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ABSTRACT

Most global studies programs focus either on the study of geographical areas or on global issues that transcend national boundaries. Unfortunately, most U.S. social studies teachers were trained to teach U.S. history or western civilization and have little background in the concepts and issues of global and international education. Studies have shown that the average person does not understand international conflicts. This resource guide is intended to supplement 60-second sound bites and provide teachers and students with information about the U.S. conflict with Iraq. Its readings, maps, and other activities present multiple perspectives and have been designed to serve as springboards for discussion in the classroom. The guide begins with background information on Iraq, delineating geography, people, history, government, political conditions, economy, trade, agriculture, and foreign relations. It provides activities (Crisis with Iraq; What Is Propaganda?), readings, a map activity, student forum, 12 discussion questions, selected resources on Iraq, and an Iraq historical timeline. (BT)



National Interests and Global Security: The Case of Iraq.

Linda Arkin Jen Gherardi Tedd Levy

American Forum for Global Education, New York, NY.

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National Interests and Global Security: The Case of Iraq

By LINDA ARKIN, JEN GHERARDI AND TEDD LEVY

OCCASIONAL PAPERS FROM THE AMERICAN FORUM FOR GLOBAL EDUCATION

Balancing The Picture

Implementing curriculum mandates in global and international education has created problems for many teachers. Most global studies programs focus either on the study of geographical areas or on global issues that transcend national boundaries. Unfortunately, most American social studies teachers were trained to teach US History or Western Civilization and they have little background in the concepts and issues of global and



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international education. Even if academic preparation included study of the non-western world or the study of global themes, the world that today's teachers studied in college no longer exists.

Studies have shown that Americans do not always understand international conflicts. We have little understanding of the places where they occur, what the real issues are, or what importance these conflicts may hold for America. Studies have also demonstrated that Americans in general, and students in particular, acquire most of their knowledge about the world and international conflicts from the mass media.

As students will likely learn about international conflicts through the press and media, schools need to expose students to the strengths and weaknesses of different media. Schools also need to develop frameworks that may be useful in examining future conflicts. Schools can create environments in which students become active learners able to analyze, understand and challenge the ways in which their opinions may be manipulated by the news media.

Unfortunately, television, radio, newspapers, and news magazines often present skewed images of international conflicts. For instance, electronic media have just a few minutes of airtime to present complex issues and topics. At times reporters may have only limited access to information. Inadequate presentations may also reflect a lack of clarity in the international conflict itself.

This resource guide is intended to supplement 60 second "sound bites" and provide teachers and students with essential information about the current crisis with Iraq. In addition, the readings, maps and other activities present multiple perspectives and have been designed to serve as spring-boards for discussion in the classroom. We hope that teachers and students find these materials useful and informative. —Andrew F. Smith, President, American Forum

THE AMERICAN FORUM FOR GLOBAL EDUCATION

A private, not-for-profit organization founded in 1970. Our mission is to educate United States citizens for responsible participation in our communities, our nation and our interdependent world. We offer consultation to global education programs and to those schools planning to "internationalize" or "globalize" their curriculum. We provide global and international education materials for classroom use and professional development programs for teachers and administrators. We are a forum for the exchange of ideas and practices on content and directions of global education.



Background Information on Iraq

US Department of State, Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs

GEOGRAPHY

Iraq is bordered by Kuwait, Iran, Turkey, Syria, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia. The country slopes from mountains over 3,000 meters (10,000 ft.) above sea level along the border with Iran and Turkey to the remnants of sea level, reedy marshes in the southeast. Much of the land is desert or wasteland.

The mountains in the northeast are an extension of the alpine system that runs eastward from the Balkans into southern Turkey, northern Iraq, Iran, and Afghanistan, terminating in the Himalayas.

Average temperatures range from higher than 48 degrees C (120 degrees F) in July and August to below freezing in January. Most of the rainfall occurs from December through April and averages between 10 and 18 centimeters (4-7 in.) annually. The mountainous region of northern Iraq receives appreciably more precipitation than the central or southern desert region.

PEOPLE

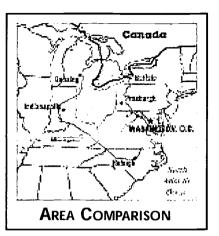
Almost 75% of Iraq's population lives in the flat, alluvial plain stretching southeast toward Baghdad and Basrah to the Persian Gulf. The Tigris and Euphrates Rivers carry about 70 million cubic meters of silt annually to the delta. Known in ancient times as Mesopotamia, the region is the legendary locale of the Garden of Eden. The ruins of Ur, Babylon, and other ancient cities are here.

Iraq's two largest ethnic groups are Arabs and Kurds. Other distinct groups are Turkomans, Assyrians, Iranians, Lurs, and Armenians. Arabic is the most commonly spoken language. Kurdish is spoken in the north, and English is the most commonly spoken Western language.

Most Iraqi Muslims are members of the Shi'a sect, but there is a large Sunni population as well, made up of both Arabs and Kurds. Small communities of Christians, Jews, Bahais, Mandaeans, and Yezidis also exist. Most Kurds are Sunni Muslim but differ from their Arab neighbors in language, dress, and customs.

HISTORY

Once known as Mesopotamia, Iraq was the site of flourishing ancient civilizations, including the Sumerian, Babylonian, and



Parthian cultures. Muslims conquered Iraq in the seventh century AD. In the eighth century, the Abassid caliphate established its capital at Baghdad, which became a frontier outpost of the Ottoman Empire.

At the end of World War I, Iraq became a Britishmandated territory. When it was declared independent in 1932, the Hashemite family, which also ruled Jordan, ruled as a constitutional monarchy. In 1945, Iraq joined the United Nations and became a founding member of the Arab League. In 1956, the Baghdad Pact allied Iraq, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, and the United Kingdom, and established its headquarters in Baghdad.

General Abdul Karim Qasim took power in a July 1958 coup, during which King Faysal II and Prime Minister Nuri as-Said were killed. Qasim ended Iraq's membership in the Baghdad Pact in 1959. Qasim was assassinated in February 1963, when the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party (Ba'ath Party) took power under the leadership of Gen. Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr as prime minister and Col. Abdul Salam Arif as president.

Nine months later, Arif led a coup ousting the Ba'ath government. In April 1966, Arif was killed in a plane crash and was succeeded by his brother, Gen. Abdul Rahman Mohammad Arif. On July 17, 1968, a group of Ba'athists and military elements overthrew the Arif regime. Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr re-emerged as the President of Iraq and Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC). In July 1979, Bakr resigned, and his chosen successor, Saddam Hussein, assumed both offices.

The Iran-Iraq war (1980-88) devastated the economy of Iraq. Iraq declared victory in 1988 but actually



achieved a weary return to the status quo antebellum. The war left Iraq with the largest military establishment in the Gulf region but with huge debts and an ongoing rebellion by Kurdish elements in the northern mountains. The government suppressed the rebellion by using weapons of mass destruction on civilian targets, including a mass chemical weapons attack on the city of Halabja that killed several thousand civilians.

Iraq invaded Kuwait in August 1990, but a US-led coalition acting under United Nations (UN) resolutions expelled Iraq from Kuwait in February 1991. After the war, UN-mandated sanctions based on Security Council resolutions called for the regime to surrender its weapons of mass destruction and submit to UN inspections. The regime has refused to fully cooperate with the UN inspections and since 1998 has not allowed inspectors into Iraq. Iraq is allowed under the UN Oil-for-Food program to export unlimited quantities of oil with which to purchase food, medicine, and other humanitarian relief equipment and infrastructure support necessary to sustain the civilian population. The UN coalition enforces no-fly zones in southern and northern Iraq to protect Iraqi citizens from attack by the regime and a no-drive zone in southern Iraq to prevent the regime from massing forces to threaten or again invade Kuwait.

GOVERNMENT

The Ba'ath Party rules Iraq through the nine-member Revolutionary Command Council (RCC), which enacts legislation by decree. The RCC's president (chief of state and supreme commander of the armed forces) is elected by a two-thirds majority of the RCC. A Council of Ministers (cabinet), appointed by the RCC, has administrative and some legislative responsibilities.

A 250-member National Assembly consisting of 220 elected by popular vote who serve a 4-year term, and 30 appointed by the president to represent the three northern provinces, was last elected in March 2000. Iraq is divided into 18 provinces, each headed by a governor with extensive administrative powers.

Iraq's judicial system is based on the French model introduced during Ottoman rule and has three types of

lower courts—civil, religious, and special. Special courts try broadly defined national security cases. An appellate court system and the court of cassation (court of last recourse) complete the judicial structure.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS

The Ba'ath Party controls the government and is the only recognized political party. Recent elections allowed for only Ba'ath Party authorized candidates, resulting in the election, for example, of Uday Saddam Hussein to the National Assembly with 99.99% of the vote. The Kurdish Democratic Party led by Masoud Barzani and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan led by Jalal Talabani are opposition parties, each of which control portions of northern Iraq. Both allow multiple political parties to operate in their areas and have held contested elections within the last year that international observers termed "generally fair." The Iraqi regime does not tolerate opposition. Opposition parties either operate illegally, as exiles from neighboring countries, or in areas of northern Iraq outside regime control.

ECONOMY

Iraq's economy is characterized by a heavy dependence on oil exports and an emphasis on development through central planning. Prior to the outbreak of the war with Iran in September 1980, Iraq's economic prospects were bright. Oil production had reached a level of 3.5 million barrels per day, and oil revenues were \$21 billion in 1979 and \$27 billion in 1980. At the outbreak of the war, Iraq had amassed an estimated \$35 billion in foreign exchange reserves.

The Iran-Iraq War depleted Iraq's foreign exchange reserves, devastated its economy, and left the country saddled with a foreign debt of more than \$40 billion. After hostilities ceased, oil exports gradually increased with the construction of new pipelines and the restoration of damaged facilities.

Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in August 1990, subsequent international sanctions, and damage from military action by an international coalition beginning in January 1991 drastically reduced economic activity.



Government policies of diverting income to key supporters of the regime while sustaining a large military and internal security force further impaired finances, leaving the average Iraqi citizen facing desperate hardships. Implementation of a UN oil-for-food program in December 1996 has improved conditions for the average Iraqi citizen. Since 1999, Iraq was authorized to export unlimited quantities of oil to finance humanitarian needs including food, medicine, and infrastructure repair parts. Oil exports fluctuate as the regime alternately starts and stops exports, but, in general, oil exports have now reached three-quarters of their pre-Gulf War levels. Per capita output and living standards remain well below pre-Gulf War levels.

TRADE

The United Nations imposed economic sanctions on Iraq after it invaded Kuwait in 1990. The Government of Iraq's refusal to allow weapons inspectors into the country to dismantle Iraq's weapons of mass destruction program has resulted in those sanctions remaining in place. Under the oilfor-food program, Iraq is allowed to export unlimited quantities of oil in exchange for humanitarian relief supplies, including food, medicine, and infrastructure spare parts. A robust illicit trade in oil with neighboring states and through the Persian Gulf earned almost \$2 billion in illegal income for the regime in 2000.

AGRICULTURE

Despite its abundant land and water resources, Iraq is a net food importer. Under the UN oil-for-food program, Iraq imports large quantities of grains, meat, poultry, and dairy products. The government abolished its farm collectivization program in 1981, allowing a greater role for private enterprise in agriculture. The Agricultural Cooperative Bank, capitalized at nearly \$1 billion by 1984, targets its low-interest, low-collateral loans to private farmers for mechanization, poultry projects, and orchard development. Large modern cattle, dairy, and poultry farms are under construction. Obstacles to agricultural development include labor shortages, inadequate management and

maintenance, salinization, urban migration, and dislocations resulting from previous land reform and collectivization programs.

Importation of foreign workers and increased entry of women into traditionally male labor roles have helped compensate for agricultural and industrial labor shortages exacerbated by the war. A disastrous attempt to drain the southern marshes and introduce irrigated farming to this region merely destroyed a natural food producing area, while concentration of salts and minerals in the soil due to the draining left the land unsuitable for agriculture.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990 resulted in Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and most Gulf states severing relations with Baghdad and joining the UN coalition that forced Iraqi forces out of Kuwait during the Gulf War. Iraq's refusal to implement UN Security Council Resolutions and continued threats toward Kuwait have resulted in relations remaining cool.

Iraq participated in the Arab-Israeli wars of 1948, 1967 and 1973, and traditionally has opposed all attempts to reach a peaceful settlement between Israel and the Arab States. Israel attacked Iraq's nuclear research reactor under construction near Baghdad in July 1981. During the Iran-Iraq war, Iraq moderated its anti-Israel stance considerably. In August 1982 President Hussein stated to a visiting US Congressman that "a secure state is necessary for both Israel and the Palestinians." Iraq did not oppose then-President Reagan's September 1, 1982 Arab-Israeli peace initiative, and it supported the moderate Arab position at the Fez summit that same month. Iraq repeatedly stated that it would support whatever settlement was found acceptable by the Palestinians. However, after the end of the Iran-Iraq war in 1988, Iraq reverted to more stridently anti-Israel statements. During the Gulf War, Iraq fired Scud missiles at Israeli civilian targets in an attempt to divide the US coalition, and, since the end of the Gulf War, Iraq has embraced the most extreme Arab hardline anti-Israel position, including periodically calling for the total elimination of Israel.



ACTIVITY

Crisis with Iraq

An important debate is taking place in the United States and abroad about US policy toward Iraq and its leader Saddam Hussein. This lesson has been developed by the Choices for the 21st Century Education Program at Brown University's Watson Institute for International Studies. It is designed to help teachers to engage their students in consideration of this important international issue.

Crisis with Iraq is designed as an interactive lesson that places students in the role of decision-makers as they explore divergent policy alternatives. Two resources are recommended as background to help students understand historical and current developments on the issue. Finally, students should be given an opportunity to express their own considered judgments on what policy the United States should follow on this critical issue.

Four Policy Options have been framed to help students think about divergent policy alternatives, each driven by different underlying values, each with pros and cons, risks and tradeoffs. The Options provided have been developed with input from the research staff at the Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University. The Policy Options can be printed for classroom use from the Choices web site at http://www.choices.edu/iraq.

- OPTION 1: Act Alone to Remove Saddam Hussein from Power and Eliminate His Weapons of Mass Destruction
- OPTION 2: Work with the International Community to Eliminate Iraq's Weapons of Mass Destruction
- OPTION 3: Reject War—at Least Now—and Continue to Contain and Deter Saddam Hussein
- OPTION 4: Reject the Use of US Military Force and Reduce our Foreign Policy Profile

Suggested Background Resources

Shifting Sands: Balancing US Interests in the Middle East. The detailed lessons in this curriculum unit help students to consider thoughtfully the history of the Middle East as well as the current issues that are in the news every day. This unit offers teachers an opportunity to explore a wide variety of complementary issues in their classrooms. http://www.choices.edu (February 2003)

Intervention in Iraq? The US debates whether to oust Saddam Hussein. http://www.pbs.org/new-shour/bb/middle_east/iraq/index.html (February 2003). This PBS site includes reports, interviews, and debates on the subject. The site is added to as new interviews on the subject take place on the Newshour with Jim Lehrer.

ALLIES

HALLENGE

The collapse of the Ottoman Empire at the end of World War I in 1918 led to the drawing of boundaries that are the modern borders of Middle Eastern countries today. The Kurds were left without a country and dispersed among Iran, Syria, Turkey and Iraq. The dream of their own nation led to armed conflict in 1990s with Turkey, and 30,000 Kurds were killed. Turks crossed the Iraqi border in 1997 with 1,200 troops to hunt for militant Kurds, and have remained in northern Iraq. This area is a Kurdish state within Iraq. Americans supported the Kurds as protection

against Saddam Hussein. Turks seek to control northern Iraq and fear that Americans favor the creation of a Kurdish state, which they oppose because it might contribute to similar threats from the large number of Kurds living in Turkey. In addition, there is a large Turkmen population in northern Iraq which the Turks have promised to protect. And further complicating the issue, there are rich oil fields near Kirkuk and Mosul which the Turks do not want in the hands of the Kurds.

What, if anything, should the US do to resolve this problem between two of its allies?



CONSIDERING ALTERNATIVE POLICY OPTIONS

Lesson Plan: A one-period lesson plan is provided. It is focused on a role-play exploring the four Policy Options. Teachers are encouraged to integrate the suggested background resources into their courses as appropriate.

The Policy Options presented in this material are not intended as a menu of choices. Rather, they are framed in stark terms to highlight very different policy approaches, the values that underlie them, and the critiques that have been raised.

Break your class up into five groups. Assign four of the groups a Policy Option (one for each group). Their task will be to review their assigned Option, consider the values that underlie it and its pros and cons, and then develop a short presentation to give to the class. This presentation should make the best possible case for this Option. (If your class is large, you may also want to assign some students the role of representatives of other nations. They can be asked to present their views on the Options after all of them have been presented.)

Assign the remaining group the role of the President and his advisors or of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Their task will be to review each

of the Options presented in the material and prepare challenging questions to ask of the advocates of each Option after their presentation.

ARTICULATING THEIR OWN VIEWS

After all the groups have presented their assigned Options and the President or Senate group has asked questions to clarify the Options, give all the students an opportunity to come to terms with their own views on this issue. What should we do? Have them articulate their own considered judgments on the issue by framing their "Option 5." It may help them to use the questions provided with the Options as an organizing tool.

The coming weeks will most likely be a time of heightened public debate in the United States. Encourage your students to communicate their views to elected officials and policymakers.

Students can find contact information for the White House at http://www.whitehouse.gov/contact/ and their US Senators and their Representatives at http://thomas.loc.gov/.

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WORLD ORDER

12:

*We are committed to the United Nations remaining at the center of the international order.
We recognize that the primary responsibility for dealing with Iraqi disarmament lies with the Security Council."

In a sense, all the analysis about the cultural differences between Europeans and Americans-about Europeans being less reliant on force and more willing to sacrifice their sovereignty-boils down in practice to this: European governments believe in the United Nations as the center of world

order' and the American government, especially the current American government, tends to be hostile to that idea."

"It's also a question of power (it's historically been the case that weaker powers have sought to constrain stronger powers through the mechanism of international legal structures.

". the United Nations is the only source of legitimacy for the use of force in the world."

Statement from the European Union

Who should legitimately maintain world order?



ACTIVITY

What is Propaganda?

Students need to understand that the "news" reported in newspapers, radio and television broadcasts, and the internet is often slanted toward a particular position. In some cases the "news" is outright propaganda for a particular cause or ideology. This activity attempts to define propaganda and to give students practice in identifying propaganda techniques.

STUDENT OBJECTIVES

- To recognize basic propaganda techniques
- To evaluate the validity of the arguments presented in each article or speech

TIME

2-3 class periods

MATERIALS

Copies of Readings 1-5 for each student

PROCEDURE

- 1. Distribute Reading 1 entitled "What is Propaganda?" Have students read and discuss questions at bottom of page.
- 2. Divide the class into four groups. Give the first group copies of Reading 2; the second group receives Reading 3, etc. In addition, give all students a copy of the Brief List of Propaganda Techniques. Ask each

group to answer the following questions about their articles or speeches:

- What are the views of the author regarding US policy toward Iraq?
- In an effort to persuade his audience, each of the authors used some propaganda techniques. Find examples of these propaganda techniques. Which are the most persuasive? Least persuasive?
- 3. Students should not be left with the impression that propaganda is necessarily wrong. Many public-spirited campaigns employ propaganda techniques, for instance, anti-smoking or anti-drug campaigns. Ask students to identify other such positive campaigns that employ propaganda techniques.

SUMMARY

Can any news account or speech be "neutral"?

Why is it essential for all citizens in a democracy to be aware of the use of propaganda techniques?

CONNECTIONS?

HALLENGE

"Saddam does not threaten us today. He can be deterred. Taking him out is a war of choice—but it's a legitimate choice. It's because he is undermining the UN, it's because if left alone he will seek weapons that will threaten all his neighbors, it's because you believe the people of Iraq deserve to be liberated from his tyranny, and it's because you intend to help Iraqis create a progressive state that could stimulate reform to the Arab/Muslim world, so that this region won't keep churning out angry young people who are attracted to

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radical Islam and are the real weapons of mass destruction.

"That's the case for war- and it will require years of occupying Iraq and a simultaneous effort to defuse the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to create a regional context for success."

Thomas L. Friedman, New York Times, February 19, 2003

Do you agree or disagree: a satisfactory solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is the key to peace in the Middle East?



READING 1

WHAT IS PROPAGANDA?

The term "propaganda" originated with the Roman Catholic Church and its efforts to propagate its faith. The creation of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith was partly a response to the Protestant Reformation. It set up centralized control and coordination of the Church's basic religious messages.

After World War I, it became evident that many claims made by the US government during the war blaming Germany for starting the war, or for many purported atrocities, were false. Considerable criticism of the US government's manipulation of information and public opinion during the war ensued, and the term "propaganda" entered into popular usage referring to a deceitful communication. The term was subsequently used to refer to many communications of totalitarian regimes, such as the fascists and Marxists, which promoted their particular ideologies. The "Big Lie" technique was popularized by Josef Goebbels, the Nazi minister of propaganda, who believed that people would believe anything, no matter how blatantly, as long as it was repeated consistently and confidently.

Theoretically, the opposite of propaganda is education, which tries to present all important sides

of controversial issues and encourages listeners to make up their own minds. Propaganda presents only one side and tries to influence the listener's opinion. Propagandists often present their activities as "education." It is important for students to have some experience with propaganda techniques.

Propaganda devices are used every day by advertisers who wish to sell their products or services. These techniques are usually used by politicians and editorial writers as well. But in times of conflict, propaganda techniques are used brazenly—usually on all sides. News correspondents try in principle to objectively examine particular positions on issues. However, correspondents often become tools of propagandists promoting particular perspectives. This is particularly true during times of conflict.

STUDENT QUESTIONS

- · What is propaganda?
- What is the difference between education and propaganda?
- Why do nations use propaganda?
- How do journalists often abet the spread of propaganda?

BRIEF LIST OF PROPAGANDA TECHNIQUES

- 1. NAME CALLING attacks person or group of people
- 2. GLITTERING GENERALITIES uses undefined phrases that have positive emotional appeal to the audience
- 3. TESTIMONIALS persons for whom we have respect or esteem are introduced as supporters
- 4. JUST PLAIN FOLKS promotes neighborly intimacy
- 5. SLOGANS short phrases used to short-circuit thinking and promote a particular action
- 6. NON-SEQUITUR the conclusion does not correspond to the premise

- 7. APPEAL TO PRESTIGE action will secure or maintain prestige
- 8. REPETITION we believe because we have heard it so often
- 9. WISHFUL THINKING people believe a proposition because they want it to be true
- 10. INCONCEIVABILITY belief is false because a person can't conceive it to be true
- 11. TABLOID THINKING oversimplify complex theories, etc.
- 12. EMOTIONAL TERMS term that arouses feelings in favor of or against an object
- 13. RATIONALIZATION citing lofty reasons that probably have few creditable grounds

- 14. CAUSAL
 OVERSIMPLIFICATION
 a complex event is explained as having one
 or two causes, when in reality many causes
 are responsible
- 15. PREJUDICE unwillingness to examine fairly the evidence and reasoning about the thing, person or idea that is the object of the prejudice
- 16. METAPHOR AND SIMILE a metaphor is a comparison implied but not stated; a simile is a comparison stated explicitly with the connecting words "as" or "like"
- 17. VAGUENESS doubt as to the scope of particular words or phrases



READING 2

PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH

2003 STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS (REFERENCES TO IRAQ) JANUARY 28, 2003

welve years ago, Saddam Hussein faced the prospect of being the last casualty in a war he had started and lost. To spare himself, he agreed to disarm all weapons of mass destruction. For the next 12 years, he systematically violated that agreement. He pursued chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons, even while inspectors were in his country. Nothing to date has restrained him from his pursuit of these weapons—not economic sanctions, not isolation from the civilized world, not even cruise missile strikes on his military facilities.

Almost three months ago, the United Nations Security Council gave Saddam Hussein his final chance to disarm. He has shown instead utter contempt for the United Nations, and for the opinion of the world. The 108 UN inspectors were sent to conduct—were not sent to conduct a scavenger hunt for hidden materials across a country the size of California. The job of the inspectors is to verify that Iraq's regime is disarming. It is up to Iraq to show exactly where it is hiding its banned weapons, lay those weapons out for the world to see, and destroy them as directed. Nothing like this has happened.

... before September the 11th, many in the world believed that Saddam Hussein could be contained. But chemical agents, lethal viruses and shadowy terrorist networks are not easily contained. Imagine those 19 hijackers with other weapons and other plans—this time armed by Saddam Hussein. It would take one vial, one canister, one crate slipped into this country to bring a day of horror like none we have ever known. We will do everything in our power to make sure that that day never comes.

The world has waited 12 years for Iraq to disarm. America will not accept a serious and mounting threat to our country, and our friends and our allies. The United States will ask the UN Security Council to convene on February the 5th to consider the facts of Iraq's ongoing defiance of the world. Secretary of State Powell will present information and intelligence about Iraqi's legal—Iraq's illegal weapons programs, its attempt to hide those weapons from inspectors, and its links to terrorist groups.

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We will consult. But let there be no misunderstanding: If Saddam Hussein does not fully disarm, for the safety of our people and for the peace of the world, we will lead a coalition to disarm him.

US SECRETARY OF STATE COLIN POWELL SPEECH TO THE UNITED NATIONS, FEBRUARY 5, 2003

The facts on Iraqis' behavior—Iraq's behavior demonstrate that Saddam Hussein and his regime have made no effort—no effort—to disarm as required by the international community. Indeed, the facts and Iraq's behavior show that Saddam Hussein and his regime are concealing their efforts to produce more weapons of mass destruction.

Tell me, answer me, are the inspectors to search the house of every government official, every Ba'ath Party member and every scientist in the country to find the truth, to get the information they need, to satisfy the demands of our council?

Our sources tell us that, in some cases, the hard drives of computers at Iraqi weapons facilities were replaced. Who took the hard drives? Where did they go? What's being hidden? Why? There's only one answer to the why: to deceive, to hide, to keep from the inspectors.

EXTREMISTS?

"Any new war will have serious repercussions not only on the unity and territorial integrity of Iraq but on the whole region" and would produce "deaths, injuries, refugee movements and displacements numbering in the millions." - Prince Zeid Ra'ad Zeud al-Hussein, Jordanian envoy to the UN

"Given the state of the Iraqi society and the whole region, there are so many wild cards and no party could fit them beforehand into its calculations with any degree of certainty.

"But one outcome is almost certain: extremism stands to benefit enormously from an uncalculated adventure in Iraq."

-Mr. Zarif, Iranian envoy to the UN

Do you agree or disagree:
US involvement in the Middle East
will encourage government instability and
increased extremism?

ALLENGE

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READING 3

PRESIDENT BUSH'S REMARKS AT THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY SEPTEMBER 12, 2002

Remarks by President George W. Bush (referring to future of Iraq) in Address to the United Nations General Assembly, New York, NY

If all these steps are taken, it will signal a new openness and accountability in Iraq. And it could open the prospect of the United Nations helping to build a government that represents all Iraqis—a government based on respect for human rights, economic liberty, and internationally supervised elections.

The United States has no quarrel with the Iraqi people; they've suffered too long in silent captivity. Liberty for the Iraqi people is a great moral cause, and a great strategic goal. The people of Iraq deserve it; the security of all nations requires it. Free societies do not intimidate through cruelty and conquest, and open societies do not threaten the world with mass murder. The United States supports political and economic liberty in a unified Iraq.

We can harbor no illusions—and that's important today to remember. Saddam Hussein attacked Iran in 1980 and Kuwait in 1990. He's fired ballistic missiles at Iran and Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, and Israel. His regime once ordered the killing of every person between the ages of 15 and 70 in certain Kurdish villages in northern Iraq. He has gassed many Iranians, and 40 Iraqi villages.

My nation will work with the UN Security Council to meet our common challenge. If Iraq's regime defies us again, the world must move deliberately, decisively to hold Iraq to account. We will work with the UN Security Council for the necessary resolutions. But the purposes of the United States should not be doubted. The Security Council resolutions will be enforced—the just demands of peace and security will be met—or action will be unavoidable. And a regime that has lost its legitimacy will also lose its power.

Events can turn in one of two ways: If we fail to act in the face of danger, the people of Iraq will continue to live in brutal submission. The regime will have new power to bully and dominate and conquer its

neighbors, condemning the Middle East to more years of bloodshed and fear. The regime will remain unstable—the region will remain unstable, with little hope of freedom, and isolated from the progress of our times. With every step the Iraqi regime takes toward gaining and deploying the most terrible weapons, our own options to confront that regime will narrow. And if an emboldened regime were to supply these weapons to terrorist allies, then the attacks of September the 11th would be a prelude to far greater horrors.

If we meet our responsibilities, if we overcome this danger, we can arrive at a very different future. The people of Iraq can shake off their captivity. They can one day join a democratic Afghanistan and a democratic Palestine, inspiring reforms throughout the Muslim world. These nations can show by their example that honest government, and respect for women, and the great Islamic tradition of learning can triumph in the Middle East and beyond. And we will show that the promise of the United Nations can be fulfilled in our time.

Neither of these outcomes is certain. Both have been set before us. We must choose between a world of fear and a world of progress. We cannot stand by and do nothing while dangers gather. We must stand up for our security, and for the permanent rights and the hopes of mankind. By heritage and by choice, the United States of America will make that stand. And, delegates to the United Nations, you have the power to make that stand, as well.

READING 4

THE TRUE WAR IS WITH PHANTOMS LOS ANGELES TIMES, FEBRUARY 2, 2003

Shibley Telhami, Nonresident Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Studies, The Brookings Institution

In his State of the Union address, President Bush declared that "the gravest danger in the war on terror facing America and the world is outlaw regimes that seek and possess nuclear, chemical and biological weapons."

These threats are indeed serious and require a response. But elevating them to our top priority masks



10

our inability to grasp that the greatest challenge from the terrorist threat today resides outside the control of states—even menacing ones.

The focus on hostile states like Iraq and North Korea is inevitably undermining our ability to confront the true dangers to our national security: shadowy, nonstate groups that are increasingly able to organize and to seek weapons of mass destruction.

In fact, the road to war now being followed may lead to even greater dangers by unwittingly creating conditions favorable to these groups.

While the US has the power to deter or defeat the most powerful states—having faced Stalinist Russia and Maoist China—it cannot effectively counter nonstate groups in the globalization era without considerable global cooperation.

Consider the behavior of militant nonstate groups in the Middle East. Their ability to operate and thrive is enhanced by the severe instability of certain regions. The groups attacking Israelis, for example, have proliferated in the last several decades in areas where central authority is the weakest: Lebanon and the occupied Palestinian territories.

By comparison, in states that are most hostile to Israel, such as Syria—whose Golan Heights remain under Israeli occupation—direct operations against Israel have been minimal. The reason? Israel has the ability to deter Syria, which is sensitive to Israel's punishing power.

But it is much harder to know whom to punish in places like Lebanon, where the government does not have the capacity to control shadowy nonstate groups.

As a result, significant deployments of Israel's military forces, including occupation of Lebanese territories in the 1980s and 1990s, have failed to defeat or fully deter militant groups.

Certainly, states often employ terrorism as an instrument of policy. Many governments also support nonstate militant groups when it suits them. But because they are sensitive to deterrence and punishment by more powerful states, they set limits.

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For example, both Syria and Iran have supported Hezbollah in Lebanon. Yet although Hezbollah has attacked Israeli targets—mostly Israeli soldiers on or near Lebanese soil—the group has not unleashed suicide bombers to kill Israeli civilians in Tel Aviv. Had it done so, the consequences for Syria could have been severe.

The real and haunting danger is that independent, global terrorist groups like Al Qaeda will acquire weapons of mass destruction.

Most proliferation experts agree that the most likely source of such weapons would not be governments—even malevolent ones—but lawless areas in failing states, such as some nations of the former Soviet Union or even Pakistan if its government collapses. Rather than being primarily an instrument of states, terrorism is the anti-state.

Those who committed the horror of 9/11—none of whom came from "terrorist states"—did so with nothing more than box cutters and a willingness to die. States were hardly essential players.

Even today, after the defeat of the Taliban and the significant resources that have been deployed, Al Qaeda remains on the loose, with Osama bin Laden possibly surviving to kill another day. Where do most of Al Qaeda's fighters hide? Mainly in states that are now our allies, Afghanistan and Pakistan, in areas that are not fully under control.



Instability is the home of terrorism.

The train of war against Iraq may have already left the station. Yet we must not allow the prospect of watching the defeat of a ruthless dictator to blind us to the possible consequences: more regional instability, more potential recruitment of motivated terrorists and more reluctance by states around the world to cooperate with anti-terror efforts when the US needs global cooperation the most.

In the end, we must ask ourselves this question: Is the downfall of Saddam Hussein worth the rise of another Bin Laden?

READING 5

THE JORDAN TIMES (JORDAN)
MONDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 2003

Ali Abunimah, co-founder of the Electric Intifada and Hasan Abu Nimah, former ambassador and permanent representative of Jordan to the UN.

http://www.jordantimes.com/Mon/opinion/opinion3.htm (February 2003)

(This link seems to change every day, but you may be able to get additional information here.)

Blix, if he wanted to extend his political comparisons in the other direction, might have pointed out that Israel, which does not deny that it possesses hundreds of thermonuclear warheads, has refused to join the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, refused to place its nuclear programmes under IAEA surveillance, built its nuclear weapons programme in defiance of an agreement with the United States, and has recently hinted that it might even use nuclear weapons in the event of a conflict with Iraq, even though Iraq has no nuclear weapons.

At this time, there is no evidence before the world that Iraq has weapons of mass destruction, despite months of unfettered inspections. If, ignoring this inescapable bottom line, the United States continues to pull the world towards war, the international community must make a clear choice. Either it must choose to allow the United States to continue to make a mockery of the entire UN system and international law or America's friends must insist that the verdict of the

inspections be accepted and any action should be based on that and that alone. No state, no matter how powerful, should be allowed to take the law into its own hands.

"UM AL-MA'ARIK & THE NEW BIRTH"

BABIL (IRAQ) FEBRUARY 2003
Dr. Abdul Razzaq Al-Dulaimy
http://www.iraq2000.com/babil/babil_eng/eng2.htm
(February 2003)

Today we call back a 12-year-old experience when we face the most deadly daily aggression and unjust embargo, that hurt all life, led by a rogue state; rogue in its behavior and goals driven by malice and evil that could not be covered by their illusive propaganda. This is because our country makes them taste the bitterness of serious serial defeats every time they intend to wage an attack... USA, Britain and their hand-made Zionist entity have severely tasted defeats by Iraq throughout history...

...The world has known the evil goals of Washington and that there are no weapons of mass destruction nor international legacy beyond US stance but sheer selfish goals colored with US propaganda that sifts every day to a subject has nothing to do with the previous one.

"WHAT'S TO DEBATE? SADDAM MUST GO" NEW YORK DAILY NEWS (UNITED STATES) TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 2003

Saddam Hussein kicked the United Nations in the butt again yesterday, and the UN promptly responded: "Please, sir, may we have another?"

The latest ramblings from Earth's butcher-in-chief included a challenge to President Bush to meet in a televised debate even while dismissing demands from UN weapons inspectors to dismantle Iraq's long-range missiles. But incredibly, the dumb-and-dumber crowd, led by France and Germany, want to give Saddam yet more time. They floated a lily-livered proposal that would extend the futile inspections for at least another five more months.



The Gulf Region





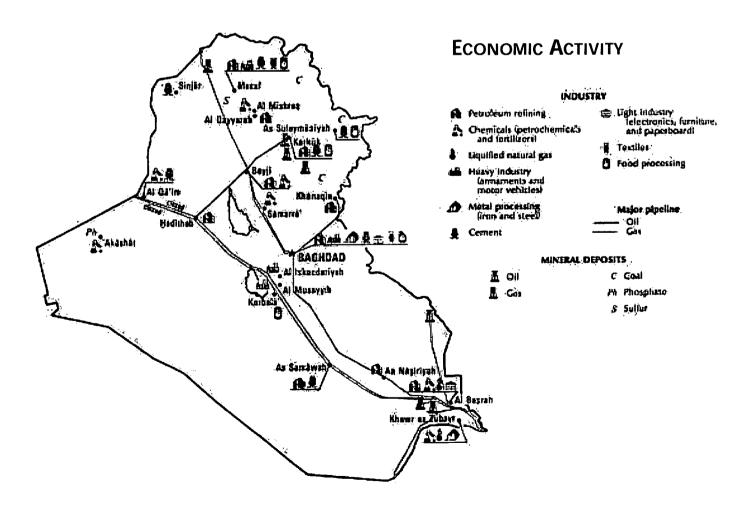
Map Activities

How does an examination of these maps help you understand the region?

How have the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers influenced history in the region? Why do you think this was called the Fertile Crescent?

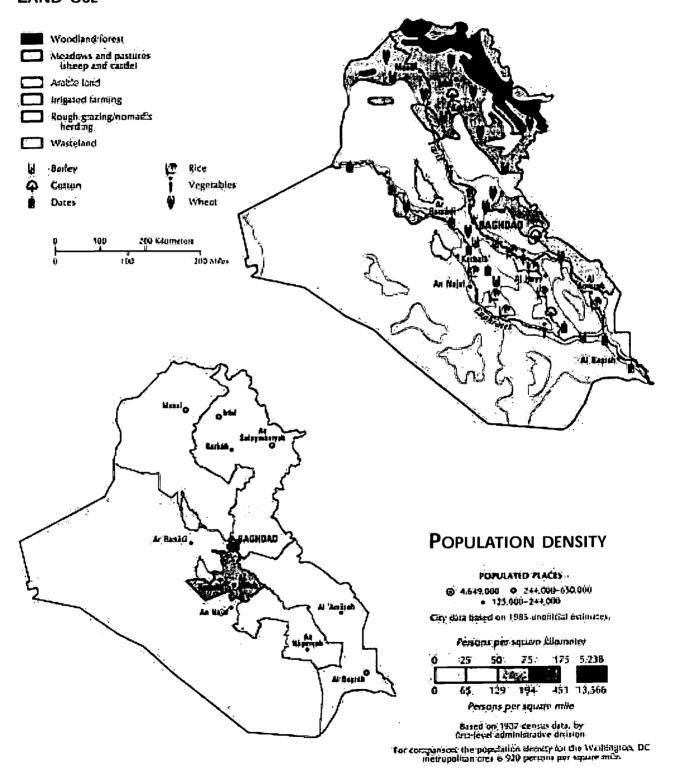
Turkey, Syria and Iraq are all affected by the southern flow of the Euphrates. Turkey controls the high ground in the mountains to the north. Both the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers originate in the mountains of eastern Turkey. Turkey is starting a new irrigation project in the southeastern part of the country. Iraq and Syria are fearful that they will lose as much as one third of the water they currently receive. Syria and Iraq want each of the three nations to get equal amounts of the water. Turkey claims more than half for itself. The Turkish authorities claim that the water source is on their land and that their population is half again as big as the populations of Syria and Iraq combined. Using all three maps, what is the impact of Turkish control of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers on Iraq and Syria?

Maps courtesy of the General Libraries, The University of Texas at Austin





LAND USE





STUDENT FORUM

What is the best future for Iraq and the world?

How can this be accomplished?

PROCESS

Students research and represent the positions of various nations called together in a world summit meeting to resolve pressing global issues, in this case the future of Iraq. A moderator conducts the meeting and also provides frequent breaks for representatives to informally meet to work out language for resolutions that would be accepted by others. At the end of a set time, representatives prepare statements to report to citizens of their country describing and explaining what occurred.

SUMMARY

Individuals and/or groups prepare and present their view of the summit meeting. These can be written position papers, facsimile newspapers or magazines, video or live reports. Consider such issues as: goals and significance for their own country, historic involvement, political, economic, cultural, religious and other domestic concerns, alliances and agreements with other nations After the reports are presented, teacher should conduct a class discussion regarding the conflicts and compromises of reaching common agreements. Are national values or national interests more influential in shaping a country's global role?

PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES

- 1) United States: militarily and economically most powerful nation in world; seeks stability in Middle East for political and economic reasons; opposed by many Muslims in region but quietly supported by authoritarian governments; connection to region has ranged from direct involvement to neglect; long-time supporter of Israel
- 2) Iran: fought war with Iraq; supports Shiite majority in Iraq, fears US military presence and intentions

- regarding Iraqi oil fields; religious fundamentalists strongly oppose US
- 3) France: seeks leadership of European Union; has friendly relations with many Arab nations and investments in oil fields; has supported US in past but strong anti-war views have tarnished relations
- 4) Russia: previous involvement was to seek diplomatic solutions to problems in area; has made substantial investments in Iraq; has sought compromise solutions; major concern is Chechen rebels in Russia
- 5) Israel: strong US ally that complicates US relations with Muslim nations in region; target of attack in previous wars with Iraq; is powerful military force; seeks protection from opponents in region
- 6) Jordan: opposed US in Persian Gulf War, now tends to support US; difficult political and geographic position; Iraq is important for trade and oil supply; public opinion strongly opposes US and Israel
- 7) Syria: Iraqi neighbor; generally opposes US; has opposed Saddam Hussein in Persian Gulf War; interest in trade and oil from Iraq; fears US presence in region; strongly opposes Israel
- 8) Egypt: important US ally; seeks to maintain stability in region; concerned about strong anti-US and anti-Israel domestic opinion; receives considerable aid from US
- 9) Saudi Arabia: important US ally; site of large US military bases; seeks to maintain stability in region and own country; seeks to protect oil supplies and prices; as a Sunni majority country, concerned about Iraqi Shiite militancy spreading; public opinion strongly anti-American while government is quietly supportive
- 10) Turkey: reliable US ally in past; interested in Iraqi trade and oil; opposes independence for Iraqi Kurds as threat to own large Kurdish population
- 11) United Kingdom: strongest long-term US ally; public opinion strongly opposes military action; current interests similar to US
- 12) China: has supported international efforts to reach compromises; not a major concern of people or government



Questions for Discussion

- 1. Do nations with weapons of mass destruction pose a security problem for the United States? If another country was developing weapons of mass destruction, should the US, perhaps with its allies, use military force to eliminate those weapons? What makes up "national security?"
- 2. Several nations have weapons of mass destruction, including Russia, China, United Kingdom, India, Pakistan, and North Korea. What should the policy of the United States be toward nations with these weapons? (Should the US treat Iraq and North Korea differently?)
- 3. Should certain weapons—chemical, biological, nuclear—be illegal? How could this be done and enforced?
- 4. President George W. Bush has pronounced a policy of pre-emptive (first) strikes against potential enemies with weapons of mass destruction. Why do you think this is, or is not, an appropriate policy for the US?
- 5. In February 2003, millions of people in cities around the world demonstrated against possible US military action against Iraq. What influence does this type activity have on world leaders? Should world leaders change their policies based on these or other public demonstrations?

- 6. Many critics of US policy say that the media, especially television cable news programs, have led people to expect and accept a war with Iraq. Do these programs influence public opinion? Have they reported events to support US military actions in Iraq?
- 7. Has the use of US military and economic power made other nations fearful, envious, or angry with the US?
- **8.** At what point should the US use military force against another country? Should military force be used if no US ally favors it?
- 9. Who has greater responsibility for maintaining world security, the US or the UN?
- 10. Chemical weapons (mustard gas, sarin, cyanide, phosgene VX and others) and biological weapons (anthrax, plague, smallpox, ebola and others) pose grave dangers and are known to be possessed by Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Libya, North Korea, Russia, Syria, the US, Yugoslavia and perhaps others. What, if anything, should the US do? What, if anything, should the UN do?
- 11. If a nation develops weapons of mass destruction, do you believe that sooner or later it will use them?
- 12. Should government officials who order or allow the killing of their own citizens be treated as "war criminals" and tried in an international court?

KURDS

1722 See 440

About 4 million Kurds live in northern Iraq, and many others in Turkey and Iran. With American encouragement, Kurds in northern Iraq attempted to rebel against Saddam Hussein during the Persian Gulf War. Thousands were killed by poison gas used by Saddam's army. Today, the Kurds have their own government and military force, and control an area rich in oil. Many seek an independent state but the Turks are concerned

about the Kurds who live in their country and Turkey strongly opposes Kurdish independence. The US has promised to protect the Kurds but seeks Turkish cooperation and support in the region.

CARLEST NO WELL BUTTON

How should this issue be resolved? Should the Kurds be allowed to become an independent nation, a province within Iraq, or should their territory be divided between Turkey and Iraq?



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Resources on Iraq

The following websites were accessed February 2003

GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT IRAQ

THE GULF 2000 PROJECT http://gulf2000.columbia.edu/country/iraq

This site was developed by the Gulf 2000 Project at the School of International and Public Affairs of Columbia University in New York City. Includes links to websites with information about the Iraqi government, national press, demography, human rights and the oil trade.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE http://usinfo.state.gov/regional/nea/iraq

Contains fact sheets, key reports and official texts related to Iraq. Also includes a US-Iraq policy listserve.

PERMANENT MISSION OF IRAQ TO THE UNITED NATIONS http://www.iraqi-mission.org/

This site contains a list of official statements made by the Iraqi government and information about Saddam Hussein, weapons inspections and the effects of economic sanctions.

CIA FACT BOOK- IRAQ http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/iz.html

CNN ON IRAQ http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/2002/iraq/

IMPORTANT STATEMENTS

PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH'S 2003 STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS http://www.whitehouse.gov/stateoftheunion/>

COLIN POWELL'S FEBRUARY 5, 2003 SPEECH TO THE UNITED NATIONS

http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2003/02/05/iraq/main539459.shtml

Speeches of President Saddam Hussein http://www.urulink.net/iraq/espeech.htm

UNITED STATES CONGRESS ON IRAQ http://liberationiraq.org/uscongress.shtml

UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL http://liberationiraq.org/UNSecCouncil.shtml>

MEDIA/MEDIA LITERACY

Newspapers- US and worldwide http://www.refdesk.com/paper.html Links to online newspapers.

CENTER FOR MEDIA LITERACY http://www.medialit.org/">http://www.medialit.org/

The Center for Media Literacy works to help people understand, analyze and evaluate the modern media. This site contains a great deal of information about best practices for teaching media literacy as well as links to other related organizations.

CITIZENS FOR MEDIA LITERACY http://www.main.nc.us/cml

Citizens for Media Literacy is a non-profit publicinterest organization linking media literacy with the concepts and practices of citizenship. Provides links to related sites.

NGOs RELATED TO IRAQ

THE COMMITTEE FOR THE LIBERATION OF IRAO

http://www.liberationiraq.org/aboutcli.shtml

The Committee for the Liberation of Iraq was formed to promote regional peace, political freedom and international security by replacing the Saddam Hussein regime with a democratic government that respects the rights of the Iraqi people and ceases to threaten the community of nations. The site contains links to articles that deal with such issues as human rights, weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, US



policy and post-Saddam Iraq. It also includes information about the United Nations Security Council, key US Congressional statements and statements by Iraqi officials.

THE IRAO FOUNDATION

http://www.iraqfoundation.org/

The Iraq Foundation was established in 1991 by Iraqi expatriates to work for democracy and human rights in Iraq, and for a better international understanding of Iraq's potential as a contributor to political stability and economic progress in the Middle East.

IRAQI NATIONAL CONGRESS http://209.50.252.70/index.shtml>

The official website of the Iraqi opposition party. The site includes a mission statement, articles from the Iraqi National Congress newspaper, Al-Mutamar, and a list of statements made by the INC.

TEACHING/LEARNING ACTIVITIES

RETHINKING SCHOOLS:
TEACHING ABOUT THE WAR

http://www.rethinkingschools.org/war/index.shtml

This website is an excellent starting place for learning about Iraq and contains a number of important articles and activities for teaching about the current conflict.

CHOICES EDUCATION PROGRAM

http://www.choices.edu/iraq/

This site provides historical background on the current state of affairs with Iraq and explores a spectrum of viewpoints for how to deal with the situation. The lesson draws on different points of view to develop engaging lessons and extensive background readings that link current events to history.

PBS ONLINE News Hour: Intervention in Irao?

http://www.pbs.org/newshour/extra/features/iraq/index.html

This PBS site includes reports, interviews and debates about whether or not the United States

should go to war with Iraq. There is also a lesson entitled "Debating Iraq" that includes discussion questions, role-plays, and vocabulary development.

WIDE ANGLE

http://www.pbs.org/wnet/wideangle/classroom/lp1.html

In this lesson, students explore the theme of conflict while examining Iraq's use of biological and chemical weapons against the Kurdish people. This site uses a technique called "Academic Controversy," in which students research and argue one side of an issue or question and then go on to switch sides, making the case for the opposing position. Both sides then work together to reach a resolution that synthesizes elements of both positions.

POLITICAL CARTOONS

WITTY WORLD

http://www.wittyworld.com/editorial-political/ iraq.html>

This site contains a number of political cartoons pertaining to Iraq which could be useful in a classroom setting for demonstrating different viewpoints.

CARTOON STOCK

http://www.cartoonstock.com

Cartoon Stock is a searchable database of more than 30,000 quality political cartoons and illustrations by more than 190 of the world's best cartoonists. There are several Iraq-related cartoons.

THINK TANKS

Brookings Institution, Foreign Policy Studies

http://www.brook.edu/fp/fp_hp.htm

Analysis on the Iraq Crisis from The Saban Center at The Brookings Institution

http://www.brook.edu/fp/saban/iraqmemos.htm



Iraq Timeline

1918: Dissolution of the Ottoman Empire.

1932: Iraq becomes an independent state.

1939: Britain and France declare war on Germany after it invades Poland.

1941: US enters World War II.

1945: World War II ends.

1948: Formation of the state of Israel.

1948-49: Arab-Israeli War.

1958: The monarchy is overthrown in a military coup led by General Abdul Karim Qasim and Colonel Abdul Salam Arif. Iraq is declared a republic and Qasim becomes prime minister.

1960: Creation of OPEC.

1959-1963: Saddam Hussein, 22-year-old Ba'ath Party member, flees Baghdad for Damascus and Cairo after involvement in an assassination attempt against Qasim.

1963: Qasim is ousted in a coup led by the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party (ASBP). Six months of chaos follow, prompting another military coup.

1964: Founding of the Palestinian Liberation Organization.

1964-1966: Saddam Hussein jailed as a member of the Ba'ath Party.

1966: President Arif is killed in a helicopter crash and succeeded by his brother, General Abdul Rahman Mohammad Arif.

1967: War between Israel and Egypt and other Arab states.

1968: A Ba'ath-led coup ousts Arif and General Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr becomes president. Saddam Hussein, relative of Bakr, emerges as Vice President, deputy head of the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC).

1972: Iraq nationalizes the Iraq Petroleum Company (IPC). Iran and Iraq are the region's major oil-producers and vie for dominance in the Gulf.

1973: First oil crisis.

1973: War between Israel and Egypt and other Arab states.

1975: At a meeting of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in Algiers, Iraq and Iran sign a treaty ending their border disputes.

1978: Camp David Accords.

January 1979: Islamic Revolution ousts the Shah of Iran. Ayatollah Khomeni, who had lived in Iraq from 1964-78, returns to Teheran.

July 1979: President Al-Bakr resigns and is succeeded by Vice President Saddam Hussein. Within days, Saddam executes at least 20 potential rivals, members of the Ba'ath Party and military.

September 1979: Military skirmishes and propaganda war increase between Iraq and Iran.

1979-80: American hostage crisis in Iran.

1979-89: Soviet war in Afghanistan.

1980: Iran shells Iraqi border towns. Iraq breaks the 1975 treaty with Iran.

1982: Israeli forces invade Lebanon.

1986: United Nations Secretary General reports Iraq's use of mustard gas and nerve agents against Iranian soldiers, with significant usage in 1981 and 1984.

1988: Iraq attacks the Kurdish town of Halabjah with poison mustard gas and nerve agents, killing 5,000 residents.

1988: The Iran-Iraq war ends in stalemate; an estimated 1 million soldiers are killed in eight years of fighting. A ceasefire comes into effect to be monitored by the UN Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group (UNIIMOG).

1989: Fall of the Berlin Wall; Tiananmen Square demonstrations in Beijing, China; Eastern European communist governments topple.

August 2, 1990: Iraq invades Kuwait; **United Nations Security Council condemns** this and calls for full withdrawal; President George H.W. Bush orders economic sanctions against Irag.

January 17, 1991: The Gulf War starts; coalition forces begin aerial bombing of Iraq, "Operation Desert Storm."

1991: Working in cooperation with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), the UN Special Commission (UNSCOM) is established to ensure that Iraq is free of weapons of mass destruction and to establish long-term monitoring program to see that it remains free of prohibited weapons.

1993: US forces launch a cruise missile attack on Iragi intelligence headquarters in Al-Mansur district, Baghdad, in response to the attempted assassination of former US president George H.W. Bush in Kuwait in April.

1994: Saddam Hussein becomes prime minister and president.

1995: UNSC allows the partial resumption of Iraq's oil exports to buy food and medicine. It is not accepted or implemented in Iraq until December 1996.

October 1998: Iraq ends all forms of cooperation with UNSCOM and expels inspectors.

December 1998: US and Britain launch a bombing campaign, "Operation Desert Fox" to destroy suspected nuclear, chemical and biological weapons programs.

2001: Britain and US carry out bombing raids to try and disable Iraq's air defense network.

September 11, 2001: Civilian airliners crashed into World Trade Center and Pentagon.

July 2002: In talks with UN Secretary General, Iraq rejects weapons inspections proposals.

September 2002: US President George W. Bush, addressing the UN General Assembly, challenges members to confront the "grave and gathering danger" of Iraq-or stand aside as the United States and likeminded nations act. The UN Security Council begins consultations on drafting a new resolution to compel Iraq to comply with previous resolutions.

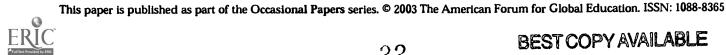
January 2003: Chief weapons inspector Dr. Hans Blix delivers a harsh report to the UN Security Council, accusing Baghdad of failing to come to a "genuine acceptance" of disarmament.

January 2003: US President George W. Bush makes his presidential State of the Union address in which he reasserts that Iraq is a threat to American security and must be stopped.

February 5, 2003: In a speech to the United Nations, US Secretary of State Colin Powell uses satellite photographs, tapes of intercepted conversations and newly opened CIA files to make the United States case against Iraq in a determined attempt to win over international opinion.

February 15-16, 2003: Worldwide anti-war rallies.

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