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**Department of Political Science and Public Administration**

**POS 392-01: Iraq From Saddam to ISIS**

**Spring 2015**

**TR 11-12:15**

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Office Hours: Tuesdays 2-3 p.m.; Wednesdays 1-3 p.m. **or by appointment**

**Course Description**:

This course critically examines the modern political history of Iraq. In doing so, it seeks to address three primary issue-areas: First, how and why was Iraq created, and is the country a workable arrangement? What role did European ideas of nationalism play in the creation of Iraq, and how have those ideas fared? Who was left out of the sovereign vision for Iraq? Second, how and why did Iraq come to be dominated by a succession of authoritarian regimes culminating in the long tyranny of Saddam Hussein? What was the role of colonialism, external intervention, oil and culture in the perpetuation of Iraqi authoritarianism? How did that regime’s aggressive interventionism impact regional politics in the short and long term? Finally, what were the causes and impact of the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003? Has the country successfully replaced authoritarianism with a new democracy? What role did the Iraqi constitution play in the country’s struggles since 2003? How can the state deal with challengers to sovereign authority like the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIS)? And what is the best political path forward for the people of Iraq?

**Goals and Philosophy**

This course has two main goals. The first is the cultivation of discourse fluency about modern Iraq – in other words, by the end of the semester you should be able to carry on a conversation with a professional in the field of international politics about this subject, and to engage with the relevant policy and scholarly debates. Second, as an upper-level political science class, the course is designed to improve students’ transferrable skills in the areas of research, analysis and presentation. While there will be some lecturing, at least half of our class time will be under the *de facto* control of student discussion leaders.

**Required Texts**:

The following texts are available for purchase in the university bookstore.

1. Zaid Al-Ali, *The Struggle For Iraq’s Future: How Corruption, Incompetence and Sectarianism Have Undermined Democracy.*

2. Charles Tripp, *A History of Iraq*.

3. Rob Johnson, *The Iran-Iraq War*

5. Rajiv Chandrasekaran, *Imperial Life in the Emerald City*.

**Prerequisites:** POS 203/102 with a min. grade of C-

**Attendance and Punctuality:**

Because of the frequency of interactive activities and presentations, your presence in class is essential to the creation and maintenance of a collaborative learning environment. Three absences are permitted, whatever the reason. Any further absences will be subtracted on a percentage basis directly from your final grade, unless excused by a note. We meet about 27 times, so for example, if you miss three classes beyond your 3 permitted absences, you will be docked 1/9 of your final grade – 11 total points. So if you scored an 87 in the class but missed 6 classes, your total grade will be reduced to a 76. The following chart illustrates the penalties associated with the number of skips:

1: no penalty 6: 11 points 11: 31 points

2: no penalty 7: 15 points 12: 35 points

3: no penalty 8: 19 points 13: 39 points

4: 3 points 9: 23 points **14: automatic failure**

5: 7 points 10: 27 points

Students who arrive after roll is taken will receive half-credit for that day’s attendance; Students arriving more than 15 minutes late are welcome to stay, but will receive no credit for that day’s attendance.

**Crisis Policy**

If you are experiencing difficulties with your health, personal life or any other crisis that is affecting your ability to come to class and complete the work, it is imperative that you alert me as soon as possible. The best path is to see someone at Roosevelt’s counseling center, who can then alert all your professors that you are having trouble. I can work together with the counseling center to find an appropriate course of action to help you make it through the class. It is not acceptable to approach me at the end of the semester to tell me you’ve been having problems since August with the expectation that this will change your grade.

**Assignments**

*Midterm Examination:* There will be one midterm exam, administered in-class on **Thursday, February 26th**.

*Research Sequence:* Each student will write a 3,000-3,500 word term paper, addressing course themes from the political history of Iraq. The paper will be a 3-part research sequence, comprised of a research proposal (10%), complex synthesis (30%) and judgmental synthesis/final paper (60%). The detailed research sequence is posted to Blackboard for you to review. Relevant dates are included in the syllabus.

*Position Papers:* There will be two short, 800-1,000 word required position papers. The assignment is posted to Blackboard and the prompts and due dates are included in the syllabus below.

*Presentations*: On most Thursdays, student discussion leaders will be responsible for leading our exploration of the week’s themes and readings. Each student will present once, and the schedule for these presentations will be created during the first week of class.

*Final Exam:* There will be a final exam during the scheduled exam period, on **Tuesday April 28th**.

**Participation Rubric:**

A: Student rarely misses class, contributes frequently with thoughtful comments clearly drawn from a careful consideration of class materials.

B: Student occasionally misses class, contributes occasionally with comments and questions that are clearly drawn from a consideration of class materials.

C: Student misses class frequently, and participates with comments that betray a lack of engagement with class materials. A C will also be assigned to students who attend class diligently but never contribute to class discussions.

D: Student misses class very often and makes contributions to the class environment that are an obvious distraction from the materials, ideas and issues under consideration OR contributes nothing at all to conversations.

F: Student rarely if ever shows up for class

**Written assignments are due on the assigned due dates and promptly at the times specified on the assignments. Late assignments will be penalized as follows:**

* 1 min – 12 hours past due: -5%
* 12 hours to 24 hours past due: -10%
* 24 hours to 36 hours past due: -20%
* 36 hours to 48 hours past due: -30%
* 48 hours past due: Assignments not accepted (zero credit earned)

**You are responsible for sending the correct file in the correct format**. Emails without attachments, or emails containing files other than Word documents, will be regarded as not fulfilling the assignment. You may not under any circumstances:

* Claim that you saved the email in draft form but simply forgot to send it
* Claim that you sent the email to the wrong address
* Claim that you wrote the paper but simply forgot to send it to me
* Claim that you emailed me but forgot to attach the assignment
* Claim that the Internet is down where you live
* Claim that your document was lost in a catastrophic computer crash
* Claim that your document was lost, stolen or otherwise corrupted
* Email me days later with a different file claiming the file you sent me the first time was the wrong one. If you send the wrong file, you MUST realize and rectify the error within the timeframe of the due date.

**Exceptions to policies surrounding the turning in of assignments will only be granted in the case of severe illness or emergency occurring within 24 hours of the due date, which must be documented with written proof.**

**Grading**

**Note: I reserve the right to adjust grades on the margin based on a shared understanding of your contribution to the group learning environment.**

Midterm Examination: 15%

Research Sequence: 30%

Presentation/Participation: 10%

Position Paper #1 10%

Position Paper #2 10%

Final Exam: 25%

**University Policy on Absence to Observe Religious Holidays:**

Roosevelt University respects the rights of students to observe major religious holidays and will make accommodations, upon request, for such observances. Students who wish to observe religious holidays must inform their instructors in writing within the first two weeks of the semester of their intent to observe the holiday so that alternative arrangements convenient to both students and faculty can be made at the earliest opportunity. See the student handbook for further details.

**Withdrawal Deadline – March 19th, 2015** (must submit drop/add form)

**Late Withdrawal Policy** – Approval to be given primarily for non-academic reasons. It requires completion of form, including statement and rationale for request, explanation of why it was not requested by the deadline, documentation to support the claim, and finally, signatures from the instructor, chair, and dean. Such signatures do not guarantee approval of the petition (it will then be reviewed by committee).

**Title IX**

Title IX makes it clear that violence and harassment based and sex and gender are Civil Rights offenses subject to the same kinds of accountability and the same kinds of support applied to offenses against other protected categories such as race, national origin, etc. If you or someone you know has been harassed or assaulted, you should contact Bridget Collier at [bcollier@roosevelt.edu](mailto:bcollier@roosevelt.edu), or visit her office in WB 1312. For more information about Title IX please visit <http://www.roosevelt.edu/About/Compliance/About.aspx>

**Writing Center**

Students who need additional assistance in writing should visit the Writing Center. Information about the center can be found at its website:

<http://www.roosevelt.edu/CAS/Programs/LIT/WritingCenter.aspx>

**ADA policy**

Students who have a disability for which they are or may be requesting an accommodation, are encouraged to contact the Office of Disability Services (DS), a part of the Academic Success Center (ASC), at: <http://www.roosevelt.edu/asc>, AUD 128, (312) 341-3818, or SCH 125, (847) 619-7978, as early as possible in the term.

**Academic Integrity**

Committing **plagiarism** or other academic dishonesty (e.g., cheating) will result in a grade of 0 (zero) for the assignment in question, and will result in formal notification of the incident to your department chair, college dean, and the University’s Assistant V. P. for Student Services. Further disciplinary action may be pursued depending on the circumstances of the incident and may result in expulsion from the university. There are **no exceptions** to this policy.

**Class Schedule**

**Note: Readings are to be completed *prior to* the class for which they are assigned.**

**Week 1: Islam and the Middle East**

**Tuesday January 26th**

In class: Logistics and Introductions

Read: -

**Thursday January 28th**

In class: Lecture: The Legacy of Islam in the Middle East

Read: Karen Armstrong, *A Brief History of Islam* pp. 1-77. **{BB}**

**Week 2: Nationalism**

**Tuesday February 2nd**

In class: Lecture: The Origins of Arab Nationalism

Read: Tripp, pp. 8-29.

**Thursday February 4th**

In-class: Student-led discussion

Read: Walter Schnee, “Nationalism: A Review of the Literature.” *Journal of Political and Military Sociology*. **{BB}** Adeed Dawisha, “National identity and sub-state sectarian loyalties in Iraq.” *International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies*. **{BB}** Sami Zubaida, “The Fragments Imagine the Nation: The Case of Iraq.” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 2002. **{BB}.**

**Week 3: The Invention of Iraq**

**Tuesday February 9th**

In-class: Lecture: From Ottomans to Iraqis

Read: Tripp, pp. 30-74.

**Thursday, February 11th**

In-Class: Student-led Discussion

Read: Nabil Al-Tikriti, “Was there an Iraq before there was an Iraq?” *International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies* (2009). **{BB}** Chapters 1 &2 from Toby Dodge’s *Inventing Iraq*, pp. 1-43. **{BB}.**

**Due by midnight on Saturday January 31st: Position Paper #1: Is Iraq Invented? What are the implications of this question for contemporary Iraq?**

**Week 4: Post-Colonial Struggles**

**Tuesday, February 16th**

In-Class: Lecture: Colonialism and After

Read: Tripp, pp. 105-185.

**Thursday, February 18th**

In-class: Student-led discussion.

Read: Stefanie Wichhart, “Selling Democracy During the Second British Occupation of Iraq.” *Journal of Contemporary History* (2013). **{BB}** Adeed Dawisha, “Democratic Attitudes and Practices in Iraq, 1921-1958.” *The Middle East Journal* (2005). **{BB}.**

**Week 5: The Ba’ath Party**

**Tuesday February 23rd**

In-class: Lecture: Pan-Arabism and Ba’athism

Read: Makiya, pp. 3-45.

**Thursday, February 25th**

In-class: Student-led discussion

Read: Adeed Dawisha, “Identity and Political Survival in Saddam’s Iraq,” *Middle East Journal*, vol. 53, no. 4 (Autumn 1999). **{BB}**. Makiya pp. 183-228.

**Week 7: Explanations of Authoritarian Rule**

**Tuesday, March 1st**

In-class: Lecture: Authoritarianism in the Middle East

Read: Eva Bellin, “The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East.” *Comparative Politics* 36(2): January 2004 **{BB}.** Michael Ross, “The Political Economy of the Resource Curse.” *World Politics* 51 (January 1999) **{BB}.** Nancy Birdsall and Arvind Subramanian, “Saving Iraq From Its Oil.” *Foreign Affairs*(2004). **{BB}.**

**Thursday, March 3rd**

**In-class: MIDTERM EXAM**

**Week 8: From Arab Nationalism to The Iran-Iraq War**

**Tuesday March 15th**

In-Class: Lecture: Origins of War

Read: Tripp, pp. 206-233. Johnson pp. 3-79.

**Thursday, March 17th**

In-class: Film screening

Read: Johnson pp. 80-194.

**Due Saturday March 17th at midnight: Research Sequence Part 1: Research Proposal**

**Week 10: The Gulf War and Dual Containment**

**Tuesday, March 22nd**

In-class: Lecture: The Persian Gulf War

Read: Tripp, pp. 234-267.

**Thursday, March 24th**

In-class: Student-Led Discussion

Read: Joshua Rovner: “Delusion of Defeat: The United States and Iraq, 1990-1998.” *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 2012. **{BB}**. Abbas Al-Nasrawi, “Iraq: economic sanctions and consequences, 1990-2000.” *Third World Quarterly*, 2001. **{BB}.** F. Gregory Gausse, “The Illogic of Dual Containment.” *Foreign Affairs* (1994). **{BB}**

**Week 11: The Iraq War**

**Tuesday, March 29th**

In-class: Lecture: The Iraq War

Read: Ali, pp. 18-73. Tripp, pp. 267-276.

**Thursday, March 31st**

In-class: Student-led Discussion

Read: Alex Callinicos, “Iraq: Fulcrum of World History.” *Third World Quarterly* (2005). **{BB}**. John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, “An Unnecessary War.” *Foreign Policy*, (2002). **{BB}.**

Kenneth N. Pollack, “Next Stop Baghdad.” *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2002). **{BB}.**

**Due Saturday 3/28 at midnight: Position Paper #2: Should the U.S. and its Allies Have Invaded Iraq?**

**Week 12: The Occupation**

Tuesday, April 5th

In-class: Lecture: The Bush Team Does Baghdad

Read: Chandrasekaran, pp. 1-65. Tripp, 277-322.

**Thursday, April 7th**

In-class: Student-led discussion

Read: Chandrasekaran, pp. 66-143. Adeed Dawish and Karen Dawisha, “How to Build a Democratic Iraq.” *Foreign Affairs* (2003).**{BB}.** Ann Elizabeth Mayer, “The Fatal Flaws in the U.S. Constitutional Project in Iraq.” Journal of International Affairs (2007). **{BB}**

**Due by midnight on Saturday 4/4: Research Sequence Part 2: Complex Synthesis**

**Week 13: The Struggle For Iraq**

**Tuesday, April 12th**

In-class: Lecture: Politics After Saddam

Read: Ali, pp. 76-124. Chandrasekaran, 144-206.

**Thursday April 14th**

In-class: Student-led discussion

Read: Chandrasekaran, pp. 206-337. Ali, 124-187. Ned Parker, “The Iraq We Left Behind.” Foreign Affairs (2012). **{BB}**

**Week 14: ISIS**

**Tuesday, April 19th**

In-class: Lecture: The Rise of ISIS in post-war Iraq

Read: Fawaz Gerges: ISIS and the Third Wave of Jihadism. *Current History* (2014). **{BB}**

**Thursday, April 21st**

In-class: Student-led discussion

Read: Martin Chulov, “ISIS: The Inside Story.” *The Guardian*, December 11th, 2014. **{BB}** David Romano, “Iraq’s Descent into Civil War: A Constitutional Explanation.” *Middle East Journal* (Autumn 2014). **{BB}.** Ahmed Hashim, The Islamic State: From al-Qaeda Affiliate to Caliphate. *Middle East Policy* (Winter 2014). **{BB}**

**Due Monday April 20th: Research Sequence Part III**

**Week 16: The Future of Iraq**

**Tuesday, April 26th**

Read: Ali, pp. 244-256.

**Thursday, April 28th**

In-class: Student-led discussion

Read: Carter Johnson, “Partitioning to Peace.” *International Security* (Spring 2008): 140-170. **{BB}.** Toby Dodge, “State and society in Iraq ten years after regime change: the rise of a new authoritarianism.” *International Affairs* (2013). **{BB}.** Mina al-Oraibi. “Iraq: A Decade of Lost Opportunities.” **{BB}**

**Final Exam: to be scheduled**