

## **Post-Saddam Iraq**

Fall 2008, SIS 596.006

**Class Time:** Wednesdays, 8:10-10:40 PM

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**Office Hours:** 158 Sports Center Annex, *Mondays*, 10:30-11:30 am  
And by Appointment

### **COURSE DESCRIPTION**

On June 1, 2004, the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) announced the formation of the Iraqi Interim Government (IIG) headed by Sheikh Ghazi Ajil Al Yawar. In January 2005, Iraqis went to the polls and elected a new interim government that was sworn in on May 3, 2005. Ibrahim Jaafari (Al-Dawa Party) was named Prime Minister. The first Presidency Council (The Executive) was headed by Jalal Talabany (President), Ghazi Al Yawar (Vice President) and Adel Abdel Mehdi (Vice President). The constitutional process for Iraq, detailed in the Transitional Administrative Law (TAL), an interim constitution, stipulated that the Iraqi National Assembly establish a Constitutional Committee to draft a permanent constitution by August 15, 2005 and put it to a national referendum on October 15, 2005. The second Presidency Council (current) is headed by Jalal Talabany (President and head of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan Party), Adel Abdel Mehdi (Vice President and senior member of the Shi'a Party known as the Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI) at that time; now known as the Islamic Supreme Council of Iraq [ISCI]) and Tariq Al-Hashimi (Vice President and leading member of the Sunni Iraqi Islamic Party [IIP]).

The new Constitution was approved in the October 15, 2005 referendum and nationwide elections to elect a permanent Council of Representatives occurred on Dec. 15, 2005. The establishment of a legitimate Iraqi government under Prime Minister Nuri Al-Maliki is a significant achievement. However, sectarian violence, corruption, and the Sunni based insurgency continue unabated in many parts of the country. Basra, the second largest city in Iraq, is now a hotbed of internal Shi'a political strife and violence, and the new Council of Representatives (Parliament) regularly cancels meetings. Clarifying the now ratified Iraqi Constitution through legislation is paramount. A constitutional amendment process, outlined in the Constitution, supposedly to have begun in September 2006, has yet to move forward.

The Oil Law remains bogged down in negotiations involving the central government in Baghdad, the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) in Erbil and the US Government, represented by Ambassador Crocker in Baghdad. Further, the UN finally reported its findings on four cases involving disputed territories claimed by the KRG as part of historic Iraqi Kurdistan prior to a policy of ethnic cleansing of Kurds initiated by the

central government of Iraq (while ethnic cleansing in Kirkuk Governorate, for example, can be dated to the 1930s, the USG officially recognizes claims made by Kurds on the basis of forced displacement and ethnic cleansing from 1968-2003). The UN has been tasked with defining and refining a process for implementing Article 140 of the Iraqi Constitution, dealing with the status of Kirkuk and other disputed territories. Most recently, the Parliament went into recess for the month of August without passing the Provincial Elections Law. Elections were scheduled to occur this year and are particularly important to the goals of the Arab Sunni community.

There are three critical issues that continue to challenge the new government, which first surfaced in the debates that culminated in the drafting of the TAL in early 2004: 1) Power-sharing arrangements between Arabs and Kurds (e.g. federalism, including revenue sharing with respect to Iraq's natural resources) 2) Sunni-Shi'a sectarian tensions 3) The role of Islam in governance.

These three key topics will be analyzed in depth: **1) Power-sharing: rights of the majority (Shi'a) vs. rights of minorities in a democracy {including discussion about government corruption and the mobilization of identity politics within and amongst Iraq's diverse peoples}** 2) **The Kurdish Issue {focus on the federalism debate}** 3) **The role of Islam in governance {this includes the women's rights issue}.**

Through class discussions, documentary films, required readings and guest lectures, we will analyze current political, social and cultural trends in Iraq and amongst the Iraqi Diaspora that has fled Iraq since the fall of Saddam Hussein's Ba'ath Party government. We will also review seminal events in Iraq's history since 1921. The objective of this course is to understand as best as possible the complexities of Post-Saddam Iraq, as they affect Iraqis.

## **COURSE REQUIREMENTS**

Students will submit three essays (15 pages double-spaced) based on the required readings (see below). In lieu of a final examination, students will give oral presentations (final group projects) at the end of the semester. We will vote on the date for final group project presentations (options: **last day of class**, **study day**, or **scheduled exam date**). At the start of the semester, students will be divided into "teams" representing "real time" Iraqi factions and political parties. **20%** of your grade will be based on class attendance and participation, **40%** on the final group project presentation and **40%** on the essays.

It is expected as part of class discussion that students come to class informed and up-to-date on events in Iraq. Although Iraq is often in the news, the pertinence and quality of the coverage on happenings in the country is uneven. The following is a list of suggested sources, available on the Internet, for students to use in monitoring daily affairs of Iraq; although students are also encouraged to utilize their own sources to contribute to class conversations as they see fit:

**Al-Sumaria News** [www.alsumaria.tv/en/home.html](http://www.alsumaria.tv/en/home.html)

**Az-Zaman News** [www.azzaman.com/english/](http://www.azzaman.com/english/)  
**Iraqi News** [www.iraqinews.com/](http://www.iraqinews.com/)  
**Dahr Jamail's Mideast Dispatches** [www.dahrjamailiraq.com/email\\_list/](http://www.dahrjamailiraq.com/email_list/)  
**Topix: Iraq News** [www.topix.com/world/iraq](http://www.topix.com/world/iraq)  
**NPR Iraq** [www.npr.org/templates/topics/topic.php?topicId=1010](http://www.npr.org/templates/topics/topic.php?topicId=1010)  
**Iraq Oil Report** [www.iraqoilreport.com/](http://www.iraqoilreport.com/)  
**Iraq Insider** [www.theiraqinsider.blogspot.com/](http://www.theiraqinsider.blogspot.com/)  
**Electronic Iraq** [www.electroniciraq.net/news/](http://www.electroniciraq.net/news/)  
**KurdishMedia.com** [www.kurdmedia.com/](http://www.kurdmedia.com/)  
**Small Wars Journal** [www.smallwarsjournal.com/](http://www.smallwarsjournal.com/)  
**Institute for the Study of War** [www.understandingwar.org/](http://www.understandingwar.org/)  
**Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Iraq** Back issues are online at  
<http://www.rferl.org/reports/iraq-report/>  
To subscribe go to: <http://www.rferl.org/subscribe/>  
Washington Kurdish Institute (covers all Iraq issues in regional  
context-not just Kurds)

### **TEAMS ( To Be Assigned )**

1. **The Shi'a** (The United Iraqi Alliance Caucus: religious Shi'a Parties, including ISCI, Da'wa, Fadhila, and the Al-Sadr movement); it is perfectly acceptable for the Sadr Movement, for example, to break away and form an alliance with a Sunni coalition if goals converge.
2. **Arab Sunnis** (traditional tribal and religious-linked groups (moderate and radical) and liberal-secular groups)
3. **The Kurds** (KDP, PUK, Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) and smaller, affiliated parties)
4. **The United States**
5. **Iran**

We will divide into 5 teams to engage in a semester long simulation modeled on those conducted within USG agencies. Each team will focus on constructing a strategy for coming year, in view of the underlying theme of this course: power sharing arrangements in a pluralistic society.

For example, if a team chooses to boycott the Council of Representatives as a strategy, the team is still required to present a fleshed out strategic plan for its actions (e.g. does the team have the support of regional actors –if so, which ones). Students must also consider the role of the smaller minorities in Iraq (e.g. Assyrians, Chaldeans and Turkomans), as well as external factors, including regional states (Turkey, Israel, Arab States, European and Russian interests, and the United Nations).

Supplemental reading material (which is not to be confused with “**Required Supplemental Reading for Essays**”) has been posted in folders in the **Course Documents** section on Blackboard for each group, and on important topics that affect Iraq. Students are encouraged to consult these readings, as well as other readings and

personal contacts, to help them produce the most sensible policies for their team in the gaming scenario.

Note that if a team is going to follow a radically different strategy than one currently adopted by their group in the real world, they must provide a logical reason, supported by up-to-date statements and actions by the group that they represent, as to why they are doing so. For example, the United States would not allow the Iranians to help the Iraqi Shi'a seize control of Kirkuk from the Kurds and ethnically cleanse Arab Sunnis and Kurds from Diyala Province without a major military reprisal, nor would the Shi'a countenance such a scenario unless they could be assured that they would not face massive retaliation that would lead to the re-imposition of an Iraqi government hostile to all Shi'a regardless of political affiliation; assurances that at present the Islamic Republic of Iran could not provide. Nor should it be assumed that all political movements that comprise the team would abide by such risky action.

### **TOPICS COVERED IN CLASS**

\*Basic history of Iraq before the United States invasion (1921-2003)

\*Iraq's social and cultural landscape (tribes, sects, ethnic groups and other forms of collective identity)

\*Iraq since regime change (internal and external political, religious and cultural forces and dynamics)

\*Whither Iraq (including US options)?

### **REQUIRED READINGS FOR ESSAYS**

#### **First Essay: "Living in Hell: Saddam's Iraq and the Rationale for War"**

The Iraq Constitution. Posted on Blackboard in "Required Supplemental Reading for Essays" Folder

Makiya, Kanan. *Republic of Fear: The Politics of Modern Iraq*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998.

Packer, George. "An Unfinished War," "Fevered Minds," "Exiles," "Special Plans," pgs. 3-147. in *The Assassin's Gate: America in Iraq*. New York, NY: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 2005. **Posted on Blackboard in "Required Supplemental Reading For Essays" Folder**

Tripp, Charles. *A History of Iraq*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

#### **Second Essay: "Tales from the Coalition Provincial Authority (CPA) under Bremer"**

Chandrasekarn, Rajiv. *Imperial Life in the Emerald City*. New York, NY: Vintage Books, 2007.

Lemoine, Ray and Neumann, Jeff. *Babylon by Bus*, pgs. 1-12, 30-48, 74-88, 103-120, 149-160, 168-186, 205-214, 221-227, 240-272, 294-300. New York, NY: Penguin Books, 2006. **Posted on Blackboard in “Required Supplemental Reading for Essays” Folder.**

Stewart, Rory. *The Prince of the Marshes: And Other Occupational Hazards of a Year in Iraq*. Fort Washington, PA: Harvest Books, 2007.

### **Third Essay: “Iraq: The Tattered Quilt?”**

Cockburn, Patrick. *Muqtada: Muqtada al-Sadr, the Shia Revival, and the Struggle for Iraq*. New York, NY: Scribner, 2008.

Hashim, Ahmed S. “Origins and Motives of the Insurgency,” **pgs. 59-124.** in *Insurgency and Counter-Insurgency in Iraq*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2006. **Posted on Blackboard in “Required Supplemental Reading for Essays” Folder**

“Iraq After the Surge I: The New Sunni Landscape.” International Crisis Group. Brussels, Belgium: April 30, 2008. **Posted on Blackboard in “Required Supplemental Reading for Essays” Folder**

O’Leary, Carole A. “Communalism and the Future of Iraq.” in *The Kurdish Identity in an Unsettled World*, edited by Charles MacDonald and Carole A. O’Leary. Tallahassee, FL: University of Florida Press, 2007. **Posted on Blackboard in “Required Supplemental Reading for Essays” Folder**

O’Leary, Carole A. “The Kurds of Iraq: Recent History, Future Prospects,” *Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA) Journal*, Vol. 6, No. 4, December 2002. **Posted on Blackboard in “Required Supplemental Reading for Essays” Folder.**

Shadid, Anthony. *Night Draws Near: Iraq’s People in the Shadow of America’s War*. New York, NY: Picador Press, 2006.

### **Essay Questions**

*Engage the reading material and use your own analysis in answering these essay questions:*

**Essay 1** The Iraqi Constitution is in many ways an extraordinary document, and it reflects the diverse and complicated aspirations of Iraqis of all ethnic and religious identities. Using your reading of the Iraqi Constitution, and the assigned materials for this essay, please discuss whether or not the document effectively addresses the historical

identities and tribulations of the Iraqi population prior to the 2003 US invasion. To what extent does the Iraqi Constitution express the aspirations of outside actors not present in Iraq during the rule of Saddam Hussein?

**Essay 2** The tenure of the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) in running Iraq after the fall of Saddam Hussein was controversial. How could the CPA have better taken advantage of “local knowledge” to administer Post-Saddam Iraq? Would a better use of local knowledge have made the CPA’s governance more effective? What lessons can be learned from the experience of the CPA for future efforts in nation-building and transitional governance in post-conflict situations? Can these lessons be universally applied, or are they a product of the unique context that is Post-Saddam Iraq?

**Essay 3** It has been asserted that there is no “national” Iraqi narrative, but a “Shia” narrative, a “Sunni” narrative”, a “Kurdish” narrative, and so forth. How accurate an assertion is this? Is Iraq, in fact, a “tattered quilt?” Why or why not? Is the “federal” model of governance for Iraq sustainable, or will it only further foment identity conflict amongst Iraqis?

### **Highly Recommended Reading**

#### ***Pre-2003 Iraq***

Batatu, Hanna. The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movement in Iraq. London, UK: SAQI Books, 2004.

Fernea, Elizabeth Warnack. Guest of the Sheikh: An Ethnography of an Iraqi Village. New York, NY: Random House, 1995.

Dodge, Toby. Inventing Iraq: The Failure of Nation-Building and a History Denied. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2003.

Jabar, Faleh A. The Shi’ite Movement in Iraq. London, UK: SAQI Books, 2003.

Kennedy, Hugh. When Baghdad Ruled the Muslim World: The Rise and Fall of Islam’s Greatest Dynasty. Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2006.

Saleem, Hiner. My Father’s Rifle: A Childhood in Kurdistan. New York, NY: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2005.

#### ***Post-2003 Iraq***

Ahmed, Muhammed M.A. and Gunter, Michael. The Kurdish Question and the 2003 War. Costa Mesa, CA: Maza Publishers, 2005.

Antoon, Sinan. I’jaam. San Francisco, CA: City Lights, 2007.

Jamail, Dahr. Beyond the Green Zone: Dispatches From an Unembedded Journalist in Iraq. Chicago, IL: Haymarket, Books, 2007.

Lawrence, Quil. Invisible Nation: How the Kurds' Quest for Statehood Is Shaping Iraq and the Middle East. New York, NY: Walker and Company, 2008.

Rosen, Nir. In the Belly of the Green Bird: The Triumph of the Martyrs in Iraq. New York, NY: Free Press, 2006.

Stansfield, Gareth and Visser, Reidar. An Iraq of its Regions: Cornerstones of a Federal Democracy? New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2008.

### CLASS SCHEDULE (including essay due dates)

#### **Essay 1: "Saddam's Iraq and the Rationale for War"**

August 27

September 3 (guest speaker: Reynolds Kiefer)

September 10

September 17

September 24

October 1 **ESSAY 1 DUE ON THIS DATE**

#### **Essay 2: "Tales From The Coalition Provisional Authority (Under Bremer)"**

October 8

October 15

October 22

October 29 (guest speaker: Dr. Meghan O'Sullivan)

November 5 **ESSAY 2 DUE ON THIS DATE**

#### **Essay 3: "Iraq: The Tattered Quilt?"**

November 12 (guest speaker invited: Anthony Shadid)

November 19 (guest speaker: Rajiv Chandrasekaran)

**NO CLASS November 27 THANKSGIVING HOLIDAY**

December 3 - LAST DAY OF CLASSES FOR FALL SEMESTER (Oral Presentations)

December 8 - STUDY DAY (**ESSAY 3 DUE ON THIS DATE**)