

Iraq Initiative Conference 2021

Monday 15 – Tuesday 16 November

Join Iraqi and international policymakers, academics, analysts and civil society leaders as they discuss recent developments in Iraq's politics, economy, environment and society, and share insights into what the next year might hold.

On the agenda:

- 2021 election
- Government formation
- Climate change

- Political economy of reform
- Marginalised groups
- Iraq's role in the region

Guidance for attendees

Chatham House has a COVID-Safe Policy for in-person events that we ask all participants to adhere to whilst in the building.

Chatham House COVID-safe policy

- Please do not attend this event if you feel unwell or have tested positive for Covid-19. If you begin to show symptoms during the event, please let a member of staff know. Staff members will be easy to spot by their blue lanyards.
- Only those on the list will be granted entry. You may be asked to show ID.
- It is mandatory that you **wear a facemask for the duration of the event**. You may remove your mask only to ask a question during a session or eat and drink.
- Chatham House requires visitors to the building check-in via the NHS app. If you do not have the app, we will take your contact details.
- Hand sanitizer will be provided throughout the venue, which visitors are encouraged to make use of.
- Please adhere to social distancing of 1m wherever possible. Seats in the conference room will be spaced to allow this.

Conference venue

Chatham House 10 St James's Square London SW1Y 4LE

AGENDA | DAY ONE | 15 NOVEMBER

17.00 – 18.00 *Opening Session*

In Conversation with Ahmed Albasheer

Speaker: Ahmed Albasheer, Comedian, Writer and Director

Moderator: Lina Khatib, Director, MENA Programme, Chatham House

Ahmed Albasheer is an Iraqi comedian, journalist and director. His show, 'The Albasheer Show', offers Iraqis a critical, satirical take on the weekly news and Iraq's ongoing issues of corruption, state sanctioned violence and sectarianism. The show reaches an audience of over 7 million, most of them under the age of 30, and has been described as the most influential show in Iraq, one which had a major role in the 2019-20 popular protest movement that led to a change of government and the calling of an early election in 2021.

In this opening session of Chatham House's Iraq Initiative conference, Albasheer will discuss the importance of a critical media as a form of accountability and political opposition, the role of comedy in tackling Iraq's political ills, and the potential of the country's young population to shape its future.

18.00 – 19.00 *Reception*

Iraq is at a critical juncture. In the immediate aftermath of the election, political elites are navigating some surprising results as they seek to secure their place in the government formation process. Despite waves of public protest in recent years, Iraq's political system has proven remarkably resilient to reform, and the latest election seems to have done little to indicate any significant deviation from the status quo. All the while, the extent of most Iraqis' disillusionment with its politics has been laid bare by a record low turnout, and its roots – systemic corruption, poor provision of basic services and the shadow cast by ongoing international disputes on Iraqi soil – remain unresolved.

At Chatham House's annual Iraq Initiative Conference, Iraqi and international policymakers, academics, analysts and civil society leaders will convene in London and online to discuss recent developments in Iraq's politics, economy, environment and society, and share insights into what the next year might hold.

AGENDA | DAY TWO | 16 NOVEMBER

08.15 - 08.45 Registration and refreshments

08.45 – 10.00 Session 1: Dynamics of government formation and elite bargaining

In the aftermath of the election, Iraqi political elites commenced the process of back-room negotiation and wrangling that has characterised the post-vote period in every election since 2005. Iraq's electoral system and its political processes have in the past delivered a succession of similar governments regardless of the popular vote count, which has contributed to numerous waves of popular protest, most recent in the October revolution of 2019 in which protestors demanded not simply the removal of the government, but the downfall of the entire political system.

In this session, an expert panel will discuss the impact of the election results on Iraq's politics, the dynamics of political bargaining that detach elites from citizens, and what it might mean for the stability of the state should those bargains deliver a government that represents more continuity than change.

Speakers

Mushreq Abbas, Political Advisor to Iraq's Prime Minister, Government of Iraq Jaber Aljaberi, Senior Advisor to the Speaker of Parliament, Republic of Iraq Lahib Higel, Senior Analyst for Iraq, International Crisis Group Renad Mansour, Senior Research Fellow and Director of the Iraq Initiative, Middle East and North Africa Programme, Chatham House

Moderator: Maryam Nemazee, News Anchor Journalist, Al Jazeera English

10.00 – 10.30 *Refreshments*

10.30 – 11.45 Session 2: Increasing the participation of marginalised groups in Iraq's statebuilding process

Iraq has a diverse population in terms of culture and religion, and one of the youngest populations in the world, with over 60% estimated to be under the age of 25. Iraq's halls of power are largely closed off to the young, and while a quota exists for women and minority participation in parliament, much of this participation is contingent on political agreements. The sense of marginalisation felt by minorities, youth and women left on the outside of the country's decision-making processes, who nevertheless suffer the consequences of its endemic corruption and negligence, has been a major factor behind mass disillusionment with the current system and popular protests.

This session will discuss the status of marginalised groups within Iraq's statebuilding process, including their role in civil society and involvement in the government's recent attempts at reform, and will explore how barriers to greater participation in Iraq's politics, economy and society can be overcome.

Speakers

Manar Al Obaidy, Spokesperson, Imtidad Movement Taif Alkhudary, Research Officer, Middle East Centre, London School of Economis Zmkan Ali Saleem, Director of Research, IRIS, American University of Iraq Sulaimani Belkis Wille, Senior Researcher, Crisis and Conflict Division, Human Rights Watch

Moderator: Omar Sirri, Affiliated Scholar, Issam Fares Institute for International Affairs and Public Policy, American University of Beirut

AGENDA | DAY TWO | 16 NOVEMBER

11.45 – 12.15 Refreshments

12.15 – 13.30 Session 3: Accountability and the political economy of reform

Systemic, politically sanctioned corruption is the greatest barrier to reform in Iraq. Efforts by international actors in the recent past to support reform and stability measures have not succeeded in breaking the cycle of violent conflict, in part because they have been based on a misunderstanding of where power lies within the state system. In order to empower reformists to push for meaningful change against those with a vested interest in maintaining the status quo, a greater degree of accountability needs to be built into the system.

In this session, an expert panel will discuss the importance of entrenching robust accountability mechanisms within Iraq's state structure in order to tackle systemic corruption, strengthen the connective tissues of reform in all sectors, and safeguard against greater instability and conflict.

Speakers

Luay al-Khatteeb, Distinguished Fellow, Center on Global Energy Policy, Columbia University; Former Minister of Electricity, Government of Iraq Patricia Karam, Regional Director, Middle East and North Africa, International Republican Institute Michel Rentenaar, Ambassador to Iraq, Kingdom of the Netherlands Ahmed Tabaqchali, Chief Strategist, AFC Iraq Fund

Moderator: Jane Arraf, Baghdad Bureau Chief, The New York Times

13.30 – 14.15 Lunch

14.15 – 15.30 Session 4: Energy, resources and society in the context of climate change

November 2021 will see the United Kingdom host COP26, bringing together global leaders, civil society and business to drive progress towards the goals of the Paris Agreement. The magnitude of the climate crisis facing Iraq cannot be underestimated, with rising temperatures, growing water scarcity and a rapidly increasing population causing health crises and waves of protest that threaten the stability of the state. Yet as the world focuses on the Glasgow summit, Iraq's political elites continue to look inwards. In the recent election, candidates focused on the issues of jobs, rights and services, but failed to address the underlying issue of climate change.

This panel session will explore Iraq's climate crisis, what is being done to improve the country's ability to manage its environmental risks and what climate impacts will mean for Iraqi state-society relations and stability in the coming years.

Speakers

Azzam Alwash, CEO, Nature Iraq Glada Lahn, Senior Research Fellow, Environment and Society Programme, Chatham House Wim Zwijnenberg, Humanitarian Disarmament Project Leader, PAX for Peace

Moderator: Thanassis Cambanis, Senior Fellow and Director of Century International, The Century Foundation

15.30 - 16.00 Refreshments

16.00 – 17.15 Session 5: Iraq in the region

In recent years, Iraq's role on the international stage has been a passive one, as it has been forced to play host to a number of regional disputes and competing interests, including the dispute between the United States and Iran. At September's Baghdad Conference, Mustafa al-Kadhimi sought to reassert Iraq's sovereignty and project an image of the country as a mediator state, but it remains to be seen whether a new government will be able to assume this role without being held hostage to the whims of external powers.

This session will explore the impact of global and regional dynamics on Iraq's domestic politics and security, the outcome of the Baghdad Conference, and the feasibility of the country successfully transitioning from regional battleground to regional peacemaker.

Speakers

Zehra Bell, Director for Iraq and Syria, United States National Security Council

Maria Fantappie, Special Adviser for the Middle East and North Africa, Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue

Mohammad Shabani, Editor, Amwaj Media; Doctoral Researcher, SOAS University of London **Fanar Haddad**, Former Advisor to Prime Minister Mustafa al-Kadhimi, Visiting Fellow, Middle East Centre, London School of Economics

Moderator: Sanam Vakil, Deputy Director and Senior Research Fellow, Middle East and North Africa Programme, Chatham House

17.15 Reception





Luay al-Khatteeb

Dr Luay al-Khatteeb is former Minister of Electricity of Iraq and the founding director of Iraq Energy Institute, and is currently a Distinguished Fellow at the Center on Global Energy Policy (Columbia University-SIPA). His professional experiences span over twenty years in business development and public policy with executive capacities as director and senior advisor to various multilateral institutions, international oil companies, commercial banks and management consulting firms. He is a frequent commentator on issues related to energy security, economics, and politics in the Middle East. His writing has appeared in Foreign Affairs, The New York Times, Brookings Institution, Harvard University, Columbia University, The National Interest, The Huffington Post, Al-Monitor, CNN, MEES, the Petroleum-Economist and The National among others. Dr al-Khatteeb earned his PhD in Political Economy from the University of Exeter.



Manar Al Obaidy

Manar Al Obaidy holds Master's Degrees in Business Administration and Communication Engineering. He joined the Imtidad Movement as official spokesperson and participated in Iraq's latest general election in 2021. Currently, he is part of the political office of the movement and remains the official spokesperson.



Mushreq Abbas

Mushreq Abbas is the political advisor for the Prime Minister of the Republic of Iraq. Previously, he was a journalist specialising in Iraqi security and political affairs. He was chair of the board of directors of Nas News, and the Iraqi Media House Studies Center.



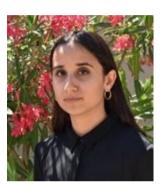
Ahmed Albasheer

Ahmed Albasheer is an Iraqi political satirist, journalist and director. His show, 'The Albasheer Show', has offered Iraqis a critical, satirical take on the weekly news and Iraq's ongoing issues of corruption, state sanctioned violence and sectarianism. The show reaches an audience of over 7 million, most of them under the age of 30, and has been described as the most influential show in Iraq, one which had a major role in the 2019-20 popular protest movement that led to a change of government and the calling of an early election in 2021.

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Jaber Aljaberi

Dr Jaber Aljaberi is an independent politician who has been a Senior Advisor to the Speaker of the Iraqi Parliament since 2014. He was previously a Member of Presidential High Committee for National Reconciliation. Between 2010 and 2014 he represented the Governorate of Anbar in the Council of Representatives. Between 2008 and 2010, he was Political Advisor to the Office of the Prime Minister of Iraq. Dr AlJaberi was also involved in the negotiations of the US-Iraq Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) that led to the withdrawal of American troops from Iraq in 2011, and the organization of their activities during their temporary presence afterwards.

Taif Alkhudary

Taif is an Iraq-focused Research Officer working on the project Managing Religious Diversity in the Middle East: The Muhasasa Ta'ifia in Iraq, 2003–2018 and the Conflict Research Programme at the London School of Economics. She previously conducted research on women's and girls' rights and strategic litigation on cases of enforced disappearances, torture, arbitrary detention and extrajudicial killings in the Gulf and Iraq. She holds a BA in History of Art from UCL and an MSc in Human Rights from the LSE.

Azzam Alwash

Dr Azzam Alwash was born in Kut, and left to the US in 1978 where he completed a PhD in Civil Engineering from the University of Southern California in 1988. Since then he has been practicing in the environmental and geotechnical fields as well as higher education. He started Eden Again, a programme to put the spotlight on the drying of the marshes of southern Iraq, under the auspices of the Free Iraq Foundation, where he is a member of the board of directors. After the removal of Saddam Hussien, he moved back to Iraq and founded Nature Iraq, an Iraqi NGO focusing on the preservation of the environment of Iraq and its cultural heritage. His efforts in preservation have earned him the Takreem Award in 2011 and The Goldman Environmental Prize for the 2013. Dr Alwash has also been designated as one of the 100 forward thinking leaders of the world by the Foreign Policy Group in 2013. In 2006, he became a founding member of the board of trustees of the American University of Iraq–Sulaimani.



Jane Arraf

Jane Arraf is Baghdad Bureau Chief for the New York Times. Ms Arraf has covered Iraq since 1991 and in 1998 opened CNN's first bureau in Baghdad. She has also reported extensively on most countries in the Middle East. Previous postings include Istanbul, Amman, Cairo, New York, Washington and Montreal, where she began her career in journalism as a Reuters correspondent. Before joining the New York Times, Ms Arraf was an NPR international correspondent. She was previously based in Iraq for the Christian Science Monitor and has reported for NBC, PBS Newshour and al-Jazeera English. She is a former Edward R. Murrow press fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York. Ms Arraf studied journalism at Carleton University in Ottawa.



Zehra Bell

Zehra Bell is the director for Iraq and Syria at the White House's National Security Council. Before this appointment, she was the political chief at the Syria Transition Assistance Response Team (START) at the US Department of State. Prior to that she was foreign policy fellow at the US Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. She has also served in different capacities at the US Department of State and US embassies in Baghdad and Kuwait.



Thanassis Cambanis

Thanassis Cambanis is an author, journalist and senior fellow at The Century Foundation (TCF). He is director of Century International, TCF's center for international research and policy. His work focuses on US foreign policy, Arab politics, and social movements in the Middle East. He is currently writing a history of the Iraq war and its transformative impact on the international system. He has published single-author books about Hezbollah and the Egyptian revolution, and has edited four collections of policy research about rights, politics and security in the Middle East. He regularly contributes to World Politics Review, Foreign Affairs, The New York Times, and other publications. He teaches at Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs.



Maria Luisa Fantappie

Maria Fantappie is Special Adviser for the Middle East and North Africa region at HD. She previously served as Senior Adviser for the International Crisis Group, engaging with policymakers on Iraq, Syria and the Kurdish issue at some of the highest levels of government in the US, Europe and the Middle East. In 2018, she was seconded by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the EU mission in Iraq, where she advised the Office of the National Security Advisor on the implementation of the security sector reform programme with special focus on Iraq's national security legislation. In 2011-2012, she was a Visiting Scholar at the Carnegie Middle East Center in Beirut and an associate researcher at the Institut français du Proche-Orient. She has taught at American University of Iraq in Suleimani and Sciences Po Paris. Maria holds a PhD from King's College London, and earned an MA and MPhil from Sciences Po Paris.



Fanar Haddad

Fanar Haddad is visiting fellow at the Middle East Centre, London School of Economics. He was senior advisor on international affairs to Prime Minister Mustafa Al-Kadhimi. He previously lectured on the politics of the modern Middle East at the University of Exeter, at Queen Mary, University of London and at the National University of Singapore. Prior to obtaining his PhD, Haddad was a Research Analyst at the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office's Middle East and North Africa Research Group. He is the author of numerous publications on Iraq and on the Middle East including Sectarianism in Iraq: Antagonistic Visions of Unity (2011) and Understanding 'Sectarianism': Sunni-Shi'a Relations in the Modern Arab World (2020).





Lahib Higel

As Crisis Group's Senior Analyst for Iraq, Lahib Higel covers politics, governance, security and conflict in the country. Lahib has worked in Iraq and the Kurdistan region in various capacities since 2013. Most recently she worked on mediation efforts in Iraq, Libya and Syria for the Dialogue Advisory Group. She has worked as a security adviser for the International NGO Safety Organisation and conducted research for a wide range of organisations and institutions, including the EU, UNDP and Minority Rights Group (MRG), on topics such as displacement, security and politics in Iraq. She holds an MSc in International Relations from the London School of Economics and an MA in International Security from Sciences Po, Paris.

Patricia Karam

Patricia Karam is Regional Director of the Middle East North Africa Division at IRI. Previously, Karam was MENA director at Natural Resource Governance Institute and deputy director of the Policymakers/Civil Society Unit at International Center for Transitional Justice. Karam has worked in a combination of programs development, management, fundraising, and grants-making roles at the US Institute of Peace, Iraq Foundation and the Iraq Embassy, and NYU's Trauma Studies Program. She has contributed globally to conferences, most recently on democracy and governance issues, including transitional justice and human rights challenges in Lebanon, Iraq, Tunisia, and Libya. She holds a dual BA from Brown University, an MSFS degree from Georgetown University and a PhD from New York University's Law & Society program.



Lina Khatib

Dr Lina Khatib is director of the Middle East and North Africa programme at Chatham House. She was formerly director of the Carnegie Middle East Center in Beirut and co-founding head of the Program on Arab Reform and Democracy at Stanford University's Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law. Her research focuses on the international relations of the Middle East, Islamist groups and security, political transitions and foreign policy, with special attention to the Syrian conflict.



Glada Lahn

Since joining Chatham House in 2004, Glada Lahn has worked on a range of international resource -related projects which intersect with geopolitical, economic and development concerns. Glada has led influential research on energy policy in the Arab Gulf, energy access amongst displaced people globally in 2015, and how climate change and decarbonization affect the prospects and choices for developing country oil and gas producers. From 2002 to 2004, she was senior research fellow at the Gulf Centre for Strategic Studies and has since worked for a number of organizations as a freelance consultant. She has a BA in Arabic and international relations, including a year spent at the University of Damascus between 1999 and 2000. She also has an MA in Near and Middle Eastern studies from the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

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Renad Mansour

Dr Renad Mansour is a senior research fellow and project director of the Iraq Initiative at Chatham House. He is also a senior research fellow at the American University of Iraq, Sulaimani, and a research fellow at the Cambridge Security Initiative. Renad was previously a lecturer at the London School of Economics and Political Science, where he taught the international relations of the Middle East and, from 2013, he held positions as lecturer of international studies and supervisor at the Faculty of Politics, also at Cambridge. He was previously a senior research fellow at the Iraq Institute for Strategic Studies and was adviser to the Kurdistan Regional Government Civil Society Ministry between 2008-2010. He received his PhD from Cambridge University. He is co-author of *Once Upon a Time in Iraq*, published by BBC Books/Penguin to accompany the critically acclaimed BBC series.

Maryam Nemazee

Maryam Nemazee is a broadcaster and journalist. She has worked in Europe, the US, the Middle East, and Asia. Maryam is currently based in London, news anchoring for Al Jazeera English. Previously, Maryam was a London-based anchor and correspondent with Bloomberg Television. She was at Bloomberg during the peak of the financial crisis hosting the prime time global morning programme. She also worked in New York, Hong Kong, and the Middle East. Prior to this, Maryam was one of the main anchors with Al Jazeera English based in Doha. Maryam is a graduate of the University of Durham, and City University in the UK.



Michel Rentenaar

Michel Rentenaar is a seasoned diplomat of the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, currently serving as the Netherlands Ambassador to Iraq. He previously served as Deputy Permanent Representative to NATO in Brussels, Netherlands Climate Envoy as well as the acting Director for Environment, Climate, Energy and Water in the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Prior to this, he was the Civil-Military Interface Advisor at the NATO Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers in Europe. He has extensive field experience, whereby he has co-commanded the Netherlands led Task Force in Uruzgan, Afghanistan and served at the Netherlands embassies in Egypt, Yemen, Lebanon, the Palestinian territories, Uganda and the Congo. He did two tours of duty in Iraq where he served as the political adviser to the Dutch battalion commander, as well as to Head of the Coalition Provisional Authority in al-Muthanna.



Zmkan Ali Saleem

Dr Zmkan Ali Saleem is the Director of Research at IRIS. During his tenure, Dr. Saleem has served as a lead researcher for projects funded by the FCDO, UNAMI, EU and the Norwegian Research Council focusing on political economy in Iraq and Kurdistan. He holds a PhD in Politics and International Studies from the University of Leeds/UK and teaches in the College of Political Science at the University of Sulaimani. His doctoral research examined the domestic determinants of Iran's regional security policies. Saleem's later research examined the domestic and regional determinants of Turkey's foreign policy toward the conflicts in Iraq and Syria. Saleem has contributed to the Fikra Forum at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy.



Mohammad Shabani

Mohammad Ali Shabani is the Editor of Amwaj.media, an online outlet focusing on Iran, Iraq and the Peninsula countries. He is also a doctoral researcher at SOAS University of London, where he is writing his thesis on relations between Iran and post-Saddam Iraq. He has extensive experience in the region, and has written for outlets including the New York Times, the Guardian and Foreign Affairs.



Omar Sirri

Omar Sirri received his PhD in political science from the University of Toronto in 2021. His doctoral dissertation is entitled Scarecrows of the State: An Ethnography of Security Checkpoints in Contemporary Baghdad. He is currently an Affiliated Scholar at the Issam Fares Institute for International Affairs and Public Policy at the American University of Beirut.



Ahmed Tabaqchali

Ahmed Tabaqchali is an experienced capital markets professional with over 25 years' experience in US and MENA markets, and the Chief Strategist AFC Iraq Fund. He is also an Adjunct Assistant Professor at the American University of Iraq-Sulaimani, and a Senior Fellow at the Institute of Regional and International Studies at AUIS. He is a board member of Capital Investment and is a former Executive Director of NBK Capital, Managing Director and Head of International Institutional Sales at WR Hambrecht+Co., Managing Director at KeyBanc and Director & Head of Capital Markets & Institutional Sales at Jefferies International. Ahmed holds an MSc in Mathematics from the University of Oxford in the UK, a BSc in Mathematics from Victoria University of Wellington in New Zealand and a BSc in Mathematics from the University of Canterbury in New Zealand.



Sanam Vakil

Dr Sanam Vakil is the deputy director of the Chatham House MENA programme and is also the James Anderson professorial lecturer in the Middle East Studies department at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS Europe) in Bologna, Italy. Before these appointments, Sanam was an assistant professor of Middle East Studies at SAIS Washington. She served as a research associate at the Council on Foreign Relations also providing research analysis to the World Bank's Middle East and North Africa department. Sanam is the author of *Action and Reaction: Women and Politics in Iran* (Bloomsbury 2013). Sanam received her BA in political science and history from Barnard College, Columbia University and her MA/PhD in international relations and international economics from Johns Hopkins University.



Belkis Wille

Belkis Wille is a senior researcher with the Conflict and Crisis division at Human Rights Watch. Before taking up the role, Wille worked for three and a half years as Human Rights Watch's senior Iraq researcher, and before that was the Kuwait, Qatar and Yemen researcher, based in Sanaa, for three and a half years. Previously, Wille worked at the Geneva-based World Organisation Against Torture, carrying out advocacy and trainings on torture prevention in Libya. Wille received her bachelor's degree from Harvard University, her graduate diploma in law from City University London, and her LLM in human rights and humanitarian law from the University of Essex. She speaks English, German, French, and Arabic.



Wim Zwijnenberg

Wim Zwijnenburg is project leader Humanitarian Disarmament at PAX and long-time contributor to the Bellingcat open-source investigation collective. He's has been working on on the environmental dimensions of armed conflict, starting in Iraq in 2011. Wim has conducted field work in Iraq, Syria and Ukraine and published reports on the impacts of the conflicts on public health and the environment and has contribute to advocacy work around these topics in the UN Security Council and UN Environment Assembly. He received the UN Environment/UNOCHA Green Star Award in 2017 for PAX's work in environmental emergencies and holds a Master's in Social Sciences from the Radboud University in Nijmegen.



IRAQ INITIATIVE

The Chatham House *Iraq Initiative* is a fieldworkbased policy project that rethinks the nature of statebuilding and governance in Iraq. The project tackles the root causes of state failure to challenge assumptions held in Western capitals about stabilization and peacebuilding and reach a more nuanced approach to navigating Iraq's complex and interlinked political, security, and economic environment. The project uses these field-based insights to inform international policy towards Iraq. Chatham House convenes Iraq Initiative activities in various cities in the Middle East, the UK, the US and Europe.

The Iraq Initiative is supported by Crescent Petroleum, the Nahrein Network at University College London and the Al-Swaidi Family.