their influence in developing actions and ideas in the country in 2003. Iraq has become an independent state again and needs transparent and interactive political directives linking it to the Islamic community. This role aims to control trends and interactions within and outside national borders, taking into account the democratic principles represented in the political discourse after 2003. In 2003, the political system in Iraq witnessed a transformation as the country became federal with a democratic, representative, republican system of government. This diversity in the forms of governance systems requires strengthening political action and ensuring the existence of an acceptable political discourse that can deal with controversial issues at the local, regional and international levels. However, criticism has been directed at the political discourse in Iraq in that period since the beginning of the formation of the political process in 2004. This discourse is considered chaotic and scattered. It depends on personal and collective emotions that destroy awareness. These speeches are characterized by reliance on individual testimonies rather than dialogue, and include personal accusations. The previous paragraph refers to the term “documentary discourse,” which deviates significantly from deep analysis of workflow and performance, blurring the other rather than providing practical criticism that enhances the political awareness of the masses. On the contrary, Iraqi political discourse seems to pretend to be balanced, but actions are contrary to this balance and move away from it.

Second: Political discourse in Iraq and its types

When it comes to political discourse, it is a means of expressing the projects, visions, orientations, and positions of others, and of influencing their behavior. Discourse consists of three main elements, namely the speaker, the message, and the audience. These elements are considered inputs and nutrients to the political system, as it determines its orientations and positions towards various issues. Accordingly, political discourse can be divided into three main types, which are:

- Academic political educational discourse includes political educational research publications and contributions at the level of curricula and information.
- Mass political discourse is an advocacy or inflammatory text usually linked to events and crises. It takes the form of political news, full texts, songs, slogans, and even in the form of a joke.

Reflective ideological discourse is the discourse that is discussed and developed by thinkers or intellectual groups that work to spread it across historical periods, in addition to being adopted by political and religious organizations such as parties, pressure groups, and interest groups. This carefully constructed discourse is surrounded by the power of correct statements that It is proven through logical introductions and conclusions from the point of view of its author.

The second topic

Iraqi political discourse responded to regional crises

After the interactions of Iraqi Islamic political discourse before 2003 aimed to achieve Arab national identity, adopt the socialist model in managing the economy, and move towards non-possession; The power of decision-making at that time was linked to one person, the President of the Republic and the leader of the ruling party, and it did not allow for the existence of multiple centers of power. With the emergence of new Iraqi leaders. The political system became more influenced by external supporters who worked to maintain this system, and their influence reached even the political decision and the shape of the political and electoral map, where political pluralism and contradictory viewpoints replaced national identity, and were linked to a strong central government. But without a common vision for the future of Iraq, the political process increased disharmony and division in positions, which led to the disintegration of Iraq .The democratic transition in Iraq was an important event in Iraqi political life in particular, as it included all internal and external political levels. However, the impact of Iraq's foreign political discourse was not satisfactory, although the Iraqi Constitution of 2005 was keen to strengthen the independence of Iraqi political discourse and take into account the principles of good neighborliness and non-interference in the affairs of other countries. This vision was further strengthened in the Iraqi National Security Strategy for 2007, when the Iraqis realized that they needed to build serious regional and international relations and for the political discourse to be interactive with issues and crises, especially regional issues, in a different way than it was in the previous stage. And therefore. The new Iraqi political discourse sought to build the Iraqi state and restore relations with other countries.

The new Iraqi political discourse aimed to build a strong state in Iraq and re-strengthen its regional and international relations. It also aimed to rebuild the Iraqi economy strongly, through specific basic foundations. and the most important.

1. Exploitation of the United States of America.
2. Strengthening Iraqi diplomacy to transfer Iraq's foreign political discourse to theoretical directions aimed at restoring confidence and expanding relations with the outside world
3. Restoring constructive and positive interaction with all Arab countries within the framework of common interests to work towards achieving Arab collective action.
4. Preventing any international forces from interfering in Iraq's internal affairs.

Given this, and since the Iraqi constitution was approved in 2005, Iraq has developed its relations with others based on mutual respect and common interests and positively with all countries of the world, despite the difficult circumstances that Iraq is going through until today. However, the Iraqi discourse has been subject to significant goodness since 2011 as a result of the growing popular protest revolutions known as the Arab Spring revolutions and internal and external crises, including the issue of terrorism to which the region has been exposed and is still exposed, which has turned Iraq into an arena of war and settling scores. This situation continued until 2011. 2014, when terrorism took control of a third of Iraq's territory, and at that time he decided to use that as a catalyst to reunite his political discourse again, especially after his attempt to fight terrorism, achieve victory, and liberate the land. In this speech, the speaker tried to explain to the audience the positions and roles it took regarding the issues and crises faced by Iraq, the Arab region, and the Middle East in particular. He touched on the ruling regimes that were overthrown and the armed organizations that emerged as a result.

For this reason, this research will attempt to monitor how Iraqi Islamic political discourse responds to these crises and important issues

Regarding the crises in Syria

Since the beginning of the Syrian crisis in March 2011, and as a result of popular protests. The crisis helped. Which led to the outbreak of civil war in Syria, and made it a home for terrorism from more than one country. Pro- and anti-regime militias have also spread, causing the death of nearly a quarter of a million people, according to estimates by Human Rights Watch for the year 2018, in addition to the mass migration of six million people. As for the Syrians who are still in the country, they are in dire need of assistance, as their number is estimated at about 12 million people. , including six million children.

Given this, the Iraqi speech categorically supported the Syrian government and stood by it. There are internal reasons for this matter, as the Syrian crisis is complex and contains many warring factions and internal disputes. In addition, there is extremism and terrorism in some of these issues. The conflict area also extends to include the United Nations. Syrian stoning, so the political discourse considered working with the Syrian authority as a warning against the spread of the influence of these events to Iraq. The clarity of this warning can be seen in the warning of

the previous Iraqi government on February 27, 2013 that the success of the Syrian opposition would lead to civil war in Iraq, especially when the Iraqi forces began to clash with the Syrian opposition in March 2013 at the Yarubiyah border crossing. Accordingly, the Iraqi government's engagement with the Syrian regime led to coordination in the political discourse of both countries to support and address the Syrian crisis.

With regard to the Yemeni crises

At the beginning of 2011, Yemen began to witness widespread protests demanding the overthrow of the regime of President Ali Abdullah Saleh. This crisis gradually spread despite the introduction of an initiative by Saudi Arabia, the United States of America, and the European Union, the Gulf Initiative Al-Hasala, according to which the Yemeni leadership was handed over to Yemeni Vice President Abd Rabbuh Mansour Hadi. However, this measure was not satisfied by all parties, especially since the opposition in Yemen was divided between the Houthis in the north and supporters of the popular movement in the south who demand independence and federalism, and after Houthi elements entered Sanaa to seize power. With the absence of trust and political divisions, the Yemeni crisis continued to escalate until 2014, and as a result of the Houthi intervention and seizure of power, it reached Saudi military intervention in 2015 with the Arab Gulf states in the framework of the so-called "Decisive Storm" led by Saudi Arabia. The crisis caused catastrophic negative results in the food aspects. Yemeni economic, social and security issues, as the United Nations estimates that about 8.4 million people suffer from food insecurity. In view of this, Iraq's political discourse came to express its position on this crisis and reaffirm its external role, especially its regional role.

Regarding the Gulf crises

On May 24, 2017, the Saudi and Emirati media launched a strong media campaign against Qatar and this was accompanied by the severing of diplomatic and economic relations. The matter developed such that Bahrain and Egypt remained silent, while Saudi Arabia and the Emirates remained silent about it. The stated reason was the statements attributed to the Emir of Qatar, Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad, at midnight on May 23, 2017, in which he praised Iran and declared that the Islamic Resistance Movement, Hamas, is the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The Qatari side announced that these statements are incorrect and that the Qatar News Agency has been hacked and the good has been ruined.

However, this did not stop Saudi Arabia and its allies from severing their relations with Qatar due to its support for terrorism and extremism and its interference in the affairs of Arab countries, which threatens international peace and security. Despite this, Qatar responded by calling for dialogue. As a result, Qatar moved towards regional and global countries,

Especially the United States of America, with which it signed the anti-terrorism agreement, in addition to Iran and Turkey, which provided aid and support to it. Qatar also moved towards regional and international grievances, such as the World Trade Organization and the International Aviation Organization, due to the blockade imposed on it, which is considered a violation of international laws. In addition to Russian, Chinese, British and French support at the international level, and this coincided with the decline in relative American influence in the

region in order to address and resolve the crisis, Iraq announced its position and interaction with it through a supportive speech for Qatar, based on the project of openness that Iraq adopted in the regional environment and away from differences. And the crises in the Middle East, especially since Qatar strengthened this support by expressing its deep concern about the referendum in the Iraqi Kurdistan region, which poses a threat to the unity of Iraq and the stability of the region, which increased the rapprochement and repeated visits between Iraq and Qatar during the year 2017, while the Iraqi political discourse stressed that the new Iraq does not differentiate between one country and another and makes every effort to be a factor of political, economic and security stability between itself and its brothers. The Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced on November 13, 2017 that Iraq stands at the same distance from everyone, and it is not the distance of neutrality, but rather the distance of other movement and communication with brothers to reduce the gaps.

Regarding the crises in the region regarding the recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel

On December 6, 2017, US President Trump recognized Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, which led to the creation of great confrontation, rejection, and anger by many countries of the world, especially by Palestinians and Arabs. As a result, a number of martyrs and wounded fell, especially in East Jerusalem, which has an absolute Arab majority (Muslims and Christians). What made the matter more complicated was the United States of America moving its embassy to Jerusalem and opening it on May 14, 2018 in the presence of a number of international representatives . This American policy represented a major contradiction in its policy towards the Palestinian issue, which has been based for decades on not recognizing Israeli sovereignty over Jerusalem. One of the most prominent consequences of the United States of America opening a new location for its embassy in Jerusalem is, firstly, the clear American recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, and secondly. It is considered a negative for the rights of the Palestinian people, in addition to implementing a policy of racial discrimination among Palestinians

And the Israelis in all aspects of life, thirdly, canceling all previous agreements regarding the non-practice of violence against civilians by the occupying countries” .and finally, the American President carrying out this action after ending the issue of internationalizing the Jerusalem issue, which was implemented in accordance with United Nations Resolution No. 81 on November 29, 1947 Accordingly, the language of the Iraqi political discourse towards this crisis was divided between a popular, religious and official movement. At the popular level, a great wave of rejection spread throughout Iraq and among all people’s circles. As for the religious movement, it was represented by the clerics’ response to this American decision and denounced it, as the religious authority, Ali al-Sistani, called for assistance from In order to return Jerusalem to its people. As for the head of the Sunni Endowment, Abdul Latif Al-Humaim, he described this decision as a major conspiracy against the region. As for the most important official movement that expresses the Iraqi political discourse, it was represented by Iraq’s handing over of the American ambassador, Douglas Silliman, a memorandum that categorically rejects this decision as it represents an injustice. To the Palestinian people, a similar rejection was also issued by the

former head of the legislative authority, Salim al-Jubouri. On May 14, 2018, the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued an official statement clarifying Iraq's position on the American decision of US President Trump, which stated that moving the American embassy to the city of Jerusalem and the insistence on recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of the Zionist entity is a matter of anger to hundreds of millions of Arabs, Muslims and Christians around the world and a blatant violation of international resolutions and the path of peace.

The Iraqi political discourse also stated its position rejecting this decision more than once on 18/Bar/2018, and during the extraordinary summit of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation to support the Palestinian people, the Iraqi Foreign Minister called for adopting practical steps to put an end to the Israeli violations against the Palestinian people. Accordingly, this crisis represented a factor that unites the Iraqi people, government and people, and the language of political discourse in dealing with this crisis did not deviate from the path of Iraq's history in defending the Palestinian cause as a fundamental issue for Iraq and the entire Arab and Islamic nation, and in continuation of Iraqi support for this crisis and standing by the Palestinian people, Iraq enlisted its support for the Palestinian cause in Emergency meeting of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation

At its public headquarters in Saudi Arabia, on September 15, 2019, to discuss the dangerous Israeli escalation represented by the announcement by the Prime Minister of the Zionist entity of his intention to annex lands of occupied Arab status in the event of his re-election. By imposing sovereignty over all areas of the Jordan Valley, the Dead Sea Sea, and the occupied Arab settlements. The Iraqi speech came in support of the meeting's decisions to impose economic and political sanctions on the Zionist entity and boycott it in order to end the occupation and enable the Palestinian people to exercise their right and self-determination.

The third topic

Expectations of the future of Iraqi Islamic political discourse

After the war and occupation of Iraq in 2003, a major political and strategic shift occurred. The United States of America and its allies ended the existing political system in Iraq, which made the Middle East region and the existing political systems in it face new requirements in terms of security and politics. The new political system and its discourse were completely different from the previous regime, which raised different political visions towards Iraq and the relations and policies related to it .. Despite the changes that Iraq has witnessed, it still plays an effective role and great importance as a geopolitical center at the regional and international levels. Iraq has made attempts to restore its effective role in confronting crises, by unifying internal political discourse since 2014, after fighting terrorism and ISIS and achieving victory over them. After that, Iraq began to focus on restoring its external role and contributing to resolving many crises in Syria, Yemen, and the Gulf, in addition to the crisis in Jerusalem and the US-Iranian nuclear agreement. In this research, the future possibilities of the Iraqi political discourse will be established through two possibilities. The first will include the continuation and rise of Iraq's regional and international role, while the second possibility will include a decline and cessation

in the political role and nature of Iraq. The circumstances, motives, and factors influencing each possibility will be reviewed, with one preferred over the other.

First: The possibility of the continuation and escalation of Islamic political discourse within Iraq may increase: Talking about the continuation and escalation of Islamic political discourse requires compliance with certain conditions. One of the most important is the cooperation of all political parties for the success of this process, by prioritizing the supreme national interest over any individual or partisan interests. Citizens at home, and regimes and peoples abroad, are greatly influenced by the Islamic political discourse issued by the ruling regime, that is, the political parties participating in the administration of the state. He deals with the state accordingly through unity of discourse, national interest, balanced presentation, and strategic stability. These matters will certainly be given attention and respect at the international level, given the international and regional developments and political transformations that have occurred in some countries in the Middle East and the world, and what is related to them.

Regional issues, especially Arab ones, such as the changes that occurred in the positions of the Arab and Gulf countries towards the Syrian crisis and the position towards the Syrian regime in addition to the transformations regarding the Yemeni crisis, as well as the movements of the American administration in the region, whether with regard to withdrawal from Syria and redeployment in Iraq or Regarding the movements of US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo and his tour in the Middle East and its possible and non-status results, many questions arise about Iraq's position and the nature of its political discourse regarding these regional changes and developments, whether with regard to its position on the policy of axes in the region or with regard to the nature of its dealings with those policies surreptitiously. After the victory over terrorism in 2017 and accordingly, the success of the continuation and assistance of the Iraqi political discourse assumes that there will be a change in the political reality in terms of success in building real Iraqi citizenship and real democratic transformation, which will enhance the construction and success and have an impact on the Iraqi political discourse in the near or medium future.

Second: The possibility of a change and decline in the course and nature of Islamic political discourse may appear in Iraq: away from federalism, which may lead to the division of Iraq and the fragmentation of its unity. These are factors that support this possibility. The political withdrawal of the Iraqi citizen threatens the future of the political and Islamic parties and blocs . which means that they will respond. The will of the citizen to survive in the political arena. The continued interference of neighboring countries, especially Iran, and allowing it to interfere in Iraqi affairs has a significant negative impact on the Iraqi Islamic political discourse and its nature, in addition to not allowing civil organizations to play a complementary role with the authority, achieving a real democratic transformation and building a strong patriotism that contributes to building the programs of national political parties away from Sectarian or constituent affiliations, which achieves Iraqi citizenship and comprehensive national reconciliation with all members of the Arab tribe. Protect and prohibit sectarianism and abandon sub-national, sectarian, and sectarian loyalties in favor of national loyalty to Al-Maraq. Some

also believe that Iraq will be the focus of the international regional conflict between the United States and its allies, Iran, and its political and military arms, especially since the Iraqi political arena is still a place of clashes between international and regional axes. Non-existent political stability is a permanent feature of the Iraqi political scene. There are many problems that did not occur

The government and the Iraqi Council of Representatives have been able to overcome it so far whether with regard to the formation of governments or their general programs in addressing the economic reality and lagging services. Therefore, some resent that the government's continued inability to achieve consensus through implementing reforms is disheartening for the demonstrators and the people in general. It will lead to a noticeable decline in its authority and citizens' confidence in it. And the political perception in their eyes, and the current and subsequent interactions between the government and the demonstrators and other points of view will affect the political process.

A report issued by the International Center for Development Studies in London also provides statistics indicating the deterioration of economic stability and security linked to the problem of financial and administrative corruption in Iraq. According to the report, Iraq achieved financial surpluses estimated at \$700 billion during the period between 2005 and 2014, but they ended up going to the corrupt political class, and they could have contributed to the reconstruction of Iraq and transformed it into a modern state with prosperity and prosperity. In addition, the head of the Integrity Committee in the Iraqi House of Representatives, Representative Adel Nouri, indicated that the Iraqi government spent \$600 billion without receipts documenting the exchange doors in 2016. The government also wasted an amount of \$206 billion in fictitious contracts or royal projects, and these projects included 90 thousand projects in the sectors of roads, bridges, hospitals, schools and real estate, according to the Transparency International report for the year 2019. Iraq comes after Syria among the six countries with the most wealth in terms of the country's wealth among 70 countries in the world. As a result, the phenomenon of financial corruption in Iraq expanded to include the entire economic structure, leading to widespread unemployment that exceeded 31%, an increase in the level of extreme poverty to 35%, and an increase in the number of illiterate people to 7 million people. Drug dealing has become a problem affecting 21 Iraqi youth, in addition to the lack of justice in the employment process due to the parties and militias dominating state mechanisms. Therefore, this situation would

It may lead to an outbreak of economic instability, and thus weak and fragmented political discourses will appear, enhancing the possibilities of a strong decline in the future.

Because of the inability of previous Iraqi governments to eliminate the proliferation of weapons outside the framework of the state. In the absence of a clear campaign to restrict these weapons, the Iraqi government will find itself in a difficult position in front of local and international public opinion. The United States has begun to resend its forces to Iraq in anticipation of its role, which is equivalent to the Iranian role in the country. Corruption, political

instability, and the fight against terrorism will have different roles in the mind of the American politician to keep his forces in Iraq. This causes Iraq's position to be weak and it will not be able to keep pace with local, regional and international developments. This will certainly affect his political discourse and the nature of his rule. Accordingly, the chances of this scenario occurring in the near or medium future will increase.

Conclusion and recommendations

The study represents the basic orientation on which research perceptions are based on the nature of Iraqi Islamic political discourse and the extent of its impact on Iraq's foreign relations and their future, according to the data mentioned in the research at the internal and external levels. Transitioning from one state to another by force is not easy, especially if it results in a radical change in the governance structure, and this is what happened in Iraq, which entered under a barbaric occupation that overthrew its entire political system and brought in a new system filled with chaos, fragmentation, and instability in the language of its political discourse. This regime is new in how it deals with this language, which is the basis of its internal and external orientations at the regional and international levels. It has little experience, and the success of the state and its political system is linked to it, or setback, retreat, and lag further behind the world of scientific and technological revolutions and rapid changes. The study answered the problem he identified in its introduction, proving the hypothesis that outlined future possibilities regarding the interaction and growth of this discourse in the future. We noticed the instability and imbalance of Iraqi political discourse. In addition to corruption and sectarianism, which greatly affected the unity of this discourse. In addition to that, terrorism struck the state, its institutions, and all its citizens, which inadvertently led to the reunification of political discourse. The Iraqi government and its interaction within its regional framework in order to restore its prestigious and important role, despite the fact that this discourse seems to be oscillating, especially at the external level, by leaning towards a specific party and not another - and accordingly, it came out with a set of conclusions, which are as follows:

1. The process of Islamic political change in Iraq and the recognition of a permanent constitution for the state in 2005 comes to prove the basic strength elements of political discourse. This is done by providing the best guarantees for the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms, especially affirming the principle of legality, the rule of law, the principle of separation of powers, and the independence of the judiciary, in addition to providing an opportunity for the individual to exercise his right to appeal judicial rulings. Also, the government of law, the principle of the age of the constitution, and the role of monitoring the constitutionality of laws are affirmed. It encourages the peaceful transfer of power through periodic elections. Iraq adopts a federal, republican political system and allows political pluralism through popular participation in decision-making by electing its representatives. In addition, civil society institutions present themselves as a means of transitioning to a democratic system and affirming the political, social, economic and civil rights of all members of the public.

2. The American occupation is the main reason for the exacerbation of the problems that Iraq suffers from, such as the lack of participation in the political process, legitimacy and credibility, political and social incompatibility, and the division and clash of Iraqis. This led to the emergence of a new class of Iraqi leaders, who lack confidence and see in building the Iraqi state and citizenship only a means of uplifting and restoring previous privileges. As a result, terrorism controlled a third of Iraq's area in 2014, and all of this affected Iraq's internal and external political orientations.

3. In the industrial, agricultural and commercial productive sectors, there is clear neglect. The average income per person is low and oil is still the main source of Iraq's general budget. This means that Iraq is still dependent on oil and this represents an obstacle to strengthening democracy and the strength of political discourse. In addition, there are widespread problems of corruption, bribery, lack of oversight, high rates of poverty, unemployment, chaos, flames, lack of services, the spread of diseases and deaths among children, and violations of various human rights.

4. The Islamic political discourse of the Iraqi leaders and the way they deal with the tools of power show that they are always in conflict over them, and this only indicates the chaos in the administration of the state. It also shows the existence of a crisis of trust, suspicion, and a conspiracy mentality in the ongoing political process today, and the violation of the principle of separation of powers and its transformation into real interference. Between them.

5. The intervention of foreign countries, especially the countries neighboring Iraq, had a major impact in destabilizing Iraq and pushing its social groups into conflict among themselves. All of these countries were held responsible for obstructing the building of a real state, especially with the presence of local parties linked to external, not national, loyalties. Consequently, much of the Iraqi political discourse was affected. Based on these and other results, and in order to develop solutions to reshape a strong and influential Islamic political discourse internally, regionally and internationally, and has an effective role in leading and solving problems and confronting any crisis, especially regional crises. It provides a set of recommendations:

Establishing a just and democratic government in Iraq that avoids division, partisanship, and nationalism, brings together all Iraqis, makes justice and charity its main goal, and encourages the Iraqi people, through its tolerant and cultured kings, to abandon fear and aspire to a free future for the citizen and future generations. This will make the Iraqi Islamic political discourse greatly influential. And a prominent role. Political forces require that they be at a high level in spreading Islamic political awareness among people so that they become civilizational tools in consolidating the concept of citizenship that cannot be defined or distorted, but rather its culture and values must be spread. Because this has a major impact on building the Iraqi national identity, in addition to the educated elites' implementation of their role in spreading the culture of non-violence and tolerance among people. The intellectual bears a responsibility towards his people, not only to authority and institutions, but it means commitment to the

intellectual's message towards his people wherever they are. Working to strengthen Iraqi identity requires focusing on the spirit of citizenship and preferring it over narrow loyalties, and raising the awareness of the Iraqi individual in the political field in a way that leads to the rejection of terrorism and the encouragement of dialogue, tolerance, and acceptance of compromise solutions in order to restore the authority of Islamic political discourse. The development process in Iraq aims to improve the economic situation through developing the agriculture, industry and trade sectors and establishing an effective financial system that contributes to achieving a fair distribution of wealth and eliminating the problem of unemployment facing the labor market.

1. It means adopting a policy of good neighborliness by the Iraqi government and developing relations at various levels. All neighboring countries act based on their own interests, not the interest of Iraq, and Iraq's interest and independence will not be achieved except by the cohesion of its people and their gathering behind a real and appropriate government for and from them.

2. It is necessary to make constitutional amendments that are consistent with the new requirements, with the aim of leaving no room for interpretations and changes made by the political blocs, and to open suspicious texts and implement them clearly and not tamper with them. The political class must also commit to a balanced political discourse that is consistent with the changes taking place.

3. Avoiding the idea of sectarian and political discrimination, committing to justice, objectivity and efficiency in all matters and issues, ensuring public participation in the decision-making process and public policies, rejecting policies of exclusion, marginalization, discrimination, injustice and deprivation, and respecting human rights in a way that guarantees everyone the freedom to express their beliefs, opinions and rituals under the law.

4. Emphasizing the principle of separation of powers, their balance, mutual oversight, and the judicial authority is the axis protecting all rights in Iraq. It is important that we work to develop the judiciary and assign a special constitutional court to undertake constitutional oversight. All state actions are subject to its oversight and not exploited, especially actions related to citizen rights.

5. Amending and revising consensual mechanisms, whether fixed in the constitution, electoral laws, or in many of the agreements that govern the relationship between political blocs, with the aim of overcoming consensual restrictions and trying to achieve systems similar to those in which some countries have succeeded.

6. Community organizations must be encouraged to carry out their duty as a third partner in the process of building citizenship and developing democracy, and make these organizations aware of their social and economic responsibility, and not allow any party to politicize them for their personal benefit. Moreover, the role of public opinion must be activated and people encouraged to participate in public life.

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