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Kate Lotz

Tim Melvin

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Democratization in Iraq

by Kate Lotz and Tim Melvin

Prospects for political and economic success in Iraq are uncertain. The U.S.-led effort can fail in many ways, notably by a loss of political will in the face of terrorism and weak allies. On the other hand, success could change the shape of political institutions throughout the Middle East (Robert J. Barro in *Business Week*, April 5, 2004).

In great numbers and under great risk, Iraqis have shown their commitment to democracy. By participating in free elections, the Iraqi people have firmly rejected the anti-democratic ideology of the terrorists. They have refused to be intimidated by thugs and assassins. And they have demonstrated the kind of courage that is always the foundation of self-government (George W. Bush, from *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*, February 7, 2005).

Restructuring Iraq's political system will be laden with difficulties, but it will certainly be feasible. At the same time, the blueprint for Iraq's democracy must reflect the unique features of Iraqi society. Once the system is in place, its benefits will quickly become evident to Iraq's various communities; if it brings economic prosperity (hardly unlikely given the country's wealth), the postwar structure will gradually, yet surely, acquire legitimacy (Adeed and Karen Dawisha in *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2003).

With the war in Iraq over, Coalition forces are still present as the cultivation of Iraqi democracy is underway. Coalition-led democratization in Iraq will prove to be a lengthy and complex objective, but one which will be pursued until successfully accomplished.

A highly controversial war, the conflict in Iraq has monopolized news in every form in recent years. Media (rather than academic examination) has controlled the scrutiny of this conflict, which impacts the public's view of the war significantly. The controversy of the war in Iraq is heavily tied up in this media representation; and the lack of rigorous study both trivializes and dramatizes the conflict, players, and outcomes with the frivolous and exaggerated media interpretations. Not many scholarly books have been published on democratizing Iraq, but the articles, handful of books, and wide range of media constructs cited in this bibliography together provide an extensive collection of resources. An examination of these resources offers diverse viewpoints and opinions, as well as scholarly analysis, on the topics presented here.

Democratizing Iraq

The articles cited in this section deal directly with the introduction and implementation of democracy in the post-conflict Iraq. These include magazine, newspaper and journal articles, as well as government documents.

2003. "Mission Incomplete." *New Republic*. 228(20): 7.

Abstract: "The New Republic" magazine believed, and believes, in the war against Saddam Hussein. The destruction of Iraqi tyranny and the creation of Iraqi democracy are potentially revolutionary events, audacious responses to a moral horror that degraded and threatened the Middle East. The fighting is now done, and it was

stunning. But, even as it glories in the military attainment of Operation Iraqi Freedom, the Bush administration is scanting the political attainment it promised would go along with it. In the coming months, the Bush team plans a swift and drastic reduction of our forces, to diminish our presence in Iraq from the 130,000 troops we have there now to 30,000 troops by the fall of 2003. The bad joke is that 130,000 troops are themselves insufficient for what we must still accomplish. The administration's plan is nothing less than a retreat from historical responsibility, a scandal. Three reasons, after all, were offered for this war: weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, and democracy. As for Iraq's links to terrorism, the evidence was always weak, and a month of American occupation has not made them stronger. That leaves democracy, the genuinely stirring attempt to establish a liberal order in an Arab country. This involves more than a restoration of order on the streets.

2005. "Progress." *National Review*. 57(5): 12.

Abstract: Considers progress toward democracy in the Middle East. Suggestion that all of the recent positive news does not ensure victory; Claim that the Bush administration can take considerable satisfaction in progress since the January 30 Iraqi elections; Inspiration for the protestors in Lebanon against the Syrian presence there; Demand for the exit of Arafat cronies from the Palestinian Authority by the Palestinian public; Importance of the weeks ahead and the success of the Iraqi project; Speculation as to whether recent developments will bloom into something enduring.

2004. "Safe for Democracy." *Foreign Policy*. 145): 1.

Abstract: Presents a letter from the editor concerning the viability of democracy in the Middle East. Can democracy take root in the Middle East? Just about every crucial issue confronting our era--terrorism, stability in Iraq, the spread of nuclear weapons, and the Arab-Israeli conflict--comes back to that question. Foreign Policy asked two of the world's foremost experts on democratization, Marina Ottaway and Thomas Carothers, to assess the chances for an Arab perestroika. Although they dispute the idea that Muslim countries are culturally hardwired to reject democracy, their prognosis for the Middle East is not promising. If democracy does finally arrive in the Middle East, Ottaway and Carothers say, it will be due to the efforts of the very Islamist parties that many now see as an obstacle to change.

Robert J. Barro. 2004. "A Step in the Right Direction for Iraq." *Business week*. 3877): 30.

Abstract: Focuses on the democratization of Iraq and the prospects for peace and economic development in the Middle East. Details of the transitional law for Iraq, depicting the federal system that will govern the country; Provisions of the law that deviate from the U.S. Constitution, including membership quotas in the elected National Assembly, rights to privacy and commitments to services for all Iraqis; Discussion of the provision stipulating Islam as the official religion of the Iraqi state; Percentage of Muslim countries that have a state religion; Discussion of economic issues to be resolved in Iraq, including oil pricing and monetary policy; Currency issues.

Ian Buruma. 2004. "An Islamic Democracy for Iraq?" *New York Times Magazine*. 154(53054): 42.

Abstract: Discusses the potential for democracy in Middle Eastern Islamic nations. Support of an Iraqi democracy by Shiite Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani, and his efforts to ensure voter turnout; Belief that religion and government are inseparable in Islamic nations because no separation has ever been defined; Claim that this belief is incorrect, but that religion is the base of resistance when governments become oppressive; Focus on Turkey as a good example of an Islamic democracy; Desire of U.S. President George W. Bush for a secular government in Iraq.

George W. Bush. 2005. "Address to the Nation on the Iraqi Elections." *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*. 41(5): 122.

Abstract: *Presents a speech by U.S. President George W. Bush, delivered at the White House, Washington D.C., January 30, 2005. Commitment of the Iraqis to democracy; Success of the election in Iraq; Efforts of the U.S. government in establishing the Iraqi government.*

Adeed Dawisha. 2005. "Democratic Attitudes and Practices in Iraq, 1921-1958." *Middle East Journal*. 59(1): 11.

Abstract: *The prevalent perception is that democracy is untenable in Iraq because, it is argued, the country has an authoritarian political culture and no history of democratic institutions. This article presents a counter-narrative that shows that Iraq and its people do not necessarily suffer from an immutable democratic deficit. Focusing on the 1921-1958 era, periods of democratic attitudes and practices are chronicled and traditions of political pluralism and experience with representative political institutions are demonstrated.*

Adeed Dawisha and Karen Dawisha. 2003. "How to Build a Democratic Iraq." *Foreign Affairs*. 82(3): 36.

Abstract: *This article explores postwar Iraq and suggests that the job of building a democratic system in Iraq, although difficult, may not be quite as hard as many critics of the war have warned. The authors suggest that Iraq today possesses several features that will facilitate the reconstruction effort. Despite Saddam's long repression, the authors point out that democratic institutions are not entirely alien to the country. Under the Hashemite monarchy, which ruled from 1921 until 1958, Iraq adopted a parliamentary system modeled after the United Kingdom. The authors make clear that Iraq's history--both under the Hashemite monarchy and especially after the 1958 coup--has been filled with authoritarianism, tribalism, and ethnic and sectarian violence. However, they suggest that the postwar reconstruction of Germany and Japan, and the more recent transitions from communism in eastern and central Europe, all testify to the way in which democratic political institutions can change such attitudes in a country. The authors present ideas of what a blueprint for a future democratic Iraq should look like, emphasizing that it must reflect the unique features of Iraqi society. They suggest that democratic Iraq must have a federal system of government. Furthermore, the authors explore both advantages and disadvantages of executive branches of government for Iraq, the type of elections that Iraq's should use, and the importance of a fully developed middle class for an effective and sustainable democracy.*

Daniel Henninger. 2004. "Kiev to Baghdad: Diverse People Chase Same Goal." *Wall Street Journal - Eastern Edition*. 244(114): A14.

Abstract: *Assesses the likelihood of a real democratic event happening in Iraq in line with the January 2005 elections in the country.*

Daniel Henninger. 2004. "Let Us Hope That Iraq Has A Fourth of July." *Wall Street Journal - Eastern Edition*. 244(2): A10.

Abstract: *Presents views on the process of democratization in Iraq.*

Eric J. Hobsbawm. 2004. "SPREADING DEMOCRACY. (Cover story)." *Foreign Policy*. (144):40.

Abstract: *The article discusses the faults of democratization. The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan are but one part of a supposedly universal effort to create world order by "spreading democracy." The rhetoric surrounding this*

crusade implies that the system is applicable in a standardized (Western) form, that it can succeed everywhere, that it can remedy today's transnational dilemmas, and that it can bring peace, rather than sow disorder. Besides democracy's popularity, several other factors explain the dangerous and illusory belief that its propagation by foreign armies might actually be feasible. Globalization suggests that human affairs are evolving toward a universal pattern. This view underrates the world's complexity. One should always be suspicious when military powers claim to be doing favors for their victims and the world by defeating and occupying weaker states. "Spreading democracy" aggravated ethnic conflict and produced the disintegration of states in multinational and multicomunal regions after both 1918 and 1989, a bleak prospect. The effort to spread democracy is also dangerous in a more indirect way: It conveys to those who do not enjoy this form of government the illusion that it actually governs those who do. We now know something about how the actual decisions to go to war in Iraq were taken in at least two states of unquestionable democratic bona fides: the United States and the United Kingdom. Other than creating complex problems of deceit and concealment, electoral democracy and representative assemblies had little to do with that process. Decisions were taken among small groups of people in private, not very different from the way they would have been taken in nondemocratic countries.

Llewellyn D. Howell. 2002. "Democracy and Its Dilemmas." *U.S.A Today Magazine*. 131(2690): 19.

Abstract: Discusses the failure of the U.S. to spread and expand democracy. Shift away from democratization in favor of immediate security; Failure to expand democracy in Islamic countries, particularly in Saudi Arabia; Campaign to oust Iraqi President Saddam Hussein to enable the democratization of Iraq.

Efraim Karsh. 2003. "Making Iraq Safe for Democracy." *Commentary*. 115(4): 22.

Abstract: Analyzes the readiness of Iraq's society for democratization. Effect of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on Western foreign policy; Violence among ethnic groups; Views on the role of President Saddam Hussein in protecting the territorial integrity of Iraq; Role of the U.S. and Great Britain in post-war Iraq.

Rachelle Marshall. 2005. "Iraqi and Palestinian Voters May Have Little Say About Their New Governments." *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*. 24(3): 7.

Abstract: The article author presents his views on the status of democracy in Iraq and Palestine. Palestinians and Iraqis are a long way from enjoying either freedom or democracy, and the results of their recent elections will ultimately depend on decisions made behind closed doors in Washington, Baghdad, and Jerusalem. The 275 newly elected members of the Iraqi national assembly charged with choosing a prime minister and writing a constitution will do so in the shadow of the giant U.S. Embassy in Baghdad and in the presence of 150,000 foreign troops. Another obstacle to a functioning democracy is that, despite the large turnout, the election results did not necessarily express the wishes of most Iraqis.

David Masci. 2003. "The Issues." *CQ Researcher*. 13(26): 627.

Abstract: Examines the effects of the war in Iraq in 2003 on the living conditions for Iraqis. Development of programs for rebuilding and reconstructing Iraq; Demand by demonstrators in Baghdad for a government run by Muslim clergy rather than American-backed political appointees; Efforts from the U.S. and British governments to democratize Iraq after toppling the dictatorship of Saddam Hussein.

David Masci. 2003. "Postwar Iraq: A Hard Path To Stability." *CQ Weekly*. 61(35): 2241.

Abstract: Discusses the challenges in the reconstruction of Iraq after the U.S.-led war in the country in 2003. Establishment of a Council of Governance in Iraq to help in its democratic transition; Warning of the Center for Strategic and International Studies against the rise of anti-American principles in the country; Questions raised with regard to the outlook of Iraq reconstruction. INSET: From 'Cradle of Civilization' To Dictatorship.

Yelena Melkumyan. 2003. "Iraq War Will Spawn Reforms in Arab World." *Current Digest of the Post Soviet Press*. 55(26): 19.

Abstract: Comments on the impact of the military operation in Iraq on politicians and the intellectual elite in the Middle East. Condemnation of the military action; Continuation of the democratization of political systems.

Judith Miller. 2002. "Iraqi Opposition Circulates Plan for Post-Hussein Era." *New York Times*. 152(52314): A16.

Abstract: Discusses the content of the document 'The Transition to Democracy' which is being circulated by Iraqi oppositionists to plan the transition of Iraq from dictatorship to democracy if President Saddam Hussein is removed from office.

Edward Newman and Roland Rich. 2004. "Building Democracy with U.N. Assistance: From Namibia to Iraq." *U.N. Chronicle*. 41(1): 25.

Abstract: The article focuses on the efforts of the United Nations in promoting democratic governance. The range of democracy assistance activities is wide, covering organizing, conducting and validating elections; developing civil society and political parties; bolstering the rule of law, judicial institutions and security architecture; strengthening accountability, oversight and transparency; enhancing legislative training and effectiveness and civic education and protecting human rights. The United Nations approach to democracy assistance is sensitive to cultural peculiarities and generally politically impartial.

David Pryce-Jones. 2005. "A Crack in the Wall." *National Review*. 57(3): 17.

Abstract: Focuses on the democratization of the Middle East. Success of the elections in Iraq; History of rulers in Iraq; Report that Sunni Arabs have historically held the power over Shia Arabs and Kurds and other minorities; Importance of replacing despotism with due process in Iraq; Report that the Shia Arabs were the winners in the 2005 election; Role of Shia cleric Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani in controlling the Shia Arabs and in bringing the Sunnis into the political process; Claim that it is important for the Iraqis to develop their own national identity and political system; Impact of the political changes in Iraq on other Middle Eastern countries, such as Syria, Libya and Egypt.

Bruce Russett. 2004. "Installing democracy." *Commonweal*. 131(21): 14.

Abstract: Focuses on the use of war in transforming societies into democracy. Core principle of formulating the theory of democracy; Reasons of the U.S. and Great Britain in committing war against Germany and Japan; Conditions which hinder the democratization of Iraq.

Amartya Sen. 2003. "Democracy and Its Global Roots. (Cover story)." *New Republic*. 229(14): 28.

Abstract: Considers the differences between democratization and Westernization. Ambiguity in the goals of United States occupation of Iraq; Limitations of the application of democracy to developing nations; Cultural considerations of democratization; Advantages of democracy, such as voting and pluralism; Consideration of

democracy as a Western concept; Toleration in non-Western countries; Centrality of public reasoning in democracy; Consideration of life expectancy rates in China and India since the mid-20th century, an example that bears out the advantages of democracy in non-Western nations; Roots of this confusion.

Adam M. Smith. 2003. "In My Opinion." *Middle East*. (335): 28.

Abstract: The article focuses on the impact of implementing democracy in Iraq. Critics contend that establishing democracy in Iraq will prove the most arduous part of building a post-Saddam state. According to some, Iraqis either won't embrace such a system, or, if they do, democracy will languish due to social divisiveness, and the absence of both civic "training" and a history of "western" civil liberties. Comparing Iraq's democratic potential to the 1990s democratic surge in Africa suggests that Iraq is even more promising than newly consolidating democracies such as Mali, Ghana and Senegal. Given that democracy requires a degree of citizen participation, any preliminary success of Iraqi democracy will be based on whether citizens choose to follow the democratic path, a system that is institutionally foreign to the country after 25 years of Saddam. The presence of tribalism and Saddam's erasure of all liberal aspects of Iraq's history, have led some to suggest that Iraq's culture is not conducive to democratization. As ethnic and religious groups realize that such a system presents the best option to protect their rights, Iraq's feared ethnic polarization may ultimately provide support for democratization. The psychological meaning of democracy is a final advantage that will likely lead to Iraqis requesting democracy and thus ease the country's transition.

Tony Smith. 2004. "Was Iraq a Fool's Errand?" *Foreign Affairs*. 83(6): 130.

Abstract: The article presents a response to the article "What Went Wrong in Iraq," by Larry Diamond in the September/October 2004 issue of "Foreign Affairs," and a counter response by Diamond. Iraq lacks any of the preconditions academics generally accept as being necessary for democratization to succeed. It has no middle class to speak of independent from the state; oil revenues, the life-line of any Iraqi regime, are notorious for their ability to centralize rather than democratize power; the country has no tradition of limited or responsible government; national identity is weak in the face of rival religious or ethnic loyalties; regional neighbors will do what they can to undermine whatever democratizing movements exist; and the democrats themselves lack a figure such as Nelson Mandela or Kim Dae Jung who could give them leadership. How could someone of Diamond's theoretical sophistication not have seen such shortcomings? The answer, I suspect, lies in the Faustian bargain many liberals made: they would support U.S. imperialism for the sake of fulfilling their self-appointed democratizing mission. Diamond Replies. It may surprise Tony Smith to know that I opposed going to war in Iraq last year. Indeed, I publicly warned (in the January 2003 Hoover Digest) that the greatest danger facing the United States was not Saddam Hussein's weapons programs but "imperial overreach and the global wave of anti-Americanism that it is already provoking." I worried that the United States would be perceived throughout the Arab and Muslim worlds as invading Iraq only because it wanted to control its oil and dominate the region. Still, I reject the characterization of the war as "imperialist aggression." The Bush administration was convinced that Saddam had weapons of mass destruction (WMD), and that if it did not take military action soon, Saddam would break out of the international sanctions box and once again threaten the region and the United States.

Elections in Iraq

These resources introduce, examine and comment on the elections in January of 2005. The elections are analyzed for content of democratic elements, and the possible instigation and

implementation of a democratic regime in post-conflict Iraq. Included in this section are magazine, newspaper and journal articles, as well as presidential documents.

2004. "3 Insurgent Groups Warn Iraqis Against Voting." *New York Times*. 154(53080): A3.

Abstract: Reports on militant groups' warning for Iraqis against voting in the election scheduled for January 30, 2005. Militant group Ansar al-Sunna's issuance of a statement warning against democracy; Statements by insurgent groups as response to Shiite leaders' declarations that voting in the election was every Muslim's duty; Resignation of worker for the electoral commission in Mosul due to threats.

2005. "Can Liberals Learn?" *National Review*. 57(5): 14.

Abstract: Discusses the liberal reaction to the success of George W. Bush in foreign policy. Movement toward democracy in Iraq as a result of the January 30 elections; Concern of the liberals that men and measures they deplore appear to be bringing changes that they approve of; Reference to President Bush's lack of appeal for liberals due to his rich background, evangelical faith, arrogance, and conservatism; Suggestion that liberals have had low expectations of the Arab world.

2005. "Democracy 101." *Current Events*. 104(20): 4.

Abstract: The article presents a debate on a cartoon based on the political situation in Iraq. "If you vote, we will kill you!" was the dire warning terrorists delivered to Iraqis on January 30, when Iraq's first democratic elections in 50 years took place. Yet almost 60 percent of Iraqis voted. That's the same percentage of people who voted in the 2004 U.S. presidential elections, where there was no threat of death to voters. The article asks readers to present their opinion about the message conveyed by the cartoonist.

2005. "Democracy at gunpoint. (Cover story)." *Economist*. 374(8411): 9.

Abstract: The article comments that, while Iraqis voting in their government is a positive step toward democracy, the government must bring security as well. Look at it in one way and the general election due in Iraq next Sunday, January 30th, is an inspiring event. After decades of dictatorship Iraqis are being given an opportunity most Arabs can only dream about: the chance to choose their leaders in a free election. Look at it another way, however, and the election is in danger of seeming a parody of democracy. Almost two years after U.S. President George W. Bush toppled Saddam Hussein, fear and murder stalk Iraq. How free is an election in which the citizen who dares to vote stands a fair chance of being shot, blown up or beheaded for his pains? So which is it? An inspiring experiment in liberty, or a sham that risks giving the whole idea of democracy--especially when it is imported by regime-changing Americans bearing arms--a bad name? Only part of the answer will come on Sunday.

2005. "Democracy in Baghdad." *Wall Street Journal - Eastern Edition*. 245(20): A8.

Abstract: Discusses the democracy condition and the 2005 election in Baghdad, Iraq.

2005. "Democracy Wins." *Wall Street Journal - Eastern Edition*. 245(32): A18.

Abstract: Discusses the results of the parliamentary election in Iraq on January 30, 2005.

2005. "Hopeful turning point, or descent into chaos?" *Economist*. 374(8411): 21.

Abstract: This article speculates on the impact of the January 30, 2005 election in Iraq. It will probably be one of the messiest and most dangerous elections in living memory. Yet there is a surge of hope amidst the terror. While the fifth of Iraqis who are Sunni Arabs are largely but by no means entirely opposed to the election, nearly all Kurds and a very large majority of Shia Arabs, who make up another fifth and around three-fifths of Iraqis respectively, are fiercely in favour. Even if most of the Sunni Arabs voluntarily boycott the polls or are frightened away, the chances are that two-thirds of Iraq's 14m-odd eligible voters, in a population of some 25m, may vote in a genuine multi-party election--a dazzling rarity in the Arab world--for the first time in half a century. The likely outcome of the election is that a coalition will emerge, involving the Shia house, the Kurds, Mr Allawi's lot and several Sunni Arab-led parties. The likeliest sort of constitution, provided that the three main components of Iraq (Sunni and Shia Arabs and Kurds) accommodate each other, is a strongly federal one in which Islam is a main--but not the sole--source of law. There must also be a guarantee that the country's natural resources, meaning mainly oil, are equitably shared between all provinces. All this, however, seems immaterial while the insurgency rages.

2005. "Iraq's Election Success Must Also." *ENR: Engineering News-Record*. 254(5): 48.

Abstract: This article focuses on the reconstruction of Iraq. It is not like the dramatic moment that ended World War I, when the world held its collective breath as the Western Front fell silent on November 11, 1918, but the world certainly worried about and watched the election in Iraq. Defying death threats, actual violence, a Sunni Arab boycott and widespread international doubts about Iraqis' belief in democratic action, as many as 72% of Iraq's eligible voters are estimated to have gone to the polls on January 30. It is better than the turnout in the hotly contested U.S. presidential election last November, when less than 60% of the eligible voters cast ballots while enduring far less rigor and risk. Iraq's first baby steps toward democracy are only a start. What happened there scarcely qualifies as an election in the U.S. For one thing, the names of many candidates were not published for security reasons. Many voters undoubtedly turned out in the belief that it was the only way to get coalition troops out of their country.

2005. "Iraq: Bravery and The Ballot." *Business week*. 3918): 100.

Abstract: Observes that in Iraq the overthrow of Saddam Hussein is opening the way to a genuine election, and the majority of Iraqis appear willing to participate. How candidates continue to campaign despite insurgent attacks; Significance of this election; Why Iraq's society does not have a solid foundation for democracy; Reference to the election in Afghanistan; Outlook for Iraq's free election.

2005. "Iraqi Women Risk Lives for Change." *Herizons*. 18(4): 11.

Abstract: The article focuses on the condition of women in Iraq. The fate of Iraqi women's rights rests significantly on the results of January's election, say two female leaders. Building democracy in Iraq will prove impossible without immediate leadership from the country's forsaken majority: its women. The participation of women both as candidates, imposed by the U.S.-backed electoral law, and as voters is significant. But key demands of Iraqi women, particularly those involving the economic and social rights disproportionately denied to women, are unlikely to be met through this electoral process, according to Phyllis Bennis of the U.S. Institute for Policy Studies.

2005. "Only one muted cheer for Iraqi democracy." *New Statesman*. 134(4724/4725): 6.

Abstract: Reflects on the significance of democratic elections in Iraq. View that U.S.-led military operations in Iraq have worsened social conditions; Dissent from the support offered to the Iraq War by Great Britain's Prime

Minister Tony Blair; Potential positive social and political impact of elections; Issues related to the reconstruction of Iraq's economy; Desire for successful elections in Iraq to improve perceived damage caused by the U.S.-led military campaign.

2005. "Statement on the Announcement of Provisional Results of the Iraqi Election." *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*. 41(7): 235.

Abstract: Presents a statement from U.S. President George W. Bush concerning the provisional results of the elections in Iraq on February 13, 2005. Role of the U.S. in preventing terrorist attacks during the election day; Estimate on the number of Iraqis who participated in the political event; Implications of the election for the democracy and freedom in the nation.

Fouad Ajami. 2005. "The validation of the vote." *U.S. News & World Report*. 138(4): 31.

Abstract: Discusses the upcoming elections in Iraq. Reference to the enthusiasm of a vast majority of Iraqis for the process of voting; Importance of participating in democracy for Iraqis who have never done so; Likelihood that the Sunnis will be underrepresented in the National Assembly due to the lawlessness and terrorism in the predominantly Sunni provinces; Hope for Sunni participation in the future; Price paid for the elections on behalf of Iraqis and foreign liberators; Likelihood of a demand for a timetable for American withdrawal from the country.

Laura Barnett. 2005. "A brief guide to Iraqi democracy. (Cover story)." *New Statesman*. 134(4724/4725): 17.

Abstract: Offers a look at the plans for democratic election in Iraq. Details of voting eligibility and voting rights of expatriate Iraqis; Description of the 275-member National Assembly to be elected; Details of election management and security measures; Projection that Shia Muslim representatives will hold a majority in the Assembly.

William F. Buckley Jr. 2005. "Look Who's Voting." *National Review*. 57(3): 58.

Abstract: Discusses the elections in Iraq. Argument made by former director of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency Vernon Walters that no democratic government has ever initiated national aggression; Discussion of why self-governing countries decline to engage in national aggression; Possibility that Muslim countries surrounding Iraq will become democratic.

John F. Burns. 2005. "For a Battered Populace, a Day of Civic Passion." *New York Times*. 154(53111): A1.

Abstract: Reports on the first free elections in Iraq in 50 years on January 30, 2005. Focus on a sense of civic spirit and signs that Iraqis are yearning to take control of their country; No evidence of a disabling passivity caused by years of tyranny that some feared would affect the willingness of the people to become committed partners in fashioning their own freedom; Reference to surprise regarding the elections' heavy turnout; Comparison with the 2002 election in which Saddam Hussein was the only candidate; Possibility that as many as eight million Iraqis voted across Iraq; Challenges still to be faced.

John F. Burns. 2005. "Tape in Name of Leading Insurgent Declares 'All-Out War' on Iraq Elections and Democracy." *New York Times*. 154(53104): A10.

Abstract: Reports on the warning by an Internet audiotape posted in the name of Abu Musab Zarqawi, the most wanted man in Iraq by the U.S. that insurgents would try to wreck the elections. Alliance of Sunni rebels and Islamic militants; Achievement of a respectable turnout among the registered voters; Assessment of the viability of transplanting American democratic ideals to Iraq.

John F. Burns; Dexter Filkins and Edward Wong. 2005. "The Vote, and Democracy Itself, Leave Anxious Iraqis Divided. (Cover story)." *New York Times*. 154(53110): 1.

Abstract: Examines divisions among Iraqis over the country's multiparty elections. Why moderate Ghassan al-Atiyah, who founded a party of Shiites, Sunnis, Christians and Kurds, has turned against the elections; Enthusiasm of other politicians, including Salama al-Khafaji, a Shiite who survived three assassination attempts; Issues, including questions about democracy; Fears over the insurgency and harsh measures U.S. troops have taken in response; Assassinations of candidates; Complaints of Iraqis; Outlook for voter turnout; Anti-Americanism; Concerns over the power of Shiite clerics.

Tom Chaffin. 2005. "The Truth About Elections." *Time*. 165(5): 78.

Abstract: This essay offers insight into elections. Talking with reporters recently about Iraq's elections, President Bush bore witness to a quintessential American faith. "If people," he said, "are given a right to express themselves in a ballot in the ballot box, in the public square, and through a free and open press, it'll lead to peace." It would be pretty to think so. In fact, history teems with elections that have led to neither peace nor more democracy, from 1930s Germany to today's Haiti, Russia and Pakistan. Elections, if free and open, are a good thing. But, as our Founding Fathers understood, they're only part of the alchemy by which societies conjure up stability, security and happiness for their citizens. Most Americans would be astounded to learn that during the drafting of that Constitution in 1787, its framers, searching for guidance, called on the ideas of no thinker more than those of a foreign (French, no less) nobleman who died three decades before they gathered--and, measured from our own day, 250 years ago next month. By now, few Americans know of Charles-Louis de Secondat, baron de La Montesquieu. And that's too bad. Because Montesquieu still offers powerful guidance for our age. However vexing, voting alone cannot guarantee liberty's blessings. As Montesquieu knew, wise, enduring government involves more than setting up a ballot box and waiting for voters to fall in line.

Adel Darwish. 2005. "A blow for democracy." *Middle East*. 35(4): 12.

Abstract: This article presents information related to democracy in the Middle East. The results of Iraq's first free and democratic vote delivered a clear three-pronged message from the electorate. Despite enduring one of the bloodiest insurgencies since the invasion and repeated assassination threats by terrorists against would-be voters, Iraqis showed their defiance and determination by registering an almost 59% turnout at the polls. As predicted, Grand Ayatollah Ali Al Sistani's United Iraqi Alliance, made up of 16 mainly Shi'a parties--also known as the 'Shi'a House'--won the biggest slice of the votes, a total of nearly 48%.

Larry Diamond. 2005. "How a Vote Could Derail Democracy." *New York Times*. 154(53089): 13.

Abstract: Argues the case for postponing elections in Iraq. Prospect of increasing political polarization and violence by entrenching the perceptions of Sunni Arab marginalization; Problem that opposition to holding elections include many moderate and democratic people who believe that the elections cannot possibly be fair and so won't participate in the process; Openness of Sunni religious, tribal, civic and political leaders to negotiation.

David Edwards. 2005. "The press unites in ignorance." *New Statesman*. 134(4723): 12.

Abstract: Comments on the 30 January elections in Iraq. Author's perception of the elections; Argument of Edward Herman, co-author of "Demonstration Elections"; Issue of an occupying power sponsoring an election; Political participation; Suggestion that Washington, DC-funded organisations with records of manipulating foreign democracies in favor of U.S. interests are deeply involved; Role of Iraq's interim government in forcing the al-Jazeera television station and critical newspapers to shut down; Topic of propaganda in Great Britain.

Farnaz Fassihi. 2005. "For Iraqi Engineer, A Harrowing Choice: Whether to Vote." *Wall Street Journal - Eastern Edition*. 245(19): A1.

Abstract: Reports on the upcoming democratic elections in Iraq and focuses on an Iraqi who is undecided over whether he will participate or not. Dilemma faced by Ayoub, a civil engineer, concerning the desire to vote and the fear of reprisals from the insurgency; View that the elections represent a test of the goal of U.S. President George W. Bush to spread democracy in the Middle East.

Farnaz Fassihi; Yochi J. Dreazen; Neil King Jr; Haqqi Ismaeel; Jabbar Yaseen; Munaf Ammar and Greg Jaffe. 2005. "Despite Violence, Iraqis Went to Polls In Large Numbers." *Wall Street Journal - Eastern Edition*. 245(21): A1.

Abstract: Reports that, despite lethal insurgent attacks, Iraqi voters turned out in large numbers for an historic election that pushed the country into the next phase of its transition from occupation to full sovereignty. Claim by President George W. Bush that the election was a "resounding success," not only for Iraq but for the entire region; Impact of insurgent attacks on election day, resulting in 44 deaths; Closure of the era of Saddam Hussein; Challenges that lie ahead for Iraq; Description of the elation of some of the voters; Suggestion by President Bush and top aids that the turnout was a direct repudiation of insurgents and terror groups that have sought for months to thwart the vote. INSET: Voices Heard.

Dexter Filkins. 2005. "44 Die in Attacks." *New York Times*. 154(53111): A1.

Abstract: Reports that, defying death threats, mortars and suicide bombers, Iraqis turned out in great numbers January 30, 2005 to vote in their country's first free election in 50 years. Endorsement of democratic rule 22 months after Saddam Hussein was overthrown; Reference to the fact that voters in Shi'ite and Kurdish areas turned out in especially large numbers; Estimation that the nationwide turnout could exceed 60 percent; Appearance of a substantially lower turnout in Sunni-dominated areas like Falluja and Mosul, where the guerrilla insurgency rages, and where Sunni leaders had called for a boycott; Possibility that voting in Sunni-dominated areas may reach 40 percent, exceeding expectations; Signs of celebration in the streets; Impact of continuing attacks by insurgents, who killed 44 people on election day.

Dexter Filkins. 2005. "Rising Violence and Fear Drive Iraq Campaigners Underground." *New York Times*. 154(53096): 1.

Abstract: Reports on the threat of death during the election rally in Iraq. Danger associated with the political campaigns according to Hussein Ali who solicited votes for the United Iraqi Alliance; American-backed political experiment under a guerrilla insurgency; Rudimentary stage of democracy in the Arab nation.

Dexter Filkins. 2005. "Suddenly, It's 'America Who?'" *New York Times*. 154(53117): 1.

Abstract: Observes that Iraqis finally stopped talking about the Americans as the euphoria of nationwide elections washed over Iraq. Iraqi candidates discussing political deals, leaving the Americans, for the first time,

standing outside; Focus of the talks on the possible composition of the new government, their schemes and stratagems, Iraqi problems, and Iraqi solutions.

Thomas L. Friedman. 2005. "A Day to Remember." *New York Times*. 154(53114): A27.

Abstract: Comments on the elections in Iraq. Rebuilding of Iraq; Demonstration of Islamic democracy; Foreign relations.

Thomas L. Friedman. 2004. "Iraq, Ballots and Pistachios." *New York Times*. 154(53061): 13.

Abstract: Asserts that there will be enough security for elections in Iraq's January 2005 elections if countries belonging to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization contributed 100 soldiers each. Penchant for talking about and planning for the European Defense Initiative; Arab League's position regarding the United States' plan to turn Iraq into a democracy; Complaint of Ghazi al-Yawar, Iraq's interim president, about suicide bombers being considered freedom fighters in other countries.

John Geddes. 2005. "Dying to Vote." *Maclean's*. 118(3): 26.

Abstract: Examines how, despite the dangers, Iraqis are struggling for democracy, with Canadian help. Role of Canadian politician Patrick Boyer, who met members of Iraq's newly formed parties; Political violence against Iraqi election officials; Account of Boyer's first-hand experience of Baghdad's emerging democratic political culture; Activities of Canadians working privately for the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, an organization that is training election monitors in Iraq; Comments of Boyer and of Leslie Campbell, a New Democratic Party strategist; Views of Canadians involved in Iraq regarding the future.

Aparisim Ghosh; Matthew Cooper and Elaine Shannon. 2005. "A Vote for Hope." *Time*. 165(7): 32.

Abstract: This article reports on voting day in Iraq. On Jan. 30, widely predicted to be the most dangerous day since the end of the war--so dangerous that the government banned vehicular traffic--the streets seemed to be overrun by children: playing soccer in the shadow of U.S. Abrams tanks, chasing other kids in impromptu games of catch, accompanying their parents to polling booths, decked out in their newest clothes. "It's a big day, and I wanted my girls to experience it," said Amina Hussein, a Baghdad housewife, as she and her husband tried to subdue three giggling preteen daughters at a voting booth in the downtown Karrada district. Given the chaos of Iraq's recent past and the uncertainty of what lies ahead, it was understandable that so many wanted to make this one hopeful moment last. Days after the vote, Iraqis were still waving index fingers stained with the dark ink that proved they had taken part. The vote jump-started a first chapter in democracy: before the ballots were even counted, politicians in Baghdad were already engaging in the ancient art of dealmaking. Early trends suggest that the so-called Sistani List--a slate of religious Shi'ites and secular parties that has the backing of Grand Ayatullah Ali Husaini Sistani--has won a majority in the 275-member Transitional National Assembly. Vying for second place are a unified Kurdish list and the secular list of interim Prime Minister Iyad Allawi, Washington's preferred candidate.

Abby Goodnough. 2005. "Optimism After Iraq Election, But Views on War Remain." *New York Times*. 154(53112): a10.

Abstract: Reports on reactions to the relatively peaceful elections in Iraq across the United States. Mix of optimism and skepticism; View of some that the election reaffirmed the agenda of president George W. Bush; Views on the prospect of spreading democracy in the Middle East; Generally unchanged views of citizenry on the country's involvement in Iraq.

Christine Hauser. 2005. "Under Fire, Election Workers In Iraq Are Scared but Resolute." *New York Times*. 154(53093): A1.

Abstract: *Reports on the threat to the lives of election workers in Baghdad, Iraq. Survival at the frontlines of the insurgency; Belief in democracy; Comparison of the election workers to a clandestine political movement.*

Christine Hauser and Thom Shanker. 2005. "Two Views of Democracy for Iraqi Voters: Bullets and Ballots." *New York Times*. 154(53108): A1.

Abstract: *Reports on the political conditions in Mosul, Iraq as of January 28, 2005. Need to shield voters from snipers during the election; Distribution of ballots and ballot boxes to the polling centers by armored American military convoys; Deployment of American troops into the region, anchoring security, arresting suspects, uncovering caches of weapons and carrying out raids in some of the most extensive military operations in the country; Strategy to recruit more election workers; Reason for the need of an election.*

Hendrik Hertzberg. 2005. "Landmarks." *New Yorker*. 81(1): 95.

Abstract: *Focuses on the success of the presidential elections in Iraq in 2005. Comparison of the Iraqi election to the one held in South Vietnam in 1967; Similarity of U.S. President George W. Bush's reaction to the election's success to the reaction of former Defense Secretary Dick Cheney to the fall of the Berlin Wall; Attainability of democracy for Iraq.*

Michael Ignatieff. 2005. "The Uncommitted." *New York Times Magazine*. 154(53110): 15.

Abstract: *Comments on the elections in Iraq. Unprecedented violence towards candidates and voters involved in the elections; Apparent apathy among world observers of the Iraqi elections, despite the courage of Iraqi voters; Speculation that the pursuit of democracy in Iraq has ceased to be a respectable cause due to the world's bitterness at the United States' role in Iraq.*

Charles Krauthammer. 2005. "Why It Deserves the Hype." *Time*. 165(7): 80.

Abstract: *The article discusses the success of the elections in Iraq. The elections are over. And critics of the Iraq war will have to acknowledge that something new and good has happened in Iraq, although, like Senator John Kerry, they will couch it in sage warnings not to "overhype this election." The problem is that U.S. allies in Europe and the Arab world will underhype this election. When millions of Iraqis risk their lives and then dance with joy at having been initiated into the rituals of democracy, a fact has been created. A democratic Iraq would inevitably become the Arab world's first Shi'ite-dominated state--a prospect from which the Arab leaders recoil for reasons of bias or fear.*

Karby Leggett and Farnaz Fassihi. 2005. "U.S. Wrestles With Extremists' Role in Mideast Votes." *Wall Street Journal - Eastern Edition*. 245(2): A1.

Abstract: *Focuses on upcoming elections in Iraq and among Palestinians and discusses the role of extremists in the process. Deal made between the U.S. and Iraqi cleric Muqtada al Sadr; View of U.S. President George W. Bush that spreading democracy in the Middle East will reduce threats to Americans and politically influence Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Syria; Difficulties experienced by authorities in making the elections an inclusive event without assisting extremist groups.*

Ihana Ozernoy and Kevin Whitelaw. 2005. "Democracy Under the Gun." *U.S. News & World Report*. 138(4): 18.

Abstract: Reports on the upcoming elections in Iraq, scheduled for January 30, 2005. Concern among Iraqis about whether the elections will lead to peace or more chaos; Reference to the fact that more than eight electoral officials have been killed and hundreds threatened with death; Challenges to holding political rallies because of political assassinations and the threat of car bombs at public gatherings; Potential for the violence in four largely Sunni Arab provinces to keep a significant number of Iraqis from voting; Growth in the Iraqi economy; Increasing numbers of people who have telephones; Description of plans for election day, with more than 5,000 polling centers throughout Iraq open until 5 p.m. to the estimated 14 million eligible voters.

Bill Powell; Christopher Allbritton; Charles Crain; Aparisim Ghosh; Helen Gibson; Elaine Shannon and Douglas Waller. 2005. "Can Iraq's Election be Saved?" *Time*. 165(4): 32.

Abstract: Discusses the efforts of the United States to prevent Iraqi insurgents from destroying Iraq's national election, scheduled for January 30, 2005. Concern over the fact that Sunni participation could be low; Description of provinces which are currently too dangerous to allow everyone to vote; Significance of a democratic election to the country; Efforts of Iraqis to distribute campaign literature.

Stanley Reed; Rose Brady and Stan Crock. 2005. "Iraq: After the Election, It Won't Get Easier." *Business week*. 3918): 49.

Abstract: Discusses how Iraq's planned January 30, 2005 election is unlikely to be either the decisive turning point hoped for by many, or the disaster predicted by critics, but will at best represent a step towards creating a viable, self-governing country. How voters will elect a National Assembly, which will choose a new government and write a constitution; Consideration of the dozens of parties vying for seats on the assembly; Details of how a prime minister will be chosen; Challenges facing the new government, once in place.

Dan Senior. 2005. "A Necessary Election." *Wall Street Journal - Eastern Edition*. 245(18): A16.

Abstract: Discusses the four main arguments framed for the impact of Iraq elections in 2005, on the country's democracy.

Steven R. Weisman. 2005. "Many Iraqis Plan to Cast Votes in U.S." *New York Times*. 154(53093): A16.

Abstract: Reports on the eligibility of Iraqis living in the U.S. to cast ballots in the coming election in Iraq by voting in five American cities. Peculiarity in every country's citizenship laws; Government reports about the status of Iraqi elections; Progress in the move of Iraq towards democracy.

Michael Wines. 2005. "Democracy Has to Start Somewhere." *New York Times*. 154(53117): 1.

Abstract: Comments on the first free election in Iraq which resulted in a large turnout despite threats against voters. Comparison with other inspiring examples of democracy in the past; Presidential elections in South Vietnam in September 1967; Democracy in South Africa and El Salvador.

Edward Wong. 2005. "Balking at Vote, Sunnis Seek Role on Constitution." *New York Times*. 154(53105): A1.

Abstract: Reports that Sunni Arab leaders who have been the most vocal in calling for a boycott or postponement of the coming elections say they intend to get involved in politics after the vote, including taking part in writing a permanent constitution. Claim by the leaders that there is too much at stake, with the constitution to be drafted by August 2005 and full-term elections held by year's end, for Sunni groups to reject the political process; Potential to bolster the American effort to plant democracy in the Middle East; Reference to the fact that those saying they want to become involved in the process are not leaders of the Sunni-dominated insurgency, but do have considerable influence with the guerrillas and could act as a bridge between the new government and the insurgency.

Fareed Zakaria. 2005. "Elections Are Not Democracy." *Newsweek*. 145(6): 30.

Abstract: Critiques the political significance of elections in Iraq held on January 30, 2005. View that the prospect for a stable democratic society in Iraq is poor; Potential impact of ethnic and religious divisions on the formation of a democratic society in Iraq; Issues impacting the management of Iraq's oil revenues; Importance of the rule of law in Iraq's political development.

International Reactions

Some of the most fascinating issues in the Iraq War and democratization are international reactions to the modifications in Iraq. As other areas of the Middle East and the rest of the world watch the ongoing democratic regime changes in Iraq unfold, these articles present a diverse array of views and reactions.

2005. "The Fear of Contagion." *Economist*. 374(8412): 45.

Abstract: The article discusses reactions of Iraq's Arab neighbours to its elections. In undemocratic Syria and Egypt, the dominant, government-owned press played down Iraq's poll. But some in the region have always seen things differently. Minority groups such as secular liberals, Kurds, Algeria's Berbers, and Shias, tend to sympathise with the historic victims of Arab nationalism, such as the non-Sunni Arab majority of Iraqis who turned out to vote. In recent months, the more thoughtful of Arab press commentators have increasingly embraced the idea of elections. One theme that has continued to resonate, in some quarters, is the supposed danger of empowering Iraq's Kurds and Shias. Turkey, Syria and Iran, worried about their own restive Kurds. Shia leaders in the Gulf are keenly aware of the suspicion with which many regard them, and argue that they do not want to see an Iranian-style Islamist state emerge in Iraq or elsewhere. Yet the rise of Shia power in Iraq may start to encourage demands for greater enfranchisement. This underlines a deeper fear in Arab ruling circles, which is that people power may prove infectious.

2005. "In Search of Repairs." *Economist*. 374(8412): 51.

Abstract: The article examines relations between France and America. Next week, as America's secretary of state, Condoleezza Rice visits Paris to prepare the ground for President George W. Bush's European tour later this month. Even before the Iraqi election, the French recognised that they had to bury past differences and deal with Bush for four more years. Michel Barnier, the foreign minister, urged "a new start" in Franco-American relations. President Jacques Chirac said he hoped that Bush's second mandate would create an opportunity to improve transatlantic relations. Yet the deep distrust over Iraq and general mutual suspicion remain. The Americans might hope for more robust French public support for the new Iraqi government to resonate in the Arab world. This could help to undermine the legitimacy of the insurgents. The French want Bush to be seen to

make a peace effort in the Middle East. This, they have long argued, not democracy in Iraq, is the key to bringing stability to the region. It now looks a more plausible hope. But with so much distrust, it would not take much in the coming weeks to upset the relationship again.

2004. "Other Comments." *Forbes*. 174(12): 40.

Abstract: This article presents several quotations on politics and government in the U.S. as of December 13, 2004. "Day of Reckoning." The trade deficit has absolutely no impact on the value of the dollar. The value of the dollar is determined by monetary policy. If the Fed supplies more dollars than the world demands, the value of the dollar falls. "A Growing Impotence." U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan described the war with Iraq as an "illegal" violation of the U.N. Charter in a Sept. 16, 2004 interview with the BBC, adding that "I hope we do not see another Iraq-type operation for a long time." Annan's ill-considered jibe undercuts efforts to stabilize postwar Iraq that have been endorsed by the U.N. Security Council. It stigmatizes the embryonic Iraqi government, while strengthening the hand of Iraqi insurgents and foreign terrorists determined to strangle democracy in Iraq and inflict a defeat on the U.S.-led, U.N.-backed security force in the country.

2005. "Something Stirs." *Economist*. 374(8416): 24.

Abstract: The article looks at political and social changes towards democracy in the Middle East. Much of the change seems to be pushing in a welcome direction, towards a new peace chance in Palestine and the spread of democratic ideas around the Arab world. Arabs everywhere were affected by the spectacle of Iraqis defying terrorists to cast their vote and elect a new government, and of Palestinians managing to hold a free election even while under Israeli occupation. Lebanese thronged the streets of Beirut with their flags in an unprecedented show of "people's power," forcing the country's pro-Syrian government to resign. At the same time, Hosni Mubarak, Egypt's president, has astonished his countrymen by calling for constitutional changes to allow rival candidates to vie for his position for the first time. In a widely noticed interview, Walid Jumblatt, the leader of Lebanon's Druze, told the "Washington Post" that Iraq's election was the Arab equivalent of the fall of the Berlin wall. "People power" is increasingly being expressed in organized and peaceful movements by civil-society groups.

Alex Danchev and John Macmillan. 2005. The Iraq War and democratic politics. London; New York: Routledge.

Alan Cowell. 2005. "Europe Welcomes Vote, but With Usual Split." *New York Times*. 154(53112): a9.

Abstract: Reports that European leaders opposed to the war in Iraq welcomed the relatively peaceful elections there, but expressed no new support for the administration of U.S. president George W. Bush or for the notion portraying the ballot as a vindication of the American-led invasion. View of U.S. allies like Great Britain, Poland and Italy that the election could offer the beginnings of an exit strategy; Potential effect of the election on European debate on democracy in the Middle East.

Larry Jay Diamond. 2005. Squandered Victory: the American Occupation and Bungled Effort to Bring Democracy to Iraq. New York: Times Books.

Yash P. Ghai. 2003. Building Democracy in Iraq / by Yash Ghai, Mark Lattimer and Yahia Said; [with interviews with Max van der Stoep. [et al.]]. London: MRG International.

Karen F. Balkin (ed.). 2005. The War on Terrorism: Opposing Viewpoints. Detroit: Greenhaven Press, c2005.

Douglas Artz, Lee Kamalipour and Yahya Kellner. 2005. Bring 'em on: Media and Politics in the Iraq War. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Neil Macfarquhar and Steven R. Weisman. 2004. "Leaders at Talks in Egypt Urge Support for Political Resolution to the Turmoil in Iraq." *New York Times*. 154(53043): A14.

Abstract: Reports on the call for international support for political resolution to the turmoil in Iraq by leaders in a conference in Red Sea, Egypt. Transition of Iraq to democracy; Concern on attacks by insurgents; Description of American-led military assaults.

Relations States. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign. 2004. Iraq--post transition: hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, One Hundred Eighth Congress, second session, July 22, 2004.

Sabrina Tavernise. 2004. "Russians Look at Iraq, and See Their Reflection." *New York Times*. 153(52899): B1.

Abstract: Reports on how new immigrants to the United States regard the efforts of their new country to transplant democracy in Iraq. Experience with the similar attempt in the former Soviet Union which has not yet succeeded; Behavior of the Russians after the collapse of the system of government; Comments from many immigrants on their respect for the American system of law and opportunity and their support for the war in Iraq; Belief that each country must go through its own historical process to reach democracy.

Patrick E. Tyler. 2003. "Chaos, or Democracy, in Iraq Could Be Unsettling to Saudis. (Cover story)." *New York Times*. 152(52372): A1.

Abstract: Reports on the fear among the ruling Saudi Arabian family and Crown Prince Abdullah of resulting chaos from the breakdown of the existing order in Iraq from an imminent war with the United States. Efforts of the prince to persuade U.S. President George W. Bush to cooperate with a strategy in which a decision to go to war would be followed by a pause for intensive diplomacy to remove Iraqi President Saddam Hussein; Fear of Saudis that an Iraqi alliance with the West could result in democratic changes throughout the region; Outlook.

United States. Congress. House. Committee on International Relations. 2004. The imminent transfer of sovereignty in Iraq: hearing before the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives, One Hundred Eighth Congress, second session, May 13, 2004. G.P.O.: For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. ISN/STD # 0160735459.

United States. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. 2004. Iraq, next steps: how can democratic institutions succeed in Iraq and the Middle East? hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, One Hundred Eighth Congress, first session, September 24, 2003. G.P.O.: For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. ISN/STD # 0160712432.

Steven R. Weisman. 2004. "International Conference Expected to Add to Support of Democracy for Iraqis." *New York Times*. 154(53040): 22.

Abstract: Reports on the expectation for a resolution supporting Iraq's political democratization from an international conference at Sharm el Sheik, a popular Egyptian resort. Desire of Iraqi Prime Minister Ayad

Allawi to hold an international meeting to gain legitimacy for his government; Attendees of the conference; Description of security in Iraq.

Steven R. Weisman. 2004. "U.N. Aide Says U.S. Voiced Concern on Paper on Arabs." *New York Times*. 154(53066): A3.

Abstract: Focuses on the disclosure by a United Nations (U.N.) official that the administration of United States President George W. Bush had expressed concerns about a U.N. draft report on trends in democracy that criticized the Iraqi war and other administration policies. Claim of Richard A. Boucher of the State Department that no criticisms or expression of concern had been conveyed to anyone connected with the report; Preparation of the report by leading Arab intellectuals and specialists for publication by the United Nations Development Program; Claim of the official that Egypt has also made similar moves.

Book Editor William Dudley. 2004. Iraq: opposing viewpoints. San Diego, CA: Greenhaven Press.

Armstrong Williams. 2004. "A New Window for Change." *New York Amsterdam News*. 95(49): 8.

Abstract: This article presents information related to political issues discussed between the U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell and Israeli and Palestinian leaders. Democracy in the Middle East will not come through Iraq or Afghanistan. Political analysts have seen in the past how supplying military and economic concessions to Egypt and, before them, Iraq, threatened over the long haul to pull apart the entire Middle East balance of power. The Palestinians are weary from their own Intifada. But a democratic Palestinian state living peaceably next to Israel will only occur after the PA infrastructure is reconfigured to discourage acts of terrorism.

Michael Williams. 2004. "Who Counts the Dead?" *New Statesman*. 133(4717): 17.

Abstract: Criticizes the BBC for not accurately reporting on the joint U.S.-British assault on Fallujah. Question of democracy in the face of the destruction in Fallujah; Conflicting reports on the battle for Fallujah; Duplicious report on the human rights crisis in Darfur by the BBC in the absence of any true reporting on Fallujah.

James Q. Wilson. 2004. "Islam and Freedom." *Commentary*. 118(5): 23.

Abstract: Focuses on the implications of liberalism and democracy for Islamic political systems in Muslim and Muslim-dominated countries. Background on the establishment of democracy and liberalism in Turkey, Indonesia and Morocco; Factors that led to the emergence of liberal regimes in Muslim countries; Status of freedom and democracy in Iraq.

Slavoj Zizek. 2004. Iraq: the Borrowed Kettle. London; New York: Verso, 2004.

Politics and Culture in Democratic Iraq

The ousting of one regime, and the subsequent implementation of democracy, cannot fail to cause significant other political and cultural changes. The resources in this section offer a window into the social adjustments caused by democratization in Iraq, including the changes in leadership and pending sociological and cultural differences.

2005. "Choosing Iraq's Prime Minister." *New York Times*. 154(53134): A18.

Abstract: Comments on the selection of Shiite Islamic leader Ibrahim al-Jaafari as candidate for prime minister in Iraq by a coalition of Shiite parties. Narrowness of his support base; Implication of the low electoral turnout in Sunni Arab regions for containing the current insurgency and permitting lasting democracy; Position of the leader in the reinstatement of lower-level Baathists in government jobs.

2005. "DEMOCRACY'S NEW FACE. (Cover story)." *Current Events*. 104(20): 1.

Abstract: The article presents developments related to the political situation in Iraq. The National Assembly will elect a president and two deputies, who in turn will select a prime minister. The United Iraqi Alliance, Shiite religious parties backed by Iraq's most revered Shiite cleric, Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani, was expected to win about 140 seats. Many insurgents are Sunni Muslims who fear that democracy in Iraq will result in a country ruled by the majority Shiite population that was suppressed under Saddam, The Association of Muslim Scholars, an influential Sunni clerical body, had called for Sunnis to boycott the election.

2005. "Iraq vision is key to aid." *Times Higher Education Supplement*. 1681): 14.

Abstract: Comments on the standards of the university system in Iraq. Appeal to the international community for help in the improvement of academic life; Establishment of well-intentional bilateral agreements between universities; Impact of the progress towards democracy on the higher education sector.

2004. "A little learning is a dangerous thing." *Economist*. 372(8392): 42.

Abstract: The article looks at education in Iraq as of September 2004. It is uncertain whether students at Iraq's 22 universities, once among the Middle East's best, will actually enjoy the freedoms of speech and academic inquiry. Earlier this year, radical Islamist groups shut down campuses and student elections were cancelled for fear of violence. One academic group says that in the past school year some 250 university teachers, including the head of Baghdad University, have been assassinated. Before they handed over formal power in June, the Americans laid a framework for promoting democracy in education. Iraq's minister of higher education, Taber al-Bakaa, has plans to usher Iraqi academics into the 21st century. But money is short. Some Iraqi students are struggling to hoist the banner of democracy.

2004. "Politics and War Crimes in Iraq." *New York Times*. 154(53065): A42.

Abstract: Reports that Iraqi interim prime minister Ayad Allawi paraded top officials of Saddam Hussein's dictatorship through an Iraqi courtroom a few weeks before the election of a legitimate Iraqi democratic government. War crimes trial; Politically-timed spectacle demeans justice; Risk of inflaming explosive divisions between Sunnis and Shiites.

Spencer Ackerman. 2004. "IRAQ'd." *New Republic*. 231(22/23): 11.

Abstract: The article discusses politics and government in Iraq as of November 29, 2004. With the absence of civil authority comes widespread speculation in the Iraqi press--courtesy of the Institute for War and Peace Reporting--that last week's declaration of martial law is no temporary measure. Being temporary, it does not aim to suspend democratic life. The Iraqi National Accord believes that there is no alternative to democracy in Iraq. Besides, the said emergency law was issued by agreement with all the political parties in the government, not by any one individual or party. So, essentially, the INA is arguing that martial law isn't a power grab--but, if it is, remember that it isn't just Allawi who is grabbing power. Given the escalation of the insurgency even in the wake of the Falluja invasion, expect to see more of these arguments in the weeks ahead.

Ed Blanche. 2005. "LOSING CONTROL. (Cover story)." *Middle East*. (352): 9.

Abstract: This article focuses on the political conditions in Iraq. That ethos seems to have been resurrected by U.S. commanders in Iraq, many of whom won their spurs in Vietnam, as the country that is frequently referred to as being the cradle of civilisation lurches towards the 30 January parliamentary elections, the first exercise in democracy in which Iraqis have ever participated. The parliamentary elections look like being a very bloody affair despite the deployment of some 12,000 more U.S. troops to enforce security. The deployment itself is an admission that the counter-insurgency campaign is not going well at all and is thus a serious setback for the Americans, drawing as it does yet another parallel with Vietnam which became a black hole into which more and more American troops kept disappearing until Richard Nixon decided to cut U.S. losses and withdraw.

David Brooks. 2005. "Can We Save Iraq? No, but the Iraqis Can." *New York Times*. 154(53091): A19.

Abstract: Focuses on the capability of the Iraqis to transform Iraq into a functioning society. Support of the majority to military action against the terrorists; Consideration of traditional Muslim leaders as effective advocates for democracy; Transformation of the military to establish an authentic Iraqi government to defend.

David Brooks. 2005. "Why Not Here?" *New York Times*. 154(53137): A15.

Abstract: Focuses on the process of change following the American-led invasion of Iraq according to Walid Jumblatt. Start of a new Arab world with the election in Iraq; Witness to the real democracy of the Palestinian people; Effectiveness of the American diplomacy when it pursues a maximalist agenda.

S. Budiansky and B. Auster. 1991. "A new test of wills." *U.S. News & World Report*. 111(14): 44.

Abstract: Reports that last week President George Bush signaled that America had drawn the line on Saddam Hussein's refusal to cooperate with the United Nations-ordered elimination of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. Hussein, in the seven months following his defeat in the Persian Gulf War, has reneged on pledges of democratization, blocked U.N. relief activities in southern Iraq and stonewalled in autonomy talks with the Kurds. Punitive raids; Defining victory.

Ahmad Chalabi. 2004. "The Future Iraq Deserves." *Wall Street Journal - Eastern Edition*. 244(122): A14.

Abstract: Contends that Iraq deserves a democratic and pluralistic state in the future.

Richard A. Clarke. 2005. "No Returns." *New York Times Magazine*. 154(53117): 20.

Abstract: Comments on why Iraqis oppose democracy, and the aims of Al Qaeda in the world. Claim that Iraqis, like the self-appointed head of Al Qaeda in Iraq, Abu Musab al-Zarqawi and his followers, resist democracy because it is imposed by the United States; Goals of Al-Qaeda, which does not include opposing democracy, but instead the installation of a theocracy inspired by Allah and the removal of United States influence.

Stan Crock; Pete Engardio; Paul Starobin; Kerry Capell and Jack Ewing. 2003. "Iraq After Saddam." *Business week*. 3822): 32.

Abstract: *Discusses projected social and economic conditions of Iraq after a United States military attack. Civil construction which will be a large task; Political infrastructure which will need to be replaced and democratized; Question of whether to allow the post-war Iraqi oil industry to privatize.*

Yochi J. Dreazen. 2005. "In Iraq, Divided They Stand." *Wall Street Journal - Eastern Edition*. 245(35): A9.

Abstract: *Deals with the internal and external conflicts among religious and ethnic groups in Iraq and their implications for the democratization of the country as of February 2005.*

Erik Eckholm. 2005. "Is Shiite Good Will a Good Bet?" *New York Times*. 154(53096): 7.

Abstract: *Focuses on the goodwill demonstrated by Shiites in Iraq in the face of provocations. Demand by Shiite parties for democracy; Evidence of moderation and magnanimity by Shiite leaders; Challenge of overcoming the alienation of mainstream Sunnis.*

David Frum. 2005. "The Face of Gallantry." *National Review*. 57(4): 38.

Abstract: *Focuses on one brave Iraqi and his relationship to the struggle for the Middle East and for freedom. Response of readers to the case of Mithal-al-Alusi, an Iraqi politician and democrat whose two sons and a bodyguard were gunned down in Baghdad on February 8, 2005; Excerpts from his comments on Radio Free Iraq; His commitment to fighting terrorism and to advocate peace in Iraq; Excerpts from letters of condolence from the conservative readers of the "National Review"; Reference to the opinion of many democrats and liberals in the United States that if the populations of the Arab and Islamic Middle East are ever allowed to govern themselves they will opt for ideological extremism, religious fanaticism, and external aggression; Mithal's sacrifice to uphold the values of civilization.*

Aparisim Ghosh; Christopher Allbritton; Darrin Mortenson; Sally B. Donnelly; Elaine Shannon and Douglas Waller. 2005. "Can Iraq Rule Itself?" *Time*. 165(5): 24.

Abstract: *This article asks if Iraq will be able to rule itself following the elections in January. There is a divide in Iraq on the eve of its ready-or-not plunge into democracy: heady optimism on one street, jittery paranoia down another. In a country roiled by insurgency and sectarian tensions, occupied by a foreign army and populated by citizens largely unfamiliar with the democratic process, this is a time of profound uncertainty. The U.S. and the interim Iraqi government are hopeful that at least half the country's 15 million eligible voters will take part in the election, but no one can predict with any certainty what the turnout will be, especially among the disaffected Sunni population. It's highly likely that the vote will be compromised by violence and plagued by Sunni underparticipation, meaning the legitimacy of the new government will be suspect from the start. Given the vows by the insurgents to step up their onslaught, will next week's elections matter? For Iraqis and Americans alike, much depends on whether the new government can prove that it has real authority, bring disenfranchised Sunnis into the political process and quickly establish itself as a credible body willing to work for national reconciliation. Considering the performance of the current government, headed by interim Prime Minister Iyad Allawi, chances that the new leadership can impose order aren't great. If it fails, the country could slide into civil war.*

Stephen Grey. 2005. "Shias wait for elections, or war." *New Statesman*. 134(4720): 12.

Abstract: *Reports on politics and government in Iraq as of January 1, 2005. Details of political involvement and history of Shia Muslims, who make up the majority of the Iraqi population; Wide support among Shias for*

the Iraqi election, scheduled for January 30, 2005; Support among Shias for interim prime minister Iyad Allawi, who many see as a capable of providing security; Potential for civil war between Shia and Sunni Muslims if elections fail to establish a secure democracy.

Dilip Hiro. 2005. "Allah and Democracy Can Get Along Fine." *New York Times*. 154(53140): A19.

Abstract: Comments on the potential drafting of a permanent constitution in Iraq that will specify the Shariah as the main source of Iraqi legislation.

John F. Kavanaugh. 2003. "A Pro-Choice War." *America*. 188(13): 20.

Abstract: By the time this column appears, the war in Iraq may be, for the time being, over. It started with bad omens: early prisoners of war, deaths by friendly fire, colliding helicopters, an American seemingly killing his fellow soldiers by hand grenades. To be against a war in Iraq is not to be against our troops or to be for Saddam Hussein, as difficult as it is for some hawks to understand that. True, there are a few protesters, very few, who are against this war because they are against America or just cannot stand U.S. President George Bush. But most who opposed going to war because it was reckless and unjustified now hope that it ends fast, that Hussein is ousted, his people freed of his brutal tyranny, and that it is won by the United States and England with moral restraint. Is democratic capitalism the model that we are to impose on the world? If that is true, have we become the very thing we hated about Communism? After all, what we were taught to be most reprehensible about Communism was that it was an ideology willing to invade and control countries to impose its will.

Adnan R. Khan. 2005. "The Morning After." *Maclean's*. 118(7): 24.

Abstract: This article focuses on the challenge that exists in creating a democracy in the Sunni regions of Iraq. Somewhere south of Baghdad, the road to democracy seems to lose its way. Confronting the anarchy in the Sunni regions of Iraq is one of the biggest challenges facing any incoming government. Will the outcome of the Jan. 30 elections unite or divide? The initial indications seem to point to the latter, with Shia parties supported by Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani poised for a landslide victory, at the expense of the Sunni minority who largely stayed away from the polls at the behest of their leaders. In Sunni-dominated Latifiye, the message is clear: elections are only a sidebar to the larger narrative of a struggle for survival. The consensus is that the vote was nothing more than a reflection of the will of the Shia leadership -- a victory for religious faith instead of democratic principles. Among those Sunnis who did cast a ballot, fear was the overwhelming impetus. The Sunni clerics' association now says it is willing to work with the new government, on the condition that it be considered only transitional and its powers limited, especially in the drafting of a new constitution.

Adnan R. Khan. 2005. "Shadow Party." *Maclean's*. 118(6): 18.

Abstract: This article discusses the political atmosphere in Iraq and speculates on the future of the Baathist political party. Is Baathism dead in Iraq? As the smoke clears from one of the most unlikely elections in the history of democracy, this is a key question facing a new government taking over the reins of power in a nation already deeply divided along sectarian lines. In the aftermath, the question is not whether Baathists, members of the party of Saddam Hussein, survived the war that toppled their regime (they did, at least in terms of the insurgency, which is primarily lead by former Baathist leaders), but whether the political remnants have the will to re-form and fight for a legitimate place in the new Iraq. Baathists dedicated to a Sunni-dominated nationalistic party ideology, it is rumoured, meet in private homes and caf  s to discuss their future. With Saddam gone, many members of the banned party are talking transformation and resurrection. The public is divided, as with so

many other issues facing Iraqis today, along sectarian lines. In the months and years to come, whatever government rules from Baghdad, dealing with the Baath issue will be a complex problem.

Iana Ozernoy; Kevin Whitelaw and Amer Saleh. 2005. "On the Road to a New Democracy?" *U.S. News & World Report*. 138(5): 28.

Abstract: This article reports on Radio Dijla, the Iraqi capital's popular all-talk station, that was one of the few safe havens where Iraqis could hear and join a vigorous, public debate. For one day at least, many Iraqis caught a glimpse of a more hopeful future for their beleaguered nation, which took a small, but crucial, step toward an elected government by holding a nationwide election for a 275-person transitional national assembly. Shiite party leaders insist that they have a strong and unified vision of how they want the constitution to be written, and it follows two basic principles: to be consistent with Islamic law, known as sharia, and to escape the constraints of Iraq's transitional law, largely drafted by U.S. officials.

George Packer. 2003. "Dreaming of Democracy." *New York Times Magazine*. 152(52410): 44.

Abstract: Discusses what will be done with Iraq politically after a war. United States State Department which has organized the Future of Iraq Project; Iraqi exiles who are advising the United States on problems that will arise after the fall of Saddam Hussein; Democracy which will be difficult to bring to Iraq; Kana Makiya who is an Iraqi opposition leader; Baath Party which has ruled Iraq for more than thirty years.

Mark Phythian. 2005. "Hutton and Scott: A Tale of Two Inquiries." *Parliamentary Affairs*. 58(1): 124.

Abstract: This article traces the shifting foreign policy priorities that provided the context for the Scott and Hutton reports. Taken together, these reports bookend a 25-year period in which Saddam Hussein was transformed from de facto ally and valued trading partner to the most immediate threat to world peace. In neither phase of the relationship was the British public trusted with the objective truth about the Iraqi regime. Intelligence on Iraq was first 'spun down' and then later 'spun up' to fit wider priorities. In particular, the September 2002 Downing Street dossier at the heart of the Hutton inquiry needs to be seen in the context of the propaganda requirements involved in preparing democracies for war. While the Hutton inquiry absolved Downing Street of the charge that it 'sexed up' this dossier, the damage inflicted on the Blair government by the inquiry process is reflected in the low levels of trust now registered by the public in ministers.

Christian Richmond. 2005. "U.S. Institute of Peace Panel Considers Post-Election Iraq." *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*. 24(3): 64.

Abstract: The article reports that on February 3 the Washington D.C.-based United States Institute of Peace (USIP) hosted Ambassador Samir Sumaidaie, permanent representative of Iraq to the U.N., Ghassan al-Atiyah, executive director of Iraq Foundation for Development of Democracy, USIP's Jonathan Morrow, and Nijyar Shemdin, representative of the Kurdish Regional Government. Much of the discussion centered on who should take part in drafting a constitution, when Iraqis and the other involved parties would be ready, and the basis of a new constitution. Praising the success of the "remarkable" elections, Ambassador Sumaidaie also cautioned that, because whole areas of the country had been unable to vote due to violence, true election results would not be in until all had been able to vote.

Javier Solana. 2004. "Rules with Teeth." *Foreign Policy*. 144): 74.

Abstract: The article discusses international relations and the promotion of political and economic freedom around the world as of September 2004. A moment of important choice is at hand. It is not a choice about ends, but about means: How best to defend and promote political and economic freedom in very dissimilar parts of the world? In both the United States and Europe, some have characterized this choice as one between traditional, feel-good multilateralism and militant unilateralism. The case of Iraq appeared to embody these two stark alternative strategies: The power of rules-based attraction versus the power of raw military compulsion. The enduring lesson of the war in Iraq is the importance of linking force and legitimacy. And in the international sphere, legitimacy comes through multilateral action. The best way to advance the cause of political and economic freedom in the next century is multilateralism with muscle. How can free nations encourage political and economic freedom in very different parts of the world? Such change will require success on three related fronts: economic development, political democratization, and conflict prevention and management. The starting point is to create stable frameworks of law and physical security. The world needs more, not less, multilateralism. The United States today has a chance to set a pattern of fair, universal, and enforceable rules that could last for years to come and make the entire world more secure and prosperous.

Lisa Stein. 2005. "Messy Democracy." *U.S. News & World Report*. 138(11): 14.

Abstract: Reports that Iraq's newly elected National Assembly gathered for the first time last week for a swearing-in ceremony. Challenges facing the diverse, 275-member parliament; Competition for top political positions.

Amir Taheri. 2003. "Iraq As It Stands." *National Review*. 55(19): 29.

Abstract: The author reports on the challenges facing post-war Iraq. Anyone who knew Iraq before liberation and who visits the country now is immediately struck by the impact that the feeling of freedom has had on almost everyone. And yet, Iraq still faces a number of major challenges. Iraq is now passing through the phase of pacification. That phase, too, is nearing completion in many parts of the country. In some areas, pacification efforts are threatened by criminal elements linked to the fallen regime. Another threat to pacification comes from diverse elements opposed to liberation. Several hundred Islamist militants who have infiltrated Iraq from Syria, Iran, and Saudi Arabia also contribute to the current level of violence in Iraq. That said, Iraq -- judged by Middle Eastern standards -- is still way down the Richter scale of terrorism. More important, the various groups that threaten pacification are not growing in number or resources. If all goes relatively well, pacification will be completed by the end of the year. The coalition then will face two other crucial tasks: reconstruction and democratization. The greater hope is that Iraq will become a model for democratization for Arabs, and Muslims in general. Under a new regime, Iraq could quickly regain its position as a major regional player. A democratic Iraq could find itself the natural leader of a small but growing group of Arab states that have taken timid steps toward democratization. And Iraq's importance will go beyond politics. Its vast untapped oil resources could redefine the basic rules of the global energy market by mobilizing production capacities beyond the dreams of many oil strategists.

Peter C. Valenti. 2005. "Democracy Under Occupation: A Self-Defeating Concept." *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*. 24(2): 30.

Abstract: The article reports that in January 2005, as Iraqis readied themselves for the January 30 elections for their new government, many turned their thoughts back to the 1920s. While the vast majority of Arab pundits and press commentators evince their support of democracy, and specifically the Jan. 30 Iraqi elections, they also temper their enthusiasm by noting the major drawback. Many of the violent attacks on interim Iraqi government

officials, police and institutions are premised on their illegitimacy. The former Ba'athist ruling elite is still quite unhappy about losing power and as evidenced by jailed Iraqi President Saddam Hussain's statements while meeting with his defense team in December 2004, they see the elections as a U.S. plot.

Kevin Whitelaw and Amer Saleh. 2004. "Iraq's Odd Man Out?" *U.S. News & World Report*. 137(22): 28.

Abstract: Focuses on the lack of popularity held by U.S.-backed Iraqi Prime Minister Ayad Allawi. Possibility that Allawi might lose his position as prime minister in the January 2005 election; Report that many Iraqis believe Allawi has failed to deliver on promises to improve security or deliver basic services; Statement that Shiite religious figures will emerge as the most powerful force in the parliament; Suggestion that the removal of Allawi could help convince Iraqis that the U.S. really is trying to build a democracy in Iraq.

Leon Wieseltier. 2003. "Against Innocence." *New Republic*. 228(8): 26.

Abstract: The debate about the war in Iraq has dissolved into another debate about debates, another collision of perspectives, as if there were no real threats that must be met, no conclusive answers that can be given to some of the urgent questions, and all that is needed now is a tolerance for other people's opinions. This author's view is that it is quite easy to defend the necessity of separating Iraqi President Saddam Hussein from his lethal devices, which is the same thing as aiding in the formation of a democratic government in Iraq. So never mind the future of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and all the other conference-building measures; there are many thousands of lives at stake in the outcome of this debate, in the disposition of Iraq's arsenal. The theory of just war demands that a threat be imminent before it is preempted; but its notion of imminence is based on the old clarities of armies confronting each other on battlefields in the light of morning. Four motives have been given, by various sources with varying emphases, for the U.S. decision to depose Saddam: proliferation, terrorism, democratization, oil. The war against Saddam is just, and it is truly a last resort.

Andreas Wimmer. 2003. "Democracy and Ethno-religious Conflict in Iraq." *Survival*. 45(4): 111.

Abstract: Reports on democracy and ethno-religious conflict in Iraq. Discussion on how democratization may stir up rather than alleviate ethnic conflicts; Independence of Iraq in 1932; Institutional designs that may help in a democratic Iraq to prevent escalation of conflicts; Argument that the United Nations is better suited than a U.S. administration to provide outside support for the process of institutional transformation.

Andrei Zlobin and Yelena Suponina. 2005. "Iraq Gets a Parliament and Freedom Without Democracy." *Current Digest of the Post Soviet Press*. 57(5): 7.

Abstract: Reports that strangest parliamentary elections in modern history were held in Iraq on January 30, 2005. Reports of terrorist attacks; Claim by Abu Musab Zarqawi's group that 13 of its suicide bombers have detonated explosive devices at polling stations; Claim of high turnout by officials of the Iraqi election commission even though this could not be verified; Absence of international observers because of security concerns.

U.S. Involvement in Democratization

2003. "First Give Them Power of a Kind, Then Let's Discuss Democracy." *Economist*. 369(8351): 43.

Abstract: The article looks at the problems faced by the United States in bringing democratic institutions to Iraq. One big reason the Americans gave for the war in Iraq was to bring democracy to the Iraqis. Now Paul Bremer, the Americans' viceroy there, has agreed to hand power to Iraqis before holding an election. Does this mean it will be as hard, nay impossible, for the Americans to bring democracy to Iraq as it has been, so far, to find those weapons of mass destruction? Many suspect that the Americans, faced with an intensifying guerrilla war, are simply preparing a strategy for a speedier exit. Under Mr Bremer's original seven-stage plan, he was to run Iraq until it had first a constitution and then an elected government of Iraqis, who were not expected to take over until 2005 at the earliest. But Mr Bremer's blueprint became ensnared in arguments over the shape of the constitution and the timing of its birth, with Iraq's Shia majority clamouring to elect delegates to draft a document which the country's Kurdish and Sunni Arab minorities feared would hurt their rights. Now, according to an agreement on November 15th with the 25-strong Iraqi Governing Council (an American-appointed body of Iraqis which has hitherto lacked real power), the political and constitutional processes would be decoupled.

2003. "U.S. Plan for Iraq's Future." *International Debates*. 1(8): 233.

Abstract: Presents information on a testimony given by U.S. Ambassador Paul Bremer, on September 22, 2003, in the U.S. Senate Appropriations Committee Supplemental Hearing regarding the 2003 U.S.-led war against Iraq. Concern on terrorism in Iraq; Discussion on the war victory of the U.S.; Details of Iraq's need for economic assistance; Information on the democratization of Iraq.

Andrew Arato. 2004. "Constitution-making in Iraq." *Dissent*. 51(2): 21.

Abstract: Focuses on the impact of U.S. politics on the democratization process in Iraq. Illegality of the war in Iraq; Promotion of democracy and the return of sovereignty to the Iraqi people; Role of an American military dictatorship in the country.

Paul Feiner. 2005. "Commitment to Iraq." *Economist*. 374(8413): 16.

Abstract: Presents a letter to the editor of "The Economist" regarding the United States' military occupation of Iraq. Response to the article "Democracy at gunpoint," found in the January 29, 2005 issue.

Victor Davis Hanson. 2005. "Has Iraq Weakened Us?" *Commentary*. 119(2): 43.

Abstract: Discusses the impact of the efforts of the U.S. to democratize Iraq on the stability of the U.S. Proposition of British military historian Alistair Horne regarding the denouement of the U.S. situation in Iraq; Status of the relationship of the U.S. with several countries other than Iraq; Implications of the persistence of the U.S. in Iraq for its economy.

Lawrence F. Kaplan. 2003. "Regime Change." *New Republic*. 228(8): 21.

Abstract: U.S. President George W. Bush routinely casts the impending war in Iraq as an effort to bring democracy to the Iraqi people. The strategic imperative of democracy has become particularly acute in the Arab world, where repression has fueled Islamist terror and where today there is not a single democracy. According to members of the Bush team, efforts to democratize the Islamic world now constitute another track of U.S. policy in the Middle East, alongside the war on terror, the conflict with Iraq, and the Arab-Israeli peace process. This track has yielded major addresses on the subject by the Bush team's key players, the creation of a U.S.-Middle East Partnership Initiative, which will channel tens of millions of dollars to the region's indigenous democracy advocates, and a plan to use much of the \$1 billion in annual aid the United States provides Arab nations for

political development. The administration has also unveiled a \$5 billion program, the Millennium Challenge Account, which explicitly ties U.S. aid to political reform; rejected Egypt's bid to attend last year's meeting of the Community of Democracies; censured Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak for his treatment of democracy activists; created a radio network to bring accurate news coverage to the Middle East; and loudly insisted on democratic reform as a precondition for an independent Palestine.

Robert D. Kaplan. 2004. "Barren Ground for Democracy." *New York Times*. 154(53033): 11.

Abstract: Focuses on the challenges facing the U.S. in helping Iraq with its transition into a Western-style democracy. Factors that contributed to the successful transition of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary into Western democracies; Suggestion that democracy cannot be imposed overnight anywhere; Need for liberal and conservative interventionists to consider history and geography in any occupation.

Charles Krauthammer. 2005. "Three Cheers for the Bush Doctrine." *Time*. 165(11): 28.

Abstract: This article comments on the influence of U.S. President George W. Bush and his doctrine on encouraging democratic developments in the Middle East. History has begun to speak. Elections in Afghanistan, a historic first. Elections in Iraq, a historic first. Free Palestinian elections producing a moderate leadership, two historic firsts. The Cedar Revolution in Lebanon, in which unarmed civilians, Christian and Muslim alike, brought down the puppet government installed by Syria. To what do we attribute this Arab spring? While American (and European) liberal and "realist" critics are seeking some explanation, those a bit closer to the scene don't flinch from the obvious. "It is strange for me to say it, but this process of change has started because of the American invasion of Iraq," Lebanese Druze leader Walid Jumblatt explained. It was America's overthrow of Saddam's republic of fear that gave to the Iraqi people space and air and the very possibility of expressing courage.

Stanley Kurtz. 2003. "Democratic Imperialism: A Blueprint." *Policy Review*. 118): 3.

Abstract: Addresses the democratic imperialism issue surrounding the U.S. occupation of postwar Iraq. Overview on Great Britain's imperial rule of India; Lessons brought by Britain's democratic development of India; Arguments between democratizers and realists over the governance of postwar Iraq; Potential benefits of democratic imperialism.

John Leo. 2005. "Time for a Dose of Dr. No." *U.S. News & World Report*. 138(9): 70.

Abstract: Presents a mock interview with "Dr. No," the source of pessimism towards the Iraq war and progress in the Middle East. Comparison of reports on an election in Vietnam to the elections in Iraq; How the positive outcome of the Iraqi elections negatively effected pessimism about Iraq; Daily count of U.S. casualties; Claims that U.S. soldiers are killing innocent journalists.

Bernard Lewis. 2005. "Iraq at the Forefront." *Wall Street Journal - Eastern Edition*. 245(30): A10.

Abstract: Emphasizes the importance of the role of the U.S. and allied countries in planting democracy in Iraq after the successful January 2005 elections.

Edward N. Luttwak. 2005. "Iraq: The Logic of Disengagement." *Foreign Affairs*. 84(1): 26.

Abstract: This article discusses disengagement as the right strategy for the United States. The United States has now abridged its vastly ambitious project of creating a veritable Iraqi democracy to pursue the much more realistic aim of conducting some sort of general election. If Iraq could indeed be transformed into a successful democracy by a

more prolonged occupation, as Germany and Japan were after 1945, then of course any disengagement would be a great mistake. In both of those countries, however, by the time U.S. occupation forces arrived the local populations were already thoroughly disentrained from violent ideologies, and so they eagerly collaborated with their occupiers to construct democratic institutions. Unfortunately, because of the hostile sentiments of the Iraqi population, the relevant precedents for Iraq are far different. At present, because the Iranians think the United States is determined to remain in Iraq no matter what, the hard-liners in Iran's government feel free to pursue their anti-American vendetta by political subversion, by arming and training al-Sadr's militia, and by encouraging the Syrians to favor the infiltration of Islamist terrorists into Iraq. For all its anti-American bluster, the Syrian regime is unlikely to risk confrontation, especially when so little is asked of it: a closure of the Syria-Iraq border to extremists and the end of Hezbollah activities in Iraq (funded by Iran but authorized by Syria).

Augustus Richard Norton and Farhad Kazemi. 2005. "The Limits of Shock and Awe: America in the Middle East." *Current History*. 104(678): 3.

Abstract: Analyzes the limit and scope of the shock and awe policy of U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East. Ideals and notions of spreading freedom and democracy as rooted in Kantian philosophies; Facts and information of the U.S. democracy project in post-Saddam Iraq; Contention of the authors that the results of the elections will be the interim verdict of the U.S. nation-building efforts in the nation; Threat of the rise of the Shiites, terrorism, continued insurgency, and the Iranian intervention as hindrances to the stability of the country.

Marina S. Ottaway. 2003. "One Country, Two Plans." *Foreign Policy*. 137): 55.

Abstract: Deals with the challenges faced by the U.S. with regard to the reconstruction of postwar Iraq as of July 2003. Models of political reconstruction considered; Characteristics of Iraq that impede democratic transition; Disadvantages of the reliance in a relatively small military occupation forces; Recommendations for reconstruction from the U.S. Agency for International Development. INSET: A Moving Target: The Cost of Iraq's Reconstruction.

Weshah Razzak. 2005. "Commitment to Iraq." *Economist*. 374(8413): 16.

Abstract: Presents a letter to the editor of "The Economist" regarding the U.S. military occupation of Iraq. Response to the article "Democracy at gunpoint," found in the January 29, 2005 issue.

Elizabeth Rubine. 2002. "Fast Friends." *New Republic*. 227(27/28): 15.

Abstract: Contends that the long-standing divisions and different agendas within the U.S. government have further divided the Iraqi opposition on Iraq's nation-building and regional geopolitics in the Middle East. Key players in the U.S. government contributing to a vision of creating a free Iraq that becomes a magnet for Arab democrats; Suggestion that the promotion of democracy would serve the strategic interest of the U.S.; Statement from Iraqi oppositionist Kanan Makiya about Iraq's transition to democracy.

William Safire. 2004. "Wave Of The Future." *New York Times*. 154(53071): A31.

Abstract: Comments on the involvement of the United States in the war in Iraq. Difference of opinion about military strategy; Increase of military troops to finish the job in Iraq; Progress toward democracy in Muslim countries.

Barak A. Salmoni. 2004. "America's Iraq Strategy: Democratic Chimeras, Regional Realities." *Current History*. 103(669): 17.

Abstract: *Reports that the Bush administration has increasingly justified the war in Iraq. Interest of America to spread freedom in the Middle East; Democratization throughout Middle East; Mechanisms of Saddam Hussein's Baathist party.*

David E. Sanger. 2005. "Bush Hails Vote." *New York Times*. 154(53111): A1.

Abstract: *Focuses on U.S. President George W. Bush's comments regarding the elections in Iraq on January 30, 2005. Effort to spur democratic movements throughout the middle east; Warning that terrorists and insurgents will continue to wage their war against democracy; Acknowledgement that a successful election in Iraq is just the first step in a broad strategy of spreading freedom in the world.*

Margaret O'Brien Steinfels. 2003. "After victory." *Commonweal*. 130(8): 5.

Abstract: *Discusses the victory of the U.S. and Great Britain during the war in Iraq. Impact of the defeat of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein and the destruction of the Baath Party on Iraq; Criticisms regarding the decision of U.S. President George W. Bush to wage war against Iraq; Information on the reconstruction and democratization of Iraq after the war.*

Shibley Telhami. 2002. "A Hidden Cost of War on Iraq." *New York Times*. 152(52264): A19.

Abstract: *Examines the consequences of the possible use of military force by the U.S. to oust Iraqi President Saddam Hussein in the context of spreading democracy in Iraq and the rest of the Middle East.*

Steven R. Weisman. 2005. "The Great Middle East Shake-Up." *New York Times*. 154(53110): 1.

Abstract: *Looks into the implications of the war in Iraq for the Middle East and its relations with the U.S. Development of a relatively stable democracy; Possibility for the Iraqi insurgency to encourage violent anti-government dissidents; Concern on the result of empowerment of Iraq's Shi'ite majority.*

Fareed Zakaria. 2003. "Bush's Really Good Idea." *Newsweek*. 142(20): 41.

Abstract: *Comments on a speech made last week by George W. Bush on democracy in the Middle East. Bush's argument that a deficit of freedom and openness are at the heart of the Middle East's dysfunctions, and that American foreign policy had for too long supported a corrupt status quo that has been bad for Arabs and the West; Bush's "forward strategy for freedom;" Comment by the author on Bush's apparent belief that killing a tyrant and holding elections is enough to establish democracy; Alternative theory that building a democracy in the Middle East is a long and difficult process, potentially involving many international agencies and large amounts of foreign aid; Comment on the failure of the Bush administration to embrace the second, more realistic, democratization strategy.*