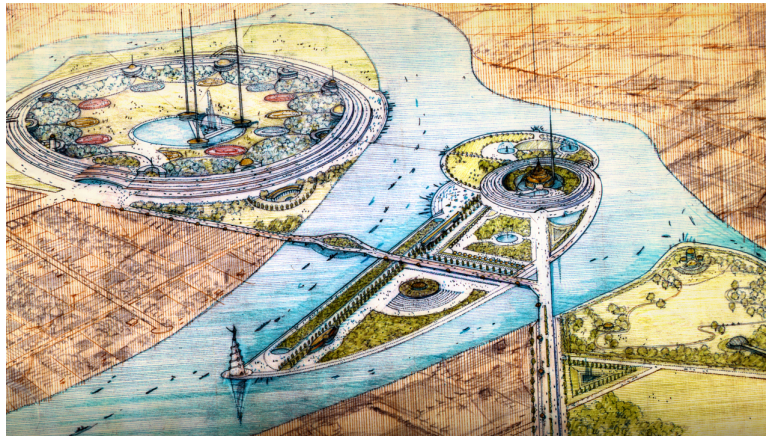


War and Peace in the Middle East: The Iraq War Laboratory



Design from Frank Lloyd Wright's "Plan for Greater Baghdad" (1957)

Professor Yahya Sadowski

Office: room 204. Phone: 6249.

The class meets Weds. 15:30 to 17:10 (room 226).

Over the last few decades, the United States and the United Nations have used Iraq as a giant laboratory in which they have tested various policies that are supposed to discourage war and promote peace. Trillions of dollars and thousands of lives have been consumed in these experiments. In this class we will, collectively, evaluate their results and distill whatever lessons have been learned. Perhaps we can learn how to make future exercises in peace-building less lethal and catastrophic than the Iraqi experience has been.

By focusing on various aspects of this single case—for which very rich research materials are available—our class will be able to move quickly to policy analysis, rather than repeatedly introducing the empirical details about lots of distinct cases. However, if your interest is in some *other* Middle East conflict (the Arab-Israeli wars, Kurdish nationalism, ethnic cleansing in Dar Fur, etc.), speak up: there is room in this course to draw out the policy implications for those cases too.

Each week we will examine a problem and a proposed solution. In most cases, these solutions failed in Iraq. We will have to decide whether that failure was because of a) unusual conditions in Iraq, b) poor implementation by Washington, or c) there is some flaw or limitation within the proposed solution itself.

The reading list originally included a number of other case studies—about counterinsurgency, about the Iraqi invasion of Iran, etc.—that were dropped because there was clearly not enough time to cover them in a single quarter. In fact, if it take use more time to work through the proposed cases on the current

reading list, another unit will have to be dropped (probably Unit Seven about economic reconstruction).

Teaching philosophy

Most weeks we will read several articles and/or watch films focusing on a single policy problem as it developed in Iraq. During class discussions we will strive to a) detect biases and other faults in their sources, b) extract and analyze the basic dynamics of the policy problem under discussion, and c) decide what additional information would be most critical before tackling that problem.

One of the major objectives of this course is to teach students how to do a “deep reading” of various texts and materials. Each week we will look closely at the language, structure, claims, and data supplied by the reading assignments. Student grades will directly reflect their participation in these discussions and their grasp and insights into the readings.

These exercises are all about “learning by doing.” If the students do the work expected of them, this approach will enable them to

- Develop an intellectual map of the literature, including the prevailing and contending “schools” of writers;
- Build effective bullshit detectors that warn them about common delusions, myths, and over-simplifications;
- Probe beyond “the common wisdom” to unearth facts, connections, and ideas that completely reframe current debates.

Learning Objectives

By the end of this course, students should have learned:

1. A massive amount about the modern history of Iraq—in terms of politics, economics, and sociology. Indeed, they should know enough that it will provide a solid basis for analyzing any other Middle Eastern country.
2. The strengths and weaknesses of a half dozen major hypotheses about the origins of war.
3. A great deal about the difficulty of translating abstract social science and humanistic ideals into concrete and effective policy.

It is actually true that “the road to hell is paved with good intentions.” To really help, we must learn to be more than just benign: we must be prepared to give up our presuppositions, to labor in pursuit of new answers, and have the courage to articulate and apply them.

Assignments and Grading

- Half of the grade for this course will be based on class participation. If you speak up and show that you have been thinking about the readings, your grade will improve. If you did not understand the readings but ask for

clarification in class, this also will also earn you credit. But if you sit on the sidelines or, worst of all, don't do the readings, your grades will plummet.

- The other half of the grade for this course will be based on producing two written position papers. Each of these should be about four pages long, formatted in double-spaced 12-point type, with proper footnoting. Each should focus on a single topic from the course syllabus. It should analyze the readings for that topic (the more the merrier), contrasting the various theories involved and the policy options for dealing with it. It should conclude with an argument recommending an approach for dealing with similar problems in the future.

Housekeeping

It should go without saying that

- Plagiarism (using someone else's ideas or words without crediting them) is a form of theft and will not be tolerated.
- Students are expected to be punctual, courteous, and to attend all sessions of the course.
- Assignments that are submitted late will be penalized.
- The instructor will make all reasonable efforts to accommodate students who are "challenged." Raise such issues with him as soon as possible.

Reading List

There is no textbook required for this course. Instead, all of the readings are articles or documents that will be made available online through Moodle. The basic login for Moodle materials is <http://e-learning.ceu.hu/login/login2.html>.

If you are unfamiliar with how to use Moodle, please read the quick introduction, "Student Guide 2.5.pdf," which can be found at the Moodle portal.

Schedule of Class Readings

Unit Zero

Introduction to the Class

There is only one required reading for this week, and it is alright if you read it after class:

- Graeme Wood, "The Three Types of People Who Fight for ISIS," The New Republic (September 10, 2014).

Background on Iraq

If you know very little about Iraq, a great start is the following webpage with its excellent maps.

<http://www.vox.com/a/maps-explain-crisis-iraq>

For more detail, the following readings will be particularly helpful:

- William Polk, *Understanding Iraq: The Whole Sweep of Iraqi History...* (Harper Perennial, 2006).
- Central Intelligence Agency, Directorate of Intelligence, *Political and Personality Handbook of Iraq* (January 1991), on reserve.
- Batatu, Hanna. "Class analysis and Iraqi society." *Arab Studies Quarterly* 1 (Summer 1979): 229-244.

Hanna Batatu also wrote by far the best analysis of modern Iraq—and perhaps the finest single work on the modern Middle East:

- Hanna Batatu, *The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movement in Iraq* (Saqi Books, 2004).

Skimming through some longer works might also be useful:

- Jason Burke, *The 9-11 Wars* (Penguin, 2011)
- Phoebe Marr, *The Modern History of Iraq* (Westview Press, 2011), third edition
- Charles Tripp, *A History of Iraq* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), third edition

Electronic Sources

For current news analysis:

- Al-Monitor is the best single collection of new analysis of Middle East events available on the web: <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/iraq-pulse>
- Azzaman (The Times) is the only Arabic-language newspaper in Iraq to publish English translations of its articles: <http://www.azzaman.com/english/>
- Radio Free Europe does media monitoring and its own reports from Iraq: <http://www.rferl.org/section/Iraq/157.html>
- Iraq Daily collects Iraqi news from around the web: <http://iraqdaily.com/>
- So does Iraqi News <http://www.iraqinews.com/#axzz30ULu2ftt>
- So does Aswat al-Iraq (Iraqi Voices) [http://en.aswataliraq.info/\(S\(1uftdb55egjah555g5puygim\)\)/Default.aspx](http://en.aswataliraq.info/(S(1uftdb55egjah555g5puygim))/Default.aspx)
- A brief overview of media sources about Iraq is available from Columbia University at: www.mei.columbia.edu/iraq.doc

Good Blogs from or about Iraq

- Current commentary from a young Iraqi woman: <http://riverbendblog.blogspot.com/>
- By a secularist Iraqi dentist living in Texas: <http://healingiraq.blogspot.com/>
- By a conventionally pious Iraqi: <http://hammorabi.blogspot.com/>
- By a teenaged Iraqi girl, reveling in the mundane: <http://livesstrong.blogspot.com/>
- Reidar Visser is one of the sharpest analysts of Iraqi affairs: <http://gulfanalysis.wordpress.com/>
- Juan Cole's "Informed Comment" is argumentative but always well informed (he is an expert on Shiism): <http://www.juancole.com/>

For historical materials

- The National Security Archives forces the U.S. government to declassify documents (through Freedom of Information Act suits) and then publishes them on the web. They have an extraordinarily rich collection of Iraq materials. You can find them at <http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/>
- You can also find "country readers" that compile the reflections of U.S. foreign service personnel at the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training <http://adst.org/oral-history/country-reader-series/>
- There is a massive collection of records and recordings from the regime of Saddam Hussein, captured by the US military, available at <http://crrc.dodlive.mil/collections/sh/>

Unit One

Problem: Orientalism and Islamophobia

Solution: Bullshit detectors

We will probably be showing a film during this unit, Confronting Iraq (2005), which is an excellent example of the propaganda used to justify the invasion of Iraq. There are two other films that students might wish to examine. First, Control Room (2004), which presents the efforts of the first pan-Arab news network, al-Jazeera, to penetrate the veil of secrecy that the U.S. government sought to lay over the actual war. Second, Why We Fight (2005), an analysis of how wartime propaganda about Iraq fits into the history of American political culture.

These readings are required:

- Baker, Peter, "The Truth about Bush (and Cheney)," Politico Magazine (November 22, 2013) retrieved from http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2013/11/the-truth-about-bush-and-cheney-100123.html#.U1_gK-ZdX8M
- Kumar, Deepa, "Framing Islam: The Resurgence of Orientalism During the Bush II Era," Journal of Communication Inquiry, 34: 254 (2010): 254-277.
- Said, Edward, "A Window on the World," Canadian International Youth Letter, (2007).
- Barkawi, Tarak. "'Small Wars', Big Consequences and Orientalism: Korea and Iraq." Arena Journal 29/30 (2008): 59.

You will be given handouts of these:

- James Fearon, "Homicide Data, third revision Background Paper," World Bank http://www.wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2011/06/01/000356161_20110601045939/Rendered/PDF/620370WP0Homic0BOX0361475B00PUBLIC0.pdf
- Simeon Tegel, "Latin America: The Cost of Murder," Global Post <http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/news/regions/americas/140115/latin-america-economic-cost-murder-violence>
- Alidad Vasseigh, "Latin American Cities Are the Most Dangerous in the World," City Mayors <http://www.citymayors.com/security/latin-american-murder-cities.html>

Plus, read one of the following articles (your choice):

- Kaufmann, Chaim. "Threat inflation and the failure of the marketplace of ideas: The selling of the Iraq war." International Security 29.1 (2004): 5-48.
- Kumar, Deepa, "Islam and Islamophobia," International Socialist Review 52 (March-April 2007). <http://www.isreview.org/issues/52/islamophobia.shtml>
- Semmerling, Tim Jon. "Those 'evil' Muslims! Orientalist fears in the narratives of the war on terror." Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs 28.2 (2008): 207-223.
- Charles Tilly, "Terror, Terrorism, Terrorists" Sociological Theory, Vol. 22, No. 1, Theories of Terrorism: A Symposium. (Mar., 2004), pp. 5-13
- Wall, Tyler. "Philanthropic Soldiers, Practical Orientalism, and the Occupation of Iraq." Identities 18.5 (2011): 481-501.

Mini-unit Two

Problem: Rogue States

Solution: Sanctions

These readings are required:

- Alahmad, Nida. "The Politics of Oil and State Survival in Iraq (1991–2003): Beyond the Rentier Thesis." *Constellations* 14.4 (2007): 586-612.
- Pratt, Nicola. "Women in Iraq: The Gender Impact of International Sanctions." *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 5.2 (2009): 101-104.
- Mazaheri, Nimah. "Iraq and the domestic political effects of economic sanctions." *The Middle East Journal* 64.2 (2010): 253-268.

Unit Three

Problem: Why Did Washington Invade Iraq?

Solution: International Relations Theory

As one senior official who came to rue his involvement in Iraq put it, "The only reason we went into Iraq, I tell people now, is we were looking for somebody's ass to kick. Afghanistan was too easy." From Peter Baker, *Days of Fire* (2014).

We will be watching the best documentary to come out of the invasion of Iraq, Charles Ferguson's *No End in Sight* (2007). Those interested in the topic may also wish to consult the compilation of news coverage from the U.S. news show "Frontline" which were released as "Bush's War" (2008).

These readings are required:

- Toby Dodge, "The Sardinian, the Texan and the Tikriti: Gramsci, the Comparative Autonomy of the Middle Eastern State and Regime Change in Iraq," *International Politics*, 43 (2006): 453-473.
- Dunn, David Hastings. "Myths, motivations and 'misunderestimations': the Bush administration and Iraq." *International Affairs* 79.2 (2003): 279-297.
- Lieberfeld, Daniel. "Theories of Conflict and the Iraq War," *International Journal of Peace Studies* 10.2 (2005).
- US Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, "Memo: Building Momentum for Regime Change," (November 27, 2001) [handout]

Plus, read one of the following articles (your choice)

- Badie, Dina. "Groupthink, Iraq, and the war on terror: explaining US policy shift toward Iraq." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 6.4 (2010): 277-296.
- Duelfer, Charles A., and Stephen Benedict Dyson. "Chronic Misperception and International Conflict: The US-Iraq Experience." *International Security* 36.1 (2011): 73-100.
- Flibbert, Andrew. "The road to Baghdad: Ideas and intellectuals in explanations of the Iraq War." *Security Studies* 15.2 (2006): 310-352.
- McCartney, Paul T. "American nationalism and US foreign policy from September 11 to the Iraq war." *Political Science Quarterly* 119.3 (2004): 399-423.
- Mitchell, David, and Tansa George Massoud. "Anatomy of Failure: Bush's Decision-Making Process and the Iraq War." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 5.3 (2009): 265-286.
- Smith, Martin A. "US bureaucratic politics and the decision to invade Iraq." *Contemporary Politics* 14.1 (2008): 91-105.
- Tang, Shiping, and SR Joey Long. "America's military interventionism: A social evolutionary interpretation." *European Journal of International Relations* 18.3 (2012): 509-538.

Unit Four

Problem: Sectarian and Ethnic Conflict

Solution: Civil Society

We will watch a film about the first Iraqi elections (December 2005) after the invasions, My Country, My Country (2006).

These readings are required:

- Al-Khafaji, Isam. "The myth of Iraqi exceptionalism." *Middle East Policy* 7.4 (2000): 62-91.
- Baram, Amatzia. "Neo-tribalism in Iraq: Saddam Hussein's tribal policies 1991–96." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29.01 (1997): 1-31.
- Mamouri, Ali, "Iraqi voters shift from religious to 'political sectarianism'," *Al-Monitor*, May 9, 2014 available at http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/05/iraq-voters-shift-sectarianism-politics.html?utm_source=Al-Monitor+Newsletter+%5BEnglish%5D&utm_campaign=d52ff6f394-January_9_2014_8_2014&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_28264b27a0-d52ff6f394-93122709
- Visser, Reidar. "Historical myths of a divided Iraq." *Survival* 50.2 (2008): 95-106.
- Wimmer, Andreas and Min, Brian, "From Empire to Nation-State: Explaining Wars in the Modern World, 1816-2001," *American Sociological Review*, 71:6 (Dec. 2006): 867-897.

Plus, read one of the following articles (your choice)

- Hassin, Ahmed NA. "Tribes as civil society organisations: the case of Iraq." *Journal of international scientific publications: language, individual & society* 7 (2013): 19-32.
- Ramadani, Sami, "The Sectarian Myth of Iraq," *The Guardian* (16 June 2014).
- Tessler, Mark A., Mansoor Moaddel, and Ronald Inglehart. "What do Iraqis want?." *Journal of Democracy* 17.1 (2006): 38-50.
- Visser, Reidar. "The western imposition of sectarianism on Iraqi politics." *The Arab Studies Journal* (2007): 83-99.
- Zubaida, Sami. "Communalism and Thwarted Aspirations of Iraqi Citizenship." *Middle East Report* 237 (2005): 8-11.

Unit Five

Problem: Failed States Breed Warlords and Terrorists

Solution: Nation- and State-Building

These readings are required:

- Dodge, Toby. "Iraqi Transitions: from regime change to state collapse." *Third World Quarterly* 26.4-5 (2005): 705-721.
- Dodge, Toby. "Iraq: the contradictions of exogenous state-building in historical perspective." *Third World Quarterly* 27.1 (2006): 187-200.
- Langewiesche, William. "WELCOME TO THE GREEN ZONE Our fortified bubble in Baghdad is a microcosm of America-and of what has gone wrong in Iraq." *Atlantic Monthly* 294.4 (2004): 60-88.
- Tripp, Charles. "The United States and state-building in Iraq." *Review of International Studies* (2004): 545-558.

Plus, read one of the following articles (your choice)

- Barakat, Sultan. "Post-Saddam Iraq: deconstructing a regime, reconstructing a nation." *Third World Quarterly* 26.4-5 (2005): 571-591.
- Deflem, Mathieu, and Suzanne Sutphin. "Policing post-war Iraq: Insurgency, civilian police, and the reconstruction of society." *Sociological Focus* 39.4 (2006): 265-283.
- Pascual, Carlos, and Kenneth M. Pollack. "The Critical Battles: Political Reconciliation and Reconstruction in Iraq." *Washington Quarterly* 30.3 (2007): 7-19.
- Pfiffner, James P. "US Blunders in Iraq: De-Baathification and Disbanding the Army." *Intelligence and National Security* 25.1 (2010): 76-85.

- Ucko, David. "Militias, tribes and insurgents: The challenge of political reintegration in Iraq: Analysis." *Conflict, Security & Development* 8.3 (2008): 341-373.

Unit Six

Problem: Authoritarianism Fosters Violence

Solution: Democracy Promotion

We will be watching a film during this unit: Meeting Resistance (2007). Although it was produced as an independent documentary, this film was used as a training exercise by U.S. occupation troops.

These readings are required:

- Beetham, David. "The contradictions of democratization by force: the case of Iraq." *Democratization* 16.3 (2009): 443-454.
- Benhabib, Seyla. "Exporting Democracy: What Have We Learned from Iraq?." *Dissent* 54.2 (2007): 44-46.
- Diamond, Larry. "Iraq and democracy: the lessons learned." *Current History* 105.687 (2006): 34.
- Robertson, Graeme, "Think Again: Dictators," *Foreign Policy*, 186 (May/June 2011): 36-39.

Plus, read one of the following articles (your choice)

- Arato, Andrew. "Post-Sovereign Constitution-Making and It's Pathology in Iraq." *NYL Sch. L. Rev.* 51 (2006): 535.
- Miller, Benjamin. "Does Democratization Pacify the State? The Cases of Germany and Iraq." *International Studies Quarterly* 56.3 (2012): 455-469.
- Mokhtari, Fariborz. "Pardon Me for Asking, but Do You Really Want Democracy in Iraq?." *American Foreign Policy Interests* 30.4 (2008): 214-226.
- Monten, Jonathan. "The roots of the Bush doctrine: Power, nationalism, and democracy promotion in US strategy." *International Security* 29.4 (2005): 112-156.
- Moon, Bruce E. "Long time coming: Prospects for democracy in Iraq." *International Security* 33.4 (2009): 115-148.
- Whitehead, Laurence. "Losing 'the Force'? The 'Dark Side' of democratization after Iraq." *Democratization* 16.2 (2009): 215-242.
- Younis, Nussaibah. "Set up to fail: consociational political structures in post-war Iraq, 2003-2010." *Contemporary Arab Affairs* 4.1 (2011): 1-18.

Unit Seven

Problem: Poverty Fuels Violence

Solution: Economic Reconstruction

These readings are required:

- Crocker, Bathsheba. "Reconstructing Iraq's economy." *Washington Quarterly* 27.4 (2004): 73-93.
- Looney, Robert. Neoliberalism in a conflict state: the viability of economic shock therapy in Iraq. NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL MONTEREY CA CENTER FOR CONTEMPORARY CONFLICT, 2004.
- Rathmell, Andrew. "Planning post-conflict reconstruction in Iraq: what can we learn?." *International Affairs* 81.5 (2005): 1013-1038.
- Sovacool, Benjamin, and Saul Halfon. "Reconstructing Iraq: merging discourses of security and development." *Review of International Studies* 33.2 (2007): 223.

Plus, read one of the following articles (your choice)

- Cohen, Ariel, and Gerald O'Driscoll. "The road to economic prosperity for a post-Saddam Iraq." *Backgrounders* 1633 (2003).
- Costantini, Irene. "Statebuilding and Foreign Direct Investment: The Case of Post-2003 Iraq." *International Peacekeeping* 20.3 (2013): 263-279.
- Looney, Robert. "Economic Consequences of Conflict: The Rise of Iraq's Informal Economy." *Journal of Economic Issues* (2006): 991-1007.
- Lowther, Adam. "It's the economy, stupid! why Iraq needed free markets instead of democracy in 2003." *American Foreign Policy Interests* 31.3 (2009): 194-205.
- Saltman, Kenneth J. "Creative Associates International: Corporate Education and "Democracy Promotion" in Iraq." *The Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies* 28.1 (2006): 25-65.
- *Hard lessons: The Iraq reconstruction experience*. Special Inspector General, Iraq Reconstruction, 2009.

Unit Eight

Problem: Sexual Frustration Leads to Fundamentalism

Solution: Women's Liberation

Students are encouraged to watch the following film on the web, "Dispatches: Iraq: The Women's Story," available at <http://topdocumentaryfilms.com/iraq-the-womens-story/>.

These readings are required:

- Al-Ali, Nadej, and Nicola Christine Pratt. "Women in Iraq: Beyond the rhetoric." *Middle East Reports* 239 (2006): 18-23.
- El-Kassem, Nadeen. "The pitfalls of a 'democracy promotion' project for women of Iraq." *International Journal of Lifelong Education* 27.2 (2008): 129-151.
- Romano, David, and Lucy Brown. "Women in Post-Saddam Iraq: One Step Forward or Two Steps Back?." *NWSA Journal* 18.3 (2006): 51-70.
- Thayer, Bradley and Valerie Hudson, "Sex and the Shaheed: Insights from the Life Sciences on Islamic Suicide Terrorism," *International Security*, 34:4 (Spring 2010).

Plus, read one of the following articles (your choice)

- Ariany, Bnar. "The Conflict between Women's Rights and Cultural Practices in Iraq." *The International Journal of Human Rights* 17.4 (2013): 530-566.
- Jad, Islah. "The NGO-isation of Arab Women's Movements." *IDS bulletin* 35.4 (2004): 34-42.
- Krook, Mona Lena, Diana Z. O'Brien, and Krista M. Swip. "Military Invasion and Women's Political Representation: Gender Quotas in Post-Conflict Afghanistan and Iraq." *International Journal of Feminist Politics* 12:1 (2010): 66-79.
- Charles Kurzman, "Why Is It So Hard to Find a Suicide Bomber These Days?" *Foreign Policy*, 188 (September/October 2011): 58-64.
- Moghadam, Valentine M. "Peacebuilding and reconstruction with women: reflections on Afghanistan, Iraq and Palestine." *Development* 48.3 (2005): 63-72.

Unit Nine

Problem: American Unilateralism

Solution: Global Governance

These readings are required:

- Herring, Eric, and Glen Rangwala. "Iraq, imperialism and global governance." *Third World Quarterly* 26.4-5 (2005): 667-683.

- Krahmann, Elke. "American hegemony or global governance? Competing visions of international security." *International Studies Review* 7.4 (2005): 531-545.
- Malone, David, and James Cockayne. "UN Security Council: 10 Lessons from Iraq on Regulation and Accountability, The." *J. Int'l L & Int'l Rel.* 2 (2005): 1.
- Moses, Jeremy, Babak Bahador, and Tessa Wright. "The Iraq War and the Responsibility to Protect: Uses, Abuses and Consequences for the Future of Humanitarian Intervention." *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 5.4 (2011): 347-367.

Plus, read one of the following articles (your choice)

- Agnew, John. "American hegemony into American empire? Lessons from the invasion of Iraq." *Antipode* 35.5 (2003): 871-885.
- Gordon, Joy. "Accountability and global governance: The case of Iraq." *Ethics & International Affairs* 20.1 (2006): 79-98.
- Newnham, Randall. "'Coalition of the bribed and bullied?' US economic linkage and the Iraq War coalition." *International Studies Perspectives* 9.2 (2008): 183-200.