

مركز البيان للدراسات والتخطيط  
Al-Bayan Center for Studies and Planning



# Al-Bayan Monitor 2024 November

A periodic bulletin to monitor Iraqi affairs  
In international, regional and Arab think tanks

**مركز البيان للدراسات والتخطيط**  
**Al-Bayan Center for Studies and Planning**



**About the Center**

Al-Bayan Center for Planning and Studies is an independent, nonprofit think tank based in Baghdad, Iraq. In addition to other issues, its primary mission is to offer an authentic perspective on public and foreign policy issues related to Iraq in particular and the Middle East region in general. BCPS pursues its vision by conducting autonomous analysis and proposing workable solutions for complex issues that concern the political and academic fields.

**Note:**

The opinions expressed in the article do not necessarily reflect the directions adopted by the Center but rather the opinion of its authors.

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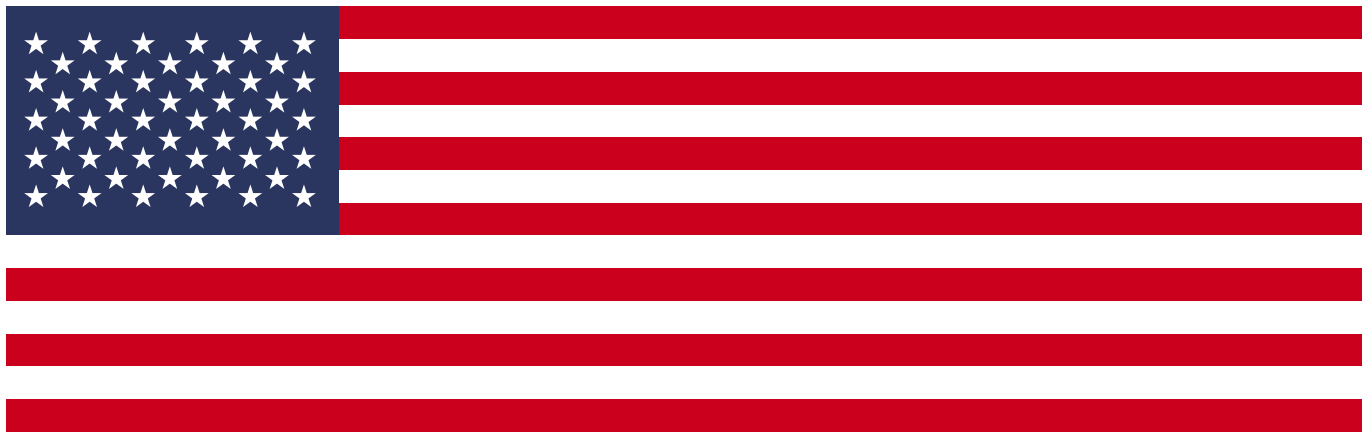
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**Since 2014**

# AMERICAN THINK TANKES



## Iraq: Surging Unlawful Executions

### Executions Follow Unfair Trials Based on Torture-Tainted Evidence

Human Rights Watch



This report has an Arabic translation:

<https://www.hrw.org/ar/news/2024/11/19/iraq-surg-ing-unlawful-executions>

According to the report “the Iraqi government dramatically increased the scale and pace of unlawful executions in 2024, Human Rights Watch said today. Cases Human Rights Watch documented show that the authorities are carrying out these executions without prior notice to lawyers or family members and despite credible allegations of torture and violations of the right to a fair trial. In line with international legal standards and Iraqi criminal procedures, Iraq’s judges should investigate all credible allegations of torture and the security forces responsible, and transfer detainees to different facilities to protect them from retaliation. Judicial authorities should investigate and determine who was responsible for any incidents of torture, punish those responsible, and compensate the victim. “At this rate, Iraq is on track to become a world leader in unlawful executions,” Fakhri said. “The government should rather focus its efforts on making meaningful reforms to the Iraqi judiciary and prison system and abolish the death penalty once and for all.”

<https://www.hrw.org/news/2024/11/19/iraq-surg-ing-unlawful-executions>

# Proposed Amendments to the Iraqi Personal Status Law: A Pathway to the Legalization of Child Marriage and Prostitution?

Hiba Abdulwahhab

Wilson Center



According to the author, “The proposed amendment to the Iraqi Personal Status Law includes a provision that legalizes marriages outside of the formal court system. Women’s rights activists worry this will cause ‘pleasure marriages’ to increase in the country. Hiba Abdulwahhab breaks down the social implications of this legal decision” She continues that “If passed, this law would put most, if not all, decision-making power over family matters in the hands of clerics, making family law arbitrary, regardless of human rights and its social repercussions.” In the end, she concludes that “The need of the hour is a staunch and forceful civil society resistance within Iraq coupled with continued international pressure on the Iraqi government to dislodge the proposed amendment. International and national human rights organizations should be closely monitoring the situation and engaging with local stakeholders to improve the condition of women’s rights in Iraq.”

<https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/proposed-amendments-iraqi-personal-status-law-pathway-legalization-child-marriage-and>

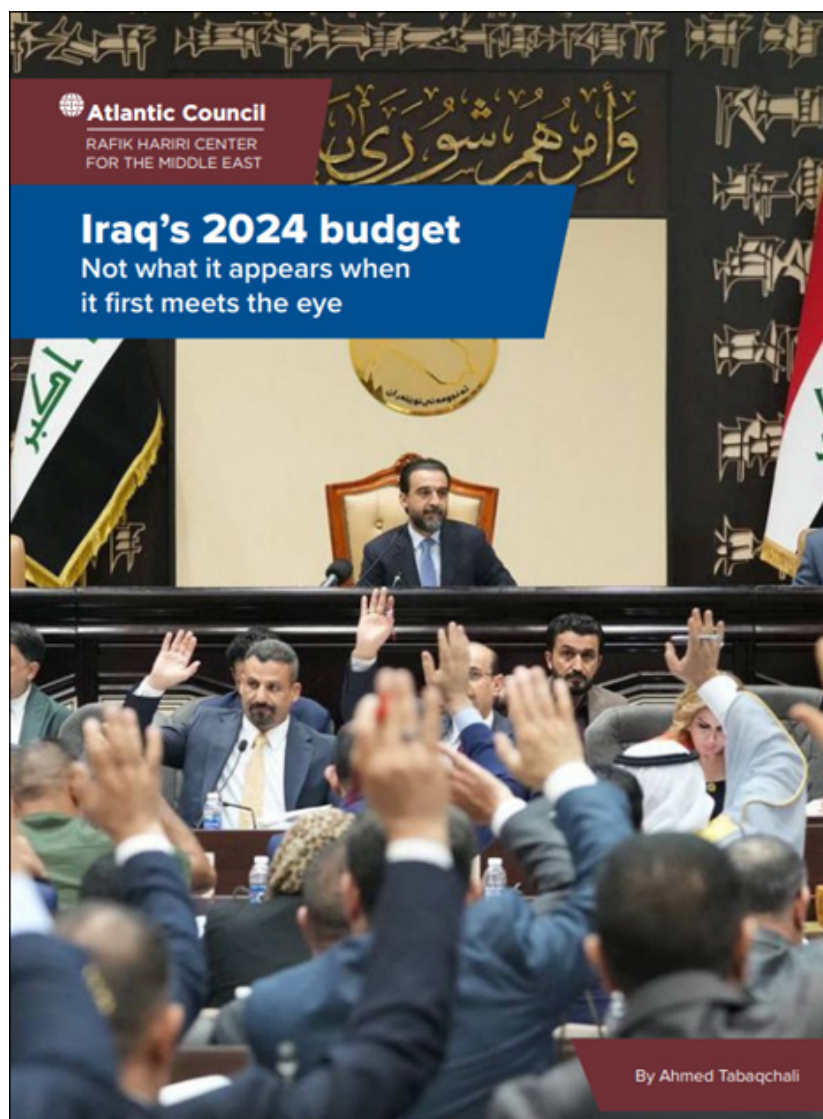
# Iraq's 2024 budget

## Not what it appears when it first meets the eye

Ahmed Tabaqchali

Atlantic Council

According to the author, “In early June, Iraq’s Council of Representatives (CoR) approved the updated federal budget expenditure and revenue tables for 2024, which the Council of Ministers (CoM) submitted a couple of weeks earlier. The tables are a necessary part of the three-year budget for 2023-25, passed by the CoR almost a year earlier, which was proposed for three years instead of the usual one. However, the budget’s structure was still that of the usual one-year budget, and thus for all means and purposes is a one-year budget that is replayed three years in a row. Its seventy-eight articles followed the standard one-year budget boilerplate, which were to be extended over the three-year period. Yet, its revenue and expenditure projections were for one year instead of the anticipated three-year time horizon, and as such required a submission of updated revenues and expenditures tables for the second and third years before the start of each year.”

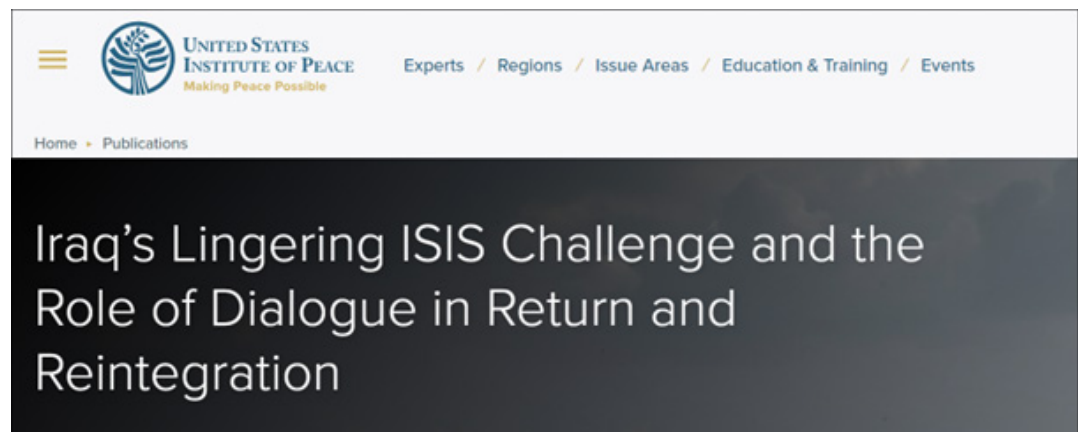


<https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/in-depth-research-reports/report/iraqs-2024-budget-not-what-it-appears-when-it-first-meets-the-eye/>

# Iraq's Lingering ISIS Challenge and the Role of Dialogue in Return and Reintegration

Osama Gharizi

United States Institute  
of Peace



According to the author, “thousands of people with perceived ISIS affiliation are being held in Syria’s al-Hol camp, risking marginalization. Their effective return and reintegration can help foreclose ISIS’s resurgence. Dialogue processes have proven critical to addressing communities’ and returning families’ concerns. A successful return and reintegration process can close the potential space afforded for extremist narratives and loyalties to thrive. Dialogue processes have been a critical tool in overcoming the challenges to the return and reintegration process to-date.” In the end he concludes that “dialogue can also play a crucial role by helping to identify specific reintegration challenges, such as psychosocial support, and creating safe spaces for survivor families and returning families to begin the process of advancing social cohesion. In short, dialogue processes are essential if the return and reintegration process is to lead to sustainable peace, strengthen community resilience and prevent the re-emergence of extremist ideologies in post-conflict Iraq.”

<https://www.usip.org/publications/2024/11/iraqs-lingering-isis-challenge-and-role-dialogue-return-and-reintegration>

## EUROPEAN THINK TANKS





# Cracked Earth, shrinking harvest: Drought impact on displaced and returnee Iraqis

## Norwegian Refugee Council

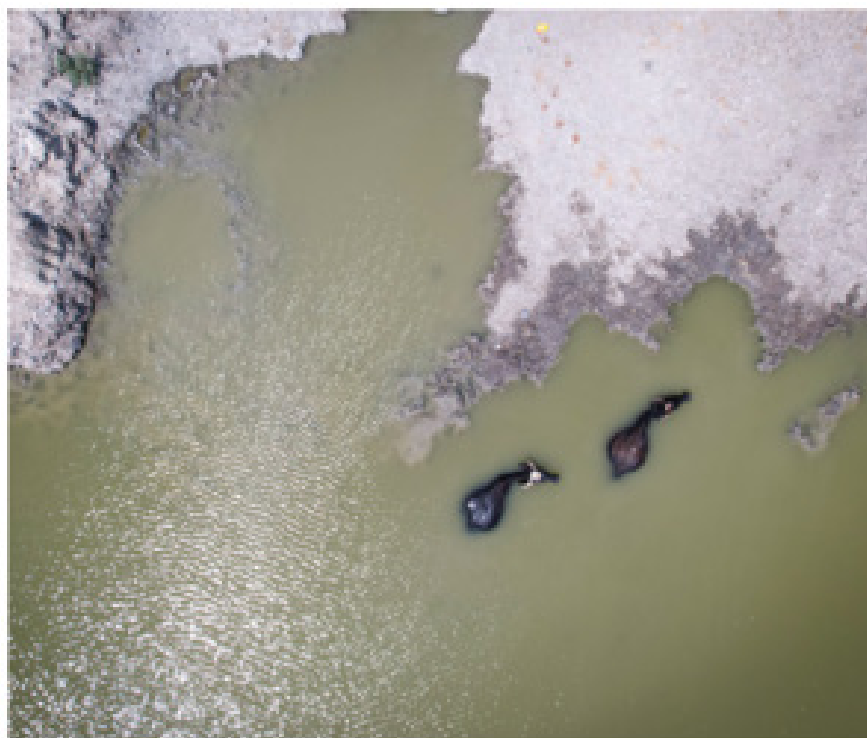
This report explores an often-overlooked theme: the impact of climate on individuals and communities who are still displaced. How—if at all—does extreme weather impact people's lives in displacement settings? How does it impact the lives of women and children? Importantly, is there a link between climate deterioration and movement intentions of Iraqis still seeking a durable solution to displacement?

### Key findings:

Impact of climate on Iraqis who have returned to areas of origin in Anbar, Kirkuk, Ninewa and Salahaddin:

- 57% were forced to cultivate less land or use less water during the 2024 farming season
- 30% of households had to borrow to cover basic expenses during the summer months.
- 15% reported having to reduce expenditure on healthcare and education, and 8% had to expend savings
- 5% of returnees were forced to move due to drought-like conditions in 2024, down from 11% in 2023

## Cracked Earth, shrinking harvest: Drought impact on displaced and returnee Iraqis



# Community Dialogue as a Peacebuilding Tool: Insights From Environmental Dialogue in the Nineveh Plains of Iraq

Stockholm International  
Peace Research Institute

 SIPRI Research Policy Paper  
November 2024

## COMMUNITY DIALOGUE AS A PEACEBUILDING TOOL: INSIGHTS FROM ENVIRONMENTAL DIALOGUE IN THE NINEVEH PLAINS OF IRAQ

AMAL BOURHOUE<sup>1</sup>

### I. Introduction

Iraq is vulnerable to the impacts of climate change. Throughout the country, communities are seeing their livelihoods and everyday lives increasingly disrupted by scorching temperatures, water scarcity, extended droughts and dust storms.<sup>2</sup> While the impacts of the climate crisis are widely felt, they can be especially pernicious in conflict-affected contexts as climate change exacerbates existing vulnerabilities and increases the risk of insecurity.<sup>3</sup> This intersection of climate change and conflict presents a significant challenge in the Nineveh Plains, one of the most ethnically and culturally diverse regions of Iraq.

Nineveh is home to Arab, Assyrian, Chaldean, Kaka'i, Shabak, Syrian, Turkmen and Yazidi communities.<sup>4</sup> Many of these communities still carry the collective trauma linked to years of repression and forced Amal-Bourhoue

<sup>1</sup> SIPRI and HURDI, Iraq: Climate, Peace and Security, Fact sheet (SIPRI, Stockholm, 2023).

<sup>2</sup> Black, E. et al., *Environment of Peace Security in a New Era of War* (SIPRI, Stockholm, 2022).

<sup>3</sup> It is important to note that group designations are subject to debate. E.g. some use the term 'Christians' to encompass all Christians in Iraq, including Chaldeans and Syrians, while others consider 'Christians' to be the broader term. This project uses the latter, as many of the research participants used 'Christianity' themselves before to refer to their group.

<sup>4</sup> Human Rights Watch, *On vulnerable ground: Violence against minority communities in Nineveh province displaced territories*, Press release, 10 Nov. 2016.

<sup>5</sup> Haines, D., "Disputed territories" in northern Iraq: The bordering of indigenous spaces', *Middle Eastern Politics*, vol. 26, no. 1 (2016), pp. 411-7; see also O'Donnell, D. and van Duzen, B., *Governing Nineveh after the Islamic State: A solution for all components?*, *Middle East Research Journal*, vol. 1, no. 1 (2014).

<sup>6</sup> European Parliament, Resolution 2014/2020 (RSP) on the Syncretic Mass Murder of Religious Minorities by the so-called ISIS/Taeh and ISIS, B. How to respond to ISIS's 'beheading tradition', *Current Affairs*, vol. 127, no. 893 (2016), pp. 144-49.

<sup>7</sup> This SIPRI Research Policy Paper is a deliverable of a broader project on 'Developing Local Peacebuilding Capacity in Nineveh', generously funded by the Robert Bosch Stiftung and implemented in partnership with the Al-Bayan Association for Development (IAD).

### SUMMARY

● This SIPRI Research Policy Paper examines the linkages between climate and environmental issues and the dynamics of peace and conflict in the Nineveh Plains of Iraq. It focuses on how local community dialogue can play a part in addressing climate and environmental challenges while also helping to build peace and strengthen inter-community relations. The Research Policy Paper presents the outcomes of several rounds of community dialogues on environmental issues and the impacts of climate change in the Nineveh Plains organized in 2022–23. It makes recommendations on how to harness the potential of local community dialogues in environmental peacebuilding.

This SIPRI Research Policy Paper examines the linkages between climate and environmental issues and the dynamics of peace and conflict in the Nineveh Plains of Iraq. It focuses on how local community dialogue can play a part in addressing climate and environmental challenges while also helping to build peace and strengthen inter-community relations. The report presents the outcomes of several rounds of community dialogue on environmental issues and the impacts of climate change in the Nineveh Plains organized in 2022–23. It makes recommendations on how to harness the potential of local community dialogues in environmental peacebuilding. Table of contents: I. Introduction; II. Impact of climate change on agriculture and the environment in the Nineveh Plains; III. Local community dialogues on environmental issues as a peacebuilding tool; IV. Insights from community dialogues in the Nineveh Plains; V. Conclusion and recommendations.

# Iraq's census skirts over the disputed territories

Oxford Analytica



The screenshot shows the article's metadata. It includes the Oxford Analytica logo, the title 'Iraq's census skirts over the disputed territories', the content type 'Expert Briefings', and the location 'IRAQ'. It also lists keywords associated with the article: 'Iraq', 'ME/NAF', 'politics', 'social', 'ethnic', 'government', 'policy', 'population', 'reform', and 'religion'. The ISSN is 2633-304X, and the citation is 'Oxford Analytica (2024), "Iraq's census skirts over the disputed territories", *Expert Briefings*'.

## Significance

Baghdad has repeatedly underlined the census's importance for economic planning and resource allocation; it claims the lack of accurate data has hindered progress. Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) officials fear the census could undercut their position in disputes with Baghdad over territory and finance.

## Impacts

The government will use the census to advance a narrative of effective governance after years of war.

Prime Minister Mohammed Shia Sudani could increasingly favour himself with KRI officials ahead of next year's elections.

Census results will also become the basis for a redistribution of resources per province in future budgets.

<https://www.emerald.com/insight/content/doi/10.1108/oxan-db291186/full/html>

## IRANIAN THINK TANKS



## Baghdad's Restrictions and Prohibitions

### Why Does Iraq Complain About Israel but Not About America?!

Seyyed Ali Mousavi Khalkhali

The Iranian Diplomacy



Ali Mousavi Khalkhali writes that “the party that provided its military base to Israel and allowed this regime to attack Iran from its territory is the United States of America, which has several military bases in Iraq. While the Iraqi government has not mentioned the US government in its complaint to the UN.” He continues that “on the other hand, since the Iraqi economy and the money generated from the sale of its oil are still completely under the control of the United States, the Iraqi government always feels that it is under the US’s control and therefore tries not to take any action that would offend the US government.” In the end, he concludes that “it seems that the Iraqi government’s refusal to mention the United States in its complaint to the United Nations is a reflection of these limitations and reservations, even if the territorial integrity of the neighboring country is violated.”

## Heavy political attack on Mohammad Shia Al-Sudani: Maliki, a man who wants to be the only godfather of Iraq

Seyyed Ali Mousavi Khalkhali

The Iranian Diplomacy



Ali Mousavi Khalkhali writes “Maliki, who was one of the key figures during the consultations to appoint the prime minister who firmly supported Mohammad Shia Al-Sudani and was able to make him prime minister amidst everyone’s astonishment, now cannot stand to see him and speaks openly and in various conversations and interviews against him, is active against him in political circles and is openly trying to weaken and even remove him from the position of head of government.” He concludes that “Sudani controls the al-Furatyn movement and apparently intends to enter the upcoming elections alone and with this movement dependent on him. Certainly, his rivals, who see his success as a loss to their political interests, will not sit still and plan for his defeat.”

## Analysis of the possibility of an Israeli attack on Iraq: Tehran and the three-dimensional conflict among Baghdad, Tel Aviv and Washington

Qassem Mohabali

Shargh Newspaper



Qassem Mohabali, high-ranking Iranian diplomat, believes that “in the event of any conflict between Israel and Iraqi groups, America will definitely be involved in this conflict” He continues that “it is not possible to say with certainty that if the issue of Israel’s conflict with Iraq occurs, to what extent Iran is willing or able to enter into a direct conflict with Israel in support of Iraqi resistance groups.” He continues that “after October 7th, and specifically from April of this year until now, Iran and Israel have entered into direct tension twice, and the issue of Operation Promise of Truth 3 is also on the agenda. Therefore, the case of direct tension and conflict between Iran and Israel has not yet been closed. Now, in such circumstances, whether Iran will enter the conflict in Iraq or not is a question that must be answered with care and some caution”

<https://www.sharghdaily.com/%D8%A8%D8%AE%D8%B4-%D8%B1%D9%88%D8%B2%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%85%D9%87-100/950115-%D8%AA%D9%87%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%86-%D9%85%D9%86%D8%A7%D8%B2%D8%B9%D9%87-%D8%B3%D9%87-%D9%88%D8%AC%D9%87%DB%8C-%D8%A8%D8%BA%D8%AF%D8%A7%D8%AF-%D8%AA%D9%84-%D8%A2%D9%88%DB%8C%D9%88-%D9%88%D8%A7%D8%B4%D9%86%DA%AF%D8%AA%D9%86>



## **TURKISH THINK TANKS**





# Complex alliances in Iraq: Identity, influence and powerplay

Mehmet Rakipoğlu

Daily Sabah

## Complex alliances in Iraq: Identity, influence and powerplay

BY MEHMET RAKIPOĞLU | NOV 20, 2024 - 12:05 AM GMT+3



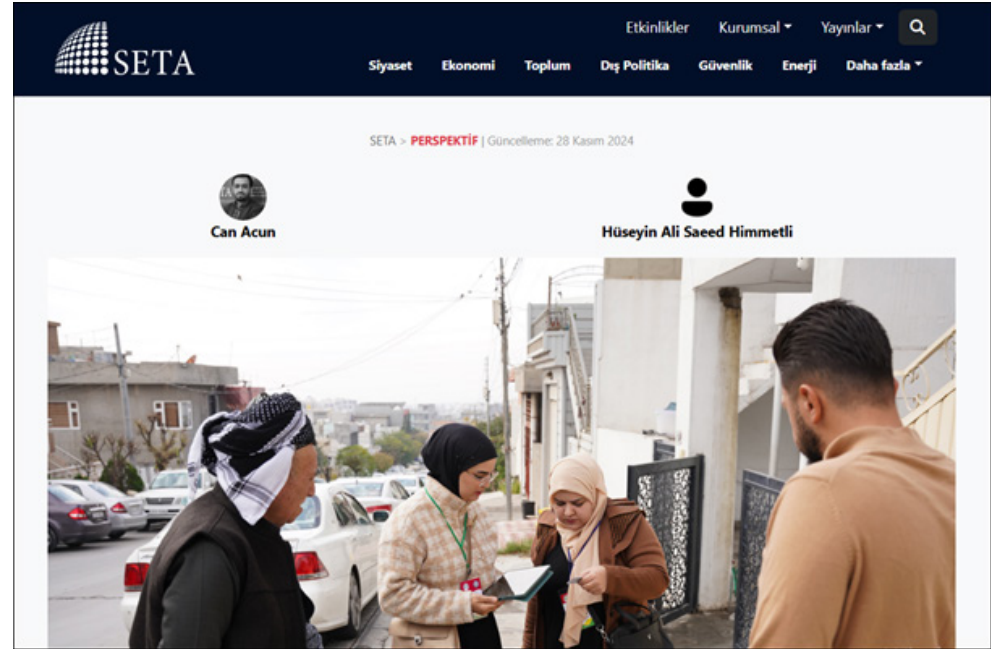
Mehmet Rakipoğlu writes that “Iraq’s complex geopolitics, shaped by regional powers, highlight Türkiye’s role in stability and influence.” He concludes that “to sum up, Iraq remains a complex and contested region where local identities, transnational alliances and foreign interventions converge. The Kurdish political landscape is divided between pro-Turkish and ambivalent factions, complicating Ankara’s efforts to solidify its regional influence. Turkmen’s struggles in Kirkuk reveal the ongoing challenges of demographic engineering and representation, while the 2017 independence referendum continues to fuel a sense of disenfranchisement among Kurds. The Development Road and Türkiye’s collaboration with the ITC illustrate Türkiye’s efforts to position itself as a stabilizing force within Iraq, counterbalancing Iranian expansion and fostering regional connectivity. Northern Iraq reflects broader geopolitical contests through these dynamics, where each actor’s aspirations and actions will shape the region’s future stability and integration.”

<https://www.dailysabah.com/opinion/op-ed/complex-alliances-in-iraq-identity-influence-and-powerplay>

# Census in Iraq and the Importance of Kirkuk

Can Acun and Hüseyin  
Ali Saeed Himmetli

Foundation for Political, Economic  
and Social Research (SETA)



The authors have focused on the importance of Kirkuk in the current census in Iraq. They write that “it is assessed that the census in Iraq will directly affect many critical areas such as the distribution of the country’s resources, budget allocations, planning of development projects, the number of deputies in the Iraqi Parliament and the determination of the provincial council seats. At the same time, this process also brings with it political and demographic sensitivities. Especially in disputed regions, the census results have the potential to increase ethnic and sectarian tensions, making it necessary to manage the process meticulously.” They conclude that “Kirkuk is known as “miniature Iraq” for its rich underground resources and its different ethnic, religious and sectarian backgrounds. Kirkuk is one of the disputed areas in Article 140 of the Iraqi Constitution. While the Kurds demand the implementation of this article, the Turkmens and Arabs argue that the validity period of Article 140 has legally expired.”

<https://www.setav.org/perspektif/irakta-nufus-sayimi-ve-kerkukun-onemi>

# What Could Change in Iraq in Trump's Second Term?

Sercan Çalışkan

Center for Middle Eastern  
Studies

According to the author, “one of the main topics of curiosity in US foreign policy is what kind of Middle East policy Donald Trump, will follow”. He adds that “One of these agendas will undoubtedly be Iraq, which has been the dominant foreign policy of every US president who has taken office since 2003.” He concludes that “It is a matter of curiosity how the government will be evaluated in terms of the new US administration in Iraq's domestic politics. In addition, the position that the government in Iraq will assume in the global power competition and regional equation in its relations with global actors such as China and Russia should also be taken into consideration. Risk analyses regarding the future of American soldiers in Iraq and Iran's influence in Iraq are also important”.



# How Will the 2024 KRG Elections Affect the Balance?

Bilgay Duman

Milliyet



**Milliyet** Son Dakika Gündem Yazarlar Ekonomi Dünya Resmi İlanlar uzman

## Yeni hükümetin yapısı dengeleri etkileyecek (2)

30 Ekim 2024

**BİLGAY DUMAN-** Bir önceki yazıda IKBY'deki seçimlere dair genel bir değerlendirme yapmıştık. Bu yazıdaysa seçim sonuçlarının ardından olası hükümet senaryoları, seçimlerin Ortadoğu'daki dengelere etkileri ve Ankara-Erbil ilişkilerinin geleceğini ele alacağım.

Önceki yazıda IKBY seçimlerinin çok parçalı bir yapı ortaya çıkardığını ifade etmiştim. Bu parçalı yapı, koalisyon müzakerelerinin zorlu geçeceğine işaret ediyor. KDP, 39 sandalye ile en büyük blok olmasına karşın, parlamento çoğunluğu için 12 sandalye daha elde etmesi gerekiyor. Bu nedenle KDP ile KYB'nin yeniden bir araya gelerek yönetim paylaşımına gitmesi bekleniyor. İlerleyen süreçte bu iki partinin kurabileceği koalisyon, IKBY'nin Bağdat ve Irak'ın komşu ülkeleriyle ilişkilerini doğrudan etkileyecek.

As a continuation of the previous article that was published in the past month, Bily Duman writes that, “Israel has long been in an alliance relationship with the KRG and especially the KDP. Israel’s support for the “independence referendum” in the KRG in 2017 is an indication of this. Israel sees the KDP remaining in power and the stability of the KRG as a counterbalance to Iran’s increasing influence in the region. Because as long as Erbil remains strong, the influence of Baghdad and Sulaymaniyah, which are within Iran’s sphere of influence, in the region is limited.” He continued that “the rivalry between these two parties can be seen as part of broader geopolitical struggles in the Middle East. For Western powers seeking to balance the influence of both Israel and Iran, the stability of the KRG under a strong government is critical to maintaining the balance. At this point, the establishment of a broad-based and strong government, and the formation of a “Strategic Alliance” structure between the KDP and PUK, as in 2004, is the most effective way to preserve the political and economic advantages of the region.”

<https://www.milliyet.com.tr/yazarlar/dusunenlerin-dusuncesi/yeni-hukümetin-yapisi-dengeleri-etkileyecek-2-7221335>

# ARAB THINK TANKS



# Al-Sistani Renews the Call to Restrict Arms to the Iraqi State... Why Now?

Safinaz Muhammad Ahmad

Al-Ahram Center for Political  
and Strategic Studies

السستاني يجدد الدعوة إلى حصر السلاح بيد الدولة العراقية.. لماذا الآن؟

مواضيع متعلقة

ترشيح السوداني يقام الأزمة السياسية في العراق.. لماذا بعد؟

مستقبل صراع المرجعيات في العراق بين السياسي والديني

الميليشيات العراقية "الصواب المفتوم" ضد إسرائيل.. ماذا بعد اغتيال نصر الله؟

مقالات

رابعة سيف علاء  
بعد حذرة لبنان: معارك صلب تطلعات أوراق التحالفات العسكرية في المنطقة

صافيناز محمد أحمد  
خبيرة متخصصة في الشؤون السياسية العربية ورئيس تحرير دورية بدائل - مركز الأهرام للدراسات السياسية والاستراتيجية

The researcher examines the recent statement issued by the office of the supreme authority, Sayyid Ali al-Sistani, following his meeting with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Muhammad al-Hassan. In this statement, Sistani reiterated his call to restrict arms exclusively to the Iraqi state. The researcher highlights that this is not the first time such a call has been made. However, renewing this demand at this specific time carries significant implications. She delves into the underlying motives for this renewed call, outlining six key points that may explain the rationale behind it.