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## Iraqi Cabinet

Dear Delegates,

Welcome to PICSIM 2006! I'm Omar Muakkassa, the chair for the Iraq Committee, representing the Prime Minister. The director for the committee, Pritha Ghosh, will be representing Deputy Prime Minister.

This committee, simulating the Iraqi National Cabinet should prove to be one of the most challenging and fun committees ever attempted at PICSIM. Internally, we observe a barely functioning government under U.S. led occupation struggling to put together the groundwork of a successful state. Add to the mix massive sectarian divides, a tragic history and unevenly distributed oil resources, and the situation becomes dire. On an international scale, various neighbors court specific domestic ethno-religious groups and vie for control over the nation's oil resources. As you can see, this will surely be a committee where anything could happen.

This background guide should serve as the basis for your research, and I strongly encourage you to follow all the details coming out of Iraq in the next few weeks – it's much more important than for other committees, as the situation tends to change rapidly.

As for me, I'm a senior concentrating in Economics. I'm originally from the Middle East, so it is an area of interest to me. Next year, I'm going to be in Boston at a management consulting firm. Pritha, the director, is a sophomore, thus she has yet to decide on a concentration, though she also has an interest in Middle Eastern culture and policy. We're looking forward to seeing you in a few weeks, and please do not hesitate to contact either Pritha or myself if you have any further questions.

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**Princeton Interactive Crisis Simulation 2006**



## *Positions on the Iraqi Cabinet*

### **Prime Minister**

This position, held by the chair of the committee, is ceremonially appointed by the president, and is the leader of the majority party in parliament. His duty is to appoint and lead the cabinet. This position is held by a Shiite member of the United Iraqi Alliance.

### **Deputy Prime Minister**

Held by the director of the committee, the Deputy Prime Minister takes over the Prime Minister's post in case of his incapacitation. Her job will be to assist the Prime Minister in his duties. The Deputy Prime Minister is also a Shiite member of the United Iraqi Alliance.

### **Interior Minister**

The Interior Minister is responsible for internal security and acts as the head of the Iraqi Police Force. This position is also held by a Shiite member of the United Iraqi Alliance.

### **Finance Minister**

The Finance Minister, as the title suggests, works closely with the Prime Minister in coordinating the national budget. He or she is also responsible for determining the proper level of foreign reserves and bond issuances. Because much of Iraq's income comes from oil, the Finance Minister must work closely with the Oil Minister and the Trade Minister. This position is held by a Shiite member of the United Iraqi Alliance.

### **Education Minister**

The education minister is responsible for overseeing the education system from the elementary level up through higher education. This position is held by a Shiite member of the United Iraqi Alliance.

### **Health Minister**

The health minister is responsible for the construction and maintenance of hospitals and health clinics. The Health Minister is also held by a Shiite member of the United Iraqi Alliance.

### **Minister of Migration and Displacement**

Because Saddam Hussein's regime frequently displaced minorities to further his party's interest, along with war refugees, there is a large problem of displaced peoples. The job of this minister is to oversee the resolution of these problems. This position is also held by a Shiite member of the United Iraqi Alliance.

### **Minister of Foreign Affairs**

The foreign minister is responsible for relations with foreign nations. It is the equivalent of the American position of Secretary of State. Because the Iraqi state is just beginning to establish relations with other countries, and because PICSIM is inherently a conference in which committees interact with each other, this position will prove to be one of the most formative. The position is held by a member of the Kurdish Alliance.



### Minister of Oil

The minister of Oil coordinates the manner in which Iraq's oil resources are extracted and sold to international and domestic markets. The distribution of oil in the country is unequally spread among areas controlled by various ethno-religious groups, and thus the job of this minister is extremely important. He or she must work closely with the Trade Minister and the Minister of Finance. This position is held by a member of the United Iraqi Alliance.

### Minister of Defense

The Defense Minister is in charge of the Iraqi Armed Forces and coordinates security against aggressor states. This position is held by a Sunni member of the Iraqi National Accord party.

### Minister of Trade

This minister is responsible for negotiating trade agreements and determining tariffs. He or she will work closely with the Oil Minister as well as the Finance Minister. This position is held by a Sunni member of the National Dialogue Front.

### Minister of Industry and Minerals

This cabinet member is charged with the task of developing the non-oil sectors of the Iraqi economy. Because the economy has been strongly dominated by oil in the past decades, this is a formidable task. This position is held by a Sunni Member of the Iraqi National List party.

### Minister of Communications

This minister will work closely with the Minister of Industry and Minerals to build up the communications infrastructure necessary for the development of a functioning economy. This minister is also responsible for censorship and the state-owned media. A member of the Kurdish Alliance holds this position.

### Minister of Labor and Social Affairs

The job of this minister is to regulate the labor market and works closely with the Minister of Industry and Minerals in an effort to develop the country's economy. This position is held by a member of the Kurdish Alliance.

### Minister of Water Resources

This cabinet position is responsible for making sure the country has adequate water supplies. He or she must work closely with the Minister of Foreign Affairs to negotiate treaties based on water supplies originating outside of Iraq's borders. This position is held by a member of the Kurdish Alliance.

### Minister of Environmental Affairs



Held by a member of the Kurdish Alliance, this minister is responsible for attempting to repair Iraq's environment from Saddam Hussein's reign, which, coupled with the ongoing war, has effectively destroyed the environment. Attempting to repair it, while preventing further damage, should prove to be a massive task.

## *The History of Iraq*

For millennia, the region enclosed within the modern state of Iraq has been at the center of several important civilizations. The region is known as the Fertile Crescent, as it has given rise to some of the fundamental institutions of today's society. In the decades after Muhammad began converting people to Islam in Mecca during the early 7<sup>th</sup> century, the capital of the Abbasid Empire, which was the official protector of the Muslim religion, was moved from Damascus to the new city of Baghdad, which is the present-day capital of the modern Iraqi state. This decision consciously brought Islam closer to the important region now known as Iran. From this point forward, Iraq has been, and will continue to be, a crossroads between the Arab Muslims and the Iranian Muslims. The reign of the Abbasid Caliphate in Baghdad proved to be extremely successful. The rulers amassed massive wealth, as Baghdad became the hub of a massive trans-Eurasia trading network. By some counts, Baghdad's population grew to over one million inhabitants, making it by far the largest city in the world.

In 1220, Genghis Khan devastated Iraq and Iran. His brutal invasion wiped out the wealth the Abbasids had managed to amass. Through the 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, Iraq seesawed between Sunni Ottoman and Safavid Persian control. This period again marks Iraq as a region that can comfortably lie within a Sunni, Arab empire, or a Shi'ite Persian one. After 1638, however, Iraq remained firmly in Ottoman control until the Empire's collapse at the end of the First World War. At this point, Iraq fell under British mandate. This period sets the stage for the problems currently plaguing the country. Previously, under the Ottomans, the region which later became the single mandate of Iraq was governed as three distinct areas. The mountainous northern province with its capital at Mosul leaned west towards Anatolia and Syria and contained a Kurdish majority. The central region, with its capital at Baghdad, consisted of a primarily agricultural economy with Persia as its primary trading partner. The southern region, with its capital at Basra, had close ties with the Persian Gulf and India. The British mandate of Iraq was ethnically and religiously diverse. About 80% of the inhabitants were Arabs, of which roughly half were Shi'ite and half Sunni, with the remaining 20% being Kurdish, an ethnically, linguistically and culturally different population, located mostly in the north.

During the interwar years, all Iraq's ruling class came from Ottoman schools. More importantly, they came from Sunni backgrounds. This thus set the stage for Sunni Arab domination of the country in the following decades, even though they did not constitute a majority of the population. Shi'ites and Kurds were given little political power. In 1941, Iraqis declared independence from Britain, but this rebellion was crushed and Iraq remained firmly under British control until the end of the war.

After World War II, up through 1958, Iraq was controlled by a pro-Western, Hashimite dynasty set up by the withdrawing British administration. Though the leadership appeared to be sympathetic to a pan-Arab school of thought, Shi'ites and Kurds remained vehemently opposed



to such an ideology. In 1958, Qassim staged a military coup against the administration. He instituted a policy of land reforms, aligned Iraq with the Soviet Union, and refused to join Nasser's United Arab Republic. After his overthrow in 1963, a period of coups plagued Iraqi politics until the firm establishment of a Ba'athist regime in 1968, of which Saddam Hussein eventually came to control.

Saddam Hussein came from a modest Sunni background in a town called Tikrit. Through the 1970s, under his control, his administration blurred the lines between the party and the state and effectively eliminated all opponents. In 1974, full warfare between Baghdad and the Kurds broke out, only to end in stalemate because of the difficulty arising from the mountainous terrain in Kurdish territory. During this conflict, the Shah of Iran, friendly towards the United States, felt threatened by Iraq's increasing military strength and its friendly relations toward the Soviet Union. He agreed to support the Kurdish uprising with weapons and offered them sanctuary across the border in Iran. In 1975, however, a radical shift in policy ended in an agreement in which the Shah terminated his agreement with the Kurds. Saddam's regime subsequently relocated many Kurds in an attempt to prevent a future rebellion.

The Shiites in this new state were not as unified as the Kurds, and many moved to Baghdad, where they began to assimilate into Sunni culture and institutions. However, in 1977, large scale Shi'ite uprisings began as a result of the government's refusal to allow Shiites involvement in the government.

Economically, up until 1972, all oil production was owned and controlled by the Iraqi Petroleum Corporation, which was, in turn, owned by a consortium of international oil companies. In 1972, the IPC was nationalized by the Ba'athist party. During the 70s, oil revenues provided enough funds to fuel a large amount of economic development. Some even predicted Iraq's emergence into the ranks of industrialized nations within a few decades. Also between 1970 and 1982, a large amount of land redistribution effectively destroyed the old land-owning elite. Thus by 1980, Saddam Hussein had overthrown the old social structure, and almost all of the ruling elite came from very modest backgrounds. Also through the 1970s, Iraq was technically oriented towards the USSR, however, its growing oil industry tied it closely with the west as well.

1979 marked the year when the Shah of Iran was overthrown by a popular uprising led by Ayatollah Khomeini. The new Iranian government did not refuse the rights of Kurds to flee into Iran. More importantly for Hussein, the Ayatollah appealed to the Shiites of Iraq to revolt against the Sunni-led government. Iraq thus decided to attack Iran during its transitional period, when most thought if the country was attacked, its people would turn against it. This turned out to be a disastrous miscalculation when the Iranian people rallied to their new leader. Thus, after initial Iraqi advances, most of the war was fought on Iraqi soil as a stalemate. Massive air strikes by both countries decimated Iraq's oil production facilities and thus Saddam was forced to borrow massive amounts from Kuwait and the Gulf States to fuel his war effort. During this conflict, Iraq basically had support from all the world's powers including the US, France and the Soviet Union. In a particularly appalling episode of the war, Saddam's troops used chemical weapons in a Kurdish city located in Iraq occupied by Iranian forces, killing 5,000 civilians in the process. This prompted the Shah to push for a cease fire, for fear of chemical weapons used against his own troops or civilians. The war left 105,000 Iraqis dead and had an enormous economic impact.



The port facilities in Basra were destroyed, leaving Iraq effectively landlocked. The Kurds remained defiant towards Saddam, but the fact that the Shiites remained loyal to Saddam is an important point. Though the country was certainly ravaged by the war, most observers were optimistic about Iraq's future.

However, in August 1990, bolstered by the large army remaining after the 8-year conflict with Iran, Saddam decided to invade Kuwait and annex it as a province of Iraq, as had been suggested ever since the British first withdrew from the region. Firstly, Iraq sorely needed extra funds for its reconstruction efforts. Its oilfields were in shambles, and its port facilities at Basra had been completely destroyed during the war. Kuwait had both plentiful oilfields and a deep-water port facility that could provide a steady monetary flow to support Iraq's reconstruction. Secondly, Iraq accused Kuwait of violating the OPEC quota by overproducing oil. Iraq also accused Kuwait of taking oil from a field that technically belonged to Iraq. These two violations, Saddam argued, amounted to economic warfare.

Using the pretense that Kuwait had already declared "economic warfare," Iraqi troops quickly overran and occupied Kuwait. Soon after, Saudi Arabia became nervous that it was Saddam's intention to continue marching into Saudi Arabia. Though the kingdom's army was supported by the United States, its current state was no match for Iraq's much larger army. The King of Saudi Arabia invited the United States to send troops to the Kingdom to defend its interests in case of Iraqi aggression. The US quickly moved to rally support from its allies in the UN Security Council, and in a brilliant succession of diplomatic missions managed to convince most of the developed world to contribute troops to what was known as Operation Desert Shield. Even Syria and Egypt were convinced to join the coalition. In January 1991, the coalition issued an ultimatum in which Saddam had to withdraw from Kuwait or face military action. When Hussein refused, bombing of Iraq commenced, destroying military and civilian infrastructure such as bridges, power production facilities and water treatment plants. A massive ground attack quickly overwhelmed Iraqi forces, which withdrew haphazardly towards Basra. Shortly after the war, Shiite rebellions in the south and Kurdish rebellions in the north were crushed with Saddam's typical ruthlessness. The cease fire agreement forced Hussein to destroy his chemical and biological weapons, and instituted no-fly zones in the north and the south to protect the Kurds and Shiites respectively. The agreement stipulated that if these demands were not met, Iraq would remain under UN sanctions.

After the Gulf War, the UN Special Commission on Disarmament (UNSCOM) was sent in to monitor the required destruction of Iraq's chemical and biological weapons. Because the Iraqis were not cooperative, sanctions remained in place. In 1996, in an effort to help Iraqi citizens adversely affected by the sanctions, the Oil-for-Food program began. But because of poor administration, most of the benefit fell to the top party members and Hussein's family. The sanctions and ensuing inflation and monetary devaluation destroyed the wealth base of the once formidable Iraqi middle class.

In 1998, Hussein refused to allow inspectors access to weapons facilities until sanctions were lifted. This resulted in a bombing campaign led by the US. This series of events led to the incapacitation of UNSCOM, and from this point forward, very little was known about Iraq'



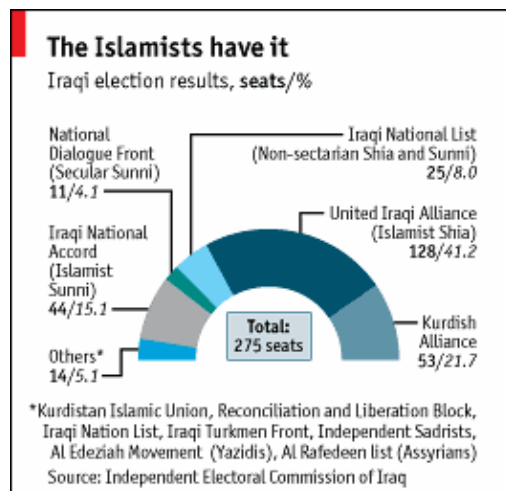
weapons programs. Some analysts stipulate that this lack of information may have contributed to the coming 2003 US-led invasion of Iraq.

### *Recent Developments*

The following events are well known. Saddam continued to refuse to comply with weapons inspectors, and President Bush of the US pushed for immediate military action, without the full support of the UN Security Council. In 2003, the US began operation Iraqi Freedom, which quickly toppled Saddam Hussein's regime. In hindsight, many political analysts believe this action will be considered the beginning of the doctrine of preemptive intervention. It is quite possible that in the coming years, this new doctrine will be used to justify future wars.

After the swift removal of Hussein's regime, the US became bogged down in the post-War reconstruction effort. A large part due to their inability to fix basic infrastructure and services, the general population did not wholeheartedly support the US invasion, as was predicted by many. The Iraqi military had obviously fallen apart during the invasion, and Bush sent in Paul Bremer to lead the reconstruction effort. In May 2003, Bremer dissolved the Iraqi armed forces. Many soldiers lost their salaries and positions, and this undoubtedly caused many of them to join the insurgency. In an effort to reinstate order in the country, Bremer re-created the Iraqi Police and the Iraqi Army, enlisting a majority of those who belonged to the same institutions under Saddam.

In June 2004, an interim Iraqi government led by Ayad Allawi was established. Through technical sovereignty of the state was reestablished at this time, the insurgency remained strong and made reconstruction difficult. In January 2005, Iraq had its first post-war general election. Results were not encouraging. Though Shiites and Kurds voted in fairly large numbers, it is estimated that less than 30% of Sunnis voted in that election. Many analysts believe that the key to ending the insurgency is to fully incorporate Sunnis into the governmental system.



The general election in December 2005 proved slightly more encouraging, in that a much higher proportion of Sunnis participated. However, for the Americans, this election was not as encouraging as it could have been. Firstly, American-backed secularists performed poorly during the elections. Instead, Islamists took a greater number of seats. Moreover, the results of the elections showed that almost every Iraqi citizen voted along religious and ethnic lines. This polarization is a decidedly negative sign for the future of the state of Iraq. More troubling is the continuing insurgency. With continuing violence reconstruction efforts have proved difficult.



## *Constitutional Issues*

The current constitution was drafted primarily by Shiites and Kurds, while Sunnis were excluded from the drafting session. The most contentious piece of the draft constitution is its emphasis on federalism. Because of the nature of the religious and ethnic landscape, many thought it was best to effectively divide the country into three semi-autonomous zones: the southern, Shiite region, the central Sunni region, and the northern Kurdish region. These areas would have control over their own natural resources, notably oil. Because of the geographic distribution of oil (mostly in the north and the south), the constitution received overwhelming support from both Shiites and Kurds, with very few Sunnis in agreement. Because the Iraqi insurgency is a primarily Sunni phenomenon, the controversial constitution is seen as adding fuel to the fire. However, the constitution does provide for fairly robust revision mechanisms, thus there is hope that a consensus will be reached in the near future.

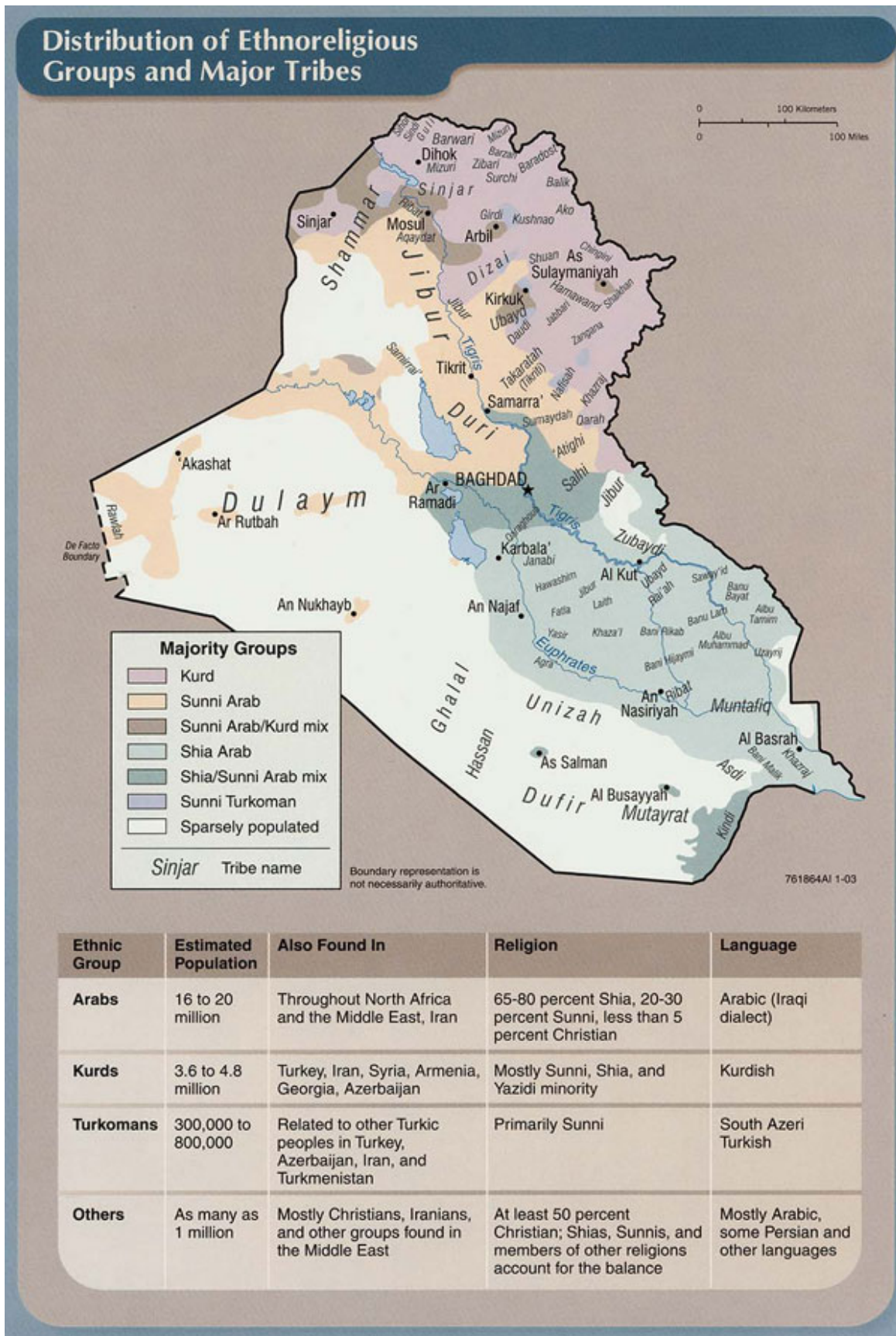
## *Current Political Structure*

In the coming months, the newly elected Parliament will appoint cabinet members. The proportion of party representation in the parliament will be translated exactly in cabinet positions. Therefore the cabinet will be an accurate representation of the parliament, which is in turn an accurate representation of the populace as a whole. To maintain maximum realism in this simulation, each cabinet member will be assigned a political, religious and ethnic identity based on the background of the actual holder of the position. In addition to forwarding the interests of the Iraqi cabinet, each member will have to fight to also support his or her own constituency, adding a completely new layer of realism. At the time of writing, the parliamentary results had just been verified and the cabinet members are yet to be picked. Thus, I have provided a rough distribution of party alliances.

## *An Agenda for the Newly Reformed Iraqi Cabinet*

1. Reconstruction of infrastructure
2. Restoring security
3. Rebuilding the economy
4. Servicing and repaying the debt
5. The future of American forces
6. The increasingly hostile position of Iran







## *Major Sources of Information*

Cleveland, William. *A History of the Modern Middle East*. Boulder: Westview Press, 2003.

Economist Backgrounder on Iraqi Reconstruction. Provides a variety of articles.

<http://www.economist.com/research/backgrounders/displayBackgrounder.cfm?bg=2035304>