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*THEMATIC BIBLIOGRAPHIES*  
*No. 2/2006*

**IRAQ THREE YEARS ON**  
**L'IRAK, TROIS ANS APRÈS**

*Bibliographies Thématiques*  
*No. 2/2006*

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# PART I : BOOKS

## PREMIERE PARTIE : LIVRES\*

2005

341.2 /00336

Losing Iraq : Inside the Postwar Reconstruction Fiasco - New York :  
Westview Press.

ix, 292 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.

ISBN: 0813343046

Author(s):

1. Phillips, David L.

Subject(s):

1. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ
2. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 255-274. Includes index.

'This book tells the story of the tragedy of Iraq, from the first discreet meetings to plan the political transition through the debacle the United States created even as President Bush was declaring 'mission accomplished', on up to the January 2005 Iraqi elections. The author was a senior adviser and foreign affairs expert working with the State Department's Future of Iraq Project, which was undermined when the US Defense Department was put in charge of postwar reconstruction on the eve of the war.'

ID number: 80020488

Year: 2005

321 /00695

Iraq's Future : The Aftermath of Regime Change - Abingdon, UK :

Routledge.

72 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.

(Adelphi Paper ; 372)

ISBN: 0415363896

Author(s):

1. Dodge, Toby

Subject(s):

1. NATION BUILDING--IRAQ
2. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Added entry(s):

1. International Institute for Strategic Studies (GB)

Notes:

'It is hard to over-estimate what is at stake in Iraq today. The removal of Saddam Hussein's regime in April 2003 has proved to be the beginning, not the culmination, of a long and uncertain process of state-building. This paper examines the process from a military, political and sociological perspective. Possible futures for Iraq are charted, first by studying the evolution of the criminal and politically motivated violence that has come to dominate the everyday lives of ordinary Iraqis. The paper then details the strengths and weaknesses of the political structures built after the fall of Saddam's regime, from the formation of the Iraqi Governing Council in 2003 to the elections of January 2005, and traces the forces driving political mobilisation in post-Saddam Iraq. It concludes by analysing the ramifications of regime change for US policy and the wider Middle East.'

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\* This list contains material received as of March 20<sup>th</sup>, 2006 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 20 mars 2006.

ID number: 80020052  
Year: 2005

355.4 /01429

The Iraq War and Democratic Politics - London : Routledge.

viii, 272 p.; 25 cm.

ISBN: 0415351472

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ WAR, 2003--MORAL AND ETHICAL ASPECTS
2. DEMOCRATIZATION--IRAQ
3. DEMOCRACY

Added entry(s):

1. Danchev, Alex, ed.
2. MacMillan, John, ed.

Notes:

Includes index.

'Invading Iraq in 2003 has proved the most deeply divisive political decision of recent times. Despite considerable domestic opposition, the strong reservations of some close allies and the United Nations, and the anger of much of the non-Western world, the United States and Britain still controversially decided that they should commit their forces to toppling Saddam Hussein. This book contains the work of leading scholars concerned with the political implications of the Iraq War and its relationship to and significance for democracy. The book shuns simplistic analysis to provide a nuanced and critical overview of this key moment in global politics.

Subjects covered include : the underlying moral and political issues raised by the war; US foreign policy and the Middle East; the fundamental dilemmas and contradictions of democratic intervention; how the war was perceived in Britain, the EU, Turkey, and the United States; the immense challenges of creating democracy inside Iraq; the influential role of NGOs such as the Iraq Body Count website; the legitimacy of the war within international law; the relationship between democratic government and intelligence. Drawing on specialists in the fields of political theory, international relations, international law and the politics of Iraq, this book is essential reading for all those concerned with the future of democracy.'

ID number: 80019630

Year: 2005

323 /00903

The Future of Kurdistan in Iraq - Philadelphia : University of Pennsylvania Press.

xxi, 355 p. : ill.; 25 cm.

ISBN: 0812238702

Subject(s):

1. KURDISTAN (IRAQ)--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
2. KURDS--GOVERNMENT POLICY--IRAQ

Added entry(s):

1. O'Leary, Brendan, ed.
2. MacGarry, John, ed.
3. Salih, Khaled, ed.

Notes:

This book emerged from two conferences, one held in Odense, Denmark, at the University of Southern Denmark in December 2002, and one held in Washington, D.C., in September 2003.

Includes index.

'On 19 March 2003, the United States, the United Kingdom, and a 'coalition of the willing' declared war on the Republic of Iraq. But one part of that state, Kurdistan, was already free from Saddam's Ba'thists. It was autonomous but not formally independent. This volume collects expert contributions on the

consequences of the overthrow of Saddam's regime for the Kurds and the other peoples of Kurdistan.'

ID number: 80020107

Year: 2005

327 /01284

Iraq : Allaying Turkey's Fears over Kurdish Ambitions - Brussels : International Crisis Group.

24 p. : ill. ; 30 cm.

(Middle East Report ; 35)

Subject(s):

1. KURDISTAN (IRAQ)--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
2. KURDS--GOVERNMENT POLICY--TURKEY
3. TURKEY--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ
4. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--TURKEY

Added entry(s):

1. International Crisis Group (BE)

Notes:

'In northern Iraq, largely unnoticed, a conflict is brewing that, if allowed to boil over, could precipitate civil war, break-up of the country and in a worst-case scenario Turkish intervention. Tensions in the oil-rich Kirkuk region, where the political ambitions, historical claims and economic interests of the principal communities - Kurds, Arabs, Turkomans and Chaldo-Assyrians - clash, have been escalating since US forces toppled the Baathist regime in April 2003. Violence is assuming a troubling pattern. Turkey, with its own large Kurdish population, is watching with growing anxiety. The US and EU need to do more to resolve the Kirkuk question and help Ankara protect its vital interests without resort to increasingly hollow but destabilising threats of military intervention.'

ID number: 80020406

Year: 2005

323 /00910

Looking into Iraq - Paris : European Union Institute for Security Studies.

146 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.

(Chaillot Papers ; 79)

ISBN: 9291980757

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
2. IRAQ--ETHNIC RELATIONS
3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ
4. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
5. KURDISTAN (IRAQ)--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Posch, Walter, ed.
2. European Union Institute for Security Studies (FR)

Notes:

'This paper aims to help to formulate a European position on Iraq based on a realistic assessment of the situation on the ground. It is neither an ethnographic, sociological nor a historical study or a mere policy paper, though aspects of these disciplines are used by authors, depending on their academic background. The paper focuses rather on those issues whose understanding is key to proper analysis. To achieve this a group of renowned scholars and experts were asked to write short pieces on Iraq, each of them with a different focus, covering : the current situation inside the country and possible future developments among the most important driving forces in Iraq (this of course includes an analysis of the most important ethnic/sectarian cleavages in the country); the outcome of the elections and the next steps for further democratisation; aims and intentions of the United States in

Iraq; and finally a possible role for the EU.'  
ID number: 80020211  
Year: 2005

327 /01255

Turkey's Policy Towards Northern Iraq : Problems and Perspectives -  
Abingdon, UK : Routledge.

77 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.

(Adelphi Paper : 374)

ISBN: 0415382971

Author(s):

1. Park, Bill

Subject(s):

1. KURDS--GOVERNMENT POLICY--TURKEY
2. KURDISTAN (IRAQ)--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
3. TURKEY--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ
4. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--TURKEY

Added entry(s):

1. International Institute for Strategic Studies (GB)

Notes:

'Iraq's Kurds are insisting that a federal Iraq grant them high levels of self-government, including control over their own militia and parliament, that the oil-rich Kirkuk area (over which they already exercise considerable informal control) should be formally incorporated into the Kurdish zone, and that the 'Arabisation' policies of the former Ba'athist regime should be reversed. Indeed, they already enjoy considerable de facto control over the Kirkuk area. Ankara, for its part, has strongly signalled that excessive Kurdish autonomy and Kurdish control over Kirkuk are unacceptable, largely because of fears of the consequences for Turkey's Kurdish problem, and the possibility of Turkish military intervention has never been far away. This paper outlines the evolution of events in northern Iraq, and assesses the scenarios and options currently confronting Ankara, Washington and the Iraqi Kurds.'

ID number: 80020077

Year: 2005

956 /00024

Le livre noir de Saddam Hussein - Paris : Oh!.

700 p. ; 24 cm.

ISBN: 2915056269

Subject(s):

1. HUSSEIN, SADDAM, 1937-
2. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
3. IRAQ--HISTORY

Added entry(s):

1. Kutschera, Chris, ed.

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 691-692. Includes index.

'La premiere arme de destruction massive, ce fut Saddam Hussein. Pendant trente-cinq ans, il s'acharna sur son propre peuple. Il fallait enoncer ces meurtres un par un, les faire apparaitre dans toute leur horreur, qualifier clairement leur nature et pouvoir affirmer ce que l'on oublie trop : Saddam fut l'un des pires tyrans de l'Histoire du monde ; il etait urgent et necessaire d'en debarrasser le peuple irakien. Les Americains, meurtris par le 11 septembre, firent a Saddam Hussein une guerre tardive pour de fausses raisons. Tentant de construire une nation democratique, les Americains accumulerent les erreurs. Le president Bush, en chassant l'assassin, declencha des violences sans fin faisant de l'Irak le nouveau foyer du terrorisme. Au bout des annees de feu et de mort qui s'annoncent, il nous faudra pourtant batir la paix.'

ID number: 80020508

Year: 2005

323 /00881

Strategic Implications of Intercommunal Warfare in Iraq - Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College.

vi, 50 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 1584871873

Author(s):

1. Terrill, W. Andrew

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
2. IRAQ--ETHNIC RELATIONS
3. CIVIL WAR

Added entry(s):

1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)

Notes:

'In the post-Saddam era, differences among Iraqi ethnic and religious groups will either emerge as a barrier to political cooperation and national unity, or they will instead be mitigated as part of the struggle to define a new and more inclusive system of government. Should Iraqi ethnic and sectarian differences become unmanageable, a violent struggle for political power may ensue. This study does not predict an ethnic or sectarian civil war in Iraq except as a worst case, which must be analyzed and considered. If Iraqi violence erupts along religious/sectarian and ethnic lines, this conflict will have thunderous echoes throughout the area. Group identity, which is critical throughout much of the Middle East, will provide a compelling context for regional bystanders watching ethnic and sectarian bloodshed. Moreover, various nations would involve themselves in the fighting in ways up to and including the possibility of military intervention. Additionally, inter-communal harmony and tolerance in other regional states may suffer as the result of Iraqi fighting and the responses of neighboring governments to that fighting. The danger of an Iraqi civil war requires serious US cooperation with those regional states that also have a stake in preventing this outcome.'

ID number: 80019903

Year: 2005

323 /00888

Insurgency in Iraq : An Historical Perspective - Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College.

v, 21 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 1584871830

Author(s):

1. Beckett, Ian F. W.

Subject(s):

1. INSURGENCY--IRAQ
2. GUERRILLA WARFARE--IRAQ

Added entry(s):

1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)

Notes:

'The continuing proliferation of insurgent organizations suggests that insurgency is still widely perceived as an effective means either of achieving power and influence, or of bringing a cause to the notice of an international or national community. The end of European decolonization and the collapse of the Soviet Union together removed the motivational impulse for much conflict between the late 1940s and the late 1980s. However, new ideological, political, and commercial imperatives are now encouraging intrastate conflict and insurgency amid the breakdown of the international bipolar political system and the emergence of identity politics and of many more nonstate

actors. This monograph considers the patterns of insurgency in the past by way of establishing how much the conflict in Iraq conforms to previous experience. In particular, the author compares and contrasts Iraq with previous Middle Eastern insurgencies such as those in Palestine, Aden, the Dhofar province of Oman, Algeria, and Lebanon. He suggests that there is much that can be learned from British, French, and Israeli experience.'

ID number: 80020000

Year: 2005

2004

321 /00693

What We Owe Iraq : War and the Ethics of Nation Building - Princeton, NJ : Princeton University Press.

154 p. ; 23 cm.

ISBN: 0691121796

Author(s):

1. Feldman, Noah

Subject(s):

1. NATION BUILDING--IRAQ

2. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ

Notes:

Includes index.

'What do we owe Iraq ? America is up to its neck in nation building - but the public debate, focused on getting the troops home, devotes little attention to why we are building a new Iraqi nation, what success would look like, or what principles should guide us. This book sets out to shift the terms of the debate, acknowledging that we are nation building to protect ourselves while demanding that we put the interests of the people being governed - whether in Iraq, Afghanistan, Kosovo, or elsewhere - ahead of our own when we exercise power over them. The author argues that to prevent nation building from turning into a paternalistic, colonialist charade, we urgently need a new, humbler approach. Nation builders should focus on providing security, without arrogantly claiming any special expertise in how successful nation-states should be made. Drawing on his personal experiences in Iraq as a constitutional adviser, the author offers enduring insights into the power dynamics between the American occupiers and the Iraqis, and tackles issues such as Iraqi elections, the prospect of successful democratization, and the way home. Elections do not end the occupier's responsibility. Unless asked to leave, we must resist the temptation of a military pullout before a legitimately elected government can maintain order and govern effectively. But elections that create a legitimate democracy are also the only way a nation builder can put itself out of business and - eventually - send its troops home.'

ID number: 80020033

Year: 2004

323 /00907

The Kurds in Iraq : The Past, Present and Future - London : Pluto Press. x, 236 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.

ISBN: 0745322298

Author(s):

1. Yildiz, Kerim

Subject(s):

1. KURDS--IRAQ

2. KURDISTAN (IRAQ)--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Kurdish Human Rights Project (GB)

Notes:

Includes index.

'This publication is intended to provide an outline of some of the issues affecting the Kurds in Iraq. It provides a brief exploration of the past's effect on the present, and of how both the Kurds and the international community may avoid repeating previous mistakes, laying the foundations for an internationally recognised autonomous region committed to pluralistic democracy and human rights. In the intervening years between the First Gulf War and the 2003 US-led war against Saddam, the Kurds established a democratic administration, which has persevered despite a lack of assistance from the international community to facilitate its establishment or indeed any international recognition. Iraqi Kurdistan serves as a role model not only for Iraq but also for the rest of the Middle East, particularly with regard to adherence to human rights principles, including women's rights and freedom of expression. The study proposes that the Kurds should continue to have full and equal participation in the reconstruction of Iraq. The study also details a range of human rights policies to the Occupying Powers, the international community and the Kurds themselves. The publication highlights the international initiatives possible to ensure the economic and social development of Iraqi Kurdistan, including equitable distribution of the revenues of oil and the Oil-for-Food Programme.'

ID number: 80020171

Year: 2004

323 /00906

The Future of Iraq : Dictatorship, Democracy, or Division ? - New York :

Palgrave MacMillan.

x, 260 p. : ill. ; 25 cm.

ISBN: 1403963541

Author(s):

1. Anderson, Liam
2. Stansfield, Gareth R. V.

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--HISTORY
2. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
3. IRAQ--ETHNIC RELATIONS
4. DEMOCRACY--IRAQ
5. IRAQ WAR, 2003

Notes:

Includes index.

'Reordering Iraq is the lynchpin of America's successful involvement in the Middle East. The challenge may be impossible. This book provides a primer on the history and political dynamics of this pivotal state divided by ethnic, religious, and political antagonisms, and provocatively argues that the least discussed future of Iraq might be the best : managed partition. The authors incisively analyze the dilemmas of American policy. They suggest that even a significant American presence will not stabilize Iraq because it is an artificial state and its people have never shared a common identity. In addition, tyrannical rule and the primacy of political violence have eroded social bonds and entrenched tribal allegiances - fallow ground for democracy. The authors provide the basic information and the provocative analysis crucial to informed debate and decision.'

ID number: 80020170

Year: 2004

323 /00823

The United States and Iraq's Shi'ite Clergy : Partners or Adversaries ? -

Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College.

vi, 49 p. ; 23 cm.

ISBN: 1584871539

Author(s):

1. Terrill, W. Andrew

Subject(s):

1. SHIITES--IRAQ--POLITICAL ACTIVITY

2. SHAIHAH

3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ

4. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

5. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Added entry(s):

1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)

Notes:

'The author addresses the critical need to gain the cooperation or at least the passive tolerance of the Shi'ite clerics and community. Such an effort could become more challenging as time goes on, and one of the recurring themes of this monograph is the declining patience of the Shi'ite clergy with the U.S. presence. By describing the attitudes, actions, and beliefs of major Shi'ite clerics, the author underscores a set of worldviews that are profoundly different from those of the U.S. authorities currently in Iraq and Washington. Some key Shi'ite clerics are deeply suspicious of the United States, exemplified by conspiracy theories. These suggest that Saddam's ouster was merely a convenient excuse, allowing the United States to implement its own agenda. Other clerical leaders are more open-minded but not particularly grateful for the U.S. presence, despite their utter hatred for Saddam and his regime.'

ID number: 80019175

Year: 2004

2003

355.4 /01399

The Iraq War : Strategy, Tactics, and Military Lessons - Washington :

Center for Strategic and International Studies.

xiv, 572 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.

(Significant Issues Series ; vol. 25, no. 5)

ISBN: 0892064323

Author(s):

1. Cordesman, Anthony H.

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ WAR, 2003

2. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION

3. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ

Added entry(s):

1. Center for Strategic and International Studies (US)

Notes:

'In April of 2003, a stunned world looked on as the armed forces of the United States and Britain conducted a lightning-fast military campaign against Iraq. Confounding predictions of failure, the Anglo-American victory brought down not just the Iraqi regime, but also much of the conventional wisdom about modern war. But even as US and British forces occupied Basra, Tikrit, and Mosul, the Iraqi nation slipped into anarchy - and new military and security challenges emerged. Such has been the twisted trail of dramatic events that we call the Iraq War. But like so many other conflicts, the war ultimately seemed to pose more questions than it resolved. What about the prewar political fights in Washington, Paris, and the UN ? Was victory really due to the brilliance of Anglo-American arms, or has Saddam's regime simply been too rotten to stand ? Why didn't Baghdad become a second Stalingrad ? Why weren't the occupying

forces prepared to impose order ? And then there is the mother of all questions : where are Iraq's weapons of mass destruction, and what went wrong with intelligence estimates ? The author provides here the first in-depth examination of the key issues swirling around the most significant US war since Vietnam. Finding answers is essential if we are to understand the United States' awesome power and its place in a new age of international terror and regional conflict. Finding answers is also essential if we are to draw the proper lessons and understand the new challenges of conflict termination, peacemaking, and nation building.'

ID number: 80019151

Year: 2003

341.2 /00299

Reconstructing Iraq : Insights, Challenges, and Missions for Military Forces in a Post-Conflict Scenario - Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College.

vi, 78 p. ; 23 cm.

ISBN: 1584871121

Author(s):

1. Crane, Conrad C.
2. Terrill, W. Andrew

Subject(s):

1. USA--ARMED FORCES--OPERATIONS OTHER THAN WAR
2. DEMOCRACY--IRAQ
3. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION
4. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ

Added entry(s):

1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)

Notes:

'In October 2002, the US Army War College's Strategic Studies Institute, in coordination with the Office of the Army Deputy Chief of Staff/G-3, initiated a study to analyze how American and coalition forces can best address the requirements that will necessarily follow operational victory in a war with Iraq. The final report of the project consists of three parts : a discussion of historical insights from 20th century postwar occupations and post-conflict operations; an analysis of the unique challenges Iraq will present for an occupying power; and a mission matrix that lists 135 specific tasks that must be performed to build and sustain a state. The matrix arrays those tasks across four phases of occupation and designates whether coalition military forces or civilian agencies should perform them. The study has much to offer planners and executors of operations to occupy and reconstruct Iraq, but also has many insights that will apply to achieving strategic objectives in any conflict after hostilities are concluded.'

ID number: 80018504

Year: 2003

341.2 /00303

Establishing the Rule of Law in Iraq - Washington : United States Institute of Peace Press.

15 p. ; 30 cm.

(Special Report ; 104)

Subject(s):

1. RULE OF LAW--IRAQ
2. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION
3. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ

Added entry(s):

1. Institute of Peace (US)

Notes:

'The United States and its allies have taken military action to restore democracy and the rule of law in Iraq. Prior to the

intervention, the United States Institute of Peace held a workshop on February 19, 2003 on 'Establishing the Rule of Law in Iraq' to examine this challenge.

ID number: 80018563

Year: 2003

341.2 /00302

Guiding Principles for U.S. Post-Conflict Policy in Iraq - New York : Council on Foreign Relations.

v, 29 p.; 30 cm.

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION
2. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ

Added entry(s):

1. Council on Foreign Relations (US)

Notes:

Report of an Independent Working Group Cosponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations and the James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy of Rice University.

'This memorandum recommends that the administration adopt a three-phased approach that distinguishes between short-term necessities and long-term goals and objectives. In the medium-term, the key challenge will be to devise a transitional strategy that takes Iraq from the current situation to a more secure and prosperous future. There should be no illusions that the reconstruction of Iraq will be anything but difficult, confusing, and dangerous for everyone involved. However, segmenting the strategy into distinct phases and ensuring that Iraqis play a major role in determining the fate of their country will reduce the chance that one brutal strongman will be substituted for another - reproducing historical patterns and necessitating future interventions - and will also help increase the likelihood that the United States is seen internationally, in the region, and in Iraq to be working to promote Iraqi interests as opposed to assumed US ones. Finding the right Iraqi allies will be key to restoring Iraqi sovereignty and making possible an early American exit.'

ID number: 80018535

Year: 2003

327 /01123

Iraq at the Crossroads : State and Society in the Shadow of Regime Change - Oxford, UK : Oxford University Press.

178 p.; 24 cm.

(Adelphi papers, 0567-932X ; 354)

ISBN: 019852837X

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ
3. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
4. IRAQ--SOCIAL CONDITIONS
5. IRAQ WAR, 2003
6. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION
7. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ

Added entry(s):

1. Dodge, Toby, ed.
2. Simon, Steven, ed.
3. International Institute for Strategic Studies (GB)

Notes:

'A US-led assault on Iraq will have unpredictable and possibly profound effects on Iraqi society. Moreover, those effects will vary with the objectives and strategy adopted by the US and its allies as well as by the pace and scope of the collapse of Iraqi resistance. Further, the reach of Washington's post-war objectives has not yet been settled. Given these multiple

sources of uncertainty, understanding the relationship between Iraqi society and the Iraqi state after three decades of Ba'ath rule is all the more crucial to the success of post-war efforts to reconstruct the country and reconstitute its political system. Yet that relationship is poorly understood in the West. The Iraq of today cannot easily be mapped on to a neat diagram of sect, tribe, or party. The rentier structure of the state economy, the regime's manipulation of group identity to control the population, the emergence of a shadow state that distributes public goods to advance regime interests, and pervasive violence have transformed Iraq's socio-political landscape into dangerous and unfamiliar ground for intervention. These essays delineate the options now being debated in Washington and provide up-to-date assessments of how Iraqi state and society will respond to the impact of war and the removal of a deeply-rooted authoritarian regime.'

ID number: 80018444

Year: 2003

341.2 /00300

Iraq : The Day After - New York : Council on Foreign Relations.

59 p.; 30 cm.

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION
2. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ

Added entry(s):

1. Council on Foreign Relations (US)

Notes:

'The Task Force made the following major points, backed with specific recommendations : first, to urge President Bush to publicly explain America's and the world's vital interest in making Iraq a better and safer place. Further, the president must explain to the American people why the United States must be prepared to stay the course to get that job done. Without the public commitment, Iraqis would certainly believe the United States and others would disappear on them before their lives were made better and safer; and American planners would never know where they stood and their effectiveness would be dissipated. Second, to stress that first priority on the ground in Iraq must go to prevent lawlessness and humanitarian suffering. Without public safety and a strong humanitarian aid program, nothing else will work. Third, to work very hard to involve the international community in the post-conflict transition and reconstruction effort, meaning shared responsibility and decision-making, without undercutting the unity of effort. Fourth, making sure that plans and efforts to ensure continuing administration of public affairs and Iraqi responsibilities.'

ID number: 80018529

Year: 2003

496.3 /00359

Opportunities for NATO's Engagement in the Post War Reconstruction of

Iraq - Praha : Informacni Centrum o NATO.

64 p. : ill.; 30 cm.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ARMED FORCES--IRAQ
2. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION
3. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ

Added entry(s):

1. Informacni Centrum o NATO (CZ)

Notes:

Proceedings of the workshop held on the 13th May 2003 in Prague.

ID number: 80019941

Year: 2003

341.2 /00301

Post-War Iraq : Are We Ready ? - Washington : Center for Strategic and International Studies.

20 p. ; 30 cm.

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION
2. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ

Added entry(s):

1. Center for Strategic and International Studies (US)

Notes:

'The Bush Administration has done considerable planning for the postwar phase in Iraq, and comprehensive preparations on many fronts have been made in advance. Nonetheless, significant gaps remain. This document sets forth a 'scorecard' of the Administration's preparations for the post-conflict reconstruction phase thus far, drawing on all available information the Administration has chosen to make public. Overall, this scorecard gives the Administration a mixed grade on its planning and preparations, which have been significant in certain areas but are still seriously lagging in others.'

ID number: 80018534

Year: 2003

323 /00791

Nationalism, Sectarianism, and the Future of the U.S. Presence in post-Saddam Iraq - Carlisle Barracks, PA : US Army War College. vi, 44 p. ; 23 cm.

ISBN: 1584871296

Author(s):

1. Terrill, W. Andrew

Subject(s):

1. NATIONALISM--IRAQ
2. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION
3. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
4. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ
5. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
6. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ

Added entry(s):

1. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)

Notes:

'The ouster of the Saddam Hussein regime in Iraq has led to a variety of new and important questions about the evolution of Iraqi society and national identity. These questions concerning how Iraqis view themselves have serious implications for the US military presence in Iraq which remains in the aftermath of Saddam's removal. A new Iraqi nationalism or sectarian chauvinism may feed anti-US efforts and actions, endangering US troops and disrupting Iraqi reconstruction. It is correspondingly vital that Iraqi nationalism does not begin to define itself with anti-Americanism as a major component. This monograph addresses the critical questions involved in understanding the background of Iraqi national identity and the ways in which it may evolve in the future to either the favor or detriment of the United States. The monograph also provides particular attention to the issue of Iraqi sectarianism and the emerging role of the Shi'ite Muslims, noting the power of an emerging but fractionalized clergy. The result is a thoughtful and probing report including policy recommendations for US military and civilian decisionmakers that helps to illuminate the complex subjects of Iraqi nationalism and sectarianism and their relevance to the US presence in Iraq.'

ID number: 80018770

Year: 2003

323 /00787

Iraqi Kurdistan : Political Development and Emergent Democracy - London :  
RoutledgeCurzon.  
xvi, 261 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.  
ISBN: 0415302781

Author(s):

1. Stansfield, Gareth R. V.

Subject(s):

1. KURDISTAN (IRAQ)--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
2. KURDS--GOVERNMENT POLICY--IRAQ
3. POLITICAL PARTIES--IRAQ--KURDISTAN

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 238-255. Includes index.

'The Iraqi Kurds have enjoyed de facto statehood in the north of Iraq for over a decade. Existing in a region where the Kurdish de facto state is surrounded by reactionary and suspicious neighbours, the experience has been fraught with difficulties. Intra-Kurdish fighting, military incursions by Turkey and Iran and the threat posed by Saddam Hussein have plagued this 'democratic experiment'. However, an administrative system has developed and a political system displaying enhanced stability has emerged, in spite of the ever-present problems. In this book, the author explores the development of the Kurdish political system since 1991. He examines the difficult and often violent relations between the two dominant parties, the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), and the institutionalisation of the current state of Iraqi Kurdish politics and the means by which the de facto state operates. At a time when Iraq is increasingly prominent in foreign affairs, and the Kurds are often highlighted as potential agents of change, this in-depth study identifies the main dynamics of Iraqi Kurdish politics, analyses the record and potential of the 'Kurdish democratic experiment', and identifies the present and future Kurdish leaders.'

ID number: 80018650

Year: 2003

Cost: 0.00 EU

323 /00777

War in Iraq : What's Next for the Kurds ? - Brussels : International  
Crisis Group.  
iv, 34 p. : ill. ; 30 cm.

(ICG Middle East Report ; 10)

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ WAR, 2003
2. KURDISTAN (IRAQ)--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
3. IRAQ WAR, 2003--TURKEY

Added entry(s):

1. International Crisis Group (BE)

Notes:

'Assuming the US-led military operation to topple Saddam Hussein proceeds, the threat is very great of large-scale violence, centred on Kirkuk, erupting in Northern Iraq between Kurds and Turks. If that is to be averted, the United States must urgently take three important steps : get its own forces to Kirkuk first, ensure that Turkey exercises restraint, and simultaneously persuade the Iraqi Kurds to take no action that will risk provoking Turkey.'

ID number: 80018536

Year: 2003

The War over Iraq : Saddam's Tyranny and America's Mission - San Francisco : Encounter Books.

x, 153 p.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 1893554694

Author(s):

1. Kaplan, Lawrence F., 1969-
2. Kristol, William

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ
2. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
3. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
4. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS
5. IRAQ WAR, 2003

Notes:

Includes index.

'The authors take a hard look at Saddam Hussein. And they see the face of evil : someone who embraced a cruel blend of socialism, fascism and pan-Arab nationalism when young, and later became a coup plotter and a member of the Iraqi equivalent of Hitler's Brown Shirts. Once in power, Saddam methodically created a terror state where thousands of citizens have been made to disappear, and where the wives of government officials are raped by secret policemen to extort loyalty from the officials or their colleagues. Saddam's brutality has targeted Iraq's ethnic and religious minorities, particularly the Shiites and Kurds, whom he subdued with poison gas. The same genocidal techniques he used against his own people also characterized Saddam's war on Iran, where he ordered artillery barrages of nerve gas and cyanide shells. But the authors argue that to understand the choice we face in dealing with Saddam, it is necessary to go beyond the details of his weapons of mass destruction, his violence against his own people and others, and his flouting of UN resolutions. They believe the choice is whether the twenty-first century will see a world of civilized norms that is congenial to America, or a world where dictators feel no constraints against developing terror weapons and no compunction about using them at home and abroad in support of terrorism. The authors analyze how the three post-Cold War presidencies have dealt with Saddam. President George W. Bush, the authors show, does not intend merely to contain or even disarm Iraq, as his precedssors did. Instead, he plans to liberate this benighted country and bring democracy to a land that for decades has known only dictatorship. The authors provide a definitive analysis of the Bush Doctrine and its shaping of a foreign policy that projects American influence on behalf of American interests and human freedom. They show that by enshrining in official policy the strategy of military preemption, regime change and a vision of American power that is fully engaged on behalf of American principles, the Bush administration plans not only to liberate Iraq but to set a new course for American policy in the twenty-first century. This book looks back at how a sadistic dictator was allowed to acquire so much power on the world stage. But it also offers a roadmap for a more hopeful future.'

ID number: 80018640

Year: 2003

## **PART II : JOURNAL ARTICLES**

### **DEUXIEME PARTIE : ARTICLES DE REVUES\*\***

2006

Iraq and Democracy : The Lessons Learned.  
(CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 105, no. 687, January 2006, p. 34-39.)  
Author(s):  
1. Diamond, Larry  
Subject(s):  
1. DEMOCRATIZATION--IRAQ  
Notes:  
Despite America's crippling errors, Iraq is not lost - yet. And there are lessons to be learned that could aid democratization efforts elsewhere in the Middle East.  
ID Number: JA022240  
Year: 2006  
Language: English

Democracy in the Rough.  
(CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 105, no. 687, January 2006, p. 27-33.)  
Author(s):  
1. Marr, Phebe  
Subject(s):  
1. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT  
Notes:  
Do Iraq's various communities have enough in common to remain united as a nation and share a common future, or are the forces of division pushing them in the direction of a breakdown, or even civil war ?  
ID Number: JA022245  
Year: 2006  
Language: English

2005

Revisions in Need of Revising : What Went Wrong in the Iraq War.  
(SURVIVAL, vol. 47, no. 2, Summer 2005, p. 7-31.)  
Author(s):  
1. Hendrickson, David C.  
2. Tucker, Robert W.  
Subject(s):  
1. IRAQ WAR, 2003  
2. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ  
Notes:  
Though critics have made a number of telling points against the Bush administration's conduct of the Iraq war, the most serious problems facing Iraq and its American occupiers - criminal anarchy and lawlessness, a raging insurgency and a society divided into rival and antagonistic groups - were virtually inevitable consequences that flowed from the act of war itself. Military and civilian planners were culpable in failing to plan for certain tasks, but the most serious problems had no good solution. Even so, there are lessons to be learned. These include the danger that the imperatives of 'force protection' may sacrifice the broader political mission of US forces and the need for scepticism over the capacity of outsiders to develop the skill and expertise required to reconstruct decapitated states.

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\*\* This list contains material received as of March 20<sup>th</sup>, 2006 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 20 mars 2006.

ID Number: JA021593  
Year: 2005  
Language: English

La reconstruction de l'Irak aura-t-elle lieu ?.  
(POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 70e annee, no. 2, ete 2005, p. 343-354.)

Author(s):

1. Lafarge, Gabrielle
2. Novosseloff, Alexandra

Subject(s):

1. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ

Notes:

L'impreparation de l'apres-guerre, la desorganisation de la Coalition, les erreurs de strategies changeantes ont cree en Irak une obsession de l'insecurite qui limite toute possibilite de reconstruction. Le processus politique est decale par rapport aux attentes des populations, les organisations internationales sont peu presentes, et les services de securite irakiens encore incapables de prendre le relais. Le reinvestissement international, necessaire, apparait dans ces conditions problematique.

ID Number: JA021581  
Year: 2005  
Language: French

The Paradox of the International Law of Military Occupation : Sovereignty and the Reformation of Iraq.

(JOURNAL OF CONFLICT & SECURITY LAW, vol. 10, no. 1, Spring 2005, p. 43-74.)

Author(s):

1. MacCarthy, Conor

Subject(s):

1. MILITARY OCCUPATION
2. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ

Notes:

One of the myriad of questions confronting international law as a result of the invasion and occupation of Iraq has been whether and how the need to reconstruct Iraq economically and politically can be reconciled with the demands of the law of military occupation. Moreover, did the occupying powers adequately address this problem prior to the handover of power to Iraqi authorities on 28 June 2004 ? This article explores some of the key issues raised in this context. It analyses the juridical basis for the law of military occupation and then examines some of the key political, institutional and economic reforms that have been instituted in Iraq. Three potential sources of authority for these reforms are suggested and then critically examined as to their validity and scope. These are the vicarious authority arguably provided by the Iraqi Governing Council (IGC), Security Council authority which may supervene conventional international humanitarian law in this area and, of course, the authority provided by the treaties regulating military occupation themselves, in particular article 43 of the Hague Regulations.

ID Number: JA021573  
Year: 2005  
Language: English

Reforming Iraq's Security Sector : Our Exit Strategy from Iraq ?.

(RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 150, no. 1, February 2005, p. 8-11.)

Author(s):

1. Rathmell, Andrew

Subject(s):

1. INTERNAL SECURITY--IRAQ
2. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ
3. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION

ID Number: JA021308

Year: 2005

Language: English

Planning Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Iraq : What Can We Learn ?.

(INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 81, no. 5, October 2005, p. 1013-1038.)

Author(s):

1. Rathmell, Andrew

Subject(s):

1. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ
2. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION

Notes:

Efforts to improve national and international capabilities to plan and manage post-conflict reconstruction operations are underway in many countries and are high on the agenda of several multilateral institutions. The international community has learned lessons from the numerous post-conflict reconstruction and nation-building operations that it has engaged in since the end of the Cold War but Iraq represented the most difficult and ambitious operation undertaken to date. Although the coalition effort in Iraq had many unique features, we can nonetheless draw lessons from the tenure of the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) both for the ongoing effort in Iraq and more broadly for future post-conflict reconstruction operations. This article discusses the challenges of post-conflict reconstruction planning and mission management and assesses what happened under the CPA. It draws lessons for the future international effort in Iraq and for the international community as it considers how to plan and organize future such missions.

ID Number: JA021914

Year: 2005

Language: English

State-building in Southern Iraq.

(SURVIVAL, vol. 47, no. 2, Summer 2005, p. 33-55.)

Author(s):

1. Synnott, Hilary

Subject(s):

1. NATION BUILDING--IRAQ
2. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ

Notes:

The Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) in Iraq was a civilian administration conjured up from almost nothing after the initial conflict was already over. It was inevitable that it should have suffered from grave shortcomings in management, organisation, staffing, direction and resources. But some of these were avoidable. While governments and the headquarters in Baghdad focussed on high political and constitutional matters and the organisation of large-scale contracts, CPA staff on the ground elsewhere faced very different challenges with which they were ill equipped to deal. The prevailing security environment was the key to all other activity, but there was a close relationship between this and progress over reconstruction, the development of local as well as national government, and the perceptions of the Iraqis.

ID Number: JA021594

Year: 2005  
Language: English

Iraq after Elections : Beyond Resistance.  
(WORLD TODAY, vol. 61, no. 1, January 2005, p. 10-12.)

Author(s):  
1. Rathmell, Andrew

Subject(s):  
1. ELECTIONS--IRAQ  
2. NATION BUILDING--IRAQ

Notes:  
All eyes have been on the elections in Iraq scheduled for this month. Can they be held, and with reasonable freedom and safety ? But the real task starts after the polls close.

ID Number: JA021180  
Year: 2005  
Language: English

Ignoring History : US Democratization in the Muslim World.  
(ORBIS, vol. 49, no. 2, Spring 2005, p. 305-322.)

Author(s):  
1. Kurth, James

Subject(s):  
1. DEMOCRATIZATION--IRAQ  
2. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Notes:  
The US democratization project in Iraq and in the Muslim world fits into a long chain of US democratization efforts that reaches back to the beginning of the twentieth century. Some of these efforts were successful, and some were not. Together they form a pattern that can tell us something about the prospects for the democratization efforts now underway in Iraq.

ID Number: JA021307  
Year: 2005  
Language: English

Clash of Interest Over Northern Iraq Drives Turkish-Israeli Alliance to a Crossroads.  
(MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL, vol. 59, no. 2, Spring 2005, p. 246-264.)

Author(s):  
1. Kibarglu, Mustafa

Subject(s):  
1. TURKEY--FOREIGN RELATIONS--ISRAEL  
2. ISRAEL--FOREIGN RELATIONS--TURKEY  
3. KURDISTAN (IRAQ)--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT  
4. KURDS--GOVERNMENT POLICY--TURKEY

Notes:  
Turkey and Israel enjoyed an almost perfect relationship throughout the 1990s that amazed their friends, yet bothered their rivals. The US war in Iraq revealed, however, that the two longstanding allies did indeed have contradictory objectives and concerns with respect to the future restructuring of Iraq. While Turkey fears the emergence of an independent Kurdish state in northern Iraq, the same possibility seems favorable for Israel from its security standpoint, vis-a-vis threats posed by countries like Iran, Pakistan, and beyond. It appears that the 'amazing alliance' is heading toward a crossroads. Such an eventuality may change the nature of the relationship from a 'win-win' to a 'lose-lose' situation unless proper steps are rapidly taken with a view toward rebuilding confidence on both sides.

ID Number: JA021571  
Year: 2005  
Language: English

Irak : le syndrome balkanique ?.

(DEFENSE NATIONALE, 61e annee, no. 4, avril 2005, p. 71-80.)

Author(s):

1. Chaigneau, Pascal

Subject(s):

1. ELECTIONS--IRAQ
2. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Notes:

Les elections irakiennes du 30 janvier ont ete mondialement saluees comme une avancee historique vers la democratie. Kofi Annan a ainsi pu parler de 'premier pas'; Javier Solana de 'courage et de determination'; Jose Manuel Durao Barroso de 'message pour la liberte'; et Jacques Chirac d''etape importante'. L'analyse des resultats devrait pourtant contraindre l'observateur a plus de prudence et de circonspection. Au vu de ces derniers, on est, en effet, fonde a redouter une radicalisation des tensions inter et intra-communautaires dans un pays sur lequel plane desormais l'ombre de l'islamisme.

ID Number: JA021444

Year: 2005

Language: French

Les surprises du nouvel Irak.

(POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 107, printemps 2005, p. 225-240.)

Author(s):

1. Luizard, Pierre-Jean

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Notes:

Did the Americans fight the Gulf war, topple Saddam Hussein and sacrifice the lives of hundreds of their soldiers just to install in Baghdad a religious Shia government with close ties to Iran ? The question seems relevant judging by the results of the January 2005 election. The Iraqi Alliance, supported by Ayatollah Sistani, did in fact win 51 percent of the vote, although it is not a monolithic bloc. Nonetheless, the political reconstruction under way in Iraq may soon quickly hit some serious obstacles. What the Americans have effectively done is to ensure that no winner can wield power alone. What should we expect ? An alliance between Kurds and Shiites, leaving the Sunni Arabs out in the cold ? When all Iraqis have understood that ethnically-based politics leads to an impasse, they will have to negotiate the peaceful coexistence of the different groups. But they will not be able to do it so long as the country remains occupied by foreign forces.

ID Number: JA021550

Year: 2005

Language: French

De soennieten in Irak : hoe verder na hun verwerping van de concept-grondwet ?.

(INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 59, nr. 10, oktober 2005, p. 524-529.)

Author(s):

1. Meijer, Roel

Subject(s):

1. SUNNITES--IRAQ--POLITICAL ACTIVITY
2. IRAQ--CONSTITUTIONAL LAW
3. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Notes:

The author surveys the role of the Sunnis in Iraq. In general the Sunnis are given the blame for the problems in Iraq, while the Kurds and Shi'ites are regarded in a favourable light as cooperative and democratic players. The author tries to shed more light on the Sunni resistance by looking at the

Association of Muslim Scholars, one of the major Sunni political organizations that claims to represent the Sunni resistance. He traces its rise after the Falluja crisis in April and November 2004 and analyzes the means how it has tried to unite the Sunni community on the basis of a boycott of participation in politics as long as the Americans have not given a timetable for their retreat from Iraq. In addition the author presents several scenario's on what might happen during the referendum in October and the general elections in December. The author allows for the possibility that a broad Sunni-Shi'ite coalition of pan-Arab forces could prevent a full-scale civil war from erupting.

ID Number: JA021905

Year: 2005

Language: Dutch

Irak tras las elecciones : riesgos e incertidumbres.

(POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 19, no. 104, marzo - abril 2005, p. 63-75.)

Author(s):

1. Munoz, Gema Martin

Subject(s):

1. ELECTIONS--IRAQ

2. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Notes:

A pesar de las elecciones, Irak es una sociedad sometida que espera ver con las votaciones el final de la ocupacion extranjera y confia en que su nuevo gobierno le ayude a mejorar su futuro en todos los ambitos. Los resultados deben valorarse en un incierto contexto politico y social.

ID Number: JA021421

Year: 2005

Language: Spanish

Ismail Abdullah's Barbershop.

(INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, vol. 6, no. 2, Summer 2005, p. 68-73.)

Author(s):

1. Reuter, Christoph

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

2. ELECTIONS--IRAQ

Notes:

Two cheers for the election and Iraqization - but what's next ?

ID Number: JA021523

Year: 2005

Language: English

Iraq in the Shadow of Civil War.

(SURVIVAL, vol. 47, no. 4, Winter 2005 - 2006, p. 85-92.)

Author(s):

1. Said, Yahia

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Notes:

Iraqis are marching with open eyes into civil war. The party most responsible for this course of events is al-Qaeda, with associated Islamic nihilists and Saddam-era henchmen. They have openly declared their intention to ignite civil war by committing gruesome acts of mass murder targeted against Iraq's Shia. Such a strategy is perfectly in tune with the apocalyptic designs of al-Qaeda and the blood thirst of its Iraqi allies. But mainstream Iraqi politicians both in power and in opposition are playing their part in fanning the flames. There are a few courageous and increasingly beleaguered spiritual leaders, public figures, activists and professionals who are

refusing to be swept up by the sectarian fever. Among them are some quite powerful figures like Ayatollah Sistani. Attempts at opening up the political process should focus on these leaders rather than trying to match extremists from one community with extremists from the other.

ID Number: JA021993

Year: 2005

Language: English

Whither the Iraqi Insurgency : Prospects for Counterinsurgent Success.  
(LOW INTENSITY CONFLICT & LAW ENFORCEMENT, vol. 13, no. 1, Spring 2005, p. 24-53.)

Author(s):

1. Bazarian, Melissa S. M.

Subject(s):

1. INSURGENCY--IRAQ  
2. COUNTERINSURGENCY  
3. IRAQ WAR, 2003

Notes:

The 2003 conflict between Iraq and the US-led Coalition resulted in liberation for the country, enabling its citizens to experience freedom they have not had for decades. While the US-led operation was successful, insurgent movements have hindered the reconstruction efforts and the rebuilding of the government in Iraq. The tactics used by these insurgent groups are not that of 'traditional' warfare, therefore the US and Coalition forces adapted their tactics to respond to this new threat. It is argued that with the application of the Manwaring Paradigm (also known as the SWORD model), the US and Coalition forces successfully responded to the insurgent movements during the period leading up to the Iraqi elections in January 2005.

ID Number: JA021845

Year: 2005

Language: English

Iraq : From Insurgency to Civil War ?.

(CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 104, no. 678, January 2005, p. 10-18.)

Author(s):

1. Hashim, Ahmed S.

Subject(s):

1. INSURGENCY--IRAQ

Notes:

Today's ambushes, bombings, and beheadings are bad enough. Warfare along Iraq's sectarian and ethnic divides would be worse.

ID Number: JA021203

Year: 2005

Language: English

How to Win in Iraq.

(FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 84, no. 5, September - October 2005, p. 87-104.)

Author(s):

1. Krepinevich, Andrew F.

Subject(s):

1. INSURGENCY--IRAQ  
2. COUNTERINSURGENCY  
3. IRAQ WAR, 2003

Notes:

Because they lack a coherent strategy, US forces in Iraq have failed to defeat the insurgency or improve security. Winning will require a new approach to counterinsurgency, one that focuses on providing security to Iraqis rather than hunting down insurgents. And it will take at least a decade.

ID Number: JA021797  
Year: 2005  
Language: English

Al Qaeda as Insurgency.  
(JOINT FORCE QUARTERLY, no. 39, 2005, p. 41-50.)

Author(s):  
1. Morris, Michael F.

Subject(s):  
1. INSURGENCY  
2. TERRORISM  
3. QAIDA (ORGANIZATION)  
4. INSURGENCY--IRAQ

Notes:  
Assessing the nature of the enemy is a critical first step in crafting effective strategy. In the case of al Qaeda, one must answer three important questions to clarify the extent of the danger and further hone America's strategic response. First, does the movement actually represent an insurgency? If so, are there indeed new elements that make al Qaeda different than previous insurgencies? Finally, what implications do these answers have for the current war against Osama bin Laden's movement? This article suggests that al Qaeda represents an emerging form of global Islamic insurgency, the inchoate strategy of which undermines its potential to achieve its revolutionary goals. Nonetheless, not unlike previous failed insurgencies, it possesses both durability and an immense capacity for destruction. These characteristics mandate a counterrevolutionary response at the strategic level that aims not only to destroy the organization but also to discredit its ideological underpinnings.

ID Number: JA021856  
Year: 2005  
Language: English

2004
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Reconstructing Iraq's Economy.  
(WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 27, no. 4, Autumn 2004, p. 73-93.)

Author(s):  
1. Crocker, Bathsheba

Subject(s):  
1. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ  
2. IRAQ--ECONOMIC POLICY

Notes:  
Iraq's economic recovery in the short to medium term remains wholly dependent on security and political stability, legal certainty, and Iraqis buying in to the CPA's economic program. The US must now move from dictating Iraq's economy to enabling an indigenous Iraqi course.

ID Number: JA020891  
Year: 2004  
Language: English

What Went Wrong in Iraq.

(FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 83, no. 5, September - October 2004, p. 34-56.)

Author(s):

1. Diamond, Larry

Subject(s):

1. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ
2. IRAQ WAR, 2003
3. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Notes:

Although the early US blunders in the occupation of Iraq are well known, their consequences are just now becoming clear. The Bush administration was never willing to commit the resources necessary to secure the country and did not make the most of the resources it had. US officials did get a number of things right, but they never understood - or even listened to - the country they were seeking to rebuild. As a result, the democratic future of Iraq now hangs in the balance.

ID Number: JA020830

Year: 2004

Language: English

NATO : Out of Area, Out of Business ?.

(WORLD TODAY, vol. 60, no. 8 - 9, August - September 2004, p. 4-6.)

Author(s):

1. Herd, Graeame

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ARMED FORCES--AFGHANISTAN
2. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ
3. IRAQ WAR, 2003
4. NATO

Notes:

Is it time to think the unthinkable on Afghanistan and Iraq ? What if either or both became failed states, would NATO and the Atlantic alliance survive the shock ? This is not just the worry of maverick doom-mongers, but that of NATO Secretary-General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer in a recent New York Times interview. He reportedly called for cooperation to save the two countries and criticised Washington for abandoning his organisation.

ID Number: JA020741

Year: 2004

Language: English

Irak : comment eviter la partition ?.

(POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 103, printemps 2004, p. 141-160.)

Author(s):

1. Luizard, Pierre-Jean

Subject(s):

1. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ
2. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION
3. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Notes:

A year after the third Gulf war and the fall of Saddam Hussein, the process of political reconstruction in Iraq under US stewardship is beginning to reveal its weaknesses. From the outset, the United States centered on two communities that had been kept out of power since the founding of the Iraqi nation, the majority Shiites and the Kurds. The Sunni Arabs, the foundation of Saddam's regime, felt marginalized. The problem is that a 'Lebanese' style reconstruction where each faction is accorded power not according to its political opinions or competences, but rather simply its membership in a given community, could rapidly reach an impasse. Worse, it could lead to confrontations that could degenerate into civil war. To avoid this predictable catastrophe, the US needs to get out of

an 'occupation' mentality and place American troops under UN command. Under the auspices of the United Nations it must implement a national patriotic program that recognizes the three identities that define Iraq.

ID Number: JA020473  
Year: 2004  
Language: French

Global Counterinsurgency : Without Strategy.

(WORLD TODAY, vol. 60, no. 2, February 2004, p. 7-9.)

Author(s):

1. Mackinlay, John

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ WAR, 2003
2. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ
3. COUNTERINSURGENCY
4. INSURGENCY--IRAQ
5. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION

Notes:

Successes like the capture of Saddam Hussein are morale boosters for security forces in Iraq and may help to ensure victory for President George Bush in his re-election bid. Hopefully they will also demonstrate to the Iraqi people that the coalition is gradually progressing at a tactical level. However, this flush of success also encourages the coalition to continue to operate without a campaign plan. On both sides of the Atlantic, leaders have failed to reveal a genuine counter-insurgent strategy for Iraq or, on a global scale, for the threat of radical Islamic activism. The two are linked and the absence of a strategic concept in Iraq is a microcosm of a larger global failure.

ID Number: JA020180  
Year: 2004  
Language: English

Afghanistan, Iraq and the 'War' on Terror : Struggle for the Global Soul.

(WORLD TODAY, vol. 60, no. 8 - 9, August - September 2004, p. 7-10.)

Author(s):

1. Saikal, Amin

Subject(s):

1. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--AFGHANISTAN
2. IRAQ WAR, 2003
3. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ

Notes:

Afghanistan, Iraq and the US-led 'war' on international terrorism are at different critical phases, but the fates of all three are now interlocked. The outcome in one is capable of seriously affecting the fortunes of the others. Afghanistan has achieved a great deal during its two-year transition from a theocratic past, but is now balanced on a knife-edge. By comparison, Iraq, where the United States and its allies are both politically and militarily in serious trouble, faces further upheaval with uncertain outcomes. Meanwhile, the war on terror has lost its initial focus.

ID Number: JA020790  
Year: 2004  
Language: English

America's Iraq Strategy : Democratic Chimeras, Regional Realities.  
(CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 102, no. 669, January 2004, p. 17-20.)

Author(s):

1. Salmoni, Barak A.

Subject(s):

1. DEMOCRATIZATION--IRAQ
2. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ
3. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
4. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION

Notes:

When US policy makers discuss the democratization of Iraq and the Middle East, have they set out concrete criteria for what that means ? Have they put together the indicators for when it is time to go home ? Have they established, in short, what is enough democracy, and who decides ?

ID Number: JA020108

Year: 2004

Language: English

Apocalypse Soon ?.

(WORLD TODAY, vol. 60, no. 3, March 2004, p. 5-6.)

Author(s):

1. Stansfield, Gareth

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
2. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ
3. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION

Notes:

Within six months Iraq will be a very different place. If the American plan works, sovereignty will be transferred to an appointed government and the occupation will end. But powerful figures are arguing for elections before then and the UN has stepped back in to help. The danger is that the forces that have caused such mayhem for the occupiers may turn their firepower on the new government, especially if it does not reflect the aspirations of all Iraqis. That could be a formula for disaster.

ID Number: JA020231

Year: 2004

Language: English

Reclaiming Iraq from the Baathists.

(CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 102, no. 669, January 2004, p. 11-16.)

Author(s):

1. Yaphe, Judith S.

Subject(s):

1. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ
2. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
3. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION

Notes:

Civil authorities need to figure out, and soon, how to purge the country of Saddam Hussein's brutal party without losing the technocrats, professionals, and army officers needed for reconstruction.

ID Number: JA020107

Year: 2004

Language: English

Bush, the United Nations and Nation-building.

(SURVIVAL, vol. 46, no. 1, Spring 2004, p. 101-116.)

Author(s):

1. Chesterman, Simon

Subject(s):

1. NATION BUILDING--AFGHANISTAN

2. NATION BUILDING--IRAQ

3. NATION BUILDING--USA

Notes:

Would greater UN involvement have avoided any of the mistakes made by the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) in administering Iraq ? Three of the most egregious errors - failing to provide for emergency law and order, disbanding the Iraqi army and blanket de-Ba'athification - ran counter to lessons from previous operations. But the greatest mistake by US planners may have been the assumption that previous UN nation-building efforts have achieved limited success because of UN incompetence, rather than because of the inherent contradictions in building democracy through foreign military intervention. The United States is now engaged, in Afghanistan and Iraq, in two of the most ambitious nation-building projects in its history. The US took a predominant role in part because of the circumstances in which the two conflicts commenced, but also as an extension of the present administration's more general suspicion of multilateral institutions such as the United Nations. This suspicion now undermines the chances of either operation concluding successfully.

ID Number: JA020591

Year: 2004

Language: English

Quelles perspectives politiques a venir pour l'Irak ?.

(DEFENSE NATIONALE, 60e annee, no. 6, juin 2004, p. 167-181.)

Author(s):

1. Ishow, Habib

Subject(s):

1. NATION BUILDING--IRAQ

2. DEMOCRATIZATION--IRAQ

3. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Notes:

Après une présentation des motifs de l'intervention militaire des Etats-Unis, l'auteur expose d'abord les structures sociales de l'Irak. Ensuite, il examine le plan politique américain visant à y établir la démocratie. Cela amène à montrer les deux obstacles majeurs à la réalisation de ce plan : les structures sociales et l'islam. Enfin, est suggérée, comme alternative, la création d'une fédération en vue de sauvegarder les droits des différents groupes en plaçant ce pays sous le mandat de l'ONU afin de prendre le temps nécessaire à la réalisation d'un tel projet, ce qui est dans l'intérêt de l'Irak et de la communauté internationale.

ID Number: JA020555

Year: 2004

Language: French

A Sovereign Iraq ?.

(SURVIVAL, vol. 46, no. 3, Autumn 2004, p. 39-58.)

Author(s):

1. Dodge, Toby

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
2. SOVEREIGNTY

Notes:

The passing of UN Resolution 1546 and the granting of sovereignty to the Interim Iraqi Government were heralded in June 2004 as marking a watershed in both international and national attitudes to Iraq. In spite of the protracted negotiations in New York, the delivery of international legal sovereignty back to Baghdad was the most straightforward aspect of the whole Iraqi problem. Domestic sovereignty, the ability of the new Iraqi government to rule its population, is a long way off. The United States and the international community, through choice or necessity, will continue to be intimately involved in the day-to-day domestic politics of Iraq for many years to come.

ID Number: JA020801

Year: 2004

Language: English

Iraq at the Turn : A Symposium.

(NATIONAL INTEREST, no. 76, Summer 2004, p. 5-54 (several articles).)

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ WAR, 2003
2. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Notes:

The journal has assembled a distinguished panel of experts, practitioners and academics to provide their views and analysis of the impact of the American-led invasion of Iraq on the pursuit of America's national interests, the Greater Middle East (including Iraq itself) and the international system.

ID Number: JA020815

Year: 2004

Language: English

Iraq : Family, Faith, Force.

(WORLD TODAY, vol. 60, no. 10, October 2004, p. 22-23.)

Author(s):

1. Jabar, Faleh

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
2. ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM--IRAQ

Notes:

When coalition forces entered Iraq last year to deal with Saddam Hussein's regime, few in the international community had heard of Muqtada al-Sadr. So great has been the impact of the militia he controls, his is now a household name, but where does his power originate ?

ID Number: JA020910

Year: 2004

Language: English

Possible Pathways for Iraq's Political Evolution.

(MIDDLE EAST POLICY, vol. 11, no. 4, Winter 2004, p. 58-64.)

Author(s):

1. Katzman, Kenneth

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

ID Number: JA021200

Year: 2004

Language: English

Het soennitisch verzet in Irak.

(INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 58, nr. 11, november 2004, p. 550-555.)

Author(s):

1. Meijer, Roel

2. Al-Ahmid, Mohammed Abd

Subject(s):

1. SUNNITES--IRAQ--POLITICAL ACTIVITY

2. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Notes:

The authors argue that the revolt in Falluja and the 'Sunni Triangle' should be regarded as a revolt of the Sunni population against the American occupation, rather than the result of interference of the international Sunni jihadi movement in the region, which, as the American Army spokesmen argue, tries to instigate the population against the present Iraqi government. Three phases can be discerned in the revolt against the American presence in the Sunni Triangle. The first one is based on a resistance which is couched in traditionalist tribal terms, while the second one is based on a mixture of tribal and religious motivations. The last phase, from the April revolt to the present, has a pronounced fundamentalist jihadi imprint. The authors argue that despite this new ideological preponderance of Sunni radicalism, the present Iraqi government does have means to split the Sunni resistance by playing off the tribal and moderate Sunni shaykhs against the radical Sunni shaykhs and their following among the Sunni youth who form the backbone of the resistance forces.

ID Number: JA020990

Year: 2004

Language: Dutch

Four Scenarios for Iraq.

(RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 149, no. 6, December 2004, p. 20-27.)

Author(s):

1. Mills, Greg

Subject(s):

1. ELECTIONS--IRAQ

2. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Notes:

Perhaps the most striking feature about Saddam's Iraq is not that it was wealthy and dangerous, but rather that it was (apart from areas within the Sunni triangle) poverty-stricken and volatile, with a criss-crossing underlay of more than 200 tribal identities and affiliations complicating the already fragile and often violent veneer overlaying its largely Kurdish north, Sunni centre and Shi'a south.

ID Number: JA021208

Year: 2004

Language: English

Regional Implications of Shi'a Revival in Iraq.

(WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 27, no. 3, Summer 2004, p. 7-24.)

Author(s):

1. Nasr, Vali

Subject(s):

1. SHIITES--IRAQ--POLITICAL ACTIVITY
2. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
3. SHIITES
4. SUNNITES

Notes:

The Shi'a-Sunni competition for power is not just the single greatest determinant of stability in post-Saddam Iraq. The sectarian struggle will have the single greatest influence on the future of peace and stability from South Asia to the Levant.

ID Number: JA020539

Year: 2004

Language: English

The Future of Iraq : Uncertainty, Disenchantment and Despair.

(INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 39, no. 4, October - December 2004, p. 43-52.)

Author(s):

1. Sluglett, Peter

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Notes:

The author affirms that the most urgent task facing the international coalition in Iraq remains to restore a minimum level of order. The prospect of Iraq falling apart into what are described as its Sunni Arab, Shia Arab and Kurdish components is probably more remote than is usually thought. Far more likely is a drive towards destabilising factionalism as a result of growing sectarian affiliation. Even the national elections scheduled in January will be impossible to hold in several areas that the coalition does not control. Ordinary people in Iraq are pleased that the dictatorship has been overthrown, but fearful of what may follow unless stability returns. Iran, Syria and Turkey are concerned about the effects that anarchy or state failure in Iraq may have on their own populations and may hopefully be brought into some kind of concerted effort to stabilise the country.

ID Number: JA021274

Year: 2004

Language: English

The Unthinkable.

(WORLD TODAY, vol. 60, no. 5, May 2004, p. 6-8.)

Author(s):

1. Stansfield, Gareth

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Notes:

America's exit strategy from Iraq is being designed and the much-vilified United Nations lined up for what many regard as the poisoned chalice. In Iraq, separate Sunni and Shi'a insurgencies have delivered severe shocks and the Kurds are at fever pitch over independence. It's time to think the unthinkable.

ID Number: JA020463

Year: 2004

Language: English

The Manwaring Paradigm and the Iraqi Insurgency.

(LOW INTENSITY CONFLICT & LAW ENFORCEMENT, vol. 12, no. 2, Summer 2004, p. 37-51.)

Author(s):

1. Battaglia, Phil

Subject(s):

1. INSURGENCY--IRAQ
2. COUNTERINSURGENCY--IRAQ
3. IRAQ WAR, 2003

Notes:

This essay uses the SWORD model developed by Max Manwaring to analyze the ongoing insurgency in Iraq and assess the coalition efforts in rebuilding the country, fighting the insurgency and transferring authority to an Iraqi government. This essay was written in late February 2004. The essay looks at the current situation in Iraq and uses a graphical 'conflict mapping' technique developed by the Canadian Pearson Peacekeeping Centre as a visual tool to portray the principal actors in Iraq and their interrelationships. Next, the author applies the seven dimensions of the SWORD model to the ongoing counter-insurgency campaign in Iraq. The seven dimensions of the SWORD model are (1) military actions of the intervening power, (2) support actions of the intervening power, (3) host government legitimacy, (4) degree of outside support to insurgents, (5) actions against subversion, (6) host country military actions, and (7) unity of effort. The model suggests that coalition efforts are hampered by a lack of host government legitimacy, inability to limit outside support to the insurgents, weak host country military actions, and lack of unity of effort at various levels. Although this essay does not offer a prediction of the coalition efforts for the future of Iraq, it does provide some possible lessons learned that may improve the prospects for success in the future of Iraq.

ID Number: JA022178

Year: 2004

Language: English

2003
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Peace and Development in Post-war Iraq.

(MIDDLE EAST POLICY, vol. 10, no. 3, Fall 2003, p. 22-32.)

Author(s):

1. Barnett, Jon
2. Eggleston, Beth
3. Webber, Michael

Subject(s):

1. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ
2. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION

Notes:

This paper discusses some of the larger political and economic challenges in reconstructing Iraq in order to foster domestic peace and development. It does not speculate about the motives for, or the legality of, the US-led invasion of Iraq, nor does it consider the regional security implications of developments in Iraq. The author's concern is broadly to consider the capacity of a US-imposed reconstruction to promote peace and sustainable development in Iraq, and the problems that must be resolved.

ID Number: JA019554

Year: 2003

Language: English

Winning the Peace in Iraq.

(WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 26, no. 2, Spring 2003, p. 7-22.)

Author(s):

1. Barton, Fredericj D.
2. Crocker, Bathsheba

Subject(s):

1. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ
2. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION

Notes:

Recent experience in Haiti, the Balkans, East Timor, Afghanistan, and elsewhere has demonstrated that winning the peace is often harder than fighting the war. The United States and the United Nations should take 10 steps now to prepare for any postconflict challenges in Iraq.

ID Number: JA019029

Year: 2003

Language: English

Constructing a Democratic Iraq : Challenges and Opportunities.

(INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, vol. 28, no. 1, Summer 2003, p. 47-78.)

Author(s):

1. Byman, Daniel

Subject(s):

1. DEMOCRATIZATION--IRAQ
2. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
3. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ
4. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION

Notes:

This article focuses on the feasibility of installing a democratic government in Iraq now that Saddam is gone and suggests ways to increase the chances that pluralism will take root. It seeks to answer the following questions : what problems are inherent to democratization in divided societies such as Iraq ? What are the strengths and limits of a federal solution to Iraq's problems ? What risks are likely during Iraq's transition to democracy ? What challenges specific to Iraq will further complicate matters ? How can (and should) the United States and other intervening powers influence democratization ? These concerns - though of immediate policy interest - are in essence social science problems, and existing scholarship can shed considerable light on them. This article concludes that, if Iraq does not receive massive help from the United States and other powers, a range of problems will make democracy hard to establish. Challenges that may arise include a weak government that engenders security fears, a lack of a cohesive identity to unify Iraq's different communities, a risk of meddling from Iran and Turkey, bellicose elites who pursue adventurism abroad and whip up tension at home, a poorly organized political leadership, and a lack of a history of democracy.

ID Number: JA019620

Year: 2003

Language: English

Building the New Iraq : The Role of Intervening Forces.

(SURVIVAL, vol. 45, no. 2, Summer 2003, p. 57-71.)

Author(s):

1. Byman, Daniel L.

Subject(s):

1. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ
2. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION

Notes:

Occupying Iraq will be more difficult than conquering it. Intervening forces face a gamut of daunting tasks : ensuring order, ending Iraq's weapons-of-mass-destruction programmes, helping Iraqis build a power-sharing system, reforming Iraq's

military and transforming the regional security environment. Even if all goes well, Iraq's many problems will take years to resolve. Coalition forces must prepare to keep a large (and expensive) troop presence in the country for many years. Success will require both the careful application of force and diplomacy. Most importantly, Iraqis must play a role to minimise charges of imperialism. Although the burden of occupation is heavy, shirking it will lead to disaster.

ID Number: JA019832

Year: 2003

Language: English

#### Business in Post-War Iraq.

(WORLD TODAY, vol. 59, no. 10, October 2003, p. 10-13.)

##### Author(s):

1. Culverwell, Malaika
2. Newton, Andrew

##### Subject(s):

1. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ
2. INVESTMENTS, FOREIGN--IRAQ
3. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION

##### Notes:

International donors meet this month to decide how they might help reconstruct Iraq. Business is already debating the complexity of companies playing a part. To succeed, firms need legitimacy, which can be earned by proving to local partners that they have inclusive, transparent and accountable policies. In Iraq the wrong approach - perhaps even association with the interim administration - could wreck reputations and prospects.

ID Number: JA019657

Year: 2003

Language: English

#### How to Build a Democratic Iraq.

(FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 82, no. 3, May - June 2003, p. 36-50.)

##### Author(s):

1. Dawisha, Adeed
2. Dawisha, Karen

##### Subject(s):

1. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ
2. DEMOCRACY--IRAQ
3. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
4. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION

##### Notes:

What follows the war in Iraq will be at least as important as the war itself. Nurturing democracy there after Saddam won't be easy. But it may not be impossible either. Iraq has several assets going for it, including an educated middle class and a history of political pluralism under an earlier monarchy.

ID Number: JA019124

Year: 2003

Language: English

Policekeeping is the Key : Rebuilding the Internal Security Architecture of Postwar Iraq.

(INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 79, no. 2, March 2003, p. 299-313.)

Author(s):

1. Day, Graham
2. Freeman, Christopher

Subject(s):

1. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ
2. INTERNATIONAL POLICE
3. INTERNAL SECURITY--IRAQ
4. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION

Notes:

The main problem following a US-led international intervention in Iraq will be re-establishing widespread and sustainable governance. It is probable that with the removal of repressive political authority, state control will falter and crime rates boom. This can be countered through an international civil administration with law and order as a guiding mandating principle. Order could be ensured by 'policekeeping', via a large 'blue force' of primarily Muslim gendarmerie from surrounding nations. Reliance on military peacekeeping is precarious because of the political sensitivities in the case of Iraq. The blue force would form the foundation of the new internal security architecture in Iraq, and would act to prevent fragmentation and civil war. The role of policekeeping is to preempt and combat ethnic, religious, and political violence, economic crime and the establishment of shadow networks, as well as policing regular crime including those of property and public order. A further vital task would be the development of domestic judicial and policing capacity, which provide an exit strategy for the international mission and the beginnings of a representative and regionally devolved governance structure. These tasks could be financed through a modification of the current oil for food programme, finally transferring this wealth back into Iraqi society. The goal would be to construct a self-sustaining democratic and economically functional state governed by the rule of law, one that can serve as a political beacon for the region.

ID Number: JA019026

Year: 2003

Language: English

America's Role in Nation-building : From Germany to Iraq.

(SURVIVAL, vol. 45, no. 4, Winter 2003 - 2004, p. 87-109.)

Author(s):

1. Dobbins, James F.

Subject(s):

1. NATION BUILDING--USA
2. NATION BUILDING--IRAQ
3. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ
4. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION

Notes:

Since the end of the Cold War the United States has led six major nation-building operations - that is to say, the use of military force in the aftermath of a conflict to underpin a transition to democracy. In Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan and most recently Iraq, the US has renewed with varying success a form of activity upon which it had embarked in Germany and Japan at the end of the Second World War. Study of these past missions suggests a host of lessons applicable today in Iraq, and raises the question of why, in light of its substantial and recent experience, the US government's learning curve appears so flat.

ID Number: JA019946

Year: 2003

Language: English

US Intervention and Possible Iraqi Futures.  
(SURVIVAL, vol. 45, no. 3, Autumn 2003, p. 103-122.)

Author(s):

1. Dodge, Toby

Subject(s):

1. NATION BUILDING--IRAQ
2. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ
3. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION

Notes:

Saddam Hussein ruled through the 'shadow state' a network of patronage and violence that transformed Iraqi society. For the United States to successfully break the shadow state and build a stable government, it has to change how it interacts with the Iraqi population. This would involve the move from despotic power, the deployment of military force to facilitate the state's survival, to infrastructural power, and the creation of legal rational and legitimate state institutions that rule by consent. The only way to do this administratively and politically is to adopt a 'micro-management' approach. This would mean building state capacity and democratic institutions locally, from the ground up. By doing this, resentment and nationalist anger among the population could be reduced.

ID Number: JA019842

Year: 2003

Language: English

Rebuilding Relationships.

(NATO REVIEW, Summer 2003, 3 p., accessed 05/09/03.)

Author(s):

1. Garden, Timothy

Subject(s):

1. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ
2. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION

Notes:

Rapid victory in Iraq has left a wider reconstruction task than simply that of rebuilding the country. Deep divisions have emerged between old allies. In looking for paths to renewed cooperation, the European Union, NATO and the United Nations all have critical roles to play. The near unanimous agreement by the Security Council on UNSCR 1483 on 22 May is perhaps the first sign that the international community is ready to move forward together. EU optimists hope that the crisis over Iraq will promote a greater push towards coherent European foreign policy positions. EU pessimists point to the lack of progress in providing the military capabilities which Europe needs. Divisions among Allies led to NATO's virtual paralysis in the run-up to the war. While injured feelings will doubtless heal with time, Iraq reinforced questions about the Alliance's future. In the absence of serious strategic thinking by the European Union and NATO, a division of labour may emerge by which Europe effectively finds itself cleaning up in the wake of US interventions.

ID Number: JA019545

Year: 2003

Language: English

Iraq : Policing and Rebuilding : Share the Burden.  
(WORLD TODAY, vol. 59, no. 10, October 2003, p. 7-8.)

Author(s):

1. Hippel, Karin von

Subject(s):

1. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ
2. INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES
3. UNITED NATIONS--ARMED FORCES
4. NATO--ARMED FORCES
5. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION

Notes:

By the beginning of September, Iraq appeared on the verge of imploding. Coalition soldiers were being cherry-picked on a daily basis, critical infrastructure destroyed, and large car bombs killed hundreds at the UN compound, the Jordanian Embassy and a mosque in Najaf. The loss of life in all these attacks has been devastating, with some of the best and brightest Iraqis, international civil servants and soldiers murdered. President George Bush is keen for help to defeat those he calls the 'enemies of freedom'. But who should help - the United Nations or even NATO ?

ID Number: JA019655

Year: 2003

Language: English

Iraq : Postwar Landscape.

(INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 49, no. 4, 2003, p. 50-59.)

Author(s):

1. Konovalov, A.

Subject(s):

1. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ
2. NATION BUILDING--IRAQ
3. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION

ID Number: JA019823

Year: 2003

Language: English

Irak y los desafios diferidos.

(POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 17, no. 94, julio - agosto 2003, p. 85-97.)

Author(s):

1. Larramendi, Miguel Hernando de

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
2. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ
3. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION

Notes:

La caida de Saddam Husein ha situado la reflexion sobre la posguerra en Irak en un primer plano. Del exito del futuro regimen dependera que la intervencion militar anglo-norteamericana pase a la historia como una injerencia o como una liberacion del pueblo iraqui. De momento la democratizacion es un proceso incierto, repleto de obstaculos.

ID Number: JA019511

Year: 2003

Language: Spanish

Iraq 'the Day After' : Internal Dynamics in Post-Saddam Iraq.  
(NAVAL WAR COLLEGE REVIEW, vol. 56, no. 1, Winter 2003, p. 13-29.)

Author(s):

1. Marr, Phebe

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
2. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--IRAQ
4. IRAQ WAR, 2003
5. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ
6. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION

Notes:

The major problem with exile groups lies in the fact that they would have to be put in power by the United States and probably maintained there by American forces if they are to survive until a new constitutional regime can be established. With the exception of the Kurds, who cannot take over Baghdad on their own, the opposition's leadership and organization is outside Iraq.

ID Number: JA018861

Year: 2003

Language: English

La reconstruccion de Irak.

(POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 17, no. 96, noviembre - diciembre 2003, p. 93-106.)

Author(s):

1. Moreno, Fernando Diez

Subject(s):

1. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ
2. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION

Notes:

No sera posible la reconstruccion de Irak si el pais no recupera la seguridad y la estabilidad necesarias para generar la confianza que ampare dicha reconstruccion. Espana participa en todos los ambitos con la aportacion de expertos, recursos economicos y experiencia empresarial.

ID Number: JA019900

Year: 2003

Language: Spanish

Scoring the Iraq Aftermath.

(NATIONAL INTEREST, no. 74, Winter 2003 - 2004, p. 31-36.)

Author(s):

1. O'Hanlon, Michael
2. Albuquerque, Adriana Lin de

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ WAR, 2003
2. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ
3. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION

Notes:

How can we tell if we are making progress in Iraq or not ? If you already know what answer you want, it is easy to find someone to provide it. If you oppose the war, locate a prominent Democrat; if you prefer good news, find a Bush Administration official. In both cases, you are likely to hear accurate but, alas, highly selective and incomplete data. How do we move beyond the war of competing factoids to assess progress and to know when policies need to be adjusted ?

ID Number: JA020114

Year: 2003

Language: English

Occupational Hazards.

(NATIONAL INTEREST, no. 72, Summer 2003, p. 35-47.)

Author(s):

1. Porch, Douglas

Subject(s):

1. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ
2. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION

Notes:

Many Americans, including some of senior rank, appear to hold candy-coated views of the post-World War II US occupations of Germany and Japan. Dealing with Iraq will be hard enough without enshrouding ourselves in myth.

ID Number: JA019467

Year: 2003

Language: English

The Reluctant Nation Builders.

(CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 102, no. 668, December 2003, p. 407-410.)

Author(s):

1. Sorensen, Alan

Subject(s):

1. NATION BUILDING--IRAQ
2. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ
3. NATION BUILDING
4. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION

Notes:

America has shown itself ill-prepared for reconstruction in Iraq. Multilateral institutions could do a better job of nation building, especially in regions where states crumble and terrorists find haven.

ID Number: JA019889

Year: 2003

Language: English

Who's Boss Around Here Anyway ?.

(WORLD TODAY, vol. 59, no. 7, July 2003, p. 6-8.)

Author(s):

1. Stansfield, Gareth

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
2. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION--IRAQ
3. IRAQ WAR, 2003--RECONSTRUCTION

Notes:

Regime change by force was the easy bit. Now comes the difficult task of finding a regime to govern Iraq. A kaleidoscope of forces has been unleashed with the end of Saddam Hussein's repression. They seem united in just one thing - opposition to American occupation.

ID Number: JA019399

Year: 2003

Language: English

Irak : la impostura de la ocupacion.

(POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 17, no. 96, noviembre - diciembre 2003, p. 109-122.)

Author(s):

1. Munoz, Gema Martin

Subject(s):

1. NATION BUILDING--IRAQ
2. IRAQ WAR, 2003
3. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Notes:

EE UU ha cometido un gran error al querer reconstruir Irak a su imagen y semejanza. La situacion del pais solo podria enderezarse si Washngton transfiriese la responsabilidad y la transicion politica a las Naciones Unidas con un mandato dirigido a restaurar lo antes posible la soberania iraqui.

ID Number: JA019901

Year: 2003

Language: Spanish

US Nation-building Policy in the Greater Middle East.

(INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 38, no. 4, October - December 2003, p. 21-32.)

Author(s):

1. Ottaway, Marina

Subject(s):

1. NATION BUILDING--USA
2. NATION BUILDING--IRAQ
3. NATION BUILDING--AFGHANISTAN

Notes:

The author gives a critical assessment of the US' attempts at nation-building in Afghanistan and Iraq. In both cases, the author points out, the main reason for the lack of progress is the failure to empower local government. In the case of Afghanistan, the government exists but does not receive the necessary funding whereas substantial financial means continue to be in the hands of warlords. In Iraq, the US is caught between the imperative to hand over real power to the Iraqi people as soon as possible and the need to maintain a forceful occupation to maximise the possibility of turning the country into a stable and reasonable democracy.

ID Number: JA019995

Year: 2003

Language: English

Not in My Backyard : Iraq's Neighbors' Interests.

(WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 26, no. 3, Summer 2003, p. 149-160.)

Author(s):

1. Alterman, Jon B.

Subject(s):

1. DEMOCRATIZATION--IRAQ
2. DEMOCRATIZATION--MIDDLE EAST

Notes:

Iraq's neighbors find the declared US vision for the future of Iraq and the region deeply threatening, and they have the means to keep that vision from coming to pass. Moreover, the United States undermines its own goals by talking about them so much.

ID Number: JA019339

Year: 2003

Language: English

Democracy in Iraq ?.

(WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 26, no. 3, Summer 2003, p. 119-136.)

Author(s):

1. Byman, Daniel L.
2. Pollack, Kenneth M.

Subject(s):

1. DEMOCRATIZATION--IRAQ
2. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Notes:

Critics raise five primary objections to the feasibility of democracy in Iraq. Yet, these arguments exaggerate the impediments and ignore the potential impact that a determined United States could have. Failure to make democracy in Iraq work would be disastrous.

ID Number: JA019337

Year: 2003

Language: English

The Iraqi Fata Morgana.

(INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, vol. 4, no. 3, Fall 2003, p. 75-80.)

Author(s):

1. Steinbach, Udo

Subject(s):

1. DEMOCRATIZATION--IRAQ

Notes:

Optimists point to democratic elements in Turkey, Indonesia, and Iran to suggest that America's grand project of democratizing Iraq and the Middle East can succeed. Skeptics point to the dearth in Iraq of such democratic preconditions as a civil society and parties that represent anything more than traditional clan and tribal loyalties - and to the absence so far in Arab lands of the protodemocratic characteristics to be found in some non-Arab Islamic lands.

ID Number: JA019717

Year: 2003

Language: English

Democracy and Ethno-religious Conflict in Iraq.

(SURVIVAL, vol. 45, no. 4, Winter 2003 - 2004, p. 111-133.)

Author(s):

1. Wimmer, Andreas

Subject(s):

1. DEMOCRATIZATION--IRAQ
2. IRAQ--ETHNIC RELATIONS

Notes:

When civil society is undeveloped, and when the state is too weak and poor to treat all citizens equally, democratisation may stir up rather than alleviate ethnic conflicts. Iraq had both of these disadvantages when it gained independence in 1932, and its political history since then has been characterised by increasing fragmentation and conflict along ethnic lines. There are institutional designs that may help in a democratic Iraq to prevent escalation of these conflicts : an electoral system that favours vote pooling across ethnic lines; federalism on a non-ethnic basis with a strong component of fiscal decentralisation; a strong regime of minority rights; and a judiciary apparatus capable of enforcing the rule of law. The UN is better suited than a US administration to provide outside support for the process of institutional transformation.

ID Number: JA019947

Year: 2003

Language: English

Tercera guerra del Golfo ?.

(POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 17, no. 92, marzo - abril 2003, p. 99-111.)

Author(s):

1. Aristegui, Gustavo de

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--FOREIGN RELATIONS
2. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT--VERIFICATION--IRAQ
3. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
4. IRAQ WAR, 2003

Notes:

La amenaza iraquí requiere una firme respuesta de la comunidad internacional. La violación reiterada de las resoluciones de las Naciones Unidas no puede tolerarse por más tiempo.

ID Number: JA018994

Year: 2003

Language: Spanish

The United States and Shi'ite Religious Factions in Postwar Iraq.

(MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL, vol. 57, no. 3, Summer 2003, p. 543-566.)

Author(s):

1. Cole, Juan

Subject(s):

1. ISLAM--IRAQ
2. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
3. SHIITES--IRAQ--POLITICAL ACTIVITY

Notes:

In post-Saddam Husayn Iraq, Shi'ite militias rapidly established their authority in East Baghdad and other urban neighborhoods of the south. Among the various groups which emerged, the Sadr Movement stands out as militant and cohesive. The sectarian, anti-American Sadrists wish to impose a puritanical, Khomeinist vision on Iraq. Their political influence is potentially much greater than their numbers. Incorporating them into a democratic Iraq while ensuring that they do not come to dominate it poses a severe challenge to the US Administration.

ID Number: JA019861

Year: 2003

Language: English

Four-headed Dragon.

(WORLD TODAY, vol. 59, no. 3, March 2003, p. 11-12.)

Author(s):

1. Jabar, Faleh A.

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Notes:

The imprudent, casual spirit that permeates official American papers on the future of Iraq after conflict sends shock waves through those less complacent about reality there. Four 'isms' will overshadow the day after war. Each is a monster in its own right, but little attention is paid to them.

ID Number: JA018889

Year: 2003

Language: English

Die irakische Opposition im Kampf gegen Saddam Hussein.  
(EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 52. Jg., Nr. 4, April 2003, S. 53-55.)  
Author(s):  
1. Krech, Hans  
Subject(s):  
1. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT  
2. IRAQ WAR, 2003  
ID Number: JA019001  
Year: 2003  
Language: German

Regime Change Revisited.  
(ORBIS, vol. 47, no. 3, Summer 2003, p. 433-446.)  
Author(s):  
1. Martikke, Susanne  
Subject(s):  
1. IRAQ WAR, 2003  
2. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT  
3. INTERVENTION (INTERNATIONAL LAW)  
Notes:  
The author assesses the prospects for Iraq's postwar reconstruction, arguing for an effort to achieve consensus among the nations of the region, who have a significant stake in how Iraq is handled. The author also looks back on 1441 and assesses the difficulties that America encountered in trying to move the Security Council toward enforcement. America's rise from superpower to hyperpower status is itself an obstacle to consensus.  
ID Number: JA019352  
Year: 2003  
Language: English

The Shi'ites and the Future of Iraq.  
(FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 82, no. 4, July - August 2003, p. 17-26.)  
Author(s):  
1. Nakash, Yitzhak  
Subject(s):  
1. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT  
2. SHIITES--IRAQ--POLITICAL ACTIVITY  
Notes:  
In the wake of war, important questions about Iraq remain. Will the newly energized Shi'ite majority seek an Islamic government modeled after Iran's, or will its members agree to share power with other communities? And will the United States succeed in establishing itself as a credible broker, especially in Shi'ite eyes? The future of Iraq may well depend on the answers.  
ID Number: JA019359  
Year: 2003  
Language: English

Die irakischen Schiiten nach dem Fall Saddam Husseins.  
(OSTERREICHISCHE MILITARISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 41. Jg., Heft 6, November - Dezember 2003, S. 721-732.)  
Author(s):  
1. Posch, Walter  
Subject(s):  
1. ISLAM--IRAQ  
2. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT  
ID Number: JA019925  
Year: 2003  
Language: German

Farce or Future ?.

(WORLD TODAY, vol. 59, no. 4, April 2003, p. 7-9.)

Author(s):

1. Stansfield, Gareth

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT  
2. IRAQ WAR, 2003

Notes:

Washington's ultimate prize of changing the leadership of Iraq may be tantalisingly close. But the only policies which are coordinated and focused are those of its present President Saddam Hussein. The international community is fragmented and the Iraqi opposition in disarray. Indeed, the tensions between those ranged against Saddam are mounting in a manner perhaps more appropriate to a Gilbert and Sullivan operetta than a conflict which will arguably influence the political future of the Middle East. So what forces will be unleashed on the 'day after' ?

ID Number: JA018966

Year: 2003

Language: English

Iraq : Six Months under Occupation.

(INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 49, no. 6, 2003, p. 58-65.)

Author(s):

1. Titorenko, Vladimir

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT  
2. IRAQ WAR, 2003

ID Number: JA020668

Year: 2003

Language: English

Iraq Before and After Saddam.

(CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 102, no. 660, January 2003, p. 7-12.)

Author(s):

1. Yaphe, Judith S.

Subject(s):

1. IRAQ--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Notes:

Iraq had a violent and unstable political culture before Saddam, and a stability bolstered by repression, fear, and wealth under Saddam. Could history repeat itself in Iraq ? Could the country produce another Saddam-like figure by replicating the conditions and circumstances that propelled him to power ? What historical factors shaped Saddam's thinking - and could shape his successor's as well ?

ID Number: JA018774

Year: 2003

Language: English

Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Iraq.

(WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 27, no. 1, Winter 2003 - 2004, p. 25-36.)

Author(s):

1. Metz, Steven

Subject(s):

1. COUNTERINSURGENCY
2. IRAQ WAR, 2003
3. INSURGENCY--IRAQ

Notes:

The United States faces an intractable dilemma in Iraq :  
insurgency if its stays or instability if it leaves. The sooner  
that a comprehensive counterinsurgency strategy, based on six  
principles, can be implemented, the better the chances to  
forestall the threat.

ID Number: JA020143

Year: 2003

Language: English

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