

**The Experimental College
Tufts University**

**EXP-0062-F Fall 2015
Tuesdays 6-8:30PM**

IRAQ: A STATE IN FLUX

Purpose and Scope

Owing to its strategic importance, Iraq has occupied a significant space in the US's foreign policy over the past three decades - spanning four American presidents, and consuming considerable human and material resources. It is expected that Iraq remains central to the US's security and economic interests in the Middle East for the foreseeable future.

Forced to unity by the British colonialists in the wake of WWI out of three loosely confederated Ottoman-era principalities with diverse ethno-religious composition, modern Iraq was fated to a historic course awash in political violence and war for most of the 20th century - albeit punctuated by short-lived intervals of secular consociationalism. The 2003 war that toppled the despotic regime of Saddam Hussain unleashed a complex set of social and political dynamics prior regime(s) had kept in check through brutal force, and led to an intractable ethno-sectarian strife that culminated in the rise of the so-called Islamic State - an organized radical Islamic group that lays claim to early-Islam style Caliphate.

The 12-year old conflict has called Iraq's viability as a single state to question and triggered a serious policy debate inside Iraq and among its international interlocutors about the sort of post-war governance structure required to ensure long-term stability.

To help informing this debate, this class is dedicated for the study of the formation and evolution of the modern Iraqi state from its inception in 1920 to the present day – through identifying critical events that shaped its direction and disentangling important demographic, geopolitical and economic factors that continued to influence its stability.

The class introduces Iraq to students as a polity, society, geopolitical player and a participant in the world's economy and security structure during each historic epoch: Pre-modern state, British Mandate and Monarchy; Nationalism and Republicanism; Baathism; American occupation and the birth of the second republic.

This course will be of primary value to students with academic interests in diplomacy, international relations or security studies, as well as students majoring in Middle Eastern studies.

Structure

The first part of the course will examine Iraq's history between 1916 (Sykes-Picot and the British occupation) and 2003 (American occupation), and zero in on specific historic junctures and events that fashioned the nature of the present Iraqi state. The second part will focus on the challenges associated with post-2003 Iraq's transition to a federal democratic state - through discussing successes and failures of key constitutional and institutional processes, as well as the regional implications of Iraq's transformation. Students will observe and follow the evolution of the Iraqi state through examining its politics, society, economy and foreign relation during each historic period.

Objectives

At the end of the course, student are expected to:

- 1) Have acquired a greatly expanded viewpoint on Iraq to help them identify key problematic dynamics hampering Iraq's stability today.
- 2) Have been empowered with the capacity to utilize analytical tools to explore solutions for a complex political and security dilemma, using Iraq as a case study.
- 3) Be able to place Iraq in the broader context of regional and international politics.
- 4) Draw on lessons learned from the Iraqi experience to better guide similar transitions.

Grades and Requirements

30%: class participation. Class discussion will heavily depend on the reading materials assigned to each class. Students are expected to have read the materials in order to engage in the discussion.

30%: Policy memorandum due at the end of 7th week (October 27). Individual students will be asked to write a 3-page policy memo drawing on their understanding of Iraq's history up until 2003 to help guide the decision to go to war.

40%: Final paper with presentation. Students will be encouraged to work in groups to produce a 10-page paper and present findings in the class. Specific instructions will be given in class.

Syllabus

(Includes guest speakers, relevant documentaries and movies, and art and culture activities)

Lecture -1 (September 8, 2015)

The Ottomans and the Three Principalities (1531-1920)

Pre-Modern State - Revisiting Decentralization. Has Iraq Ever Been One?

This class begins with a quick review of the succession of civilizations and empires that inhabited the land between Tigris and Euphrates (Mesopotamia) over eight millennia, and highlight their discoveries and inventions. It then stops at the Ottomans to discuss how they administered the three separate principalities of Iraq: Mosul, Baghdad and Basra - leading up to the British occupation and mandate.

Lecture-2 (September 15, 2015)

The Mandate and Monarchs (1920-1958)

The Birth of Modern Iraq – the British Mandate and the Hashemite Monarchy. Was it a Natural Birth?

In this section, we address the British motives of creating Iraq as one polity in the wake of the Ottomans' defeat in WWI, and elaborate on the governance dynamic between the occupier and the Hashemite king as they attempted to co-opt emerging national forces to consolidate the nascent state.

Lecture-3 (September 22, 2015 – Guest Speaker)

Iraqi Nationalist vs Arab Nationalists (1958-1968)

The Birth of the First Republic – A Bloody Start. Was It Worth It?

This class focuses on the post-monarchy decade during which Iraqi and Arab nationalist from within the ranks of the Iraq army struggled to hold power after their successful overthrow of the king and declaring Iraq a republic. This era also witnessed the birth of the Kurdish long armed struggle for autonomy.

Lecture-4 (September 29, 2015)

The Baathists (1968-1990)

Part-1: The Baathists: Ruthless consolidation (1968-1979). Who Were the Baathists?

In this class, we will explore the background of the Baathists, highlight their ideology and agenda, and explain the circumstances associated with their ascension to power. The first part will stop at Saddam's take-over in 1979 after evaluating a decade marred in conspiracies and political violence but also commended for social programs.

Lecture-5 (September 6, 2015)

The Baathists (1968-1990)

Part-2: Baathists: Saddam's Republic of Fear and Iraq-Iran War (1979-1990). How Did Saddam Rule?

This class addresses Iraq's transformation to a totalitarian regime under Saddam Hussain, elaborates on his 8-year war with Iran, and his ruthless campaign against the Kurdish and Shiite dissidents.

Lecture-6 (October 13, 2015)

A state in Decline (1990-2003)

Part-1 First Gulf War: Uprising, Sanctions and Isolation. What Did the Sanctions Do?

This section describes the motives, mechanics and the consequences of Gulf War-1 and highlights the effects of the sanctions that followed on the Iraqi society as it continued to suffer under Saddam's regime in reaction to the Shite and Kurdish uprising of 1991.

Lecture-7 (October 20, 2015 – Guest Speaker)

A state in Decline and American Intervention (1990-2003)

Part-2: Rethinking Iraq: Revival of the Kurdish Dream and Shiite Activism. Now What?

In this class we will see how in the wake of 1991-uprising, a no-fly zone marked the beginnings of a future autonomous region for the Kurds. On the other hand, Shiite and Kurdish opposition started to organize and lobby the Americans against Saddam who continued to defy UN-imposed WMD inspection.

Lecture-8 (October 27, 2015)

Iraq's Second Republic (2003-2006)

Part-1 Toppling Saddam and American Occupation: a State from Scratch. Was it Right?

This class will discuss the circumstances around the US's decision to invade Iraq in 2003 in the context of September 11 attacks, Saddam's WMD and democratization efforts. We will highlight key decision made by the Coalition Provisional Authority in the early weeks of the invasion and analyzes their consequences. We will also describe the early phases of Iraq's constitution-writing and government formation.

Lecture-9 (November 3, 2015)

Iraq's Second Republic (2006-2010)

Part-2: Rise of Sunni Insurgency and Civil War: Fighting for Iraq's Soul. Make or Break?

This class explores the early stages of Sunni insurrection with respect to ideology, structure, leadership and operations, and highlight critical events that led to all-out civil war and the measures the US forces took to bring it under control (temporarily).

Lecture-10 (November 10, 2015)

Iraq's Second Republic (2010-2014)

Part-3: A Test of Self-Rule: The End of Occupation and Maliki's Era. What Went Wrong?

This section describes how post-war Iraq failed its first attempt at self-rule under PM Nuri-Maliki. We will examine Iraq's political and social landscape in the wake of the US withdrawal and analyze Maliki's governing style blamed for alienating the Kurds and the Sunnis and creating the environment for a second Sunni insurgency that culminated in the rise of ISIS.

Lecture-11 (November 17, 2015)

Iraq's Second Republic (2014-Present)

Part-4: Last chance: Rise of ISIS and Resurgence of the Sunni Question. Where Did ISIS Come From?

ISIS's sweep into Iraq in mid-2014 did not only revive the question of failed Sunni accommodation within the larger Iraqi society post-2003, but underscored the fragility of Iraq's new governance structure and its institutions. It also motivated the Kurds to consolidate their control over their region and work towards independence. The class will track ISIS's roots and evolution, explore its ideologies and strategies, identify its strengths and weaknesses and place it within the historic trajectory of Iraq.

Lecture-12 (November 24, 2015 – Guest Speaker)

Iraq's Second Republic (Conclusion)

Part-5: Putting It All Together: Post ISIS, Is Iraq a Viable Union?

Through a thorough review, the class will identify the various historic social and political forces that continue to underpin its struggle and threaten its stability. Students will then be encouraged to entertain options for Iraq going forward.

Lecture-13 (December 1, 2015)

Drawing upon Other Nations' Experiences

Students' Presentations

Lecture-14 (December 8, 2015)

Lessons from Iraq

Student will be encouraged to reflect on the Iraqi experience in its entirety as case study in state formation, and using their knowledge of Iraq's history to identify factors critical for nation-building and consolidating state identity.

Reading Requirements

Lecture 1:

- 1) Marr, Phebe. 2012. *The modern history of Iraq*. 3rd ed. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, pp.3-21 "the land and people of modern Iraq"
- 2) Polk, William Roe. *Understanding Iraq : The Whole Sweep of Iraqi History, from Genghis Khan's Mongols to the Ottoman Turks to the British Mandate to the American Occupation*. 1st ed. New York: HarperCollins, 2005, chapter 1 and 2: pp.13-66.
- 3) Tripp, Charles. *A History of Iraq*. 3rd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 8-29 "the Ottoman Provinces of Baghdad, Basra and Mosul".
- 4) McDowall, David. 2004. 3rd ed. *A modern history of the Kurds*. New York; London: I.B. Tauris, chapter 2, 3 and 4: pp. 21-65.

Expanded Reading:

Çetinsaya, Gökhan. *Ottoman Administration of Iraq, 1890-1908*. SOAS/Routledge Curzon Studies on the Middle East. London ; New York: Routledge, 2006.

Lecture 2:

- 1) Tripp, Charles. *A History of Iraq*. 3rd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, chapter 2, 3 and 4: pp. 30-139
- 2) Eppel, "Michael. Historical Setting: The roots of modern Kurdish nationalism" in Bengio, Ofra. *Kurdish awakening: Nation building in a fragmented homeland*. 1st. ed. Austin: University of Texas Press, Part I: pp. 37-62.
- 3) Sluglett, Peter. "The British, the Sunnis and the Shi'is: Social Hierarchies of Identity under the British Mandate. *International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies* 4, no. 3 (December 1, 2010): 257-73.

Expanded Reading

Sluglett, Peter. *Britain in Iraq : Contriving King and Country*. Library of Middle East History ; v. 12. London ; New York: IB Tauris, 2007.

Lecture-3

- 1) Marr, Phebe. 2012. *The modern history of Iraq*. 3rd ed. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, chapter 5 and 6: pp. 81-136.
- 2) Tripp, Charles. *A History of Iraq*. 3rd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, Chapter 5: p. 143-185
- 3) Dawisha, A. I. *Iraq: A political history from independence to occupation*. Oxford; Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2009, Chapter 9: p 171-208
- 4) Entessar, Nader. "The Kurds in Post-Revolutionary Iran and Iraq." *Third World Quarterly* 6, no. 4 (October 1, 1984): 911–33.
- 5) McDowall, David. *A modern history of the Kurds*. 3rd ed. New York; London: I.B. Tauris, 2004, pp. 302-322

Lecture-4:

- 1) Tripp, Charles. *A History of Iraq*. 3rd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 186-214
- 2) Marr, Phebe. *The modern history of Iraq*. 3rd ed. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2012, pp. 137-174
- 3) Devlin, John F. "The Baath Party: Rise and Metamorphosis." *American Historical Review* 96, no. 5 (December 1991): 1396-1407.
- 4) McDowall, David. *A modern history of the Kurds*. 3rd ed. New York; London: I.B. Tauris, 2004, pp. 323-342

Lecture-5

- 1) Baram, Amatzia. "The Making of a Tyrant: Saddam Hussein and how he grew", *The Weekly Standard* (News America Publishing Inc., NY), Vol. 3 No. 20, February 2, 1998, pp. 25-28.
- 2) Baram Amatzia. "Saddam's Power Structure: The Tikritis Before, During and After the War." *The Adelphi Papers* 43, no. 354 (January 1, 2003): 93–114.
- 3) Potter, Lawrence G. "The Gulf Wars." *Headline Series*, no. 333/334 (Fall 2011): 29–46.
- 4) Tripp, Charles. *A History of Iraq*. 3rd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 215-238.
- 5) McDowall, David. *A modern history of the Kurds*. 3rd ed. New York; London: I.B. Tauris, 2004, pp. 343-367
- 6) Marr, Phebe. *The modern history of Iraq*. 3rd ed. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2012, pp. 175-212

Lecture 6:

- 1) Baram, Amatzia. "The Effect of Iraqi Sanctions: Statistical Pitfalls and Responsibility." *The Middle East Journal* 54, no. 2 (Spring 2000): 194–223.
- 2) Tripp, Charles. *A History of Iraq*. 3rd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 239-253
- 3) Marr, Phebe. *The modern history of Iraq*. 3rd ed. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2012, pp. 213-256.

Lecture-7

- 1) Batatu, Hanna. "Iraq's Underground Shi'i Movements." *MERIP Reports*, no. 102 (January 1, 1982): 3–9.
- 2) Natali, Denise. *The Kurdish quasi-state: Development and dependency in post-Iraq war Iraq*. 1st ed., Syracuse, N.Y: Syracuse University Press. 2010, Chapter 3.
- 3) Tripp, Charles. *A History of Iraq*. 3rd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 254-266

Lecture-8

- 1) Marr, Phebe. *The modern history of Iraq*. 3rd ed. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2012, pp. 257-304.
- 2) Tripp, Charles. *A History of Iraq*. 3rd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 277-303
- 3) Carothers, Thomas. "Promoting Democracy and Fighting Terror." *Foreign Affairs* 82 (2003): 84
- 4) Ajami, Fouad. "Iraq and the Arabs' Future." *Foreign Affairs* 82 (2003): 2.
- 5) Al-Marashi, I. Iraq's constitutional debate', *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, vol. 9, no. 3 (2005) pp. 139-175.
- 6) Barkey, HJ & Laipson, E 2005 'Iraqi Kurdistan and Iraq's future', *Middle East Policy*, vol. 12, no. 4, pp. 66- 76.

Expanded Reading

Ricks, Thomas E. *Fiasco : The American Military Adventure in Iraq*. New York: Penguin Press, 2006.

Lecture-9

- 1) Marr, Phebe. 2012. The modern history of Iraq. 3rd ed. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, pp. 305-354.
- 2) Wimmer, Andreas. "Democracy and Ethno-Religious Conflict in Iraq." *Survival* 45, no. 4 (December 1, 2003).
- 3) Ajami, Fouad. "Iraq in the Balance." *Wall Street Journal, Eastern Edition*. April 11, 2007
- 4) Haddad, Fanar. "Sectarian Relations in Arab Iraq: Contextualizing the Civil War of 2006–2007." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 40, no. 2 (2013): 115–38.

Lecture-10

- 1) Marr, Phebe. *The modern history of Iraq*. 3rd ed. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2012, pp. 355-388.
- 1) Fawcett, Louise. "The Iraq War Ten Years on: Assessing the Fallout." *International Affairs* 89, no. 2 (March 1, 2013): 325–43.
- 2) Stansfield, Gareth. "The Political Parameters of Post-Withdrawal Iraq." *International Affairs* 86, no. 6 (November 1, 2010): 1261–67.

- 3) Stansfield, Gareth. "The Reformation of Iraq's Foreign Relations: New Elites and Enduring Legacies." *International Affairs* 86, no. 6 (November 1, 2010): 1395–1409.
- 4) Maliki, Nouri al-. "We Can Survive Only by Building a Unified State and a Unified Civil Society." *International Affairs (Minneapolis)* 59, no. 1 (2013): 73–82.

Lecture-11

- 1) Nance, Malcolm. 2014. *The Terrorists of Iraq: Inside the Strategy and Tactics of the Iraq Insurgency 2003-2014*. Section 1 "Who is fighting in Iraq?"
- 2) Lister, Charles. "Profiling the Islamic State | Brookings Institution. 2014
<http://www.brookings.edu/research/reports2/2014/12/profiling-islamic-state-lister>.

Expanded Reading

Stern, Jessica author. *ISIS: The State of Terror*. First edition. New York, NY: Ecco Press, an imprint of HarperCollins Publishers, 2015, 2015.

Lecture-12

- 1) Davis, Eric. "History Matters: Past as Prologue in Building Democracy in Iraq." *Orbis* 49, no. 2 (2005): 229–44.
- 2) Anderson, Liam. "Ethno-federalism: The Worst Form of Institutional Arrangement...?" *International Security* 39, no. 1 (2014): 165–204.
- 3) Dewhurst, M 2006 'Assessing the Kurdish question: what is the future of Kurdistan?', USAWC Strategy Research Project, U.S. Army War College
- 4) Lowe, Robert, Gareth R. V. Stansfield, and Royal Institute of International Affairs. *The Kurdish Policy Imperative*. London: Chatham House ; Washington, DC, 2010.
- 5) "Brothers in Arms: Is It Time for a U.S.-Iraqi Alliance? | The National Interest."
<http://nationalinterest.org/feature/brothers-arms-it-time-us-iraqi-alliance-11712>.

Lecture-13:

Students Presentation

Lecture-14

- 1) Bengio, O. 'Nation building in multiethnic societies: the case of Iraq', in *Minorities and the State in the Arab World*, O Bengio & G Ben Dor, Columbia International Affairs Online, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, 1999, pp. 149- 169.
 - 2) Brinkerhoff Derick W. and Johnson Ronald W. (2009), 'Decentralized local governance in fragile states: learning from Iraq', *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, Vol. 75, No.4, pp. 585–607.
 - 3) Albrecht, Holger, and Oliver Schlumberger. "Waiting for Godot": Regime Change without Democratization in the Middle East." *International Political Science Review* 25, no. 4 (October 1, 2004): 371–92.
 - 4) Baram, Amatzia. "Deterrence Lessons from Iraq: Rationality Is Not the Only Key to Containment." *Foreign Affairs* 91 (2012): 76.
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