



Model Arab League
Annotated Bibliography for Iraq
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This annotated bibliography was created to serve as a research resource for students taking part in the National Council on U.S.-Arab Relations' Model Arab League Program. With the understanding that research can be intimidating and time consuming, an effort was made to find a set of scholarly articles that give a detailed background and thorough account of the current situation for this League of Arab States member. Included are annotations designed to give a description of the source with the intention of students completing the research on their own. There has been an attempt to focus on more contemporary scholarship, specifically post-9/11 and post-2011 (so-called "Arab Spring") where possible, as these are two phenomena that fundamentally changed politics in the Arab world. These sources should provide students with a solid basis for understanding the country they are representing in both regionally and globally significant issues as well as the interests of other countries within the League of Arab States.

1. Lewis W. Snider and Jason E. Strakes, "Modeling Middle East Security: A Formal Assessment of Regional Responses to the Iraq War," *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, Volume 23, Number 3, July 2006, pp. 211-226. •• The political implications of the U.S. invasion of Iraq are continually being discovered. Alongside various regional actors, the U.S. had particular interests in the outcome of post-Saddam Iraq, each outcome producing a different set of benefits and detriments for all players. In this article, Egypt, Jordan, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Syria, Turkey, and Israel are considered regional stakeholders in Iraq. The authors propose a set of five different outcomes and their implications for regional power shifts should they be realized. Noteworthy is the importance that Iran's position is relative to others and how that affects possible futures.
2. Anna Lamberson, "A Capital Law for Baghdad: A Governance Framework for Iraq's Ancient Capital," *State and Local Government Review*, Volume 43, Number 2, August 2011, pp. 151-158. •• Since the toppling of Saddam Hussein's regime, the government of Iraq has been plagued with troubles. Practically, the federal government has a lot of difficulty providing for Iraqi citizens in terms of water and waste infrastructures, while on the political side, there are internal divisions and factionalism vying for power in the new state. The factionalism is not to be confused with the sectarian conflicts Westerners hear about in the media, but instead is a battle over how much power the Capital has as a population center over more rural provinces. An adequate Capital Law in Iraq will need to both provide funding for critical infrastructure in Baghdad without making pastoral areas fiscally irrelevant.
3. Curtis J. Richardson and Najah A. Hussain, "Restoring the Garden of Eden: An Ecological Assessment of the Marshes of Iraq," *BioScience*, Volume 56, Number 6, June 2006, pp. 477-489. •• The majority of Iraq's fresh water comes from sources originating in Turkey, Syria, and Iran, while at the same time the ratio of annual rainfall to

evaporation creates a serious deficit of water resources in the country. For some years leading up to the War in Iraq, the Hussein regime systematically cut off the marshes in the south from their inlets, resulting in severe destruction of the marshlands and their biodiversity. While some recovery has taken place, some actions have resulted in permanent damage to the viability of the marshes for agricultural and fishing use. The authors argue that Iraq's future will be rife with conflicts over water resources, both internally and externally, and in order to cope with these conflicts the government must take concrete steps toward planning and modernization of farming techniques.

4. Derick W. Brinkerhoff and Ronald W. Johnson, "Decentralized Local Governance in Fragile States: Learning From Iraq," *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, Volume 75, Number 4, December 2009, pp. 585-607. •• In the years following the toppling of the Hussein regime, Iraq has struggled with creating and maintaining credible governance. The authors argue that in some cases, governmental reforms were too ambitious and sought to create western democratic institutions before basic needs were met. On the positive side however, decentralization of political processes have proven successful and may serve as an example to other countries after a regime change. Iraq is not without its own future difficulties however, and the authors make recommendations as to achieve "good enough" governance for the state.
5. Christopher Foote, William Block, Keith Crane and Simon Gray, "Economic Policy and Prospects in Iraq," *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Volume 18, Number 3, Summer 2004, pp. 47-70. •• After 2003, Iraq faced many difficulties in rebuilding and determining policies that would shape its future. Iraq's economy remains heavily dependent on oil exports, and one of the major decisions under debate was whether to generate revenue through taxes or to essentially become a Rentier state through oil profits. Both options have their pros and cons, for example, instituting taxes would give Iraqis more of a stake in government spending, and on the other hand, Rentierism could actually provide needed welfare to citizens and increase the power of the Iraqi Dinar. Ultimately however, the authors argue that Iraq will have to promote private sector growth outside of the oil sector in the long run.
6. Thomas W. Donovan, Esq., "Iraq's Upstream Oil and Gas Industry: A Post-Election Analysis," *Middle East Policy*, Volume 17, Number 2, Summer 2010, pp. 24-30. •• In order to make the best use of Iraq's petrochemical resources, it will have to overcome sectarian divisions in its government and come up with comprehensive laws regarding the industry. Regional factions control the largest oil fields, giving them a larger bargaining chip than Baghdad and making it difficult for the central government to pass laws regulating the oil industry and its profits. Key questions remaining include whether or not to nationalize all of Iraq's oil fields, an idea that has significant opposition but has the

possibility to increase stability and attract international investment.

7. Alison Howell, "Sovereignty, Security, Psychiatry: Liberation and the Failure of Mental Health Governance in Iraq," *Security Dialogue*, Volume 41, Number 4, pp. 347-367. •• Mental health is often a taboo subject in Arab Middle Eastern society. Iraqis however, having just experienced war, can almost be classified as a "traumatized population" and are in severe need of quality mental health care. There have been attempts at addressing this need, however they became the topic of scrutiny after two reportedly mentally handicapped Iraqis carried out a terrorist attack. The lack of mental health provision in Iraq is only part of a larger deficit in general health care and facilities that must be addressed, and can most likely be applied to other Arab countries in similar economic and security situations.
8. James A. Knowles, "National Solid Waste Management Plan for Iraq," *Waste Management & Research*, Volume 27, Number 4, June 2009, pp. 322-326. •• According to this report, even before the war in Iraq in 2003, solid waste was not handled with any sort of control or regulation; most all of solid waste was deposited in unregulated landfills and open dumps. The National Solid Waste Management Plan (NSWMP) created in 2007 attempted to tackle issues associated with unsafe and improper disposal by implementing an institutional framework for collection, transport, and possible recycling. Along with many recommendations for improving the handling of solid waste in Iraq, the NSWMP includes platforms for educating the public about waste management as a key feature. Of course, implementation comes with its own set of problems and the authors propose solutions to those as well.
9. Saleh Zakaria, Nadhir al-Ansari, Mohammad Ezz-Aldeen, and Sven Knutsson, "Rain Water Harvesting at Eastern Sinjar Mountain, Iraq," *Geoscience Research*, Volume 3, Issue 2, July 2012, pp. 100-108. •• With climate change affecting global weather patterns, Iraq is experiencing ever decreasing rainfall and lower water levels in its two main rivers, the Tigris and Euphrates. Furthermore, when Iraq does get rainfall it is heavy and irregular which is not useful for regular agricultural crops. New science and technology however may allow farmers to treat rainwater as a harvestable crop, store it, and save it for use during rainfall deficits. This study shows that a significant amount of rainwater is able to be harvested in certain areas of Iraq, and doing so may increase yields as well as irrigable area.
10. Dai Yamao, "Sectarianism Twisted: Changing Cleavages in the Elections of Post-War Iraq," *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Volume 34, Issue 1, Winter 2012, pp. 27-51. •• Much of the reporting about post-war Iraq has painted a picture of bitter sectarianism that has created deep divides in the country. While there certainly has been sectarian violence that

continues on through today, western media tends to focus only on these events and ignores positive developments that have taken place. For example, after Iraq's elections in 2005, a so-called "sectarian civil war" broke out and divided the country along religious, ethnic, and regional borders. The fighting took enough of a toll on Iraqi citizens that they became weary of war and made a stark shift from sectarianism to nationalism. This article analyzes voting patterns of Iraqis over the course of its recent elections to demonstrate this change. The new direction also runs in contrast to what most commentators say about the relationship between Iraq and Iran.

11. Gareth Stansfield, "Introduction to the Political Parameters of Post-Withdrawal Iraq," *International Affairs*, Volume 86, Issue 6, November 2010, pp. 1261-1267. •• While only a review of articles published in a special issue of *International Affairs*, this source gives an overview of issues that the post-withdrawal Iraqi government is facing. To begin with, most Iraqis were happy to see U.S. combat troops leave, but the Iraqi government was wary that their only "guarantor of security" was leaving. Furthermore, the Iraqi government has many internal and external constituencies that it has to engage with and must balance these relationships very carefully. Lastly, there is the question of whether Iraq can actually be called "post-American" at all, given the large non-combat force and city-sized embassy that remain.
12. Gareth Stansfield, "The Reformation of Iraq's Foreign Relations: New Elites and Enduring Legacies," *International Affairs*, Volume 86, Issue 6, November 2010, pp. 1395-1409. •• Even though Iraq experienced a regime change in 2003, the government of Iraq is still faced with many of the same questions regarding its foreign policy outlooks. Because Iraq's borders have not changed, the country maintains a nearly identical geopolitical situation that it had pre-2003, having to deal with both small and large countries like Kuwait and Iran respectively, and trying to secure its water resources that are downstream from its neighbors. Finally, with regards to Iraq's oil reserves, Iraq has significant oil wealth that remains undeveloped. The Hussein regime tried hard to keep oil wells under Iraqi and specifically government control, however now Iraq must decide whether to allow international private industry to move in and help mining where there is no longer a strong central government to develop the fields.
13. Keith Baker and Ellen V. Rubin, "Understanding Accountability and Governance in Post-invasion Iraq," *Administration & Society*, Volume 45, Number 5, July 2011, pp. 515-536. •• The U.S. occupation of Iraq was fraught with bureaucratic infighting and lack of oversight on the part of U.S. forces. International law requires that an occupying force maintain order, however initial numbers of American troops were not enough to fulfill this mandate. Later, the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) included political appointees made by U.S. agencies, and some of these appointees had an agenda of

privatizing Iraq's state industries, namely those in oil mining. This is illegal under international law and reveals political motivations behind the invasion in 2003. These problems illuminate the difficulties associated with interventions and occupations and undoubtedly have an effect on Iraqis perceptions of foreign armies and occupying forces.

14. Barry S. Levy, Victor W. Sidel, "Adverse Health Consequences of the Iraq War," *The Lancet*, Volume 381, Issue 9870, March 2013, pp. 949-958. •• Besides the body count, wars leave behind a myriad of problems that last well beyond the official end. In the case of Iraq, combat operations left Iraqi health facilities and water sanitation means in extreme disrepair, making health care and clean water a scarce resource in the following years. In some cases, toxic waste was left behind like depleted uranium from antitank munitions, causing lasting health problems and birth defects in the Iraqi population due to radiation exposure. This article gives meaningful statistics that explain the prevalence and progression of these post-war issues, especially in terms of effects on non-combatants.
15. Toby Dodge, "Enemy Images, Coercive Socio-Engineering and Civil War in Iraq," *International Peacekeeping*, Volume 19, Number 4, August 2012, pp. 461-467. •• Among the many controversial policy decisions made by the Bush administration following the invasion and regime change of Iraq was the doctrine of de-Ba'athification of Iraq. This policy made the sweeping generalization that Iraq's Sunni Muslims were all Ba'athists and banned them from holding government positions in an attempt to demonstrate a U.S. commitment to a so-called "new Iraq". The result of this policy however produced a sort of forced impoverishment of the Sunni population, and transitional government appointments alienated the majority Shi'a. Overall, regime change is notoriously difficult, and the non-inclusive nature of this experiment in regime change had clear negative effects on post-Saddam Iraq.
16. Babak Rahimi, "Iran's Declining Influence in Iraq," *The Washington Quarterly*, Volume 35, Issue 1, Winter 2012, pp. 25-40. •• One of the main criticisms of the US' invasion of Iraq is that by deposing the Hussein regime, a fierce competitor with Iran, the Islamic Republic now exerts more formidable power in the region. This author argues that this may have been true in the short term after 2003, but is increasingly no longer the case. Both Iraq and Iran have gone through distinct phases regarding their foreign policies regarding each other in which a stark contrast can be seen after the sectarian clashes in 2006. Increasing Iraqi unity along with discord within Iran's upper echelons played a role in this, as well as Iran's more recent support of the Assad regime in Syria that Iraq sees as antagonist and supportive of destabilization. This article explains how from Iraq's point of view, Iran is gradually becoming viewed as a regional hegemon.

17. Ned Parker and Raheem Salman, "Notes from the Underground: The Rise of Nouri al-Maliki and the New Islamists," *World Policy Journal*, Volume 30, Number 1, March 2013, pp. 63-76. •• Like all Arab countries, understanding their current political situation and leaders requires understanding their history. Nouri al-Maliki is the current leader of Iraq and has a distinct history of his own that has had a clear influence on his political outlook. Having experienced persecution first hand as a Shi'a under the Hussein regime, al-Maliki simultaneously maintains elements of old authoritarianism and differentiates himself from the previous government. These characteristics are expressed in his navigation of the political space Iraq inhabits, one that engages U.S., Iranian, Syrian, and distant Arab states' interests in the context of the rapidly changing Middle East. This article provides relevant biographical history of Nouri al-Maliki, makes inferences as to how his experiences shape his policies today, and may serve as an example for other Arab leaders in similar circumstances.

18. Sebastian P. Brock, "Two millennia of Christianity in Iraq," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, Volume 21, Issue 2, March 2010, pp. 111-126. •• It is important not to think of Middle Eastern and Arab countries as monolithic and recognize the diversity of cultures and religions that have (and still do) exist there. Iraq, for example, was inhabited by Jews for centuries, and is home to some of the world's oldest Christians. It is worth noting that Iraqi Christians were "never a part of the Roman Empire," and most are considered to be under Chaldean, or Assyrian Church of the East. This article explains the history behind the East/West Christian divide. Historically, many Arab Christians lived peacefully within Islamic Caliphates and made significant contributions to the fields of knowledge like translation, medicine, philosophy, astronomy, and law.

19. Matthew J. Godwin, "Political Inclusion in Unstable Contexts: Muqtada al-Sadr and Iraq's Sadrist Movement," *Contemporary Arab Affairs*, Volume 5, Issue 3, July 2012, pp. 448-456. •• Prevailing theory on political involvement of radical groups tends to argue that their official involvement leads to moderation. Following the invasion of Iraq, various sectarian cleavages emerged and created consolidated religious and political blocs all contending for power in the vacuum. Muqtada al-Sadr is a charismatic figure that went on to become the leader of one of the Shi'a parties, and his followers (the Sadrists) proved to be both a stabilizing and destabilizing force. In al-Sadr's case, the theory that political inclusion moderates radical activists appears to hold up as long as the government was able to provide legitimate security. At the point in which legitimate security was no longer provided, the Sadrists were able to defect and plunge the country into what has been called a civil war (2006). This article shows that the reactions of the Sadrist movement to political involvement and security may have implications for other Arab countries experiencing similar issues.