

**THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN THE LEFT AND RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT IN IRAQ:  
AN ASSESSMENT**

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**ABSTRACT**

This paper will examine the reasons for the emergence of the electoral coalition for the last May 2018 Iraqi parliamentary elections between the Sadrist (Islamic) movement, the large grassroots movement in Iraq, which contains large marginalized people of lower classes, and the Marxist leftist movement, the Communist Party in Iraq, which calls theoretically and practically to defend the interests of the poor masses. What are the reasons for such alliance that was called Sairoon (Marchers) between the two different ideologies and movements? How such alliance was received by the public in Iraq? Has the coalition achieved tangible election results? What are the prospects of such alliance? Can this alliance survive, or its path is a failure due to ideological differences and the nature of leadership in the Sadrist movement? Can the alliance affect Iraq's political, economic and social future? Finally, what is the near future of this alliance and the long-term effect. This paper will try to answer these questions and to provide a political background for this event.

**KEYWORDS:** Iraq, Iran, Communists, Al-Sadr Movement, Civic Society, Islamists

**INTRODUCTION**

In preparing for then the upcoming May 12, 2018 Iraqi parliamentary election, a unique electoral alliance emerged between the moderate Shiite Islamist Sadrist movement and some secular parties, specifically the prominent Iraqi Community Party. This was a surprised move by the popular and controversial leader Muqtada al-Sadr to contest the Iraqi legislative elections in May 2018, the first of its kind in the history of Iraqi elections. This alliance between the two parties aim to reform Iraqi politics and government where they have been fighting together for more than two years against sectarianism in Iraq and in its governorates (provinces). This al-Sadr move has surpassed all expectations and blew up a new surprise by announcing such alliance with leftist and civil parties. This adds more to his record of surprises over the last few years, the most prominent of which was the exodus from the Iranian coat, and the rebellion against the Shiite ruling parties, while he was the first to establish an armed militia, with the support of Tehran after 2003.

**The Protest Movement and Its Goals**

The protest movement against the status quo in Iraq began in July 2015 with the initiative of civil society activists, including the Communists, and was joined two years later by the Sadrists to demand reforms, fight corruption and improve services. These demands were not sectarian in nature but were for a national civic project aimed at achieving social justice and building a state based on equal citizenship for all. The cooperation between the two groups was born among people who

initially did not have a common ideology and then evolved into a political alliance (Arabic Sputnik News, 2018). In its foreign outlook, the alliance program emphasizes the independence of Iraqi decisions and its equal relationships with its neighbors and the world.

The alliance, which bears the name "Marchers toward reform", has six political parties, including the Communist Party of Iraq and the Integrity Party, which includes technocrats supported by Moqtada al-Sadr, who suspended Freeman (Alahrar) block that had 34 parliamentary members and asked its members not to stand for the next elections of May 12, 2018. The Integrity Party is leading the new alliance. It was formed at the end of 2017 to be a bloc that cross sectarian, nationalistic, and quota of current government. Its bylaw identifies the party as based on citizenship and the rejection of racist approaches or sectarian, ethnic, nationalist intolerance. It includes academic cadres and independent technocrats.

## **Historical Background to Sadrist Movement**

The direction of the man, Muqtada al-Sadr, and his Arabian trend and attitude toward Iran, the patron of the Shiite Muslim world, distinguishes his stand. The followers of the Sadr movement that appeared on the surface in Iraq, with the fall of Saddam Hussein's regime and the U.S. occupation of Iraq, have movement structure that was present in the center and south of Iraq. One of its most prominent historical symbols is the religious reference and thinker Mohammad Baqer al-Sadr (Moqtada's uncle) who was executed by the Iraqi regime in 1980. The second and most important one to Muqtada is the religious reference Mohammed Sadiq al-Sadr (Muqtada's father) who was assassinated with his two sons in Najaf in February 1999 (Sabri, 2018).

Mohammed Sadiq al-Sadr has embraced the Arabian face of the cult and the Najaf religious estate and has countered Iran's attempts to transfer the central religious reference (authority) of the Shiite faith from Najaf to Qom in Iran, which has contributed to the rise of the man on the Iraqi scene. Al-Sadr has invested a number of transformations following the Second Gulf War to emerge strongly in the Shiite scene in Iraq beginning in 1992. The man returned the conflict over the "Arabism" of the religious estate in Najaf, a conflict that began early at the beginning of the 20th century, "the rift between the Sadr and the traditional references in Iran and Iraq was extended to the principle of the "absolute jurist's state", which was brought forward by Imam Khomeini, and the "restricted general mandate" adopted by al-Sadr (Sabri, 2018).

This brief background marked the Sadrist movement, which remained in Iraq and did not seek refuge in Iran, like other Iraqi Shiite political organizations, by its own self-sufficiency from Iran and adhering to the Arab color of the Shiite establishment. As the moment of the country's invasion came after the American occupation, the elements of the movements filled the vacuum left by the fall of state institutions by volunteering services, especially in the areas of the poor, and to form armed battalions clashed with the occupation forces in Najaf in 2004.

From the moment the Sadrist movement emergence in public life in Iraq, Muqtada al-Sadr policies were characterized by the ability of what he called the "double game." While some high members of the movement were involved in the political process in the Green Zone, the Mehdi Army of the movement was fighting with the U.S. occupation and bombing the Green Zone (Sabri, 2018).

As al-Sadr stood by Nuri al-Maliki until he won the premiership, he was his fierce critical in the parliament. Although the movement was known to bypass Shiite Sunni sectarianism, the Mehdi Army militias were the deadliest of the Sunni citizens following the bombing of the al-Imam Ali al-Hadi and al-Hasan al-Askari mausoleum in Samarra in 2006 (Sabri, 2018). In hostility to the U.S. occupation, the Sadrist interests coincided with Iran, which have formed and supported a long list of armed Shiite militias as a strategy to strain the occupation and deflect it from engaging with it. Because of the Sadrist trend principled position of rejecting the occupation, it received support, arming and training from Iran. Iran hosted Moqtada al-Sadr when he was wanted by the occupying forces and lobbied for the candidacy of Nuri al-Maliki for a second term in the government in 2010, and eventually got al-Sadr support for al-Maliki second term.

The "double game" policy helped the Sadrists movement, along with its social and service activities in poor areas, and its leadership of popular rallies to claim the rights of citizens, the largest of which was a million in Tahrir (liberty) Square in 2016 against the government of Haider al-Abadi. These policies combined raised the movement popularity, from 23 seats out of a total of 275 in the 2005 elections, 34 in 2014 elections, and to 54 seats of 329 in May 2018 elections.

The Arabian dimension in the policies of the Sadrist current has never meant a clash with the policies of Iran. The Sadrists are highly pragmatic. Moqtada al-Sadr is making his distances from Iran and the United States. Al-Sadr demanded that the Syrian President Bashar al-Asad steps down and visited Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates, which are fighting al-Houthi movement strongly supporting by Iran in Yemen. Locally, he befriended the Communist Party and made it an ally in the electoral alliance "Walkers." Large Sunni Iraqi community are pleasant with al-Sadr recent election results.

Since its inception, the policies of the Sadrist trend and its positions after the parliamentary elections suggest that it is a pragmatic political stream governed by interests, just as the counterparty controls Iran, which has been known for its ability to deal with adversaries and enemies if it is to achieve a greater interest.

### **Al-Sadr: His Movement and Influence**

Iraq's Sadrist leader Moqtada al-Sadr is seeking to redraw Iraqi political life by reducing corruption, alleviating religious manifestations and increasing civic participation. The increasing involvement of al-Sadr in political life after refusing to participate in the political process set up by the Americans after the 2003 invasion is due to his belief in the necessity of peaceful political action, with the need to abandon the tactics of using arms, to embrace peaceful political resistance. He took this turn in

2010 and decided to participate in the government. Since that time, his political commitment has increased further. At the end of the occupation, he wanted to undertake reforms to fight corruption and establish a new political order (Aljazeera Net, June 2018). Then, he participated in the street's descent in 2015 to show support for the fight against corruption. This was a way for him to represent his compatriots and Iraq as a whole. He wanted to pressure and lobby the government from outside being with the people, to spread awareness at the national level. The popularity of his movement is not confined to the Shiite community but has reached some Sunni gatherings. During the recent 2018 parliamentary elections some Christians, Sunnis, and Kurds were part of his "Walkers" coalition. This means that its popularity is gaining new momentum and that Moqtada has preferred the national interest.

Moqtada al-Sadr left the Shiite coalition because he wanted to express his distrust of then Nouri Al-Maliki government. First, he wanted to change relations with neighboring countries. Although his movement had carried arms against American intervention in Iraq, but he did not mean that he would allow the presence of Iranians, Turks or other Arabs (Aljazeera Net, June 2018). Therefore, al-Sadr was for good relationship with the neighborhood including Saudi Arabia and other Arab Gulf countries, instead of opposing them or of being part of the Shiite Sunni divide.

The Sadrist mainstream (called also trend, current, or movement) demanded the end of the religious parties' manipulation on government ministries through a reform project wanting the government ministries to be run by technocrats, not politicians. Currently the ministers belong mainly to religious political parties and therefore the parliament cannot make them accountable, judge them, or watch their work. They can directly pressure the prime ministers or create divisions within the government itself. Consequently, some ministers do not work for the country and they are protected by their political parties. Al-Sadr wants to end this political sectarianism (Aljazeera Net, June 2018). He wanted the elections to have a mixed bloc, bringing together people with different religious and social backgrounds, with a single national agenda. When this bloc will be in the parliament and probably in government, it will not proceed in the interest of a sectarian groups and will not select individuals from these groups to increase their influence, but rather choosing qualified people to run the government to rebuild the country.

## **The Iraqi Communist Party**

The Iraqi Communist Party, one of the leftist political parties in Iraq, is a long-standing party on the Iraqi political scene since its establishment in 1934, which has played an important role in the recent political history of Iraq. The Communist Party had a prominent role in supporting the 1958 Revolution, with the party becoming a major grass-roots base but persecuted after the advent of nationalists and Baathists in 1963, where an organized campaign to kill and suppress Communists was initiated. Despite its opposition to the ruling of former Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, it was opposed to the U.S. and UN sanctions imposed on Iraq after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, and it

opposed the idea of invading Iraq by coalition forces in 2003. The party took part in the political process in post-Saddam Hussein but obtained a small number of votes in the Iraqi elections.

The Iraqi Communist alliance with the Sadr party baffled a civil coalition that was created earlier. The pull out of the Communist Party from the Alliance of Democratic Civil Forces led to the disintegration of the latter and replaced it with the Democratic Civil Alliance, which has four small groups. It was unhappy of the fragmentation of "non-Islamic" political forces in multiple lists. The number of registered electoral lists by the Electoral Commission with the civic emblem were 40 political parties and entities. The leadership issue of who should be listed first in the electoral list in civil parties is much more complex than in Islamic groups forces according to some analysts (Neemeh, 2018). The civil groups had three seats in the 2014 elections.

### **Why the Sadrists Allied with the Communists?**

The Sadrists think that there is a benefit from the alliance with Communists and liberals. In 2015, the Sadrists and the Communists and other civic forces were on the street with representatives of these parties involved in demonstrations against corruption. They realized that one main goal was to reform the current political system. Moqtada al-Sadr asked himself at the time: why don't we combine efforts and unite in one alliance? Some thought that this alliance would not last long because of differing ideologies and sometimes contradictory, but the Sadrists' goal was not to put the issues that divide them on the table, but the common goals (Aljazeera Net, June 2018). It was the same thinking for the Communist Party's leadership.

Some believe that Moqtada al-Sadr wants to appear to be a contemporary leader, passing through his religious knot, and here is exactly the benefit to which the Communists will lose their reputation as advocates of the separation of religion and state (Baghdad Today, 2018). Al-Sadr knows that his alliance with civil political forces does not impose on him obligations that he must perform after the elections. He wanted to surprise his Shiite opponent by such alliance and shocked them by his alliance with those who supposedly do not recognize religion as a base for life. Al-Sadr does not bet on the popularity of the Communist Party as such, but the hosting of Communists in its lists will guarantee to be different from other Shiite leaders (Baghdad Today, 2018). The alliance of Shiite cleric Moqtada al-Sadr with the Communist Party and civil movements is not only a rebellion against the Shiite parties, which hold their grip on governance, but also represents a revolt of a religious stereotype that the Communists have always regarded as infidels that must be fought (Habib, 2018). The Communist Party members were now recognized as legitimate citizens, after being chased by the charge of "Communist kfr (blasphemy) and atheism", which was said to have been authorized some 60 years ago by then the supreme Shiite authority Mr. Mohsen al-Hakim, (Baghdad Today, 2018). Al-Sadr will also benefit from the Communist votes in districts that they cannot have enough votes to elect their representatives. The votes will go to the Sadrists in the electoral list, as it already happened in May 2018 elections.

Al-Sadr seriously thought of reform and saw that one of his tools to such reform is the Left. He saw that the Communists were patriots and proved worthy, sincere and honest when they were among government ministers, such as the former Minister of Culture and the former Minister of Science and Technology, who are two leading figures in the party. The reason for the change comes from also the impact of some secularists, such as Ahmad Abdul Hussein, a civil activist in anti-corruption demonstrations and for reform, who used to be Islamist.

There are also other common points that bring together the two parties, most notably the hostility to the former Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki. The Sadrists are considered to be the fiercest enemies of al-Maliki, and Moqtada al-Sadr always describes him as a dictator, and the coordinating committees for the demonstrations are an old runner for the first People's Movement on 25 February 2011 when the Prime Minister used the army and planes to beat and arrest unarmed demonstrator (Habib, 2018).

### **The Opposition to the Alliance**

Many of al-Sadr's supporters have criticized the coalition. The Communist Party has lost some of its constituents because of its alliance with a religious movement, but many Iraqis see the alliance as a historic opportunity to break the sectarian alliances that have shaped the political process in the country for 15 years (Habib, 2018).

The opponents of the alliance from some leftists and former Communists is that ideological wall separating the Communist Party and the Sadrists is breaking the secular values and principles that characterize the Communist Party's approach to the political parties of Islam, despite the Communist Party's assertion that the alliance will not go beyond the interim cooperation to fight forces of quota and corruption. In this case, the party is being pragmatic and has political flexibility to ensure its participation in political representation and decision-making, and to contribute to the professionalization of the state and the restoration of its institutions, which have been eroded by the policy of quota and corruption. Democracy and flexibility are to meet in an intermediate point to be able to influence events. The parties that insist on being tucked into the bottle of ideology without displaying any political flexibility, will inevitably end up in isolation (Alsafi, 2018).

The fear of religious thought in Iraq comes from its thoughts and practices, which fluctuated between terrorism, sectarianism, theft and subversion of state institutions, but we should not ignore some enlightened Islamic thinkers inspired by the spirit of religion, who supported development through involvement with the concerns of the poor and the country. This has been manifested in Iraq with the clandestine organization founded by Shaykh Abd al-Reza al-Mashta who called for a constitutional order, and thus his son, Abdul Karim al-Mashta who was an activist in peace movement in Iraq, reaching to the left. In referring to the entrenchment of religious thought, it is worth mentioning the Latin American liberation Theology, which crystallized through cross-fertilization between the spirit of Christianity and Marxism to free people from the control of foreign interventions, the suppression of military dictatorships, and to fight for the poor (Alsafi, 2018).

There are many world experiences of cooperation between the leftists and the Christian democratic parties in Europe and Latin America. In Italy, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the Italian leftist Communist thinker Antonio Gramsci called on the parties of left and liberals to form what he called the historic bloc to include the church to promote the unity and renaissance of Italy (Alsafi, 2018).

The Sadrist movement is unique comparing to other Islamic parties that ruled Iraq after 2003. It is a grassroots movement that grew from the bottom up, containing masses of the poor, who suffered discrimination, injustice and unjust distribution of wealth. The movement founded Muqtada al-Sadr as a charismatic leader who expressed their suffering and they rallied around him. Since 2015, those crushed masses have joined with Communist protesters who share the same emotions and dreams of social justice, and the current alliance emerged from those protests in the Tahrir Square.

The Sadrist movement had some flop and fluctuations in its practices and attitudes but it has demonstrated its ability to transcend the past and abandon its extremist tracks, from the violence of its al-Mahdi Army to its dissolution and to building of bridges with religious and sectarian groups, from the cautious and condemnation of secular ideas to participation in demonstrations against corruption with civic groups, and finally the alliance with the forces of civil program calling for a civic state and social justice. The series of dramatic transformations indicates that the Sadrist movement is evolving and benefiting from its experiences. Still, the alliance does not in any way mean that it will hold firm promises to reverse political reality. Political action results cannot be predicted with absolute certainty, but those results determine the credibility of the allied parties and how they will face new and future challenges (Alsafi, 2018).

The Sadr Alliance and the Communists were not only a political event, but a historic rebellion against an Islamic religious doctrine that has long regarded Communists as infidels who must be fought. Iraqi memory recounts the first conflict between Communists and Islamists in the middle of the last century after the change of the regime in Iraq from the monarchy to the republic in 1958, led by officers in the army led by Abdul Karim Qasim and with the support of the Communist Party, which was the most powerful and most widespread party in the country and the Arab region at the time (Habib, 2018).

In 1961, Muhsin al-Hakim, then the most prominent Shiite cleric in Najaf, issued a religious edict explicitly stating that "it is not permissible to belong to the Communist Party because that is disbelief and atheism." (Habib, 2018). Following the expansion of the Communist tide in Iraqi society in the southern rural provinces, the first ideas in the history of the Shiite sect were born in the city of Najaf to establish a political party after it opposed participation in political work. In 1960, the Islamic Dawa (call) Party, which came to power in the country after 2003 was established.

## Countering Criticism

Al-Sadr has been subjected to wave of criticism by his supporters and enemies over his alliance with the Communists. He responded to the criticisms against him stating, If we ally with the Shiite, they say he is sectarian, and if we ally with the Sunni, they say he is Wahabi, Saudi and Baathist, and if we ally with the civic people, they say he became a Communist, and if we ally with the parties close to Iran, they say he is a Safawi Iranian, and if we ally with parties close to the Arabs, they would say he is an agent. I will participate in the elections for Iraq to exclude extremist voices and to support moderate voices for reform and to eradicate corruption and terrorism (Habib, 2018).

From its side, the Communist Party states that "the aim of forming an alliance with the Sadrists is to change the balance of power towards weakening the sectarian quota, trapping the corrupt, and mobilizing a social base with a vested interest in change, and that these important goals are those that have gathered intellectually different parties in one alliance. The Alliance seeks to embrace the demands of the demonstrations launched three years ago, defending the interests of the masses (Habib, 2018).

The Iraqi Communist Party can benefit from the thinking and tactic of the Italian Communist leader in 1920s Antonio Gramsci's who called for "the historical mass," as a way for social, political and economic change that suited the Italian society at the time. The problem of reform in that country was the large disparity between northern Italy, which was at an advanced level of industrialization and modernization, and its south, which bore the hallmarks of the underdeveloped society under the authority of the Church. To preserve the unity of the Italian nation and to carry out a comprehensive renaissance, the idea of the historic bloc, together with the forces of change and reform in the north, was proposed to include Marxists, communists, liberals, and the dominant powers in the South, including the Church (Al-Jabri, 1982).

## Election Results and Meaning

A big surprise in May 12, 2018 Iraqi parliamentary elections was that al-Sadr's Marchers coalition took the first place in the parliamentary elections by winning 54 seats out of 329 parliamentary seats and the Fatah Coalition list ranked second with 48 seats and the Victory list led by Prime Minister Haidar al-Abadi ranked third with 42 seats. This result will give al-Sadr a big role in the forming Iraq's new government, but he needs to form a coalition with other alliances to get a majority seats in the parliament to form a new government that can take steps to reform Iraq.

The elections results of Marchers being the largest bloc in the parliament can be a base to rebuild the national state, and it will have geopolitical dimensions, even on America and Iranian policies on Iraq. It is a re-drawing of the political map of Iraq and a change in power balances that have been established, to break the monopoly of current authority. It will have a fingerprint on Iraqi politics and Iran will eventually have to deal with it. Those who elected Marchers were vast masses with their aspirations and expressions of their suffering.



## “Alliance of Opposites” in the “Marchers” Coalition

About two years ago, Moqtada al-Sadr, with his innate intelligence keeping in mind the suffering of his underprivileged and marginalized followers in Sadr City and other poor cities in Iraq, realized that he would not be able to obtain any real achievements from within the Iraqi authority that he is part, through the parliament, the council of ministers, and the governorates (provinces). He therefore decided that he should carry out a demand and protest, outside and against people in power. However, he realized that there was a social movement ahead of him against administrative, financial and sectarian corruption led by secular civilians, intellectuals, students, and workers of mainly the Iraqi Communist Party. They have been doing so every Friday and for a long time in many Iraqi cities, especially Baghdad’s Tahrir Square and under the Monument of Freedom. Al-Sadr therefore decided to open the line of dialogue with the Leftists despite their vast ideological differences. He decided to engage with them in various marches and activities, including coordination meetings between the two sides (Alnajafi, 2018).

Such joint action, though short-term, could be strengthened to become a long-term strategic alliance, especially when the electoral alliance achieved big success in May 2018 elections, to bring together the two parties to achieve the hopes of the masses of two movements, one of which is religious to the Shiite community and another which is secular to all Iraqis. Muqtada al-Sadr's popular base is the mass of crushed Shiite cities that did not gain much after 2003, the very masses defended by that the Iraqi left. What the left can offer to the Sadrists is an educated, distinct, and experienced cadre that is clean of any financial or administrative corruption (Alnajafi, 2018).

The formation of a "Marchers toward the reform" Alliance was announced on January 17, 2018 at a conference held in Baghdad in the presence of the allied party leaders, political and social figures, as well as supporters of parties under the slogan "to build a civil state... state of citizenship and social justice." The alliance includes the Sadrist movement through the National Integrity Party and the Iraqi Communist Party and a number of small secular parties, namely the Iraqi Republican Rally Party, the Promotion and Reform Party, the Fair State Party and the Youth and Change Party. The Sadrist movement established the Integrity party after the dissolution of the Free Bloc that was represented at the previous 2014 parliament with 34 (Aljazeera Net, May 2018).

Al-Sadr is an old opponent of the United States, and of Iran's influence in Iraq. He has opposed, Ali Akbar Velayati, senior advisor to Iranian leader Ayatollah Ali Khameneim statement in February 2018 that "we will not allow liberals and Communists to rule Iraq," referring to the Sadr alliance and the Iraqi Communist Party (Aljazeera Net, May 2018).

## ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION

The aim of the formation of the alliance appears to change the balance of power in the direction of weakening the forces of quotas, the siege of corruption, and the mobilization of the broadest social

base that has an interest in change. The most important goal of this coalition is to adopt the demands of the protest movement, defending the interests of the masses against the dangers and challenges of corruption. This requires concerted efforts and greater awareness to achieve reform and change and to pave the way for a future that guarantees the requirements of leaving the quota approach, and the resulting crises and repercussions that threaten the fabric of Iraqi society and the unity of Iraq.

This “Marchers” Alliance appears to be a departure from the political rules of the game that have existed in Iraq since 2003. Iraq needs groups that put an end to the sectarian and ideological divide that has prevailed in the Iraq for years. The intellectual differences between the components of the new alliance would not contradict with the political and economic program, which could provide solutions to the country's crises. Intellectual choices for all political parties and forces within the alliance should be respected (Al-Jibouri, 2018).

The new alliance could be that the two sides meet in one tactical rather than strategic plan and is based on trying to make use of each other. The Sadrist current has a large public base on the street, and the Civic Current appears to be more internationally accepted and within the cultured circles, allowing both parties to benefit from each other (Al-Jibouri, 2018).

Iraq is a parliamentary system, and the government is formed by the parliament. The problem arises when elections are not able to create a decisive balance of power, that is, a winning political bloc does not get the constitutional majority, enough seats. This leads to a problem of forming a political coalition bloc to form the government and if the government is not formed, it becomes a political crisis.

In the elections the “Walkers” alliance was a success, but it was inconclusive, i.e. the constitution requires majority, but this was not achieved by Walkers and therefore could not form the government alone. When people voted, they wanted change, and this is achieved only through being in power tools. The influence of the opposition is not as influential as the active contribution to the government while adhering to the program and striving to implement it. The orientation of the “Walkers” is the option of forming the government. Also, it can remain outside the government as an opposition if the government is formed according to the previous sectarian and ethnic approach.

There is tension and anxiety that the situation might slip into clashes and there is some talk even of a civil war, tensions are not unlikely to reach the clash situation, especially the Shiite-Shiite. It is important to avoid that situation for the sake of Iraq. On the other hand, there is a struggle to form the largest parliamentary bloc. Walkers alliance seek to form the new government, but al-Maliki alliance seeks as well to keep Walkers away from forming the government by using al-Fatah alliance. To avoid such mess, both groups were able to agree on an independent prime minister to form an inclusive government consist of mainly technocrats, not parliamentary members, former ministers, or politicians.

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