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Anne Alexander (University of Exeter)

'The national movement and the state in Iraq 1958-63'

The revolution of July 1958 in Iraq was welcomed by opponents of the monarchy. Rapidly, however, unity was replaced by conflict as Communists and Arab nationalists competed for influence in state and society. Communist activists promoted 'Abd-al-Karim Qasim as 'sole leader' of Iraq, while Arab nationalists championed the leadership of 'Abd-al-Salam 'Arif and Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir. This paper argues that an important outcome of the conflict was the appropriation of the pre-revolutionary national movement by the state. I analyse the institutionalisation of street protests, attempts to co-opt the trade unions and the struggle for leadership in the Popular Resistance Forces. The paper uses archival sources including records from the British Foreign Office and Ministry of Labour, other documentary sources including contemporary newspapers, and interviews with participants.

Anne Alexander is a post-doctoral research fellow on the Non-Governmental Public Action research programme funded by the Economic and Social Research Council. She is attached to the Department of Politics, University of Exeter, UK.

Ibrahim G. Aoudé (University of Hawaii)

'Iraq and Palestine: Conflict in the Regional Context'

The paper focuses on recent regional political development and its relationship to imperial domination. Chaos has been a main feature of Middle East politics in the contemporary period. Exploring the salient factors generating chaos becomes critical to understanding the direction in which regional politics has been following.

Indigenous responses to foreign intervention will be explored. Imperatives as to why those responses have been for or against foreign intervention are critical and need to be examined. In this context the paper focuses on current events in Palestine and Iraq and how they relate to the wider region.

Ibrahim G. Aoudé is Professor of Ethnic Studies at the University of Hawaii and editor of Arab Studies Quarterly.

Raymond Baker (Trinity College)

'Degrading Democracy: American Empire, Islam, and Struggles for Freedom in the Arab Islamic World'

Bush administration's rhetoric of remaking the Middle East along democratic lines to justify American imperial assertions in Iraq and elsewhere has inevitably degraded the democratic idea. It has also stimulated a luxuriant field of commentary on the relationship of Islam and democracy. Given the context, shaped essentially by the neo-conservative imperial agenda, it will come as no surprise that most of that new literature

is hostile to Islam, amounting to little more than a repackaging of tired Orientalist notions of the “exceptionalism” of Muslims when it comes to struggles for democratic freedoms and of the “self-inflicted” wounds that explain these deficiencies.

This essay opens with the compelling images of the degraded democracy of the “colonial farces” staged today in Iraq as an emblem of the ways in which American power has been used to the detriment of democratic development, most disturbingly with the public execution of Saddam Hussein. It then moves immediately to look at the historical roots of American empire and to other sites in the Islamic world, notably Egypt, where the theoretical issues of Islam and democracy are being worked out in a particularly compelling way. I argue that the degraded democracy of occupied Iraq tells us a great deal about the ways in which empire undercuts democratic development but very little, as the experience of Egypt and its New Islamists shows, about the larger question of the prospects for democratic development in the Islamic world.

Raymond William Baker is Professor of International Politics at Trinity College, USA and President of the Canadian-based NGO, Global Partners for the International University of Iraq. Baker has been named a Carnegie Islam Scholar, 2006-2008.

Geraldine Chatelard (Institut Français du proche-orient - Amman)

‘Emigrating from Iraq in the period 1991-2007: social networks as alternatives for international protection’

This presentation analyses the consequences of the demise of the international refugee regime (that has become the norm in the course of the 1990s) through the experiences of migrants that have had to leave Iraq. Examples taken in a variety of transit and immigration countries worldwide for the period 1991-2007 illustrate how social networks (such as those based on family relations; political, ethnic, religious and other affiliations; or professional and business connections) are being used by migrants as alternative strategies to access security and protection.

Geraldine Chatelard is Research Fellow at the Institut Français du proche-orient (IFPO) in Amman.

Seif Da’na

‘Re-inventing the Middle East: The New Islam vs. Neo-Liberalism’

This paper develops a theoretical framework for the understanding of the nature of the clash and confrontation currently taking place regarding the unfolding Mid-East, specifically Iraq, Palestine and Lebanon. The paper sets out to determine the nature of two opposed Mid-East schemes, the western neo-Liberal venture and its native nationalist antithesis, and their future trajectories. Because of the changing nature of religion and nationalism, this general model becomes clearer upon analyzing the historical transformation of Arab nationalism and Islam leading to the rise of what might be called New Islam, or an Islamic re-invention of Arab national politics in the age of neo-Liberalism. The Western scheme, on the other hand rests on a doctrine dominant since

the late 1970s which holds that market exchange is an ethic in itself, capable of acting as a guide for all human action, entailing labor and financial markets deregulation, resulting from the failure of the state and the rise of post-state movements and cultures such as the New Islam.

Seif Da'na is Assistant Professor of Sociology and International Studies in the Department of Sociology at University of Wisconsin-Parkside, USA

Didem Danis (L'École des hautes études en sciences sociales and Galatasaray University)
'Insertion via niches: potentials and limitations of Iraqi Chaldean social networks in Istanbul'

The objective of this paper is to demonstrate the *segmented incorporation mechanisms* of Iraqi Christian migrants in Istanbul, and to question the potentials and limitations of their social networks. Since the 1991 Gulf War, Chaldeans have been transit migrants who consider their stay in Turkey as temporary and short-term before emigrating to Australia or Canada. Nevertheless, this temporary stay extends to 3 to 5 years in general and 10 years in exceptional cases; a period which compels migrants to find a dwelling and a job for their daily survival. The objective is to analyze what kind of resources this group mobilizes for incorporation into the employment and housing markets in Istanbul.

Didem Danis is a PhD candidate at L'École des hautes études en sciences sociales in Paris and a lecturer at Galatasaray University in Turkey.

Mohamed Kamel Dorai (Centre nationale de la recherche scientifique, Paris and IFPO–Damascus)

'The social networks of Iraqis in Damascus'

Iraqis in Damascus constitutes a large population of urban refugees. Their emigration, mainly due to insecurity, terror and joblessness since 2003, has been driving them to Damascus and its close neighbourhoods. Due to the recent arrival of most of these refugees and to their dispersion in different urban areas, their social networks have been de-structured and are in phase of reconstitution. Individuals are trying to rebuild connections at the local level in order mainly to cope with daily life difficulties and, at the transnational level, to activate migratory networks with relatives living abroad. This study is largely based on an on-going research within the Nestorian group, who constitutes a large part of the Iraqi refugees in Damascus.

Kamel Dorai is a Research Fellow at the French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS) and the Institut Français du proche-orient (IFPO) – Damascus.

Irene Dulz (Goethe Institute, Amman)

'Jebel Sinjar and Sheikhan - The Yezidis in the New Iraq'

The Yezidis of Iraq live in so-called collective villages, a heritage of the former Iraqi regime's policy to control, suppress and persecute the community. Until 2003, Jebel Sinjar and Sheikhan, the two major areas in Iraq which were populated by Yezidis were controlled by Saddam's army. Lalish, a valley sacred to Yezidis, and some Yezidi villages, e.g. Khaneq, Sharya, are situated in the Kurdistan region. Since the fall of the Baath Regime, the Kurdish KDP is gaining political influence in Sheikhan and numerous villages have come under the control of the Kurdish Peshmerga. Even a few ancestral villages in Sheikhan have been reconstructed and its autochthon population, Christians, Kurds and Yezidis, has returned. Sheikhan is a comparably secure and prospering place though.

In contrast Jebel Sinjar is suffering from increasingly high unemployment rates, illiteracy, a low and deteriorating educational level and persistent poverty today. In addition, Jebel Sinjar has become an extremely dangerous place for civilians and other non-conflict parties. Its geo-strategic inconvenience is obvious: First, it is situated near the Syrian border and is under heavy military surveillance of American forces to prevent the infiltration of Islamist insurgents. Secondly, Jebel Sinjar is surrounded by Sunni Arab dominated areas. Towns such as the nearby Tall Afar have become strongholds of Islamist insurgency groups. The activities of Islamist insurgents pose a daily threat to the Yezidi community, in particular, but not only, to those living in Jebel Sinjar. Mosul, the second largest Iraqi city and an important trade metropolis in Iraq, as another case has become a no-go area for Yezidis.

The two Kurdish parties, KDP and PUK, consider Yezidis as Kurds and have a nationalist interest in Sheikhan and Jebel Sinjar. These territories are, like Kirkuk, part of the "Greater Kurdistan". Kurdish claims are underlined by the setting up of party offices, which campaign for Kurdish nationalism and the support of development projects in Yezidi villages.

Supporters of an independent "Yezidistan" constitute a minority and the Yezidi party in Iraq doesn't have much political influence. It remains to be seen if an independent "Yezidistan" in Jebel Sinjar will gain ground in official politics. A referendum on the question whether Sheikhan and Jebel Sinjar should be governed by Dohuk or Niniveh that was scheduled for 2005 has been postponed to November 2007.

Iraqi Yezidis who perceive themselves exclusively as religious and ethnic Yezidis are rare. Nevertheless, Yezidi identity concepts are puzzling to their Arab and Kurdish brothers: Yezidis in the New Iraq consider themselves Kurds, Arabs or of mixed - Arab and Kurdish - ethnicity. Shifting identity concepts like "Before I was an Arab, now it is better to be a Kurd", "I am half Kurdish, half Arab" are on the way.

Practising Yezidism in today's Iraq is dangerous. Islamists and radical Muslims are gaining ground and forcing Yezidis to practice *taqiyya*, which means to neglect their religion. In the years 2004 and 2005 Mir Tahsin Beg, the Yezidi prince, decided to postpone the Cejna Cemayya, the Yearly Feast of Assembly, carried out in the Lalish Valley for safety reasons. The participation in certain religious rites which take place

during the feast none the less remains obligatory to date. As a matter of fact, the celebrations were resumed in 2006.

The situation in the New Iraq is such that life has become a daily struggle to secular Muslims and members of religious minorities in Iraq. However, at this point, the remoteness of Yezidi villages could prove beneficiary to the community.

Irene Dulz, M.A. graduated in 2000 in Middle East Studies at the University of Hamburg/Germany. She undertook her first field research in Northern Iraq in 2000, continuing from August 2004 to December 2005. Currently Irene Dulz is working as Iraq Programme Manager at the Goethe-Institute Amman/Jordan. Publication (German): Die Yeziden im Irak: Zwischen Modelldorf und Flucht, 2001

Oroub El Abed, Samia Qumri, Kate Washington (IFPO-Amman)
'Iraqi migrants in Jordan'

Since the inception of the current war in Iraq in April 2003, at least 500,000 Iraqis have fled to Jordan, a large part of them, arguably, in refugee-like situations. Whether registered or not with UNHCR, most Iraqis in Jordan have no assurance of accessing legal residence, employment permits or education. This paper, based on existing data compiled from local and international agencies that operate programmes for vulnerable Iraqis in Jordan, analyses the assistance and protection provided to this community and aims at understanding their livelihood strategies.

Oroub El Abed and Kate Washington are Associate Researchers at the Institut Français du proche-orient (IFPO) in Amman. Samia Qumri gained her M.A. at the Lebanese American University in Beirut.

Sue Hoffman (Murdoch University)
'Reaching Australia: Iraqi asylum seekers in transit in south-east Asia'

Despite wide-ranging academic interest in Australia's response to asylum seekers, little attention has been paid to migration routes they followed or dangers they faced. This paper considers how Iraqis now settled in Australia, and Iraqis stranded in Indonesia since 2001, have made sense of their experiences. Both groups were interviewed using grounded theory methods to explore their hopes, expectations and experiences. The study is responsive to recognition within forced migration research of the importance of giving voice to the main agents - refugees and asylum seekers - as part of the research process. They are indeed the key to understanding the social and community dynamics that contribute to forced migration.

Sue Hoffman is a PhD candidate at Murdoch University, Perth, Western Australia

Beriwani M. Khailany (Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research, Iraq)
'Iraq Information, Communication Technology & Education (ICT& E)'

For many European educators, the prospect of an education system lacking basic necessities and professors is unreal, but for us, rebuilding universities from practically nothing is the reality of a war-torn Iraq. During the past three years, we have accomplished a great deal. Over the last three years hundreds of Iraqi students, university presidents, deans, faculty members and administrators began to re-enter the international academic community by traveling to various countries on trips ranging from one week conference, to three weeks training courses, to four years PhD scholarship programs. Over the coming years will grow into the thousands. In fact, Iraqis have always been in favor of education and it's considered a great honor to complete your degree. It's a family value for sons and daughters to complete their university studies, but, of course accomplishing this goal has been negatively influenced by the economics and security in Iraq.

Iraqi universities have entered into partnerships with countries around the world whereby curriculum development and training in different areas have enriched the faculty and students by exposing them to new or different perspectives and technologies. We also have secured 100,000,000\$ allocated by Iraqi Government for scholarship program for Iraqi students to study abroad, but even this will be a slow moving program, since, it will be several years before those graduates return home.

The greater concern is the threat of violence against educators. As part of the moderate, intellectual population, academics are frequent targets during wartime. A lot of political parties are fighting for control and that inflicts itself on the universities. The issues of politics and education remain closely linked in regard to the future of Iraq.

The best investment should be one in education in Iraq. If we managed to construct a healthy educational policy, then we'll be able to have an influence on the way people think. If political projects succeed, then Iraq can become center of intellectual and academic knowledge.

The e-learning initiative defines as the use of new multimedia technologies and the Internet to improve the quality of learning by facilitating access to resources and services as well as remote exchanges and collaboration.

Over the last few decades of war and sanctions, Iraq has suffered great losses in death and damages. Harm has not been affected only on persons, communities, communications, institution and land; but equal and perhaps greater damage has been the outcome of the lost development opportunities.

The current efforts of the Ministry of Higher Education and scientific research and institutions of higher learning are in the midst of accelerating range. Yet the challenges Iraq faces cannot be solved with piecemeal changes; but strong forces that will affect Iraqi society in the near future:

- * Economic reconstruction.
- * Population change.
- * Globalization and
- * Rapid growth in Knowledge.

The situation must be met by a fundamental reorientation of higher education activities under a unified perspective (New Vision)

The new vision shows: what is and what should be the role of higher education in present and future Iraqi society.

The e-learning initiative in Iraq is welcomed by the ministry of Education and Higher Education. It also falls within the objectives of today's education systems by adopting Information and Communication Technology Development as one of its objectives. The effectiveness of education systems depends entirely on the effectiveness of the approaches to teaching and learning. In order to be effective, the introduction of Information and Communication Technologies will have to be accompanied by reorganization of learning structures.

Iraq needs to set up an Action Plan to cover certain period of time to present ways and means of implementing the e-learning initiative.

This Action Plan will help: promote the employability and adaptability objectives under the Iraqi Employment Strategy, rectify the shortage of skills associated with new technologies and improve social inclusion.

This Action Plan should have several lines of action including: Infrastructure, Training, Services and Cooperation.

Schools, universities and training centers are urged to become local knowledge acquisition centers which are versatile and accessible to everyone. Precise targets should be as follows:

- To ensure, by the end of 2010, that all school-leavers have had the chance to become digitally literate.
- To provide all teachers with appropriate training to adapt teacher training program accordingly, and to introduce measures to encourage teachers to make real use of digital technology in their lectures, by the end of 2010.
- To offer every worker the opportunity to become digitally literate through the lifelong learning system, by the end of 2010.

Major issues and problems of higher education institutions as a whole are: -

- 1 - Insufficient infrastructure and facilities, such as laboratories and libraries.
- 2 - A need for establishing channels of communication among faculty with foreign scholars.
- 3 - Setting-up an Evaluation and Measurement center; a Post-Graduate Training Center; an Iraqi Research Foundation, and an Iraqi Accreditation Agency.
- 4 - Strengthening staff development programs - academics, managerial and technical through on-campus training but also through provision of scholarship program and twinning Universities.

Berivan M. Khailany is Iraqi Deputy Minister for Scientific Affairs in the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research.

Philip Marfleet (University of East London)

Iraq's refugees. War and the strategy of exit

At least 3.5 million Iraqis have been displaced by war and occupation. Since the invasion of 2003 the UNHCR has operated on an assumption that Iraq would be safe for refugees

to return. In fact the current crisis dwarfs all earlier refugee movements - and is probably the largest displacement in the Arab world since the Palestinian 'nakba' of 1948. This paper examines recent patterns of displacement within and from Iraq. It considers growing pressures to adopt the strategy of "exit" and the implications for those who flee and those who remain. It considers mass displacements of the past -- from colonial rule to the Ba'thist era -- and asks why the current crisis was not foreseen by states and NGOs with full knowledge of this long record.

Philip Marfleet is Reader in Refugee Studies at the University of East London, UK

Greg Muttitt (PLATFORM)

'Nationalising Risk, Privatising Reward - The economic and legal consequences of potential oil production contracts in Iraq'

This paper analyses the problems inherent in the long-term oil production contracts proposed by Iraq's draft oil law. It examines means by which oil companies attempt to avoid risk - specifically, price risk, security risk and political risk - whilst insisting on securing for themselves the corresponding 'upside': the chance of ever higher profits. As these risks are externalised to the host state, respectively they impact on revenues, the human rights of the state's citizens and the state's sovereignty to manage its natural resources, or even to pass legislation. The article proposes some contractual mechanisms - with precedents - which might limit these problems. However, the current draft oil law provides little reassurance. The conclusion is that the prospects for contracts signed in the current circumstances - in particular, the occupation, the security situation and political fragmentation - do not look good.

Greg Muttitt is a researcher for PLATFORM, an environmental and social justice organisation based in London. Web: www.platformlondon.org; www.carbonweb.org

Norton Mezvinsky (Central Connecticut State University)

'The Christian Zionists and Iraq'

The attitudes and actions of evangelical Christian Zionists have clearly affected the involvement of the United States government in Iraq. The overall effect of Christian Zionist influence may be difficult to assess fully, yet, the existing evidence nevertheless illustrates its significance. My paper will explain the attitudes and explore the actions of this phenomenon.

Norton Mezvinsky is Professor of History at Central Connecticut State University and a CSU Distinguished University Professor.

Glen Rangwala (University of Cambridge)

1. 'Deputizing in war: British policies and predicaments in Iraq, 2003-07'

The overarching theme of this paper is to explore whether the UK has been an autonomous protagonist in the war in Iraq since the invasion, or if instead it has been merely subservient to US policy. It explores three different dimensions of UK involvement: British control over the four southern governorates, the role of UK personnel in Green Zone politics, and British policies on the international stage in support of their stance in and towards Iraq. It does so by placing British foreign policy under the Blair government in the context of the overall objective of serving as a 'transatlantic bridge', a position that is central to how British foreign policy-makers operate but which also has become increasingly incoherent in light of the severe differences between the US and the major continental European states over the invasion of Iraq. The paper argues that in each of the three dimensions of UK involvement, British officials set out a strategy that was independent of, and sometime implicitly contradictory towards, US policy. And yet by being bound into the overall US framework for Iraq, their actions were constrained and sometimes negated by the decision-making process in Washington over which they had little influence. The effect of British involvement, however, has not been neutralised by this; in fact, as the paper argues, in crucial dimensions, it has added to the process of Iraq's fragmentation

2. 'Rethinking Iraq between the wars'

This is a workshop presentation, outlining an emergent research agenda, rather than a single argument. A range of new resources on how Iraq was governed and fared over the period from 1991 to 2003 has come out since the invasion. These include official or semi-official reports that deal substantially with the actions of the Iraqi government in that period, such as material from the US military's Iraqi Perspectives Project and Iraq Survey Group, and the UN's Volcker Commission; primary documentation from the *ancien régime* that was not previously available; and especially the accounts of Iraqis, particularly those from south-central Iraq, whose stories and evidence could not be examined adequately during that period. And yet there are serious problems with each of these sources: the reports conducted under the auspices US military were written at least in part for propagandistic purposes; documentary archives were looted or otherwise destroyed; systematic research with Iraqis inside the country has been rendered impossible by war.

Aline Schlaepfer (Université de Genève)

'Iraqi Jewish Identities: Baghdadi Memoirs'

The Jewish mass emigration from Iraq in 1951 raises many questions as to what led members of the Jewish community to leave the country, after more than 2000 years of presence in Iraq. Through comparative analysis of memoirs of individuals who lived during the period preceding this disruption, i.e. between the beginning of the British Mandate until the early fifties, this paper attempts to define the Iraqi Jewish individual perception of this period.

Focusing on generation issues, it shows how the studied authors born during the first decade of the 20th century like Anwar Shaul and Meir Basri, who followed the way towards

independence, tended to show a strong identification with Iraqi nationalism. However, younger authors born during the late twenties who experienced the *farhûd* as a deep child trauma, reacted differently. Some of them, like Heskell Haddad, tended to affiliate more with Jewish nationalism and some others, like Naim Kattan, identified with Occidental values. These attitudes explain their decision, as well as many other young Iraqi Jews at that time, to leave Iraq for Israel, Europe, or America.

Aline Schlaepfer is a PhD candidate at the University of Geneva.

Govand H. Sherwani (Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research Iraqi Kurdistan Region)

'Higher Education in Iraqi Kurdistan Region: historic review , current statistics, and future challenges'

Higher Education in Kurdistan Region (Northern Iraq) had, as in other parts of Iraq, been deeply influenced by the political-economic circumstances of the last three decades . In this period of modern history of Iraq, some remarkable incidents can be considered as tuning-points of that time interval . These, mainly hard, times didn't stop, but only impeded, the lateral growing and developing higher education system and institutions in the region.

Recent statistics , display the existence of (6) universities , (15) technical institutes , (3) technical colleges with total of nearly (350) programs (departments) . In these institutes, more than (52000) students are enrolled and taught by (3300) lecturers (faculty) .

Although there are many common concerns and plans between the ministry of Higher Education in Kurdistan Region and its older sister in the federal capital (Baghdad) , but the details of their strategy implies lots of differences , particularly in those about the students affairs and the provided environment in the region .

Future challenges (formally adopted by the ministry in the region), might resemble to those of central-southern Iraq. These can be outlined in the followings :

- Develop the administrative structure
- Reform and modernize the education system and program
- Rehabilitate the infra-structure of higher education institutions
- Establish an updated data base that enhance the education plans
- Activation of scientific research and establish more research centers.
- Human resources and capacity building

Other , less urgent , issues might include : the independency of university , funding aspects , introducing modern systems (such as open university , distant learning , etc) , establish Quality assurance (QA) for both teaching and management of higher education institutions .

Govand H. Sherwani is General Coordinator of Kurdistan Region Universities.

Amal Shlash (Bayt al-Hikma)

'The role of public and private sectors within the new federal legal framework and the new internationalized status of the Iraqi economy'

This paper focuses on the role of the public and private sectors within the new federal legal framework and the new internationalized status of the Iraqi economy. Among a vast number of issues, decentralization deserves special attention. Decentralization, or the "transfer of power from central to local governments is not merely a matter of general consensus." In this paper I intend to discuss decentralization from a development perspective (why, how, what, and to whom, in order to maximize the benefits of development).

The major question investigated in this paper is: if decentralization is considered a necessity for the break-down of central government in the transition period while the process of nation building is incomplete, given the lack of democratic structures and culture, and strong country ties to forces of globalization (such as foreign aid and oil negotiations)

1. What are the major challenges, requirements, roles and responsibilities of various actors, old and new?
2. Will decentralization contribute to, achieve and maintain growth with efficiency, equity and participation? Or aid in diversifying the economy and maintaining the development of local economy and national social development and coherence?

Amal Shlash is Head of the Department of Economics at Bayt al-Hikma, Iraq

Ghada Talhami (Lake Forest College)

'Palestinian Refugees in Iraq'

Palestinians who are classified officially as refugees arrived mostly from Kuwait following the first Gulf War. Most of these were originally from the Gaza area, which means that they lack any papers or documentation. The Israeli Government has resisted their repatriation to Gaza or any part of the West Bank. There are grave disputes about their actual size or material well-being, with some Iraqi government agencies and sectarian communities given to exaggerating their numbers. Physical attacks and intimidation tactics in order to force their flight and abandonment of their homes have been directed against them by the Mahdi Army in Baghdad and Kurdish authorities in the North. A propaganda campaign against them has raised the issue of their friendly relations with the previous Ba'ath regime. Their daily existence is complicated by the absence of UNRWA offices in Iraq and the tenuous interest of UNHCR in their case.

Neither do the PNA and the Arab League of States seem to have a definite plan. What are the implications for Palestinian refugees in other precarious states such as Lebanon and Syria?

Ghada Talhami is D.K. Pearsons Professor of Politics at Lake Forest College, Chicago, USA

Lucine Taminian

'The dream of migrating West: the politics of marriage and identities'

During the years 1991 to 2007, more than three million Iraqis fled Iraq to Jordan, the majority of whom left Jordan to settle in other countries. Today, maybe as many as one million Iraqis live in Jordan, dispersed in various neighborhoods of the country's major cities. This presentation is based on my experience of interviewing Iraqis of different socio-ethnic background living in Jordan. It focuses on their strategies in seeking more secure homes, including marriage, and on the new identities they adopt therefore. It reflects on the changing significance of marriage as a metaphor for safe haven.

Lucine Taminian is an anthropologist

Peter Wien (University of Maryland)

'The Four Officers Revisited: new thoughts on the 1941 "Rashid Ali Movement"'

This paper sheds new light on the ideological background of the so called Rashid Ali Movement of April and May 1941, and in particular on some of its leading protagonists: the Four Officers of the "Golden Square". Against the backdrop of growing authoritarian and totalitarian trends in Iraq during the 1930s, the Four Officers have been described as forerunners of pro-Nazi trends during and beyond the period. A close analysis of contemporary Arabic sources such as speeches and memoirs leads to a more complex assessment. I will present the thinking of two "Golden Square" members in a more differentiated framework of Arab nationalist and Muslim identity. The paper will be an extension of the research that I published in my book: *Iraqi Arab Nationalism: Authoritarian, Totalitarian and Pro-Fascist Inclinations, 1932-1941* (London, New York: Routledge, 2006).

Peter Wien is an Assistant Professor for Middle Eastern History at the University of Maryland, USA.

Dai Yamao (Kyoto University)

'Emergence of a New Islamic Political Party: Al-Sadr and Formation of Islamic Da'wa Party'

The aim of this presentation is to discuss in detail the emergence of Islamic Da'wa Party and its transformation of activities with special references to the characteristics and the contributions of Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr's political thought in the context of political changes in Iraq. In this presentation, I propose to divide al-Sadr's political thought into two parts, "early political thought", which focuses on getting a consensus by Shura to conduct administrative parts of the state, and "late political thought", in which, on the contrary, al-Sadr maintains the importance of ulama's direct leadership in politics, which should be organized and institutionalized. This is because his idea has shifted significantly at the beginning of the 1970's. Together with this shift, Da'wa Party gradually changed its attitude toward Iraqi politics. I will discuss the political and social context

against which this shift occurred, and how this shift related to the transformation of al-Sadr's thought.

Dai Yamao is a Ph.D. Student at the Graduate School of Asian and African Area Studies, Kyoto University and a JSPS Research Fellow

Haifa Zangana (Novelist)

'Women can be terrorists too'¹

In the widely accepted Iraqi narrative in the aftermath of the invasion, pragmatism has been the dominant attitude in the country as a whole, for men as much as for women. People across the social strata have sought to extract whatever benefits have been possible from the collapse of the previous oppressive regime, and especially from the lifting of the suffocating economic sanctions. They were tired of two decades of wars and violence and eager to avoid further physical harm.

Initially a wide range of approaches were adopted by Iraqis to cope with the occupation, apart from the two extremes of directly collaborating with the new status quo and of armed resistance. Peaceful political resistance was common in the first two years of the occupation, despite the limited public space, using peaceful protests and demands, through petitions, delegations, demonstrations, or elections in the resurrected professional organisations. Women were included.

However, by the fourth year of occupation many aspects of passive and non-violent resistance which characterised the first three years have come to an end and there seems to be a shift in the position of Iraqi women, especially in relation to their presence and role in the public domain. While the first three years were mostly years where women were confined to their homes, in a climate of fear in a rapidly deteriorating security environment, the fourth year has witnessed the opposite. Increasingly women are stepping out into the streets, especially in what are described by the US military as the "hot areas" ², and in particular in Baghdad.

Haifa Zangana is an Iraqi novelist and artist. Her most recent publication is an English translation of her novel, Women on a Journey, which appeared in April 2007. See: <http://www.utexas.edu/utpress/books/zanwop.html>

¹ Lt. Col. Barry Johnson, a military spokesman in Baghdad, said that the military held only people who were considered threats. "We recognize insurgents don't work alone. They work in groups. See; " U.S. accused of jailing women to find relatives, Their husbands and fathers were sought as terrorist suspects", NANCY A. YOUSSEF, Knight Ridder Tribune News, Jan. 28, 2006.

² A term used by Iraqi politicians to describe cities, villages, and neighbourhoods with enduring resistance activity.