



The Fourth International Association of Contemporary Iraqi Studies Conference

The State of Iraq and Iraqi Studies since Regime Change

Thursday, November 5, 2015 - 08:30 - 20:30

Friday, November 6, 2015 - 08:30 - 20:30

Saturday, November 7, 2015 - 08:30 - 20:30

Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal Bin Abdulaziz Alsaud Hall, Room P071, AUC New Cairo

For more information, tel 20.2.2615.1221, mai.rashdan@aucegypt.edu

CONTENTS

Conference welcome from IACIS President	2
The IACIS Executive	
IACIS Board	3
Organizers and Local Arrangement Committee	4
IACIS Program Committee	4
The IACIS ~ A Short History	5
IACIS Thanks	6
Conference Program Schedule ~ Overview	7
Conference Panels Day One	8
Conference Panels Day One – Detail	
Panel Session 1 ~ Iraqi Studies as a field of study	8
Panel Session 2 ~ Roundtable on Iraq's Progressive Forces	10
Panel Session 3 ~ Iraq's Domestic Economy	11
Panel Session 4 ~ Iraq and the regional state system	17
Conference Panels Day Two	20
Conference Panels Day Two – Detail	
Panel Session 5 ~ The assault on Iraqis and Iraqi culture	20
Panel Session 6 ~ Monarchical Iraq: Education, Literature, Memory	24
Panel Session 7 ~ Cinema and Politics in/of Iraq	25
Conference Panels Day Three	28
Conference Panels Day Three – Detail	
Roundtable on Scholarly Publishing	29
Panel Session 9 ~ Higher Education and Civil Society in Iraq Today	29
Panel Session 10 ~ Iraq, the U.S. and the War against Terrorists I	32
Panel Session 11 ~ Iraq, the U.S. and the War against Terrorists II	34
Closing remarks	36
Biographies of Attendees	37
Index of Conference Attendees	52

Conference welcome from IACIS President Tareq Y. Ismael

On behalf of your conference hosts, The American University in Cairo, welcome to the Fourth International Association of Contemporary Iraqi Studies (IACIS) Conference on *The State of Iraq and Iraqi Studies since Regime Change*. The purpose of this conference introduction is twofold – to welcome you to this celebration of Iraqi studies and to introduce you to your conference hosts as well as our sponsors. The American University in Cairo (AUC) has a long held reputation for excellence in both its learning provided to a global student body as well as its prodigious and important scholarly production of world class research. The University has a bold mission to provide a liberal arts education to its students, thereby preparing them to be global citizens, addressing the challenges facing the region and the world. At the same time, it serves as a magnet, as a cultural and intellectual hub within Cairo, bringing the greatest minds to the city from around the world while also providing a venue for the world to recognize the immense contributions made by Egyptian scholars, intellectuals, scientists and artists to global knowledge and creativity. The University has a strong mission committed to the production of leading edge research and research driven education programs with genuine public value. I myself was privileged to join its Faculty while on sabbatical from the University of Calgary in 1986-87 and 1993-94. I can attest to AUC's engaged student body, resourceful and dedicated Faculty, and the benefits of residence in one of the world's most important cities.

The support of The American University in Cairo will be felt through its warm hospitality and the engaged nature of its Faculty and students who will be joining us over these next three days. We must also acknowledge their financial support, which has been directed to our Iraqi delegation as well as the facilities we will all make use of during our stay in Cairo. The Department of the Arts Film/Visual Cultural Program and the Department of Political Science have played principle roles in brining about this event through the tireless efforts of the local arrangements committee.

We come to AUC for our Fourth conference supported and joined by our sponsors, the University of Calgary, the International Association of Middle Eastern Studies (IAMES), the Iraqi Economists Network (IEN), Arab Studies Quarterly (ASQ), and the International Center for Contemporary Middle East Studies (ICCMES). We thank them for their support and their membership's contributions to our conference proceedings.

Finally, I do hope you enjoy the amazing locale and the warm embrace provided by The American University in Cairo and the intellectual and social milieu provided by the Fourth IACIS Conference organizers. Its design is intended to further the field of Iraqi Studies and to allow your passion and interest in Iraq and its peoples to be invigorated in concert with your fellow scholars.

Tareq Y. Ismael
President
International Association of Contemporary Iraqi Studies

The IACIS Executive ~ Board Members

Tareq Y. Ismael – President
Professor of Political Science
The University of Calgary (Canada)

Sherzad Ahmed Ameen
Associate Professor of Political Science
Salahaddin University-Erbil KRG, Iraq

Hussain Shaban
The Arab University for Non-Violence (AUNV) (Lebanon)

Terri Ginsberg – Cairo Conference Organizer and Local Arrangements
Assistant Professor of Film
The American University in Cairo (Egypt)

William W. Haddad - Editor IJCIS
Professor (Emeritus) of History
California State University, Fullerton (USA)

Eric Herring
Professor of World Politics and Research Director in the School of Sociology, Politics
and International Studies
The University of Bristol (UK)

Jacqueline Ismael
Professor of Social Work
The University of Calgary (Canada)

Walid W. Kazziha
Professor of Political Science
The American University in Cairo (Egypt)

Günter Meyer
Professor of Geography
The Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz (Germany)

**The IACIS Executive ~ 2015 IACIS Conference
The State of Iraq and Iraqi Studies since Regime Change**

Conference Organizers' Committee

Tareq Y. Ismael (Chair)
The University of Calgary (Canada)

Hussain Shaban
The Arab University for Non-Violence
(AUNV) (Lebanon)

Terri Ginsberg
The American University in Cairo
(Egypt)

Walid W. Kazziha
The American University in Cairo

Local Arrangements Committee

Terri Ginsberg (Chair)
The American University in Cairo

Gamal M. Selim
The British University in Egypt
(liaison between local arrangement
committee and Egyptian scholarly
community)

2015 Program Committee

Thabit Abdullah (History)
Associate Professor of History
York University (Canada)

Sherzad Ahmed Ameen
Associate Professor of Political Science
Salahaddin University-Erbil, KRG (Iraq)

Ibrahim G. Aoudé (Political Science)
Professor of Political Science
University of Hawai'i-Mānoa, Honolulu

Wadouda Badran (Political Science)
Dean, Faculty of Business
Administration, Economics and Political
Science
The British University in Egypt
Professor of Political Science, Faculty of
Economics and Political Science
Cairo University

Ibrahim Elnur
Associate Professor of Political Science,
Chair
The American University in Cairo

Jacqueline Ismael (Chair) (Sociology)
Professor of Social Work
The University of Calgary (Canada)

Malek Khouri (Film Studies)
Professor of Film Studies
The American University in Cairo

Barik Shuber (Economics)
Coordinator - Iraqi Economists Network
(IEN)

Dan Tschirgi
Professor of Political Science
The American University in Cairo

The International Association of Contemporary Iraqi Studies

The International Association of Contemporary Iraqi Studies (IACIS) was founded in 2004 in an effort to address the absence of a coherent focus on Iraqi Studies within the scholarly literatures and popular media discussions following the 2003 invasion. From 2007 the Association has published a peer reviewed scholarly journal, the International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies (IJCIS), and holds semi-annual conferences and workshops attended by an international and multi-disciplinary group of scholars. The Association maintains a focus on bringing Iraqi scholars and global academics together to promote the international study of Iraq and its peoples. In this vein, the Association has diverted much of its resources to providing access for Iraq-based scholars so that they may attend our conferences and join members of the global academy in producing peer reviewed leading scholarship in our journal.

November's Cairo gathering will be our fourth stand-alone conference, following those in London 2005, Amman 2007, and Fullerton California 2014. IACIS has also held its conferences as part of the coalition of member Associations who comprise the World Congress for Middle Eastern Studies (WOCMES) which has been held in Amman 2006, Barcelona 2010 and Ankara 2014. In addition, 2014 saw the Association hold our first workshop, entitled 'Sociology in Iraq: The centennial celebration of Ali Al-Wardi' (Beirut, 2014). The 2015 conference, entitled "The State of Iraq and Iraqi Studies since Regime Change" is to be held in Cairo, 5-7 November 2015. It will be hosted on the new American University in Cairo (AUC) campus and we are looking forward to a full program of international attendees joined by a group of scholars from Iraq.

IACIS conferences and workshops (in inverse order):

"The State of Iraq and Iraqi Studies since Regime Change"

Cairo (5-7 November 2015)

The American University in Cairo, New Cairo Campus

"Iraq After Ten Years of War Symposium"

Fullerton, CA (8-19 April 2013)

California State University, Fullerton, USA

Second Multi-disciplinary International Conference of the International Association of Contemporary Iraq Studies (IACIS)

Amman (11-13 June 2007)

Philadelphia University, Jordan

The International Association of Contemporary Iraqi Studies (IACIS) - Inaugural Conference

London, U.K. (1-3 August 2005)

University of East London, Docklands campus

Beyond the conferences and workshops perhaps our most important contribution is *The International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies* (IJCIS) which was co-founded by editors Jacqueline Ismael and Tareq Y. Ismael (University of Calgary) and has been ably led the past six years by William W. Haddad (California State University, Fullerton). The journal is published by Intellect in the U.K. and may be found here: [<http://www.intellectbooks.co.uk/journals/view-journal,id=144/>].

The Al-Wardi workshop was a resounding success and can be found both online at: [<http://www.aub.edu.lb/Events/Pages/EventDetails.aspx?ItemId=504>] ... as well as published as a special double issue of IJCIS found here: [<http://www.intellectbooks.co.uk/journals/view-issue,id=2747/>] The *IJCIS* can be found at: [<http://www.intellectbooks.co.uk/journals/view-Journal,id=144/>]

IACIS Thanks

The Organizers of the 2015 IACIS conference would like to thank all those who have gone above and beyond in their creative efforts and diligence to aid us in crafting this conference. This Program was printed courtesy of the College of Humanities and Social Sciences at the California State University, Fullerton. Its emergence and delivery to Cairo allowed for the distribution to all attendees.

Many support staff and administration members at AUC should be thanked for all their hard work and professionalism, including Sandra Kameel, Graphic Designer, Office of the Dean of Humanities and Social Sciences, AUC who crafted the posters seen around campus. Anis Zakaria, Team Leader - Solutions Development, University Academic Computing Technologies, who designed and deployed the conference website. May Rashdan, Production Association, Department of the Arts, Mariam El-Attar Department of the Arts Coordinator, Shoukry Abdel Baki, Senior Finance Supervisor, Department of the Arts, and Gehan Wissa, Executive Assistant to the Chair, Department of Political Science, all coordinated, arranged and adroitly organized the conference on campus. Dr. Nathaniel Bowditch, Dean of Humanities and Social Sciences, facilitated the conference with great enthusiasm and worked with Esraa El Bially, Executive Assistant to Dean of Humanities and Social Sciences, and Mona Wagdy Riad, Director, Travel Office, in aiding the Visa process for many conference attendees travelling to Egypt. Mary Shoukry, Senior Officer, Office of the Vice Provost for Research, and Dr. Ehab Abdel Rahman, Vice Provost for Research, deftly supported the initial efforts to bring the conference to being.

Finally, we must draw attention to the creativity of Aisha Biberdorf for the initial designs that led to the cover of the conference program as well as the conference posters.

To all of these hardworking and professional contributors we thank you for facilitating the conference organizers efforts and ensuring the stay of our guests.

IACIS 2015 Conference ~ Program Schedule

For paper abstracts see 'Detail' sections on each day and for author bios (pp. 38-52). A complete alphabetical index by conference participant is included below (p. 53).

Thursday 05 November 2015

08:30 a.m. – 09:00 – Breakfast table

09:00 a.m. – 09:15 – Welcome from AUC Provost Sherif Sedky

and IACIS President Tareq Y. Ismael

09:15 a.m. – 10:00 – Opening remarks by Ziad Ahmed Bahaa-Eldin

10:00 a.m. – 11:30 – Panel Session 1 ~ Iraqi Studies as a field of study

11:30 a.m. – 11:45 – coffee break

11:45 a.m. – 01:15 – Panel Session 2 ~ Roundtable on Iraq's Progressive Forces

01:15 p.m. – 02:30 – Lunch (AUC campus)

02:30 p.m. – 04:30 – Panel Session 3 ~ Iraq's Domestic Economy

04:30 p.m. – 04:45 – coffee break

04:45 p.m. – 06:30 – Panel Session 4 ~ Iraq and the regional state system

07:30 p.m. – 09:30 – Dinner (AUC campus)

Friday 06 November 2015

08:30 a.m. – 09:00 – Breakfast table

09:00 a.m. – 10:30 – Panel Session 5 ~The destruction of Iraqi culture: antiquities and art

10:30 a.m. – 10:45 – coffee break

10:45 a.m. – 12:15 – Panel Session 6 ~ Monarchical Iraq: Education, Literature, Memory

12:15 p.m. – 01:45 – Lunch (AUC campus)

02:00 p.m. – 03:30 – Panel Session 7 ~ Cinema and Politics in/of Iraq

03:30 p.m. – 03:45 – coffee break

03:45 p.m. – 06:15 – Panel Session 8 | Screening of *Al-Qadisiyya* (1981) [145 min.]

07:00 p.m. – 09:00 – Dinner (AUC campus)

Saturday 07 November 2015

08:30 a.m. – 09:00 – Breakfast table

09:00 a.m. – 10:15 – Roundtable on Scholarly Publishing

10:15 a.m. – 10:30 – coffee break

10:30 a.m. – 12:00 – Panel Session 9 ~ Higher Education and Civil Society

12:00 p.m. – 01:30 – Lunch (AUC campus)

01:30 p.m. – 03:00 – Panel Session 10 ~ Iraq, the U.S. and the War against Terrorists I

03:00 p.m. – 03:15 – coffee break

03:15 p.m. – 04:45 – Panel Session 11 ~ Iraq, the U.S. and the War against Terrorists II

05:00 p.m. – 06:00 – Closing remarks delivered by Sinan Antoon

08:00 p.m. – 10:00 – Dinner (Downtown Cairo – location TBA)

Conference Panels Day One ~ Thursday 05 November 2015

08:30 a.m. – 09:00 – Breakfast table

09:00 a.m. – 09:15 – Welcome from AUC Provost Sherif Sedky
and IACIS President Tareq Y. Ismael

09:15 a.m. – 10:00 – Opening remarks by Ziad Ahmed Bahaa-Eldin

10:00 a.m. – 11:30 – Panel Session 1 ~ Iraqi Studies as a field of study

11:30 a.m. – 11:45 – coffee break

11:45 a.m. – 01:15 – Panel Session 2 ~ Roundtable on Iraq's Progressive Forces

01:15 p.m. – 02:30 – Lunch (AUC campus)

02:30 p.m. – 04:30 – Panel Session 3 ~ Iraq's Domestic Economy

04:30 p.m. – 04:45 – coffee break

04:45 p.m. – 06:30 – Panel Session 4 ~ Iraq and the regional state system

07:30 p.m. – 09:30 – Dinner (AUC campus)

Conference Panels Day One ~ Detail

Panel Session 1 ~ Iraqi Studies as a field of study (10:00 a.m. – 11:30 a.m.)

Chair: Tareq Y. Ismael, University of Calgary

Iraqi studies: the permanent lack

Haider Saeed, Arab Center For Research and Policies Studies (Qatar)

The State of Researches on Iraq in Egypt since 2003

Eman Ragab, Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies

“The Mosaic of Iraq - a reflection on diversity in current scholarship”

Thabit Abdullah, York University (Canada)

“A Reflection on Kurdish inclusion within Iraqi Studies”

Sherzad Ahmed Ameen, Salahaddin University-Erbil KRG, Iraq

Abstracts (over)

Abstracts

Iraqi studies: the permanent lack by Saeed, Haider

Iraqi studies, as a field of research evidenced across the scholarship and analysis of Iraq produced within the Western academy from 1991, ignored the impacts of Iraqi state development and politicized its findings to promote Iraq as a target for Western intervention. Absent empirical data and unfettered access to Iraqis, researchers ascribed the Iraqi state to be that of a ubiquitous post-colonial construction led by an authoritarian regime. Applying this pastiche to the Iraqi experience, without regard for Iraqi particularities of history and social comity, this research encouraged understandings not in line with those of many Iraqis as well as some long-time observers of the country.

Such research missed the growth of the middle class tethered to the modern state following independence. Moreover, it fails to account for the study of migration, urbanization and the role of a diminished status for rural political and social actors. This dramatic rise of urban and most often secular political and social expressions informed the backlash as well as sectarian actors tied to clerical legitimacies. The highlighting of these groups in such scholarship was then extended to material support across the 1991-2002 era.

The 1978 pioneering study *The Old Social Classes & The Revolutionary Movement In Iraq* by Hanna Batatu, representative of the potential of prolonged scholarly engagement with Iraq delimited the study of Iraqi society rather than informing its expansion. The closure of Iraqi to foreign researchers, initially steered by x-regime concern over foreign influence, was expanded by Western blockade from 1990-2003 at least. Not only researchers, but the free flow of their scholarship was also dented by the U.N. sanctions regime. Moreover, in isolation and without Iraqi engagements, Batatu's work itself was over interpreted by the Western academy to highlight the ethno-sectarian components of Iraqi society rather than those of social class or other dynamic groupings. Like their foreign counterparts, Iraqi scholars were similarly blunted in their attempts to examine and interpret their own society. Regime-imposed controls over foreign scholarships, the Western academies' blockade of knowledge due the economic embargo, and the filtering if not blockage of intellectual currents from the global flows of social science knowledge due to sanctions, all prevented Iraqi scholars based inside Iraq from engaging with their global peers.

This resulted in the absence of a dynamic and empirically grounded vocabulary whereby Iraq and Iraqis could be examined and analyzed scientifically from the 1980s onwards.

Therefore, the Iraqi Studies can be the most important model to understand the Levantine state crisis, given that Iraq is the example formula (or one of the formulas) for this failure, and exploring the tracks and possible dynamics in the transitional era, as an indicator for the rest of the countries that witnessed the fall of its authoritarian regimes, in the context of what is known as "Arab Spring".

The State of Researches on Iraq in Egypt since 2003 by Eman Ragab,

Historically, Iraq has been an area of interest for the academic circles in Egypt , and according to number of Egyptian academics a competition between them and the Iraqi academics was shaped as a result of the competition between Cairo and Baghdad since the 1973 war. The 2003 regime change in Iraq motivated a new generation of political science students to write their M.A or Ph.D thesis focusing on the political, social, and security developments in Iraq. This trend continued till the end of 2010, where the Arab revolution was sweeping the Arab region, and shifting the areas of interest of the academics away from Iraq to other countries witnessing revolutionary change , i.e. Egypt, Tunisia, Libya and Yemen. However, the continuation of the political and violent conflict in Iraq in the shadow of the Arab spring, maintained a degree of interest in following the developments there, and even some scholars speculated that there will be an Iraqi Spring inspired by the Arab Spring. This paper analyzes the work of the Egyptian academics on Iraq in order to identify the dominant perspectives, and issues, and what does it tell about the state of Iraq studies in Egypt. It is divided into two sections, the first examines the dominant perspectives and issues in the academic work carried out by a sample of researchers since the 2003 regime change in Iraq. The sample includes the Master and Ph.D researchers in the Faculty of economics and Political science -Cairo university. The second section identifies the gaps between these researches and the complicated reality in Iraq since the 2003 change, and what does it mean for the future of Iraq studies among the Egyptian academics.

Panel Session 2 ~ Roundtable on Iraq's Progressive Forces (11:45 a.m. – 01:15 p.m.)

Chair: Hussein Shaban, Non-violence University and human rights (AUNOHR)

Sherzad Ahmed Ameen
Sahib Kahraman
Amer Hassan Fayyad
Abdul-Jabbar Mahmood Fatah
Abdali Al-Mamore

Panel Session 3 ~ Iraq's Domestic Economy (02:30 p.m. – 04:30 p.m.)

Chair: Barik Schuber, Iraqi Economists Network (IEN)

Iraqi Monetary Policy: From Aggregates to Interest Rates after 2004
Mahmoud M. Daghir, Baghdad University

Cold Vision in the Hot Iraqi Questions
Amer Hassan Fayyadh, Al Nahrain University

Comparison of Income Distribution in Iraq with Germany, U.S.
Robert Gallagher, British University in Egypt

Military Expenditure and Economic Growth: The Case of Iraq after the Regime Change
Mohaned Talib El-Hamdi, Kansas State University

The Crisis of Political and Economic Transformations in Iraq after 2003
Abed Ali Kadem al-Mamore, Hammurabi Center for Strategic Studies

Disparities in Governorates' Incomes and Spending: Regional economic interdependence in Iraq
Ali Merza, Iraqi Economists Network

From Abundance to Scarcity: Economic Analysis of Water Demand and Supply in Iraq
Fadhel Rida, The International Center for Agricultural Research in the Dry Area

Abstracts

Iraqi Monetary Policy: From Aggregates to Interest Rates after 2004 by Mahmoud M. Daghir

Mahmoud M. Daghir (Baghdad University): Iraqi Monetary Policy: From Aggregates to Interest Rates after 2004. Although the importance of monetary aggregates in monetary policy, but this field of economics witnessed increasing use of interest rate as nominal anchor instead of aggregates. So this paper deals with Iraqi monetary policy via testing the role of interest rate in formulating Iraqi monetary policy according to Taylor rule after 2004. Some Iraqi officials indicated to attempts toward adopted Taylor rule in managing monetary policy, which the new law of central bank at 2004 support this tendency. The results show the inability to apply the Taylor rule within inflation and GDP Gaps, because the monetary behave isolated from the real activities of Iraqi economy.

(over)

The rental features of Iraqi economy and weak contribution of real sector offsite the role of interest rate in transmitting the monetary effects toward Iraqi real economy, and reflects a weak relationship between real and monetary sectors. For the Exchange rate tool and its use as a means to fight inflation, it is the most effective tool in influencing variables of the national economy, both monetary and real variables, where the statistical tests have proven the significant role played by the exchange rate to influence inflation and output.

Cold Vision in the Hot Iraqi Questions by Amer Hassan Fayyadh

In 2015, Iraq is still suffering from the repercussions of the conflict between the idea of keeping Iraq (pre-state entity) and the idea of reconstruction of the (State of Iraq). As far as the first project is characterized by confliction, emotional, cruel, savage, inhuman and unpatriotic but the reconstruction project is a conflictions project and it should become an interactive national and humane project.

The parties which represent the first project (to keep) can be described inside Iraq by the (ISIS) and their derivatives with multiple Titles (corruption, unemployment, poverty, illiteracy and delay budget). In addition the unsolved problems such as: legislation , agricultural, industrial, productive, disability service, lack of information, and problems) all of them are addresses to (isis). The latter is without purpose and exclusionary of all that is true and what is hostile to each beneficial and evil about everything and, if (isis) evil, all those who do not do good are described as (isis) even if they did not carry (isis) name.

The foreign parties to the first project are many, but known and countable, led by Western utilitarian led by the United States which dealing with terrorism for the purpose of employment and return it to obedience of the utilitarian western house and not for the purpose of defeat. Then expansionist Zionism the first beneficiary of the expansion of terrorism and its spread in the countries of the region surrounding Israel, and then the fundamental Islamic organizations which dream to return to the caliphate and excessive extremism and excessive Arab money. On the other hand, there are the parties to the project (building Iraq / state) who are the opponents and many partners united by their speech and behavior. But even so, these Iraqi partners were able to capture on hot coals and impose their political and presence in the Iraqi parliament elected and elected government. Security, military and Iraqi army and police and the “Peshmerga and the Hashed al sha’by” and stayed on them, in order to be a presence, wholesome and unified rhetoric and behavior is useful to build the Iraq nation by the following steps:

- The counter-terrorism and non-proliferation policy should take priority in words and deeds of the government.
- The government should accept the support of the international coalition against terrorism and prevent its spread with the distinction between regional partner and international shareholder and Intervention regional partner and global partner in the international coalition. Although acknowledging that facing the fascist terrorist which pretend Islamic project should be global, but should be defeated by Iraqis.
- The relationship between the teams and partners (building Iraq State) should be based on leaving revenge policies and superstition among themselves, and leave the emotion to the interact between them, and leave the quotas appointment and privileges down to a fair balance representation and institutions, and to leave the partnership privileges and booty to participate duties and responsibilities, and to maintain the culture of resignation at failure.
- Work to get rid of some policies which it is good itself and innocent except for three political quotas which it is dirty and is non-innocent, and sectarian political is dirty and non-innocent, and racism is dirty and non-innocent of all these policies are non-innocent need to be a criminated in public and it needs a religious and legal prohibition.
- The government should not be afraid of the division, nationally and constitutionally, but fears from the divided nation, and do not look to the others like a foreigner but consider them as Iraqis; and the government should realize that success abroad is a reflection of its success inside, and its decisions should be open and transparent clear and it is not a secret mysterious foggy policies. And the government should be open and not pivotal conglomerate. And it should be a government with the partners does not win everything and non-winner who do not lose everything. The Iraqi government should have the priority of Iraqi interest.

Comparison of Income Distribution in Iraq with Germany, U.S. by Robert Gallagher

Iraq has a degree of income equality higher than Germany and triple the U.S. (cf. Table). I measure degree of income equality by ratio of income share of lowest income quintile of a population to that of the highest ($\frac{Q_5}{Q_1}$). A high degree is characteristic of centrally planned economies, e.g., USSR. $\frac{Q_5}{Q_1}$ was 30% in Russia in 1988, 35% in Hungary. Those figures fell to 8% and 25% by 1993 with privatization of state industries and increased exploitation of wage earners. Iraq's 24% figure in 2007 is surprisingly high four years after forced privatization, and declines slightly to 22.8% by 2012. But Iraq's 2012 CPI—40% higher than in 2007—would explain *substantial* decline in $\frac{Q_5}{Q_1}$ since 2007. The absence of such decline could indicate significant support for lower class living standards from the regime. We might speculate that Iraq follows Hungary's pattern of gradual

decline in $\frac{Q_5}{Q_1}$ rather than the sharp drop experienced in Russia, i.e., its 24% and 22.8% may be points on a decline from values as high as 30-35% under the Baathist regime. Employment turnover post-invasion could conceal rehiring at lower salaries, which could lower $\frac{Q_5}{Q_1}$ in 2007 vs. pre-invasion.

Table. Degree of equality of income, four countries, 2007/8

($\frac{Q_5}{Q_1}$ = ratio of income share of lowest quintile of population to that of highest, percentages)

Iraq	24.3
Egypt	22.9
Germany	20.5
U.S.A.	6.8

(Data: World Bank, U.S. Census Bureau)

Military Expenditure and Economic Growth:

The Case of Iraq after the Regime Change by Mohaned Talib El-Hamdi

Since the creation of Iraq as a state, the military played a pivotal role in the formation and sustainability of it. Throughout Iraq's history, the military received the lion share of its economic resources through high military expenditure (ME), and the growth of the military size. With plentiful natural resources and reasonable access to international markets and technology, the expectation for Iraq was a good level of economic development and standard of living for its people. However, the opposite is true. One explanation is that the excessive spending on the military prevented economic growth. Now, after the change of the political leadership and the transition to a new economic system, the anticipation is that the country will be more efficient in the allocation of its resources leading to a higher level of economic growth. This growth is expected to provide a higher standard of living for the people of Iraq. In this research, we use annual time series data on military expenditure (ME), economic growth, net export (NX), and central government expenditure in Iraq for the period 2004-2014. We investigate the relationship between ME and the other variables for that country after the regime change in 2003. The variables were stationary at the level except the ME and that is why we used the ME growth as a measure of military spending. We found that these four variables have cointegration relationships for that country in that period. The results show that in Iraq after the fall of Saddam's regime there was no Granger causality from ME on economic growth and from GDP on ME. The Granger causality goes from Net Export and Government Expenditure to the economic growth. However there is Granger causality from any of the variables on the ME. We conclude that the decisions on the military expenditure in Iraq after the change of the regime are not taken as economic decisions rather than political ones based on the circumstances in the country. Means that there is no long-run vision about the economic effects of ME by the policy makers in that country. This is augmented by the high volatility of the ME growth over the 10 years period of the study. The main conclusion is that the regime change in Iraq did not mean that country stopped or reduced its ME.

The Crisis of Political and Economic Transformations in Iraq after 2003

by Abdali Al-Mamore

In light of the transition phase that took place in 2003 as a result of an external action, which was unlike the 1991 uprising when Iraq witnessed a popular movement and protests extended across the country aside from some areas in the capital Baghdad, that 1991 uprising completely resembles the process of change in some Arab countries (Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Syria,, Bahrain, Yemen).

The 2003 US invasion of Iraq was designed to transform the country politically and economically as well as conceptually. Democracy, transition of power, and freedoms are key to the process. On the economic scale, the change to a “Market Economy” with all its capitalist activities was a priority by itself. Perhaps, it was decided before the American occupation in 9-4-2003 through an agreement between the United States and Iraqi exiled political factions which formed the bulk of the opposition to the former Iraqi regime.

The political discourse which ensued following the invasion and all the decisions and measures taken and even the new constitution in 2005 embodied the vision of the new Iraqi state in adopting such political and economic changes which constitute the main pillars for the transition which came later. Iraq should have been, as the United States had previously announced, an example or a model to be followed in the Middle East.

It appears that the current situation in Iraq can't keep Iraq unified. Moreover, the overall ineffective transition process, particularly on the political and economic fronts, has been reduced democracy to no more than an activity of holding elections. The economic transformation has turned the state- controlled economy into a private sector one and unleashed economic freedom through free trade that led to the destruction of the local production sector. The free movement of capital has also resulted in money laundering, corruption and pushed the local capital to flee the country.

The question that constitutes the base for this paper is “Why do the political and economic transformations in Iraq falter and look hesitant most of the times?” Is it because the absence of a national project led to the collapse of the transition process in the country? Or it is the incompetence of the political elite in the aftermath of 2003? What effect do the oil revenues have on the process of political and economic transition? Can the political and social inheritance curb or stop the whole process? Or it is the mindset and mentality whether on the governmental or the popular parts prevent or challenge such economic change? Accordingly, the current Iraqi situation as a model deserves to be deeply studied in order to show the effects of wasting such an opportunity on the Iraqi society and the future of its coming generations.

Disparities in Governorates' Incomes and Spending: Regional economic interdependence in Iraq by Ali Merza

The present-day division of Iraq into three, more or less, disjoint parts (Kurdistan plus Kirkuk, Baghdad-to-Basra, and the “Middle”) hides a long-enduring economic fact. Only a very limited number of oil-producing governorates (mainly Basra, then to a lesser extent Kirkuk, and recently, Missan/Wasit) have been “financing” the deficit between locally generated incomes and spending in all other governorates, including Kurdistan. Although the latter has progressively gained more economic power through its independent decisions on oil investment and output, it is still tied to the federal budget. The paper will try to look into the economic/financial interdependence among the different governorates of the country. Furthermore, it will try to analyze the influences/consequences of this interdependence on an already complex situation, in which, apparently, more compelling factors are at play. Without a universal political, social, and institutional accord it is not clear now whether arriving at an agreed “sharing” of oil revenues is at all possible. Nevertheless, suggesting possible arrangements for oil revenues sharing, some of which have already been proposed previously, could itself contribute to possible political/social resolution to the ongoing worsening conflict that threatens, seriously, the unity of the country.

From Abundance to Scarcity: Economic Analysis of Water Demand and Supply in Iraq by Fadhel Rida

Mesopotamia (Current Iraq) was the first civilization in history to manage the supply of water through large networks for irrigation and flood control and thus was conceptualized by scholars as a hydraulic society. Historically, water was relatively abundant in Iraq and thus associated with certain consumption and cropping patterns in urban and rural areas respectively. These patterns, particularly in agriculture which consumes 80% of available water, have not changed much. Further, the dynamics of temporal and spatial effect of climate change on precipitation, the expansion of the water storage projects in the neighbouring countries (Turkey, Syria and Iran) and high population growth (3.6%) will further exacerbate the stress on Iraq water supply. The absence of demand management policies which is aggravated by soil salinity is another dimension of water issue in Iraq. This study analyses the dynamics of water balance and concludes that water inflow from the upper stream countries should not be static. As agriculture is the main consumer, the discharge should be adjusted to reflect the seasonality of water demand. The study also analyses agricultural water consumption patterns and draws demand management scenarios. Existing cropping pattern and irrigation technologies contribute to the high level of water demand in the agriculture sector which is characterized by low productivity of per unit of water allocated or consumed. Demand and supply side management policies have to be devised to address the diversion of available water to high value crops. 10% reduction in the total withdrawal by irrigated agriculture will have considerable positive impact on the water supply in other sectors.

Panel Session 4 ~ Iraq and the regional state system (04:45 p.m. – 06:30 p.m.)

Chair: Ali El-Deen Hilal Dessouki, Cairo University

Opening the gates of Karbala: The Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps' involvement in Iraq after Saddam Hussein
Holly Dagues, Cairo Review of Global Affairs

Exploring Iraqi Foreign Policy since 2003: A Conceptual Stock-Taking and Proposals for Future Analysis
Fred H. Lawson, Mills College

Iraq's Political Economy Post 2003 and Lessons for Other Arab Countries
Joseph Sassoon, Georgetown University

The Anglo-American Occupation of Iraq and the Sectarianization of Iraqi and Arab Politics
Gamal M. Selim, The British University in Egypt and John H.W. Measor, ICCMES

Neo-Ottomanism: Turkish Foreign Policy in Iraq from 2002
Ashraf Nabih El-Sherif, the Project on Middle East Democracy (POMED)

Abstracts

Opening the gates of Karbala: The Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps' involvement in Iraq after Saddam Hussein by Holly Dagues

When the United States invaded Iraq in 2003, it reopened the gates of Karbala to the country's suppressed Shiite majority. The first Ashura in decades symbolized Iran's ascension inside its former enemy. The United States began the process of dismantling Iraq in order to foment democracy after toppling Saddam Hussein through de-baathification—the dissolving of Iraq's army and Baath party members—which left a power vacuum for regional powers. The process marginalized the Sunnis while empowering the Shiites. As a result of these divisions, a bloody insurgency commenced in late 2004 that allowed the establishment of Al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) under Abu Musab Al-Zarqawi and for the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) to fund and train groups like Badr Brigade of the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI), and then Muqtada Al-Sadr's Mahdi Army, Kataib Hezbollah and Asaib Ahl Al-Haq. With the election of Prime Minister Nouri Al-Maliki in 2006, Iran's involvement in Iraq increased ten-fold and with it, its regional influence in countries like Syria in the aftermath of the Arab Uprisings of 2011. In addition, it also provided economic opportunity to Iran that was hammered by sanctions due to its controversial nuclear program. I argue the IRGC's intervention in Iraq after Saddam is not as an effort to spread Shi'ism and dominate the region, but rather to serve as a security buffer zone to

protect Iran from the threat of war from the aftermath of September 11 and the quagmire of the Arab Uprisings.

Exploring Iraqi Foreign Policy since 2003: A Conceptual Stock-Taking and Proposals for Future Analysis by Fred H. Lawson

Political science scholarship on post-2003 Iraq focuses almost exclusively on trends in the country's domestic political arena. No survey of Iraqi foreign policy has appeared since the end of the Ba'thi regime, and Baghdad's role in Middle Eastern and Gulf affairs has been largely ignored. The exception to the rule is a handful of essays on the vicissitudes of recent relations between Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran—but even here policy-makers in Baghdad tend to be presented as actual or potential clients of Tehran, rather than as autonomous actors pursuing strategic interests of their own. This essay offers an overview and critique of the existing scholarly and journalistic literature on Iraq's foreign policy in the post-Ba'thi era. It teases out the analytical perspectives that dominate current writing on the topic, and indicates the most important conceptual and empirical gaps in the field. In addition, it poses crucial questions that might provide the basis for future work, and offers provisional evidence that successive leaderships in post-Ba'thi Baghdad have in fact been significantly more active and consequential in regional affairs than one might expect on the basis of the accounts that have appeared to this point.

**Iraq's Political Economy Post 2003 and Lessons for Other Arab Countries
by Joseph Sassoon**

Iraq after the US-led invasion provides an interesting case where the mechanisms of authoritarianism have been shattered: the ruling party, the army, and the security services were all disbanded. There was in essence a *rasa tabula* that rarely exists when authoritarian regimes collapse (East Europe, Soviet Union, and the Arab uprising in Tunisia and Egypt are all examples where remnants of the old regimes remained). Yet, there were other forces that pushed the country back to authoritarianism and higher levels of corruption. The talk will discuss the reasons for this political failure and demonstrate that unlike many other countries, lack of resources was not the reason behind this regression. It will present how other Arab countries can benefit if they were to transition from authoritarian regimes to more open societies, from the lessons of Iraq during the first decade after invasion.

The Anglo-American Occupation of Iraq and the Sectarianization of Iraqi and Arab Politics by Gamal M. Selim and John H.W. Measor

The Anglo-American invasion of Iraq triggered a wave of violent political sectarianism in Iraq and across the Arab world. The overthrow of the Ba'th regime and the empowerment of political Shi'ism in Iraq were viewed by some existing regimes in the Arab world as a threat to national security. It inspired the expression – often through violence – of

sectarian and confessional identity across the region. This paper seeks to examine the rise of political sectarianism in Iraq and across the Arab world through an analysis of the underlying factors behind this phenomenon that arose in the aftermath of the invasion of Iraq. The main argument is that the rise of political sectarianism in Iraq and eventually in the Arab world, was the outcome of both direct and indirect measures that materialized at the national and regional levels. Direct measures were pursued by the Bush administration and its governing authority in Iraq in the form of carefully designed policies that aimed at remaking Iraq along a sectarian axis. These included, among others, the disbanding of the state's governing institutions, the formation of the Interim Governing Council (IGC), the creation of paramilitary forces along sectarian lines, the drafting of a sectarian-based Iraqi constitution, and the systematic destruction of a nationalist consciousness and historical memory in Iraq. As a consequence, indirect effects materialized in the form of a spillover and diffusion of Iraq's sectarian conflict across the region. The resultant 'sectarianization' of Arab domestic and regional politics has not before existed in modern Arab history. This regional politicization of sectarianism has been evident in the intensification of sectarian-based conflicts within and among regional actors after the invasion of Iraq.

**Neo-Ottomanism: Turkish Foreign Policy in Iraq from 2002
by Ashraf Nabih El-Sherif**

Turkish foreign policy in Iraq was part of the post-2002 Neo-Ottomanist policy of the new Turkish political establishment led by the ruling AK party as part of its broader program of political, economic and cultural re-structuring of the country to construct a new republic. Such policy combined traditional elements of Turkish statecraft driven by *realpolitik* considerations of national security and economic interests with new visions of projecting regional power, cultural capital and political/ideological model. Neo-Ottomanism reached its zenith with the Arab revolutions in 2011 and its aftermaths. But its decline came sooner than expected thanks to 1) its over-estimation of the orderliness of the potential post-authoritarian revolutionary/reformist transitions in Syria, Egypt and Iraq and of the capacity of the 'moderate Islamist' actors to champion this process and also 2) under-estimating the resilience of old states in the revolutionized Arab countries and its ability to resist and survive, supported by regional super-powers, even if leading the country to a disastrous civil war as in Syria and to a lesser extent in Iraq. Failure to check the potential radical developments of the Islamist alternatives in Iraq and Syria and the unsuccessful attempt to realistically manipulate ideologically radical actors such as ISIS brought upon disastrous consequences. The most sensitive point to the demise of the Neo-Ottomanism was the repercussions of its regional power-politics on its domestic Kurdish question. Unprecedented Kurdish autonomous political agency in Syria and Iraq provoked Kurdish tensions within Turkey that left its impact both on Turkish parliamentary politics, the suspension of integration/reconciliation plans and the eruption of a de-facto little civil war between the Turkish state and its Kurdish minority in South-East Turkey. Interestingly, while the Neo-Ottomanist policy first started as an attempt to project Turkish power-surplus abroad to maximize its gains and re-structure its surroundings, eventually its outcomes are haunting the Turkish establishment at home right now.

Conference Panels Day Two ~ Friday 06 November 2015

08:30 a.m. – 09:00 – *Breakfast table*

09:00 a.m. – 10:30 – Panel Session 5 ~ The assault on Iraqis and Iraqi culture

10:30 a.m. – 10:45 – *coffee break*

10:45 a.m. – 12:15 – Panel Session 6 ~ Monarchical Iraq:

Education, Literature, Memory

12:15 p.m. – 01:45 – *Lunch* (AUC campus)

02:00 p.m. – 03:30 – Panel Session 7 ~ Cinema and Politics in/of Iraq

03:30 p.m. – 03:45 – *coffee break*

03:45 p.m. – 06:15 – Panel Session 8 | Screening of *Al-Qadisiyya* (1981) [145 min.]

07:00 p.m. – 09:00 – *Dinner* (AUC campus)

Conference Panels Day Two ~ Detail

Panel Session 5 ~ The assault on Iraqis and Iraqi culture (09:00 a.m. – 10:30 a.m.)

Chair: Walid Kazziha, American University in Cairo

Deterioration of Environment and Life Quality Parameters in Iraq since the American Occupation of Iraq to Date

Souad Naji Al-Azzawi, The Canadian University of Dubai (UAE)

Social Justice in Iraq: The Deconstruction of Social Equity in the New World Order

Tareq Y. Ismael and Jacqueline S. Ismael

A Life of Mourning: The Plight of the Widows of Iraq since 2003

Yasmine Jawad, University of Durham (UK)

Displacement, Ethnicity and Social Capital: Iraqi Refugee Communities in Amman

Rasha S. Mansour, British University in Egypt

Women's roles and initiatives in Peace-building in Iraq

Yasmin M. Khodary, British University in Egypt

Abstracts

Deterioration of Environment and Life Quality Parameters in Iraq since the American Occupation of Iraq to Date by Souad Naji Al-Azzawi

Environment and population's life quality parameters in Iraq suffered a great deal of degradation since the American occupation of Iraq in 2003. The invasion armed forces of Iraq used different kinds and new generations of conventional, nonconventional, and illegal weapons like Napalm, cluster bombs, white phosphorous, microwave, and Depleted Uranium weapons against the human population and the environment of Iraq. As a result of using these weapons, with the destruction of major life quality infrastructure like potable water, electricity, health care system, and lack of security more than million Iraqi people have died since 2003 and the count continues. Radioactive Depleted Uranium (DU) weapons were used during the invasion military operations in crowded, heavily populated cities like Baghdad. It was also reused in previously contaminated areas like southern Iraq like Basrah city. Published Scientific studies and evidences indicate that DU related radioactive contamination increase the risk and incidences of cancer, children birth defects, and other diseases. Medical records and epidemiological studies in Iraq proved the multifold increase of cancer and congenital birth defects. In this paper, causes and consequences led to the deterioration of environment and Iraqi population life sustaining parameters during the American occupation of Iraq will be presented.

Social Justice in Iraq: The Deconstruction of Social Equity in the New World Order by Tareq Y. Ismael and Jacqueline S. Ismael

This paper examines Iraq as a case study of a process of deliberate construction and systematic destruction of social equity – a process (it is argued) that has become a dominant pattern in the neoliberal world order emergent following the Cold War. In Iraq this process has proven catastrophic in its humanitarian impact, while at the same time it has challenged many Iraqis desired association with their state project in favour of alternatives. The concept of social justice is a fundamental principle of citizenship, generally couched in a discourse of prescription. We begin by tracing the notion of citizenship deployed in Iraq from its independence. Iraqi understandings of citizenship through the monarchical, republican, Ba'thist, Anglo-American occupation, and sectarian governing regimes have been tied to efforts by those regimes to encourage Iraqis to embrace the dominant framing of the sitting regime's concept of citizenship. The prescriptive nature of citizenship was attuned to the state-building project under the monarchy, infused with aspirational progressive goals under the early republic, subsumed under Ba'thist hegemony, and shattered under the occupation when a market orientated neoliberal paradigm was imposed. The construction of social equity, including a national social infrastructure of health, education and welfare programs accessible to all citizens, tied Iraqis to the state project within an agreed understanding of social justice. From the birth of the modern state this process has experienced two pivotal and transformative events; the 1958 Revolution and the 2002 ruination of the Iraqi state. It was the primary principle of social justice that had fueled the dynamic of Iraq's trajectory from feudal-

tribal society to modern nation-state. Thus, we will examine the trajectory of change that emerged with the construction of republicanism following 1958, its disfigurement and manipulation under the Ba’thist regime and economic sanctions, and forced revision today. It was only through Anglo-American force-of-arms and the destruction of the Iraqi state that a new paradigm could be attempted. Therefore, our deconstruction and critical evaluation of citizenship under the current regime will assess its expression against evident calls for popular sovereignty and human rights enshrined in national and global legal mechanisms, as well as normative claims undergirding legitimacy. Moving forward, such framings provide potential challenge to the dependence of the post-withdrawal political class on sectarianism. Expanding the basis of legitimacy for governance, returning social equity to its central role in the conception of citizenship, has driven the current popular uprisings across Iraq. This challenge to the post-2002 imposed order brings Iraq full circle to public calls for Iraqi popular sovereignty. By framing the concept of social justice in a discourse of process rather than prescription, the Iraqi case study provides insight into the epistemological and ontological nature of social justice in the contemporary world order.

A Life of Mourning: The Plight of the Widows of Iraq since 2003 by Yasmine Jawad

The Golden Era of Iraqi women (1950 to 1980) has disappeared without trace, probably not to reappear for generations, if ever. The invasion of 2003 swept away all the gains that women had made during the previous five decades. What was ironic was that “Liberating Iraqi Women” was a slogan repeated by the invaders (Western democracies), but the promises made to the women never materialized and commitments were never honored. Sources at the United Nations and Iraqi officials estimate that there are about fifteen million women in Iraq, two million of whom are widows. Analysis by the UN and other international organizations demonstrate that the welfare of women deteriorated in the aftermath of the war, which had brought destruction and misery to so many people, but no one suffered more than Iraqi widows. Iraqi society is well known as being strongly patriarchal, tribal, and conservative, and during the war hopes were raised that a more open and liberated regime would ensue. However, the liberation promised before the war never took place, and the previous secularist regime has been replaced by a religious sectarian government that continues previous oppression and has even eliminated freedoms previously enjoyed by women. Any legal rights that Iraqi women were guaranteed before the war are gone. The failure of the 2003 is reflected in the human cost, which has affected women more than any other group. This paper will examine the plight of women within a socio-economic and political framework, and will focus principally on the legal status, difficulties and suffering of Iraqi widows.

Displacement, Ethnicity and Social Capital: Iraqi Refugee Communities in Amman Rasha S. Mansour

The deadly sectarian strife unleashed by the US invasion of Iraq in 2003 has pushed millions of Iraqis to seek refuge in neighboring countries. Predominantly urban and middle-class, Iraqis did not settle in refugee camps but lived in major cities among the

local population. However, their ambiguous legal position and their limited prospects of being resettled to a third country make an imminent durable solution more and more elusive. This protracted state of uncertainty has forced Iraqis to increasingly rely on their social capital to secure a relatively acceptable quality of life and minimum measure of stability.

Much attention has been given to the status of Iraqi refugees in the Middle East. Few studies, however, deal with the dynamics of social capital formation, its patterns and determinants. Such studies are not only small in number but are also concentrated on first world countries where the full integration of refugees as citizens constitutes a concrete and plausible solution.

Undertaking such a study in the Arab world is important because it should generate new and relevant findings regarding the role of social capital in mitigating the consequences of protracted refugee situations. More importantly, it should shed light on the effect of displacement on sectarianism and sectarian relations among Iraqis in the diaspora.

The study encompasses qualitative and quantitative analysis, and relies on primary data collected through questionnaires and semi-structured interviews with refugees in Amman. Secondary data will be obtained from existing literature, government statistics, and NGO reports

Women's roles and initiatives in Peace-building in Iraq by Yasmin M. Khodary

State reconstructions and peace-building processes provide windows of opportunity to reshape existing political settlements especially through addressing underlying power dynamics. One very prominent actor and stakeholder that should be actively engaged in state reconstruction and political settlements is women. However, in their "Conflict-affected and fragile states" study, O'Connell and Harcourt (2011) asserted that there is a lack of robust analysis or examination of the roles, efforts and initiatives pertaining women's political participation, economic empowerment and accessibility to quality services in fragile and post-conflict contexts.

The aim of this paper is to illustrate women's roles and initiatives in peace-building in Iraq in an attempt to enrich knowledge-sharing and provide lessons learnt. The paper aims to explore whether Iraqi women have been able to take advantage of opportunities opened up through state reconstructions and peace-building, such as negotiations over new state structures, peace agreements, political settlements and gender-responsive service provision, or was such opportunities missed. The paper starts with providing the conceptual framework for peace-building and then it moves from illustrating women's roles and initiatives in peace-building, at large, to illustrating women's roles and initiatives in peace-building in Iraq in particular. In doing so, the paper employs a qualitative methodology that combines review of literature and documents with in-depth interviews with activists such as Kathleen Kuehnast or Manal Omar and members of Iraqi women NGOs, such as the International Alliance for Justice and Woman Leadership Organization. The paper ends with drawing a set of lessons learnt to strengthen peace-building knowledge and actions.

Panel Session 6 ~ Monarchical Iraq: Education, Literature, Memory (10:45 a.m. – 12:15 p.m.)

Chair: Mohamed Fayez Farahat, Al-Ahram Center for Political & Strategic Studies

“The Mandaean Community in Ottoman and Mandate Iraq”
Thabit Abdullah – York University, Canada

The Royal College of Medicine and the Construction of Iraqi Identity
Sara Farhan – York University, Canada

Political history of the Iraqi Archives : how to write Iraqi History
Matthieu Rey, Collège de France

Abstracts

The Mandaean Community in Ottoman and Mandate Iraq by Thabit Abdullah

Among the many religions, ethnic groups and sects that make up Iraqi society, little has been written about the Mandaeans. The Mandaeans (or Sabaeans) are an ancient community based historically in the ‘Amara and Suq al-Shuyukh regions. They are the only fully gnostic religious community still surviving today. There have been some works published on their beliefs and possible ancient origins, but practically nothing on their role in Ottoman and modern Iraq. In this paper, I will present a selection of observations on the social condition in which Mandaeans found themselves during the Ottoman and Mandate periods as presented in traveller accounts, Ottoman and British government documents, and oral accounts passed down within the Mandaean community. Special attention will be paid to the curious case of the Mandaean priest, Shaykh Sahan, who was imprisoned by Ottoman authorities in 1872 for his role in supporting the insurrection of the Muntafaq tribal confederacy.

**The Royal College of Medicine and the Construction of Iraqi Identity
by Sara Farhan**

The purpose of this paper is to investigate the relationship the Royal College of Medicine’s instructors, developers, and students had with the construction of Iraqi identity during the Hashemite Kingdom. Principally, the development of the initial curriculum of the College and how it was transformed over time to meet the changing needs of the country. The introduction of medical legislation that transformed Baghdadi citizenship and curtailed traditional Iraqi practices will be analyzed. The paper argues that through the establishment of the Royal College of Medicine, Iraqi doctors adapted their European-structured education to meet the needs of their communities. The graduates transcribed their skills and amalgamated their lessons alongside Iraq’s traditions in order to forge an identity of a new Iraqi citizenship. It is through the study of

physical and moral hygiene, doctors, medical experts, as well as public service agents attempted to eradicate rebellious elements within society and police public order during the Hashemite period.

Political history of the Iraqi Archives: how to write Iraqi History by Matthieu Rey

In 2012, a major contribution to the Iraqi historiography highlighted the main outcomes in the recent development of the Iraqi history. Most of the chapters mentioned the importance of the history but they did not go further in the practical conditions in writing history. I will argue that documents and their analyses have a great impact on our understanding of Iraq and I will put forward remarks on how national Archives shed light on the political history of the state regarding the constitution of its memory and its narrative. When the state was created, no law established the Iraqi Archives. First, it is important to explain the change introduced by the laws: in 1942, the first department emerged and in 1963 the most liberal law on the archives was issued, without being clearly implemented. This rocky path pinpoints how the rule of the law and the archives had witnessed similarities during contemporary Iraqi history. Finally, the national archives has been officialised in the aftermath of the end of Saddam Hussein's regime, in 2003. What do these archives contain? Focusing on the Monarchical period and its historiographical approaches shows the relations between contemporary history in Iraq and documentation. I will then assess the importance of the recent changes and their outcomes in terms of who and how Iraqi studies have improved since 2003.

Panel Session 7 ~ Cinema and Politics in/of Iraq (02:00 p.m. – 03:30 p.m.)

Chair: Ferial Ghazoul, American University in Cairo

Screening the Iraq War: A Black Hole in Film Genre?
Isabelle Freda, Hofstra University

“Iraqi” Cinema since Regime Change
Terri Ginsberg, The American University in Cairo

Al Qadissiya (1981) and Arab national discourse
Malek Khouri, American University in Cairo

Framing responsibilities in the Iraq conflict: The primacy and versatility of
televised images
Lawrie Phillips, the British University in Egypt

Abstracts (over)

Abstracts

Screening the Iraq War: A Black Hole in Film Genre? by Isabelle Freda

This paper will engage the complex intermingling of imagery, ideology, and history as it emerges within the sub-genre we might describe as the “post-9/11 Iraq War Film.” Taking as my focus Kathryn Bigelow’s *Hurt Locker* and Clint Eastwood’s *American Sniper*, I ask, first, why these films garnered large audiences (in contrast to the genre as a whole) and why, moreover, *American Sniper* became such a mega-hit. In narrowing my examination to these two films I propose to examine the interplay of subjectivity and the cinematic screen, asking what position these films place the spectator in and how we might understand this in terms of screen history and violence in general as well as the specificity of the war and its visual frame in particular. Further issues which arise in the juxtaposition of these two films include: the issue of gender (as it applies to the representation of both Iraqi and American protagonists and to both films directors: *Hurt Locker* was the first film directed by a woman to garner an Academy Award); issues arising out of the long relationship between the camera and the gun historically, and today, as it has found its most deadly incarnation in the military drone, and, finally, the broader contours of official discourse as it is solidified (or not) within these films and the sub-genre as a whole. Other films to be referenced include Laura Poitrus’s *My Country*, *My Country* and Michael Winterbottom and Matt Whitecross’s *Road to Guantanamo*.

“Iraqi” Cinema since Regime Change by Terri Ginsberg

During the 1950s-1970s, film production in Iraq was relatively prolific. Private industry modeled along Egyptian lines eventually gave way to nationalization under Ba'th Party rule (likewise following the Egyptian example under Nasser). Not unlike Iraqi cinema of the colonial era, most post-independence Iraqi cinema had the ideological aim of propping up the new regime while supplying light entertainment to the populace. A minor "auteur" cinema did develop at that time which produced a small number of critical independent films, but the movement was short-lived due to insufficient funding and access to necessary technology and equipment, as well as due to marginalization by the commercial film industry, which maintained control of much of the exhibition sector. The bulk of quality film production in Iraq occurred during the period of nationalization, during which Iraqi filmmakers, many trained in the United States, were encouraged to direct feature films. This development eventually led to the establishment of a film school in Baghdad. Since the Iran-Iraq War, however, which drained the country's disposable resources, national film production in Iraq effectively ended by 1983 and has not significantly resumed. This is not to say that films publicized as "Iraqi" have not been produced in recent years; on the contrary, a small but noteworthy number of "Iraqi" films have been made, primarily for international distribution, largely by Iraqi expatriots to (and from) Europe and with financial support from private foreign sources. My paper will discuss two such films, *Zaman: The Man from the Reeds* (Amer Alwan, France/Iraq, 2003), and *Ahlaam* (Mohamed Jabarah al-Daradji, Iraq/Netherlands, 2006), comparing and contrasting their differing but overlapping strategies which at once

evidence the suffering of Iraqis under conditions of war and violence while in varying ways distracting or distorting attention from the real determinants of those conditions and in turn suggesting solutions or answers to the problems facing Iraq that ultimately suit continued occupation and interference by hegemonic Western powers. By extension my paper will draw critical connections between the aims and orientations of new "Iraqi" cinema and the *hasbara* cultural initiatives of contemporary Israel.

***Al Qadisiyyah* (1981) and Arab national discourse by Khouri, Malek**

In the midst of the Iran Iraq war of the early 1980s, the Iraqi Film Institute produced one of the most expensive films in the history of Arab cinema, and certainly the most ambitious film projects in Iraqi cinema history. The big budget historical epic *Al Qadisiyyah* (1981), brought together a strong cast of popular Egyptian actors, as well as a group of key Iraqi and Arab actors. The film was directed by filmmaker Salah Abou-Seif, by then already an icon of Egyptian cinema. The film depicted the victory of Arab Muslim leader Saad Ibn Abi Waqqas in a battle with the Persian army fought in the year 636 A.D. The battle signaled a watershed in Arab Muslim history, paving the road for their later expansion through North Africa, Spain, and across South Asia. In its interpretation of the actual events of the battle, the film attempts to draw political and ethical parallels between the original war with Persia, and the Iraq-Iran of the 1980s. As such, the film presents a key example of how Arab political discourse at the time began to advocate an Arab alliance in the face of an assumed existential and growing Iranian threat. In this paper, I will discuss how the pan-Arab discourse of *Al Qadisiyyah* both complements, and parts with chauvinistic interpretations of Arab nationalism at the time. In the same breadth, the paper considers how various discursive thematic and textual elements within the film foreshadow later and more current shifts in regional hegemonic politics. As such, the paper describes precursor signifiers of shifts from anti colonial/anti-imperialist nationalist discourse, to sectarian based Shiite / Sunni approximation of the Arab / Iran relationship.

Framing responsibilities in the Iraq conflict: The primacy and versatility of televised images by Lawrie Phillips

This paper critically examines the nature and role of televised images in the attribution of responsibilities for the atrocities committed during the 2003 US invasion of Iraq and for the horrific acts and levels of violence that have continued since President Bush's 'job well done' speech (1st May 2003) and that have escalated since the emergence of ISIS.

The paper claims that in the current climate of mass media and Internet communications, the visual image – allied as it is to audio and written texts – has transcended the power of the mere spoken or written word as a result of the emotional impact and immediacy and global reach and adaptability of the televised image. This paper argues that the visual image encapsulates the essence of post-modern communications. Photographic images no longer act as hard evidence (Mirzoeff 2003), because visual images can be digitally

manipulated; and it is the visual image that best expresses the post-modern concept of 'the sublime': a heady mixture of 'admiration, awe, terror and desire' (Freedberg 1989), based on a dramatic ability to 'present the unrepresentable' (Lyotard 1993).

The paper supports the claim that 'episodic frames' (Iyengar 1991: 14) prevail in current media production, depicting responsibilities in terms of 'concrete instances' rather than 'general contexts': so that visual images of the Iraq conflict – proud parades and military salutes, tearful smiling homecomings and spotless national flags blowing in the breeze (US Marine Corp production) or the US helicopter that 'engaged' (coldly massacred) a team of journalists (Collateral Murder www.wikileaks.com) or the systematic beheading of defenseless captives (Iraqi News website) – play a primary role in identifying and blaming the Other.

Panel Session 8 ~ Screening of *Al-Qadisiyya* (1981) [145 minutes] (03:45 – 06:15)

Conference Panels Day Three ~ Saturday 07 November 2015

8:30 a.m. – 9:00 – Breakfast table

09:00 a.m. – 10:15 – Roundtable on Scholarly Publishing

10:15 a.m. – 10:30 – coffee break

**10:30 a.m. – 12:00 – Panel Session 9 ~ Higher Education and Civil Society
in Iraq Today**

12:00 p.m. – 1:30 – Lunch (AUC campus)

1:30 p.m. – 3:00 – Panel Session 10 ~ Iraq, the US and the War against Terrorists I

03:00 p.m. – 3:15 – coffee break

3:15 p.m. – 4:45 – Panel Session 11 ~ Iraq, the US and the War against Terrorists II

5:00 p.m. – 6:00 – Closing remarks delivered by Sinan Antoon

8:00 p.m. – 10:00 – Dinner (Downtown Cairo – location TBA)

Conference Panels Day Three ~ Detail

Roundtable on Scholarly Publishing (9:00 a.m. – 10:15 a.m.)

Sinan Antoon, *Jadaliyya*

Ibrahim Aoude, *Arab Studies Quarterly*

Anoush Ehteshami, *Durham Modern Middle East and Islamic World Series*

Neil Hewison, AUC Press

Tareq Ismael, *The International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies*

Panel Session 9 ~ Higher Education and Civil Society in Iraq Today (10:30 a.m. – 12:00 p.m.)

Chair: Sherzad Ahmed Ameen

Is the crisis of Iraq only State-Building Crisis?

Sherzad Ahmed Ameen, University of Salahaddin

Historical Postgraduate Studies Trends in Iraq after 2003: Theses in the Department of History (College of Arts, University of Baghdad) as Model

Usama A. Numan Al-Duri, Baghdad University

Challenges Facing Iraqi Higher Education Sector

Beriwan Khailany, University of Salahaddin

Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in Iraq: Gender Issues

Senik Tahir Mahmood, Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research – KRG, Iraq

The Human Capacity Building Programs in Higher Education in Iraqi Kurdistan Region

Govand Sherwani

Abstracts

Is the crisis of Iraq only State-Building Crisis? by Sherzad Ahmed Ameen

The paradox of attempting to build state institutions without considering the socio-political cohesion of societies ‘emergence again’ throughout the world, most notably today in under-developed countries. This paper is an attempt to shed some light on the discussion and debate regarding the concept of state-building and its application in Iraq following the attack and invasion by the USA and coalition forces in April 2003. The result saw the overthrow of the Iraqi regime and occupation of the country. This event was significant for its aim to build a democratic state in Iraq, as declared by the USA. In this study, we try to explain the issue of state-building process in Iraq and whether they

are identical to those promised by the Americans to establish a democratic state. This paper will discuss two different intellectual approaches to the concept of the state found in the fields of political science and sociology related to the vision of Max Weber – the institutional approach and the legitimacy approach, which focuses on state institutions. At the same time we will try to emphasize the importance of political – sociological cohesion in the process of state-building in Iraq. The conclusion will discuss the influence of external actors on the process of state-building.

Historical Postgraduate Studies Trends in Iraq after 2003: Theses in the Department of History (College of Arts, University of Baghdad) as Model
by Usama A. Numan Al-Duri

The field of post graduate studies in the Department of History, College of Arts, University of Baghdad, is one of the leading areas where master and then doctorate's studies have been initialized in it since the sixties of the twentieth century and began to expand, sometimes shrink, and other closed. However, since the years of Iraq-Iran war, and due to the fall of Iraq's economic possibilities, and then the imposing of economic sanctions on Iraq, prompted the Iraqi government, in order to cover the needs of the teaching staff at universities and institutes, to make the door of Graduate Studies wide open, in various disciplines, including the historical studies, not only that but number of applications to that studies expanded dramatically after 2003, especially the availability of modern technologies and openness to the world, helped in providing authentic and sound scientific sources. Nevertheless, on the other hand, that expansion points negative aspects, including the fact that post graduate studies need always live communications with research's centers of the developed world's countries.

In any case, Post Graduate Studies in the Department of History are divided into the study of Ancient History, Islamic History, and the Modern and Contemporary History. These studies dealt with political, economic and social aspects, but what sparked my attention is for example, that of the total (76) thesis in Ancient History, more than (21) of them focused on the religious aspect. In Islamic history this aspect, i.e. religious, is more clearly, that various studies has touched many subjects which were not allowed to address in the pre-2003 phase, particularly with respect to the State of the Fatimid, Shiite and religious figures. I am going here to point to some of them, such as "The March of Imam Hussein to Karbala, analytical study. And another subject "Alawites in the Mashreq, and their intellectual and civilized impact until the Fifth Century AH." And "Abi Talib's House during the First Abbasid Rule". In addition to "Attitudes of the Hanbali towards Shia Imami in Baghdad 334-447." And "The Fall of the Fatimid state." Beside "Jamali's House and their Role in the Fatimid Caliphate." And "Fatimid caliphate in the Abbasid sources, analytical study". And "Shia Imami and Mu'tazila until the end of the Fourth Century AH." And "The Agents of Twelver Imams 114-350 AH." Last but not least "Alawites' Houses in the Abbasid Era.

In other words, I believe that of the total (92) thesis in Islamic history between 2003 and 2015, I found that there are 20 of them dealt with topics not allowed to be studied for

various reasons before 2003. While in the modern and contemporary history, the number of theses which I managed to count were (110), distributed in political and economic aspects for the most part, and covered a large area of the world: in Europe, Asia, Africa and America, and of course themes in Iraq and Arab country have taken the largest interest. The urgent subject that presents itself, and through my work in the Department of History and Post Graduate Studies during the period in question, is that post graduate students need to interact and dedicate in a number of sound international universities and have to deeper mastery of English and other languages that belong to their studies.

Challenges Facing Iraqi Higher Education Sector by Beriwan Khailany

While all sectors of Iraqi society have a role to play in resolving the country's overwhelming social, economic, and political problems, the role of the higher education sector is especially important. Iraq's higher education sector has the potential to play an important role in overcoming the country's widening sectarian divides and fostering long-term peace and stability. As a leading actor within Iraq's civil society, it could offer an institutional venue for resolving the country's political, social, and economic problems especially after the ISIS taking control of several areas. The international community has made a variety of efforts to support the rebuilding of Iraq's universities by donating funds, providing expertise, and launching cooperative initiatives since 2003. International assistance has been helpful, but if the higher education sector is to reclaim its earlier energy and play a leading role in national reconstruction, it needs a comprehensive program of reform. Any package of reforms must emphasize the need to update and expand the curriculum. Another pressing requirement is to give academics and students access to foreign scholars and publications through a series of international seminars and workshops. Efforts must also be made to train faculty in new technologies and subjects. Like other public-sector institutions, higher education institutions are over centralized and need more freedom to determine their own policies, procedures, and curricula. Iraqis cannot accomplish these reforms by themselves. They need the sustained support of foreign governments, international bodies, and non-governmental organizations.

A Vision for the Future – Education Policy Priorities include: Increasing relevance and success of technical and vocational education and training (TVET), Increasing transparency and accountability, Categorization- re-evaluation of students in education institutions is an urgent need and building on improving higher education by implementing higher education management information system (HEMIS) program (using new Technology in administrative sector) Iraqi universities face significant challenges due to many national and global variables which reflect its effects on academic, administrative and scientific environments. No effort to reform the higher education system in Iraq will succeed without addressing the challenging obstacle to be overcome which are mainly the dangerous security situation, the lack of resources and limited allocated budget by the government, over centralization of decision making and the uncertainties of a new political atmosphere with thousands of internally displaced students (IDS) due to ISIS occupation of several universities.

**Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in Iraq: Gender Issues
by Senik Tahir Mahmood**

The escalating the number of people fleeing from war zones after 2003 are in critical need for all kinds of support especially women, like mental and physical health support, reconciliation, and awareness. The Total number of IDPs hit 3,596,356 people with 32.8 percent women. This influx of IDP entails gender specific experience to be under examination lens. Women experience the most suffering such as being exposed to physical health risks; 40 children of Yezidis children and new born died while fleeing from ISIS; limited psychosocial support and early marriage due to limited space economic background and educational and cultural background. Recommendations can be made in terms of providing the needed support, reconciliation, and political and policy change.

Panel Session 10 ~ Iraq, the U.S. and the War against Terrorists I (1:30 p.m. – 3:00 p.m.)

Chair: Ibrahim Aoude, University of Hawai'i

The Iraq War and Regional Conflict
Ibrahim Aoude, University of Hawai'i

Thus Came ISIS: The Eurocentric World Order and the War on Terror
Seif Da'Na, University of Wisconsin-Parkside

Reading, Imagining and Constructing Iraq
Tahrir Hamdi, Arab Open University-Jordan

The Regional Dimensions of the Iraqi Conflict
Rami Siklawi, Independent Scholar – Lebanon

Abstracts

The Iraq War and Regional Conflict by Ibrahim Aoude

This paper will focus on the current war in Iraq against the ISIS terrorists and the relationship of this war to the ongoing war in Syria and the terrorist threat to Lebanon. The rivalry between Saudi Arabia and Iran provides a context to the multiple regional military conflicts, including the war in Iraq. A brief introduction about the US invasion of Iraq and its aftermath sets the stage for developments after the withdrawal of US forces from Iraq in December 2011. The 2014 ISIS takeover of Mousul is regarded as a watershed in Iraq's fight against terrorism. This paper will pose a main question: What has led to the spectacular rise of ISIS? The answer leads to a derivative question: What is the relationship between ISIS, US imperial designs and the Zionist threat to the region?

An investigation of those two questions would reveal the extent, intensity and the strategic goal(s) of the imperialist war against the peoples of the region. Finally, the paper will discuss two different trajectories to counter imperial designs for the Middle East region.

Thus Came ISIS: The Eurocentric World Order and the War on Terror by Seif Da'Na

In order to understand the ISIS phenomenon, this paper focuses on the question “Why ISIS” rather than “What ISIS”. The first part constructs a history of the international order to explain the rise of the “Islamic State in Iraq and Syria” (ISIS), arguing that while ISIS is a dead ended venture, it is essentially a product of the South-North rivalry and the Euro-centrism of the international order. The second part explores the regional conditions that gave rise to ISIS arguing that the post 1948 Nakba Arab conditions distorted the formation of the postcolonial Arab collectivity and obstructed the formation of Arab nationalism.

Reading, Imagining and Constructing Iraq by Tahrir Hamdi

The plight of Iraq in our Arab world is not the exception, but rather the rule. The complete physical, cultural, social and economic destruction of Iraq is currently underway; however, the planning stage for this complete destruction, or, to use Condoleeza Rice’s notorious term, “creative chaos” that would lead to the “restructuring” of the Arab world was put in place by Orientalists such as Bernard Lewis tens of years before the actual process took root. In order to counter such destructive imperialistic forces and discourses, an accurate reading of the situation is of the utmost importance before one can start to imagine and construct a new conception of Iraqi national identity that could withstand and survive all these imperialistically imposed divisionist agendas, which are gnawing away at the very cultural and social fabric that held this region together for hundreds of years. This paper will attempt to highlight certain intellectual debates and literary productions that take active part in imagining and constructing an anti-colonial counter discourse that would lead to a new understanding of Iraqi national identity and nation. Work from theorists such as Benedict Anderson and Edward Said, writers such as Muhsin al-Musawi and Suman Gupta, artists such as Saadi Youseff, and other poets and novelists will be examined in order to shed light on the theoretical and imaginative construction of nation.

The Regional Dimensions of the Iraqi Conflict by Rami Siklawi

Iraq has been considered one of the main ongoing crises in the Middle East region since 1990. This paper addresses the issue of Iraq since the 2003 US invasion and occupation. From 1990-2003, Iraq underwent severe (economic) sanctions, which caused the death of hundreds of thousands of innocent Iraqi civilians. However, conditions got worse after 2003, leading to more casualties among civilians. Alongside this, there has been a substantial rise of terrorism, which affected Iraq directly and impacted the wider Middle East region, leaving Iraq at a dangerous crossroads. This paper aims to answer the following questions: What were the main reasons behind the American invasion and occupation of Iraq? Why were the Americans keen on destroying the state of Iraq? This process raises further questions: What is the impact of the Iraqi conflict on the Middle East region? How Iraq is seen in contemporary Iraqi and regional politics? What is the relationship between the attempt to divide Iraq and the current status quo in the region vis-à-vis Israel? Whither Iraq and the region in the next few years?

Panel Session 11 ~ Iraq, the U.S. and the War against Terrorists II (3:15 p.m. – 4:45 p.m.)

Chair: Ibrahim Aoude, University of Hawai‘i

The Pre-Modern Roots of the Iraqi State
Ruba Ali Al-Hassani, Osgoode Hall, University of York

The Judiciary and the Legislature in the “New” Iraq: Survey of a Decade 2003-2013
Sabah Al-Mukhtar, Arab Lawyers Association (UK)

Conceptualizing an internal war: ISIS in Iraq and international law
Michael Mulligan, The British University in Egypt

Abstracts

The Pre-Modern Roots of the Iraqi State by Ruba Ali Al-Hassani

As the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) aims to expand throughout the region, many observers argue that Iraq is on the brink of collapse. They refer to the Sykes-Picot Agreement as a failed attempt to create a “modern” and “artificial” state that was never in place. To support such an argument, observers cite current ethno-confessional conflict, which would purportedly be solved only through the fragmentation of Iraq into three states: a Sunni Arab state, a Shiite Arab state, and a Kurdish state. Not only is such rhetoric restrictive in the sense that it overlooks Iraq’s diverse and pluralistic minorities who contribute to the makeup of a larger Iraq and hold it together, but it is also historically inaccurate; based on a “myth of artificiality”.

(over)

This “myth” assumes that a state’s territorial borders have been shaped either in response to the advance of religious power, or in response to imperial and colonial expansion. This conceptualization of statehood encourages certain amnesia about the historical and culturally specific character to the country in question. It also confines power to that of the hierarchy of state institutions, taking away from the social sphere’s powers. This de-historicization of the state, people, and territory allows for the pro-fragmentation rhetoric. To counter the myth of artificiality, this paper delves into the Ottoman and pre-Ottoman periods of Iraqi history, where a centralized state was effectively present. Examining ethno-confessional and tribal dynamics with Ottoman & pre-Ottoman rulers allows for a better understanding of post-ISIS Iraq.

The Judiciary and the Legislature in the “New” Iraq: Survey of a Decade 2003-2013 by Sabah Al-Mukhtar

The objective of the survey is to study the workings of the Legislature and the Judiciary in Iraq after the 2003 occupation. We will set the legal background and basis starting with Coalition Provisional Authority (“CPA”) orders and Regulations, moving on to the constitution drafted by the occupying authority and the successive governments since then. We will describe and summarize the processes, practices, and workings of these two branches of the state. We will generally not deal with the “Executive” branch. In order that the paper is understood in context we will compare the working of these two branches of the state under strong central “*none democratic*” government (pre 2003) with weak “*democratic*” federal government (post 2003) which is termed “New Iraq.” It will take into account the relatively short life of the current period with that of its predecessors. The survey will also define the concepts and yardstick to be applied uniformly and consider some of the socio political factors. The declared objectives of the US invasion of Iraq in 2003 were: nation building, spreading democracy, and supremacy of rule of law. These objectives will be critically examined through the workings of the Legislature and the Judiciary and achievements. Arab countries and others, in many instances have reasonable legislation and systems; however how they are applied make them worse than their absence. Aside from the comparative analysis, it is hoped that some lessons could be drawn and suggestions made.

Conceptualizing an internal war: ISIS in Iraq and international law by Michael Mulligan

The presence of ISIS fighters in Iraq raises many issues under international law in terms of the nature of the conflict, whether it is an international or non-international in nature, its form (rebellion, insurgency, belligerency) and the response of the international community. The fact that ISIS controls territory within Iraq points to a belligerency, but this negated by the fact that the international community does not want to lend legitimacy to a movement that has failed to observe many of the conventions inherent to an international actor. There are several important issues that are raised when discussing these definitions. The first is the form of recognition and, second, the status that is bequeathed by the recognition. This has important implications for ISIS and its members in terms of capacity to be held responsible for its actions, and the treatment of ISIS

members who are captured. One aspect of the ISIS threat is the perpetration of war crimes, not only in terms of armed attacks on the Iraqi army and civilians, which raises the issue of the Responsibility to Protect, but also the destruction of antiquities and cultural documents is undoubtedly a war crime under the Hague Convention on the Protection of Cultural Property in Event of Armed Conflict 1954. This paper will deal with some of the issues related to these crimes: who has jurisdiction to try these crimes and which is the most suitable forum. Depending on its definition, jurisdiction over ISIS may reside solely with the government of Iraq or with an international tribunal.

Closing remarks delivered by Sinan Antoon (05:00 – 06:00)

Participant biographies (alphabetical)

Thabit A.J. Abdullah is an Associate Professor of Middle East History at York University. Prior to York, he was the director of the Middle East Studies Program at the American University in Cairo (AUC). His research interests focus on early modern and modern Iraq. His books include *Merchants, Mamluks and Murder: The Political Economy of Trade in 18th Century Basra* (2000), *A Short History of Iraq* (2003, 2nd ed. 2010), and *Dictatorship, Imperialism and Chaos* (2006). He is currently working on two research projects dealing with the Mandaeans of Iraq and slavery in 16th century Aleppo.

Sherzad Ahmed Ameen is Professor of Political Science and Constitutional Law at the University of Salahaddin, Erbil, Kurdistan Region, Republic of Iraq; President of the Institute of National Study, Erbil; and President of the Political Science Association in Kurdistan Region – Iraq. He holds a PhD in Political Science, University of Vienna, Austria (1986), MA in Diplomacy and International Relations, Diplomatic Academy, Vienna (1975) and BSc in Political Science, Baghdad University, Iraq (1968). He has published three books, including *Political Culture* (2002) (in Kurdish), *Studies in Political Science* (2004; 2nd ed. 2005 in Arabic), and *Status of Social Sciences at Iraqi Universities* (2007) (in Arabic). He is a Member of the Board - Iraqi Studies – Institute for Strategic Studies; Member of Board - Arab Association of Academic Freedom (Amman), as well as a Member of Muntada al Fikr Alaraby (Forum of Arab Thought) in Amman, Jordan. He has served as Acting Vice Chancellor of Kurdistan University – Hawler –Erbil, Associate President, Salahaddin University-Erbil, as well as Head of the Department of Political Science at Salahaddin University-Erbil.

Sinan Antoon is a poet, novelist and translator. He is Associate Professor at The Gallatin School and a Fellow at the Kevorkian Center for Near Eastern Studies both at New York University (NYU). His poems and essays (in Arabic) have appeared in *as-Safir*, *al-Adab*, *al-Akhbar*, *al-Hayat*, *Majallat al-Dirasat al-Filastiniyya*, *Masharef* and (in English) in *The Nation*, *Middle East Report*, *Al-Ahram Weekly*, *Banipal*, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, *The Massachusetts Review*, *World Literature Today*, *Ploughshares*, *Washington Square Journal*, and the *New York Times*. He has published two collections of poetry; *Mawshur Muballal bil-Hurub* (Cairo, 2003) and *Laylun Wahidun fi Kull al-Mudun* (One Night in All Cities) (Beirut/Baghdad: Dar al-Jamal, 2010). His novels include *I'jaam* (2003), which has been translated into English as *I'jaam: An Iraqi Rhapsody* (City Lights, 2006) as well as Norwegian, German, Portuguese, and Italian, *Wahdaha Shajarat al-Rumman* (The Pomegranate Alone) (Beirut: al-Mu'assassa al-'Arabiyya, 2010 and al-Jamal, 2013) was translated by the author and published by Yale University Press in 2013 as *The Corpse Washer* and was longlisted for the Independent Prize for Foreign Fiction. It won the 2014 Saif Ghobash Banipal Prize for Literary Translation. His third novel, *Ya Maryam* (Beirut: Dar al-Jamal, 2012) was shortlisted for the International Prize for Arabic Fiction (The Arabic Booker) and was translated to Spanish by Maria Luz Comendador and published by Turner Libros in May 2014 under the title *Fragments de Bagdad*. His translation of Mahmoud Darwish's last prose book *In the Presence of Absence*, was published by Archipelago Books in 2011 and won the 2012 National Translation Award given by the American Literary Translators Association (ALTA). His

co-translation (with Peter Money) of a selection of Saadi Youssef's late poetry was published by Graywolf in November 2012. His academic works include articles on Mahmoud Darwish and Sargon Boulus and a book based on his doctoral dissertation; *The Poetics of the Obscene: Ibn al-Hajjaj and Sukhf* (PalgraveMacmillan, 2013). Sinan is a member of the Editorial Review Board of the *Arab Studies Journal* and co-founder of *Jadaliyya* and continues to serve as the co-editor of its culture page. You can follow him on Twitter: @sinanantoon

Ibrahim G. Aoudé is Professor of Ethnic Studies at the University of Hawai'i. Since 2005 he serves as the Editor of *Arab Studies Quarterly*. From January 2011-May 2013 he served as one of two editors of the *International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies*. He is the immediate past chair of the Department of Ethnic Studies, having served in this capacity from January 2007 till July 2013. He publishes in three areas of research: (1) Middle East Politics; (2) Hawai'i Political economy and Social Movements; and (3) Arab American ethnic identity, diaspora and transnationalism.

Souad Naji Al-Azzawi is Adjunct Professor at the Canadian University of Dubai (UAE). She worked as the Dean of the Khawarizmi Engineering College at the University of Baghdad, then Vice President for Scientific Affairs for 8 years at Mamoun University for Science & Technology in Aleppo, Syria. Born and raised in Baghdad, after earning her Bachelor of Science in Civil Engineering from Mosul, University, she went on to complete her Masters and PhD in Geo Environmental Engineering at the Colorado School of Mines (USA) in 1990. Following completion she returned to Iraq as a faculty member in the Civil and Environmental Engineering Departments at the University of Baghdad. Throughout this period, Dr. Al-Azzawi published nearly fifty research papers and technical reports in the domain of principal environmental studies. Her research and consultation experience span Environmental Impact Assessments, Environmental Policies, Water Resource Development, Water Resource Pollution Modeling, Controlling Industrial and Radiological Pollution, Risk Assessment, Special Exploration Programs, Hazardous Waste Management, and Assessing the Impacts of using Depleted Uranium weapons against both human and other environmental elements within Iraq.

Ziad Ahmed Bahaa-Eldin is a member of the Board of Trustees to the American University in Cairo (elected in 2008), is currently an Attorney-at-Law, and a member of the Egyptian Parliament representing South Assiut for the Egyptian Democratic Social Party. He is the former interim-deputy prime minister and international cooperation minister (July 2013-January 2014), Chairman of the Egyptian Financial Supervisory Authority (2009/2010), Chairman of the Egyptian General Authority for Investment and Free Zones (2004-2007), Senior Legal Advisor to the Central Bank of Egypt (2011), a member of its Board of Directors (2003-2010) and a member of the Board of Directors of the National Bank of Egypt (2004-2010). Prior to this he was a practicing lawyer both in Egypt and the USA. He is the Founder and Senior Adviser of Thebes Consultancy. Before starting his consultancy practice, he was a senior member of the government in Egypt between July 2013 and January 2014. He received his Ph.D. in Financial Law from the London School of Economics and Political Sciences (1996), an LLM in International Business Law from King's College London (1989), a BA in Economics from the

American University in Cairo (1987) and a Bachelor of Law degree from Cairo University (1986). He is admitted before the Egyptian Court of Cassation.

Seif Da'na is an Associate Professor of Sociology and International Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Parkside. In addition to research in the fields of Social Theory and Sociology of the Environment, he is the author of many articles and book chapters on the Palestine question and the Arab world, including "The Mismeasure of Arabs: Culture and Revolution," *The Arab World Geographer*, vol. 14, No. 2 (2011); "Hezbollah's War of Positions: The New Arab-Islamic Praxis," *The Arab World Geographer*, vol 12, No 3-4 (2009): 136-149; "Islamic Resistance in Palestine: Hamas, the Gaza War and the Future of Political Islam," *Arab Studies Quarterly* (ASQ), Vol. 28, No. 2 (2006): 1-26; "The Palestinian National Authority: The Politics of Writing and Interpreting Curricula," in Doumato and Starrett (eds.) *Teaching Islam: Textbooks and Religion in the Middle East* (2007); and "A Conflict of Master Narratives; Israel's Settler-Colonial Water Regime: The Second Contradiction of Zionism," (Forthcoming). He writes a monthly column for *Aljazeera* and his forthcoming book is *Revolutions and Illusions: The Arab's Long 19th Century*.

Mahmoud M. Dagher is Professor of Finance and Head of the Finance & Banking Department at Baghdad University. Dagher has published three books and many papers in scientific journals and conference proceedings. His research interest focuses on Iraqi monetary policy and the role of the Iraqi central bank following the 2003 regime change. The primary focus followed examines how monetary authority affects the various sectors of the Iraqi economy, evidencing a high level of disconnection between the monetary sector and productive and service sectors in the Iraqi economy.

Holly Dagres is an Iranian-American analyst and commentator on Middle East affairs with a focus on Iran. Currently based in Egypt, she works as an editor for the quarterly policy journal, *The Cairo Review of Global Affairs*. She has appeared on *ABC News*, *BBC Radio*, *Deutsche Welle*, *NPR*, *Radio France Internationale*, *The Young Turks*, amongst others. Her work has appeared in numerous publications including *Al Jazeera*, *Al-Monitor*, *Buzzfeed*, *Foreign Policy*, *Global Post*, the *Huffington Post*, and *Voice of America*. She holds a M.A. in Political Science from the American University in Cairo and a B.A. in Political Science and French from UCLA.

Ali El-Deen Hilal Dessouki is Professor of Political Science at Cairo University, a Member of the Supreme Council of Culture, the committee for academic accreditation, The Supreme Council of Universities and the Board of Trustees and Executive Committee of the Center for Arab Unity Studies (Beirut). He is also a member of the editorial board of *Al Siyassa El Dawlia* (World Politics), *Ahwal Masryia* (Egyptian Affairs), *Bada'l* (alternatives) and *The Arab Journal of Political Science*. He has served as a Visiting Professor at the American University in Cairo (AUC), the University of Calgary (Canada), the University of California - Los Angeles (UCLA) and Princeton University. His most recent publications include (in Arabic): *Return of the State* (2015), *The Struggle for Establishing a New Political System in Egypt* (2013), *The Parliamentary Regime in Regime 1923-1952* (2nd edition 2011), and *The Political*

System of Egypt 1981-2010 (2010). He is the editor of the annual book *State of the Arab Nation* for the years 2013 and 2014; (in English): “The Arab Regional System: a Question of Survival,” in *Contemporary Arab Affairs* (January 2015) and with Bahgat Korany, *The Foreign Policies of Arab States: The Challenge of Globalization* (2010).

Usama Abdul Rahman al-Duri is Professor of modern and contemporary history and the Head of the Department of History in the College of Arts at Baghdad University. He has taught and researched at Al-Mustansiriya University (Baghdad), The University of Damascus, and Omer al-Mukhtar University (Bayda, Libya). He is an International Contributing Editor to the *Journal of American History* and has published widely on the history and contemporary political economy of Iraq and the wider Middle East region. His latest monographs include: *Iraqi-American relations 1939-1945*, *The Policy of Iraqi Oil 1952-1963*, and *Iraq under British Occupation 1917-1920*.

Sahib Kahraman Esa is a Member of Board of the Institute of National Studies, Erbil, Iraq, and Professor of Mathematical Statistics, Salahaddin University. He is a member of the Committee on the implementation of Article 140 of the Iraqi Constitution, Council of Ministers, Baghdad, and formerly Minister of State, Council of Ministers, Baghdad, Deputy Minister of Planning, Baghdad and Head of Regional Statistical Office, Council of Ministers, KRG, Erbil. His primary area of research is applied statistics, modeling, reliability, time series, and multivariate analysis. From 2009 his research has focused on a project modeling the survival of political systems with papers presented at The International Conferences on Mathematical Methods in Reliability MMR's, including MMR 2009 Moscow, MMR 2011 Beijing, MMR 2013 Cape Town, and MMR 2015 Tokyo.

Mohamed Fayez Farahat is Managing Editor of the *Arab Strategic Report* and Editor of the *Strategic Papers Series (Kurrsat Istratijiyyah)* at the Al-Ahram Center for Political & Strategic Studies.

Sara Farhan is pursuing a doctorate in history at York University (Canada). She is also a graduate associate at the York Centre for Asian Studies and an editor of *Left History*, an interdisciplinary journal of historical inquiry and debate. Sara's research considers Hashemite Iraq, where a balance between pro-western forces and an eroding elite structure consistently failed to incorporate a burgeoning technocratic class into the state apparatus. Her dissertation explores the Royal Medical College of Baghdad. From inception, the college acted as a microcosm of the complexity of Iraq's post-colonial state formation. The study of the standardization of higher education and the processes of governing heterogeneous populations through knowledge production sheds light on the history of Iraq's pluralism and identity formation amidst tumultuous regional political dynamism.

Abdul-Jabbar Mahmood Fatah is Dean of the College of Administration and Economy at Baghdad University in Iraq. His research focuses on the critical relationship between the environment, society and economic development. He is author of *A Myth of Development and Sustainable Human Development: Problematics in the Study of Economic Thought* (2011).

Amer Hasan Fayyadh is Professor of Political Science at Baghdad University and Dean of the College of Political Science at Al-Nahrain University in Iraq. His many books include: *The Roots of the Socialist and Progressive Thought in Iraq* (1980); *The National Phenomenon: The Beginnings of Arab Nationalist Thought* (1997); *The Roots of Democratic Thought in Iraq* (2002); and *Problematic Power in the Western Mind Throughout the Ages* (2012).

Isabelle Freda is Assistant Professor of Radio, Television & Film at Hofstra University (USA). She has written on film and 9/11, ecopolitics and screen culture, the Cold War and visual culture and the intersection of biopolitics and post-war visual culture in the presidential campaign film. Her most recent project explores the “hidden genealogies” of post-war feminist investigative journalists Jessica Mitford and Rachel Carson.

Robert Gallagher is Lecturer in Political Science at the British University in Egypt (BUE) and formerly Assistant Professor at American University of Beirut (AUB). His research has invented a new social welfare function based on the economic thought of Aristotle. He has published in the *British Journal for the History of Philosophy*, *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, *History & Philosophy of Logic*, and other journals. He is presently composing *An Introduction to Aristotelian Political Economy*.

Ferial Ghazoul is Professor of English and comparative literature at the American University in Cairo. She is the Editor of *Alif: Journal of Comparative Poetics* (an annual multi-disciplinary publication). She has participated as a judge in a number of prizes and awards, including Naguib Mafouz Medal and Cavafy Award and sits on the advisory board of several journals and foundations including Thaqafat, Fusul, Kitab-fi-jarida, and The Arab Fund for Arts and Culture. She has published extensively on medieval comparative literature and postcolonial studies, notably *Arab Women Writing: A Critical Reference Guide, 1873-1999* (2008) which she co-edited with Radwa Ashour and Hasna Reda-Mekdashy. She teaches literary translation and has translated and co-translated from and into Arabic, English and French in the following genres: poetry (Muhammad Afifi Matar, Muhammad Sulayman, Qassim Haddad, Fadwa Tuqan, Mourid Barghouti, Jabra Jabra, Sami Mahdi, Adonis, Mahmoud Darwish, Abdel-Moneim Ramadan, Amal Dunqul, Ibrahim Nasrallah, Anton Shammas, Nazik al-Mala'ika) novel (Edward al-Kharrat), short story (Anita Desai), autobiography (Muhammad Afifi Matar), critical theory (Edward Said, Abdel-Wahab Meddeb, Louis Althusser, Paul Ricoeur, Charles Sanders Peirce, Michael Riffaterre), essays (Ibrahim al-Koni, Ahlam Mosteghanemi, Alifa Rifaat, Abdo Wazen, Saadi Youssef), and interviews (Edward Said). Her most recent works include, *Dreaming of Baghdad* (2009) with Haifa Zangana, as well as translations of Al-Kharrat's *Rama and the Dragon* (2014) and Qassim Haddad's *Chronicles of Majnun Layla and Selected Poems* (2014) both with John Verlenden.

Terri Ginsberg is Assistant Professor of Film at the American University in Cairo (AUC). Her book-length publications include a multi-authored, co-edited encyclopedia, *Historical Dictionary of Middle Eastern Cinema*; a monograph, *Holocaust Film: The Political Aesthetics of Ideology*; and two co-edited collections, *Perspectives on German Cinema* and *A Companion to German Cinema*. She is the editor of several special journal issues, including one on film and media for the *International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies*, and has published several articles on cinema of the Palestinian–Israeli struggle, among other topics, in scholarly anthologies and academic journals, including *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication*, *Spectator*, *Arab Studies Quarterly*, *Situations: Project of the Radical Imagination*, *disClosure*, and *GLQ*. Her next two books, on Palestine solidarity cinema and cinema in the Arab world, respectively, are forthcoming.

Mohaned El-Hamdi is Assistant Professor in Economics at Kansas State University. He earned Ph.D. in Economics in 2005 and a Ph.D. in International Security Studies in 2015 both from Kansas State University. His interest of research is the Political Economy of Arms Races, international trade institutions and their role in reducing conflict among different states, and military expenditure and its relationship to development. His special interest is to investigate the effect of trade between nations on their national security issues, and the effect of military spending on the economics and political conditions of Middle Eastern countries.

Tahrir Hamdi is an Associate Professor of postcolonial literature at Arab Open University/Jordan Branch. Her research work revolves around resistance literature, postcolonial/anticolonial theory and the importance of geography in literature. She has published articles on Edward Said, William Butler Yeats, Mahmoud Darwish, Ghassan Kanafani and Naji Al Ali. She is currently interested in the complexities of space – historical/temporal, geographical and imaginative – within the postcolonial/resistance sphere.

Ruba Ali Al-Hassani is a Ph.D. candidate at Osgoode Hall Law School, York University (Canada), with a Masters Degree in Criminology from the University of Toronto, and another in Law from Osgoode Hall Law School. In addition to teaching Sociology at York University, Ruba has returned as a sessional instructor at her alma mater, Trent University, where she had majored in Psychology and Sociology. Ruba is an interpreter for the Iraqi Refugee Assistance Project, a regional representative of the Iraqi Cooperative Orphan Aid Foundation, and a co-founding Board Member of the Canadian Association of Muslim Women in Law. Her research interests focus on Iraq, and include the Sociology of Law, as well as crime and social control. She tweets at @RubaAlHassani.

Eric Herring is Professor of World Politics and Research Director in the School of Sociology, Politics and International Studies at the University of Bristol (U.K.). He is Co-Director of the Somali First initiative to promote Somali-led development: the initiative received the University of Bristol Engagement Award 2014-15. His grant income totals \$1.4 million. His publications relating to Iraq include (co-author Glen Rangwala) *Iraq in Fragments: The Occupation and its Legacy* (Cornell University Press, 2006) and articles in *Political Science Quarterly*, *International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies (IJCIS)*, *Review of International Studies*, *Third World Quarterly* and *Globalizations* as well as book chapters. He acted as principal academic consultant on John Pilger's 2001 documentary 'Paying the Price: Killing the Children of Iraq'. He was Specialist Adviser to the Select Committee on Economic Affairs of the House of Lords for its inquiry in 2006-07 into economic sanctions policy, which included the case of Iraq. He was a co-founder of the International Association for Contemporary Iraqi Studies in 2005 and *IJCIS* Book Reviews Editor 2009-13. He has been a member of the *UCIS* editorial board since 2014.

Neil Hewison is Associate director for editorial programs, AUC Press. He graduated from York University (UK) with a BA in Language in 1979, then taught English in Fayoum and Cairo until 1986, when he joined the American University in Cairo Press (AUC Press) as an editor. He has been the Press's associate director for editorial programs since 2004. He is the author of *The Fayoum: History and Guide* (AUC Press, 1984) and the translator of *City of Love and Ashes* by Yusuf Idris (AUC Press, 1998), *Wedding Night* by Yusuf Abu Rayya (AUC Press, 2006), and "Midnight on the Outside" by Gamal al-Ghitani in *Madinah: City Stories from the Middle East*, edited by Joumana Haddad (Comma Press, 2008).

Tareq Y. Ismael is a Professor of Political Science at the University of Calgary (Canada); the Secretary General of the International Association of Middle Eastern Studies (IAMES); and founding editor of the *International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies*. He has published extensively on the Middle East, Iraq and international studies. His most recent works include *Turkey's Foreign Policy in the 21st Century: A Changing Role in World Politics* (2003), *The Communist Movement in the Arab World* (2005), *The Rise and Fall of the Communist Party of Iraq* (2008), *The Sudanese Communist Party: Ideology and Party Politics* (2012) and he has co-authored, with William W. Haddad *Iraq: The Human Cost of History* (2004), with Raymond Baker and Shereen Ismael (eds) *Cultural Cleansing in Iraq: Why Museums Were Looted, Libraries Burned and Academics Murdered*, (2010), with Glenn E. Perry *The International Relations of the Contemporary Middle East: Subordination and Beyond* (2013), with Jacqueline S. Ismael, *The Iraqi Predicament: People in the Quagmire of Power Politics* (2004), and *Iraq in the Twenty-First Century: Regime Change and the Making of a Failed State* (2015), and with Jacqueline S. Ismael and Glenn E. Perry, *Government and Politics of the Contemporary Middle East: Continuity and Change* Second Edition (2015).

Yasmine Jawad was born in Najaf, Iraq in 1953, earned a B.A. in Political Science from the University of Baghdad in 1977, an MA in Sociology (Feminist Studies) from the University of Essex, United Kingdom, in 1983, and a Ph.D. in Middle Eastern Affairs and the Welfare of Women from the University of Durham, United Kingdom, in 2011. She has spoken extensively on the plight of women in Iraq after the Gulf War of 1990s, and is currently working as a freelance social researcher and women's rights advocate; she analyzes politics and sociology in the Middle East from a gender perspective and examines the impact of current developments on the women of that region. She also continues to work as a consultant in the field of cross-cultural communication and management. Her publications include "The Provision of Women's Social Welfare Needs in Jordan: Why the State Has Failed (Ph.D thesis, 2011), and a published article "A Gendered Perspective on the Arab Spring: Arab Women Caught between Internal and External Conflicts" in 'Non-Western Encounters with Democratization'; Imagining Democracy after the Arab Spring' Ashgate 2015.

Beriwan Khailany is Professor of Earth Science, Baghdad – Iraq and a member of the Iraqi Federal Parliament. She is Senior Advisor for Scientific Affairs to the Minister of Higher Education and Scientific Research in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. She is leading efforts to build international partnerships with Iraqi universities and institutions worldwide to reform Iraqi higher education. Prior to her current position, Dr. Khailany worked as Deputy Minister for the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research with the Central Government in Baghdad. In 2007, she was a visiting Professor at Oklahoma University in the College of Earth and Energy (USA). Dr. Khailany earned a BS in Geology from Baghdad University and a PhD in Geology from University College London. Her research interests include oil exploration, industrial geology and applied geology. She has also worked with UNESCO, the World Bank, and British Council in the areas of Science and Technology, teacher training, quality assurance, and accreditation.

Walid W. Kazziha is Professor of Political Science at the American University of Cairo. He received his B.A. from the American University of Beirut, his M.Sc. from Edinburgh University, and his Ph.D. from the School of Oriental and African Studies at London University (U.K.). He is a specialist in the field of Middle East Politics, with particular reference to the politics of the Arab Mashreq, Egypt, and the Gulf region. He taught a wide range of courses focusing on Government and Politics of the Middle East, the Arab-Israeli Conflict, Civil Society in the Middle East, Political Islam, Arab Political and Social Thought, the Middle East in Global Politics, and Conflicts in the Gulf. In addition to teaching at AUC, he has taught at the Beirut Arab University, the American University of Beirut (AUB), University of Calgary, and the University of Hawaii. He was also associated with the Ford Foundation, Institute of Palestine Studies, the Center for Arab Unity Studies, the Japanese Institute of Developing Economies, and the Japanese Institute of Middle East Economies. He has authored several books including, *Revolutionary Transformation in the Arab World* (1975), *Palestine in the Arab Dilemma* (1979), and a monograph, *The Social History of Southern Syria* (1972). He also contributed chapters to several edited works, including: *Arab Radical Perceptions*; *The Impact of the Palestinian Resistance Movement on the Arab Regimes*; *Another Reading into Al-Husari's Concept*

of Nationalism; Egypt in the Balance; and The Gulf War and its Aftermath as well as numerous scholarly articles in specialized journals, focusing on subjects such as the Civil War in Lebanon and its Aftermath, Syria's Regional Policy, Egypt's Arab Role, the Saudi Regime, and War and Peace in the Middle East.

Yasmin M. Khodary is a lecturer in the Department of Political Science at the British University in Egypt (BUE). Since 2003, Yasmin has been working on development projects in areas of education and democracy. In late 2010, Yasmin started her work in the field of governance, anti-corruption and state-building. She also succeeded to win three funding requests from the UNDP Democratic Governance Thematic Trust Funds for the past three years consecutively. In addition, she produced policy papers and research for the Danish Institute for Human Rights in Denmark and the International Peace Institute in New York. Her research interests vary between good governance, public participation, state-building, education, U.S foreign policy, gender, the Millennium Development Goals and other development issues.

Malek Khouri is former Chair of the Department of the Arts (2011-2013), and current Director of Film (Visual Cultures Program) in the American University in Cairo (AUC). He teaches in the areas of film theory and cultural analysis, Arab and Egyptian cinemas, Film Genres, and Audience and Reception theories. Khouri is currently working on a book titled *In the Eyes of an Empire: Arab Cinema in Western Film Criticism* (projected for publication in 2016). He is also editing a volume titled *Post 2011 Egyptian Cinema: Challenges and Opportunities* (Scheduled for publication in 2015 by the Association of Egyptian Film Critics). Earlier published scholarly works include *The Arab National Project in Youssef Chahine's Cinema* (The American University in Cairo Press: 2010). This book was re-published in 2013 in Arabic by the Egyptian Ministry of Culture: The National Centre for Translation. Other academic books include *Filming Politics: Communism And The Portrayal Of The Working Class At The National Film Board Of Canada, 1939-46* (University Of Calgary Press, 2007), and *Working on Screen: Representations of the Working Class in Canadian Cinema* (co-edited with Darrell Varga, University of Toronto Press, 2006). Other academic studies and reviews by Khouri have appeared in several academic journals including *The Journal of Comparative Studies of Asia, Africa and the Middle East; CineAction; Arab Studies Quarterly; History of Intellectual Culture; Nature, Society and Thought* and *The University of Toronto Quarterly*. Khouri holds a Doctorate in Communications from McGill University in Montreal. He received his MA in Canadian Studies from Carleton University in Ottawa, and holds two undergraduate degrees one in Film Studies (Carleton University, Ottawa) and one in Film Production (York University, Toronto). He received several distinguished research awards including from McGill University, the University of Calgary, the Canadian Killam Foundation Award for Research, and was awarded two major research funding grants from the prestigious Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) in Canada.

Fred H. Lawson is Lynn T. White, Jr. Professor of Government at Mills College (Oakland, CA. USA) His most recent publications include, *International Relations of the Middle East* (2015), *Global Security Watch: Syria* (2013), *Demystifying Syria* (2010), *Constructing International Relations in the Arab World* (2006), and *Why Syria Goes to War: Thirty Years of Confrontation* (1996).

Senik Tahir Mahmood is Director of the Degree Assessment and Evaluation Department at the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research – KRG, Iraq. She holds a PhD in Public Policy from Saint Louis University (SLU) (USA) where her research focused on incarceration and recidivism amongst women. Entitled “Gender disparity in substance abuse services, employment, and civic engagement among former offenders in the U.S. population,” the project led to multiple peer-reviewed publications. In an effort to promote the utilization of evidence-based approaches to inform policy she has worked with local communities and nongovernmental organizations and supervised, implemented, and organized a variety of training courses and research seminars. These have included how to use Participatory Rural Appraisal methods for assessing, planning and implementing awareness presentations in the field for the Kurdistan Organization for Mine Awareness staff in Erbil and Duhok governorates as well as for the KRG’s Directorate of Social Affairs’ Social Workers. She has also trained in Structural Equation Modeling and multivariate regression analysis, Systems Dynamics and Participatory Rural Appraisal. Prior to her posting in the KRG she worked on Literacy Outreach for The United Nations Office for Project Services (UNOPS) and Save the Children (UK) and served in 2007 as a Volunteer Election Monitor for The Organization of Tammuz for Social Development.

Abdali Kadem al-Mamore is Professor of Political Science at Al-Nahrain University and Director of the Hummurabi Center for Research and Studies in Iraq. He has authored several books, including two on the economics of secondary education, one on the history of economic thought, and one on the crisis of reproduction in the capitalist system.

Rasha S. Mansour is a Lecturer of Political Science at the British University in Egypt (BUE). Research interest has been focused on development and gender.

John H. W. Measor is a Research Fellow at The International Centre for Contemporary Middle East Studies (ICCMES). His research interests include transnational movements, nationalism, state transformation, the endurance of authoritarianism and the international relations of the Middle East. Recent publications include, “Securitizing the Global Norm of Identity: Biometrics and Homo Sacer in Fallujah,” and ‘Theatres of War’: Visual Technologies and Identities in the Iraq Wars (with Ben Muller).

Ali Merza is an expert on economics who has acquired extensive experience in such development matters as economic restructuring/reforms and the role of petroleum in countries in the MENA region. In the last ten years his extensive publications and presentations, in Arabic and English, included subjects relating to petroleum, planning, and economic policies in Iraq. This has included two contributions to the *International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies* (2007 and 2011). He is currently an active

contributor to the Iraqi Economists Network's website and discussion group. His latest book is *Libya: Lost Opportunities and Renewed Hopes* (2012 in Arabic). Previously, Dr. Merza worked for the Iraqi Ministries of Oil and Planning and for the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs.

Günter Meyer is Professor of Geography at the University of Mainz Johann-Joachim-Becherweg (Germany). He is Director of the Centre for Research on the Arab World (ZEFAW), Chairman of the German Middle East Studies Association for Contemporary Research and Documentation (DAVO), President of the European Association for Middle Eastern Studies (EURAMES), President of the International Association for Middle Eastern Studies (IAMES), Chairman of the International Advisory Council of the World Congress of Middle Eastern Studies (WOCMES) and a Board member of the Parliament of Cultures. The recipient of the 2014 Jere L. Bacharach Service Award from the Middle East Studies Association he has published widely on economic development, structural adjustment, agricultural development and regional development in both Egypt and Syria as well as on labor migration and broader migration processes in the Arab world.

Thuraiya Muhammed (M.A.) is a member of Tadamun (تضامن) the Iraqi Women's Solidarity organization (formerly Women's Solidarity for an Independent and Unified Iraq (WSIUI)). She was the lead author for the 2013 Tadamun fact sheet "The Invisible Victims: Health and the Disabled in post 2003 Iraq," which was sent to all British MPs. She is also a member of Hanwell Friends of Sebastia (HAFSA) an organisation helping develop projects for vulnerable Palestinians in the occupied West Bank village of Sebastia. In addition she works with charity organisations focused on autistic and vulnerable adults such as *Carers UK*, *Ealing Mencap* and *Ealing Carers Centre*, campaigning to improve services for people with disabilities. As part of helping Iraqi's with autistic children, she travelled to Amman in 2014 to help in organising a weeklong collaboration between the Wafa organisation for autistic people (Belgium) and the Tawasul Centre for Autistic children (Amman, Jordan) in aid of a number of Iraqi children and their families. She is an active in adult education through the University of the Third Age (U3A) in Ealing, where she has presented on topics in history, religion, politics, as well as women and education. Topics have included Shia and Sunnis in Iraq, Migration to Palestine before 1947, The Ottoman Empire, and Children in Iraq: Missing out on Schools as a Result of Sectarian Violence with her latest paper examining Colonisation and Religion. In addition to her activism with Tadamun she volunteers at an Arabic school in London and as a translator for Arab immigrant families transitioning to the U.K. A native Baghdadi she is a graduate of Baghdad University and worked as an educator in Iraq, Algeria and Jordan prior to moving to London where she lives with her family.

Sabah Al-Mukhtar is a partner and founder of the Arab Lawyers Network, London (U.K.). He also acts as a consultant of Arab law in London and is vice chairman of the Muslim Council of Britain, Legal Affairs Committee. He is the secretary of PRICE, a Fund established under UK law with the aim of promoting remedies for injurious consequences of economic sanctions and other forms of economic coercion.

Michael Mulligan is an Assistant Lecturer in the Department of Political Science at the British University in Egypt (BUE).

Lawrie Phillips is a Lecturer in Political Sociology, Contemporary Ideologies and Latin American Politics in the Department of Political Science at the British University in Egypt. He is currently drafting a book exploring the interests, ideologies and actions of regime and resistance movements since the Spanish Conquest of Latin America, and he is releasing a documentary on the politics of the natural environment in Egypt. His past work includes a critique of the Tahrir Square protests, 'Toppling the tyrant – Egyptian-style', broadcast on Nile Cinema Satellite Television Channel in March 2012 (www.youtube.com/watch?v=tCMS7-8TKfU&feature=youtu.be) and a critique of both mass media and social media interpretations of the Tahrir Square protests, 'The revolution that never took place' (Jomec journal www.cardiff.ac.uk).

Eman Ragab is a researcher in regional security of the Middle East at al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies, with a specific focus on the Gulf region and Egypt. She combines experience in academic research and policy oriented research in areas of International relations, security studies, violent extremism and terrorism, Gulf studies and Egypt's foreign policy. Currently she is the Editor in Chief of *Bada'el* (Alternatives), series of peer reviewed policy papers issued quarterly by ACPSS as well as the managing Editor of *al-Malah al-Masry*, a monthly brief on societal developments in Egypt. She worked previously as the editor of *Theoretical Trends in International Relations*, a periodical supplement to *al-Siyassa al-Dawliya* (The Journal of International Politics), one of the leading peer reviewed journals in the Arab region it has been issued by al-Ahram Establishment since 1965. She is a member in the Egyptian Council for Foreign Relations (ECFA), a member of the Scientific Committee of the online journal *Sicurezza, Terrorismo e Società* (Security, Terrorism and Society), which is available in Italian and English. She gained her PhD in International Relations from the Faculty of Economics and Political Sciences, Cairo University, in 2014. She recently co-edited *Countering Radicalization and Violent Extremism Among Youth to Prevent Terrorism*, published by IOS as part of the NATO Science for Peace and Security Series.

Matthieu Rey is Assistant Professor of History at the Collège de France (Paris-France). He holds a PhD in history from the EHESS (Paris) and was a Visiting Research Fellow at the Middle East Institute of the National University of Singapore. His research focuses principally on the political systems in Iraq and Syria as case studies to understand processes of policy-building and state-building in the contemporary Middle East. He examines the political engineering of power and demonstrates how parliaments were central to the decision-making process. His latest research examines the parliamentary systems in Iraq and Syria between 1946 and 1963 as well as a project examining Syria in the fourteenth through fifteenth Century. He was a doctoral fellow in the Institut Français du Proche Orient (Ifpo) in Damascus between 2009 and 2013 and is fluent in Arabic. Apart from his main research, he has delivered talks and published articles on elections in the Middle East, development policies, the Cold War, and the 'Arab spring'. In collaboration with François Burgat, he is pursuing research on the history of Islamist mobilization across the modern era. His latest publications include, "les quartiers en

revolte,” and “les premiers temps des coordinations,” both in *Pas de printemps pour la Syrie*. Francois Burgat et Bruno Paoli (editors) edition de la decouverte (forthcoming) and “Une decennie de silence, les Kurdes en Iraq (1946-58),” in *Actes du colloque Les identités en mutations en Méditerranée*. CERE, Tunis (2013).

Fadhel Rida (PhD) is senior MIS applications specialist and water economist in groundwater economic modeling and long research and computing career at leading international organizations and international research centres such as The International Center of Agricultural Research in the Dry Areas (ICARDA) and America Middle East Educational and Training Services Inc. (AMIDEAST)). His specific research and computing expertise focuses on groundwater economic modeling research, system dynamics modeling, agricultural water policy research, statistical and econometrics analysis, scientific computing and systems design and development. He also has technical expertise in corporate Enterprise Resource Planning (ERP) systems in terms of implementation as well as technical and functional support. He has published in referred ISI high impact factor journals on groundwater economics.

Haider Saeed is an Iraqi scholar. He is working as a “Researcher” in “Arab Center For Research and Policies Studies” in Doha. He previously served as a “Consultant” in “Iraqi Center for Strategic Studies” in Amman (2011 – 2015). Before that, he was “Research Advisor” in Foundation For the Future (FFF) in Amman (2010 – 2011), and he was a “Visiting Scholar” in “Center for Strategic Studies” in University of Jordan (2008 – 2010), “member of executive committee” of “Center for Iraqi Research (CIR)”. Born in Najaf, Iraq at 1970, he have Ph.D. in linguistics. He contributed in “*National Report on the Status of Human Development in Iraq*”, for tow years, 2009 and 2014, which published by Iraqi Ministry of Planning and Development Cooperation and House of the Wisdom (Baytal Hikma), and supported by UNDP. He was a senior researcher and research team coordinator for a research project on “*The Situation of Social Sciences in Iraqi Universities: Survey, Evaluation, Horizons of Development*”, which published at 2008, and funded by the Canadian International Development Research Center (IDRC). He is author of *Politics of Symbol, On the End of National State's Culture* (2009), and *Literature and Representating the World* (2002) . He revised the Arabic translation of John Ashcroft and Pal Ahliwalia’s book *Edward Said: The Paradox of Identity* (2002).

Joseph Sassoon is currently an Associate Professor at Georgetown University and holds the al-Sabah Chair in Politics and Political Economy of the Arab World. He is also a Senior Associate Member at St Antony’s College, Oxford. During the academic year, 2014-2015, he was chosen as a Fellow at the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars in Washington, DC to complete a book on authoritarianism in the Arab Republics. In 2013, his book on the Ba’th Party *Saddam Hussein’s Ba’th Party: Inside An Authoritarian Regime* (Cambridge University Press, 2012) won the prestigious British-Kuwait Prize for the best book on the Middle East. Born in Baghdad, Sassoon completed his Ph.D at St Antony’s College, Oxford. He has published extensively on Iraq and its economy and on the Middle East.

Gamal M. Selim is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at the British University in Egypt. His research interests include democratization, politics of development, arms control and non-proliferation, and international relations of the Middle East. His most recent works include: *The International Dimensions of Democratization in Egypt* (2015); and *Global and Regional Approaches to Arms Control in the Middle East* (2013). He has published numerous articles on Egyptian and Middle East politics. His latest journal articles have appeared in *Arab Studies Quarterly* and *International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies*.

Hussain Shaban, CSc. (PhD) is Vice president of the Non-violence University and human rights (AUNOHR). A intellectual, academic researcher, thinker, legal consultant and author of over sixty books within the fields of International Law, Constitution Law, Politics, ideological conflict, the jurisprudence of contemporary religions, nationalities and ethnic issues, culture, literature, and human rights and civil society. Dr. Hussain is a regular commentator across media such as television, radio where he regularly speak to current affairs as well as his varied areas of expertise. An active member in a number of organizations and associations of Arab, regional and international human rights, including Amnesty International and the Euro-Mediterranean Network for Human Rights he has received awards for the prominence of his activism in the human rights field in the Arab World (Cairo, 2003), the Union of Arab Jurists (Amman 2005), the Creativity from Iraqi Story House for culture and human rights (Beirut, 2006), the Arab Film in Rotterdam (Netherland 2008) and the Iraqi Union of Jurists (Baghdad 2009). He also writes for *Al-Zamman Newspaper* (Baghdad).

Ashraf Nabih El-Sherif is currently a non-resident associate at the Project on Middle East Democracy (POMED). Formerly he was a nonresident associate in the Democracy and Rule of Law Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Based in Egypt, El-Sherif is a lecturer in political science at the American University in Cairo. He is an expert in political Islam, state-religion relations, democratic transition, social movements, and state-society relations in the Middle East and North Africa. He has contributed to several journals and newspapers in English and Arabic.

Govand H. Sherwani is Professor of Earth Science at Salahaddin University - Erbil – Iraq. He has served as Director General of the Ministry of Higher Education, KRG - Erbil – Iraq.

Rami Siklawi is an independent scholar currently based in Beirut. He holds a PhD in Arab & Islamic Studies from the University of Exeter. He has published numerous peer-reviewed articles on Lebanon and the Middle East region with particular reference to identity, social and political movements.

Tahrir Swift is a member of Tadamun (تضامن) the Iraqi Women's Solidarity organization (formerly Women's Solidarity for an Independent and Unified Iraq (WSIUI)). Working with a number of global peace and justice campaigns her human rights activism started in the 1980s and she has advocated against the 1991 and 2003 wars against Iraq as well as the economic siege of U.N. sanctions as well as the ongoing

Anglo-American intervention. She previously worked with *Arab Media Watch* (U.K.) to actively counter the misrepresentation and bias in the British media on Iraq and Palestine. Her work with Tadamun strives to highlight the persistent human rights abuses and the catastrophic destruction of Iraq's health and education systems taking place from 2003. She has facilitated and organized several conferences, public lectures and media campaigns for Tadamun and maintains the Tadamun blog 'Solidarity Iraq' as its Editor. She participated as lead author when lobbying efforts saw Tadamun testify before the Chilcot Inquiry, with its submission "Written evidence from the Tadamun Iraqi Women Solidarity, a group of Iraqi-British Women, concerned with Human Rights in Iraq." She was also instrumental in the compilation of Tadamun's submission to the United Nations Human rights Council in Geneva for its Seventh Period Review of Iraq in 2010 as well as lead author of a report on the ongoing conflict in Iraq delivered to the U.K. Parliamentary Select Committee for Defence's 'Inquiry on Iraq, Syria and fighting Islamic State' which led to the publication of their 2015 report "The situation in Iraq and Syria and the response to al-Dawla al-Islamiya fi al-Iraq al-Sham (DAESH)." A native Baghdadi, she left Iraq for the U.K. where she now resides with her family.

Index of Conference Attendees

	Page(s)		Page(s)
Abdullah, Thabit	4, 8, 24, 37	Khailany, Beriwan	29, 31, 44
Ameen, Sherzad Ahmed	3, 4, 8, 10, 29	Kazziha, Walid W.	3, 4, 20, 44
Antoon, Sinan	7, 28, 29, 36, 37	Khodary, Yasmin M.	20, 23, 45
Aoude, Ibrahim G.	29, 32, 34	Khoury, Malek	4, 25, 45
Al-Azzawi, Souad Naji	20, 21, 38	Lawson, Fred H.	17, 18, 46
Bahaa-Eldin, Ziad Ahmed	7, 8, 38	Mahmood, Senik Tahir	29, 32, 46
Da'Na, Seif	27, 32, 33, 39	Al-Mamore, Abed Ali Kadem	10, 11, 15, 46
Daghir, Mahmoud M.	11, 39	Mansour, Rasha S.	20, 22, 46
Dagres, Holly	17, 39	Measor, John H. W.	17, 46
Dessouki, Ali El-Deen Hilal	17, 39	Merza, Ali	11, 16, 46
Al-Duri, Usama A. Numan	29, 30, 40	Meyer, Günter	3, 47
Esa, Sahib Kahraman	40, 41	Muhammed, Thuraiya	47
Farahat, Mohamed Fayez	24, 40	Al-Mukhtar, Sabah	34, 35, 47
Farhan, Sara	24, 40	Mulligan, Michael	34, 35, 48
Fatah, Abdul-Jabbar	10, 41	Phillips, Lawrie	25, 27, 48
Mahmood			
Fayyadh, Amer Hassan	11, 12, 41	Ragab, Eman	8, 10, 48
Freda, Isabelle	25, 26, 41	Rey, Matthieu	24, 25, 48
Gallagher, Robert	11, 13, 41	Rida, Fadhel	11, 16, 49
Ghazoul, Ferial	25, 41	Saeed, Haider	8, 9, 49
Ginsberg, Terri	3, 4, 25, 26, 42	Sassoon, Joseph	17, 18, 49
El-Hamdi, Mohaned Talib	11, 14, 42	Selim, Gamal M.	4, 17, 50
Hamdi, Tahrir	11, 14, 42	Shaban, Hussain	3, 4, 10, 50
Al-Hassani, Ruba Ali	34, 42	El-Sharif, Ashraf Nabih	17, 19, 50
Herring, Eric	3, 43	Sherwani, Govand H.	29, 50
Hewison, Neil	29, 43	Siklawi, Rami	32, 34, 50
Ismael, Tareq	2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 20, 21, 29, 43	Swift, Tahrir	50
Ismael, Jacqueline	3, 4, 20, 21, 43		
Jawad, Yasmine	20, 22, 44		