The Islamic State, the Kurdistan Region, and the Future of Iraq

Professor Gareth Stansfield BA MA PhD FRSA FAcSS Al-Qasimi Chair of Middle East Politics Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies University of Exeter

- The rise of the Islamic State has crystalized Iraq into 3 *de facto* states.
 - ø How durable are they?
 - ø What are their trajectories?
- Realities in Islamic State
- Realities in the Kurdistan Region
- Realities in the Baghdad-Basra Region

'Iraq', or 'Baghdad-Basra', Islamic State, and Kurdistan Region, in November 2015





Islamic State of Iraq and Al-Sham (ISIS)





امير تنظيم اليونة الإسامية في العراق و الشاب ابر اطيبانواد ابر اطيم البدر في السنام الي. ابو دعام الوغواد الوطان اليماداني.



سنوول الدارة العام شوات مازم عالم القرمات أبو مباكلات



السؤون فر متابعة الإسرار في السهون بشار اسمامي المعداني. الوجعد



السياوز الامتى فعان مدانوانت بنشار الصدائو تؤكر الواهي.



مسؤول نائية الجار في صارة العراق خاطية باحض سوافق مصطفى محد القرموش، الوحماج



اشنیق الحارثین دو ایات معد هجید البتینی ، ابوهایی العمالی بنگل بین وکار معاطات العراق



ستؤور القبالات فناصا بالهامرين العرب ونكل الإنساريين عبداله لنت الليماني: الوكائب



رسی توسی المساور شده ایند ا هم او ام التهد الدن المداد الله المداول الو الدارسد الو الله الله الله المداول الو الله الا المراد الا المداد الو الوطار الو الله الا المراد الا المداد الوطار الدارسة المراد المداد الدارسة المداد الوطار المداد



بالدر صبر النواة الاستحياد منسؤ تتؤور واليان مارة العراق في تتجه بالحان كالياز حيد عبدالله الميالي موسعار أمو منساء الارتمالي العقران



سنو میں منحر وسؤور منڈرز کاربر ریائر فنیس مولیداد



المسق الجارشتۇن العالات و ماليما شۇن الرامل و مو الرامليمات و السران، موف مينان ممل الطران.



سورل فعوت والعابية شري مبتسوء الكاني، الوكاح





وحي و الباحداج فيور. وساء عبد زيد الراسدي الوحيل



و خي و اينا عرغوات نجدة عبد نابق. خندوراي، انو داشاد



و ای و اینا انجنوب و اغراب ازاوست. نصد مجمع خاک انجمعیشی، ابودانشا



و کی واقع المحود رضو ان هات مسج المحافيز المحوض، ابو جرباس



والي الإسال و عشو المشر المستري التكليب المال همال لطيف عديد السويدة أو أو مهاد السويدة وال- أنو مداميدة والشاري الميثل السابق



و آني و اينا بحاد. اعمد عبد فقائر الجزاج ابو سيسرد ابو هيد المحيد

- g Much smaller
- ø Much less capable
- Much less popular support
- ø Much less territory
- ิ Fewer resources
- ø Less equipment
- Facing stronger Iraqi security forces
- Facing overwhelmingly powerful US forces
- ø And they still nearly 'won'...

The scale of the problem

- ื Much larger
- ø Much more capable
- ø Much more popular support
- ø Much more territory
- ø Greater resources
- Much more equipment
- ø Far weaker Iraqi security forces
- я Limited international forces
- ø Can they win? ... What does 'winning' look like?

The scale of the problem

- - Sectarian, broken, unable to hold Jazeera
- & Peshmerga
 - Mear-death experience, can defend Kurdistan, needs total reconstruction to face ISIS again
 - ø A divided force, and PUK peshmerga far more effective than KDP
- & YPG/PKK
 - The only forces to consistently outperform ISIS in the field, but sorely limited in numbers, and not Iraqi
- & Shi'i militias, *Asaib ahl-al Haq*, Peace Brigades, Badr, Iranian units

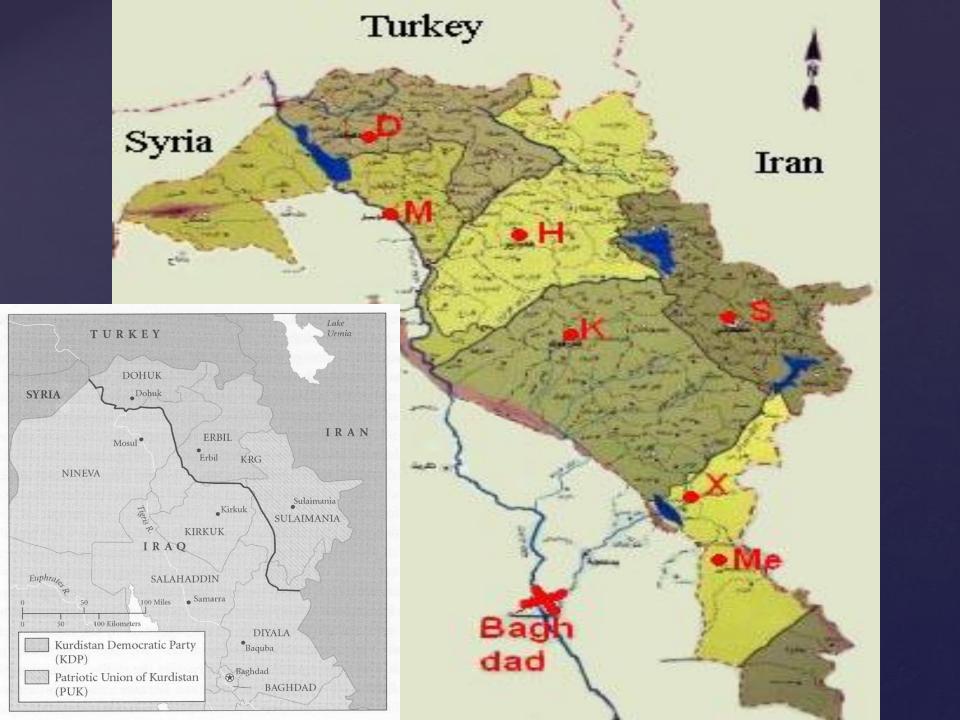
Who can oppose the Islamic State 'on the ground'?

The Kurdistan Region

- A harrowing 2014 − a 'near death' experience at hands
 of ISIS
- & But, several subsequent positive developments:
 - Kurds now have control of nearly all the territory they realistically wanted (disputed territories)
 - ø Alignment of KRG with Western powers
 - Further alignment with Turkey
 - A suspension of hostilities with the Abadi government

Context







The frontline

- & A new 1050km frontline
- k Flashpoints: Sinjar, Hamdaniyya, Jalawla
- k An IS(IS) − KR recognition?
- Where are the threats?
 - ø The long history of Kurdish *jihad*ists
 - The internal fractiousness of Kurdish political life

The Expanded Kurdistan Region of 2014

- & Cohesive on paper, divided in practice
- & After Mosul complacent
- Near death in August
 ■
- & Questions about KDP and Barzani hegemony
- & Reliance on PYD, PKK, KDPI, US air
- Register Performance of the PUK
- & Questions about KDP economic plans
 - ø Budget questions
 - ิ Oil export issues
 - ø A deal on Kirkuk with the Government of Iraq?

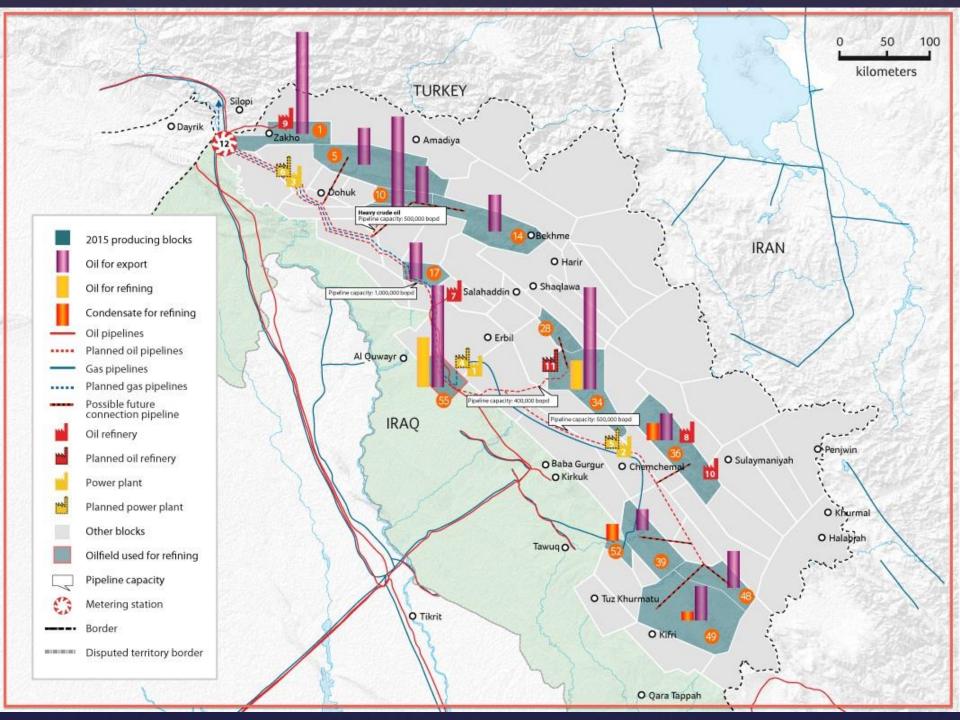
The Near Death Experience

- ★ A transitional democracy?
 - ø KDP, PUK, Gorran, Islamists, minorities
- ∇ The Presidential stand-off
- & Scenarios:
 - Barzani continuation, 2 years
 - ø Drive to independence
 - ø A possible Erbil-Suleimani split?
 - ø What happens to Kirkuk

Stability?

- k KRG has debts of est. \$25 billion k
- k KRG has operating costs of app. \$1.5 billion per month − a very much swollen public sector
- Producing IOCs receiving limited payments -\$75 million in September allocated

Economy



- k KDP has terrible relations; PUK has good relations
- № PM Abadi and President Barzani have each other by the throat, but both also need each other

Relations with Baghdad

- & US and UK mediation, but no one budging

The current mess

- & Sectarianisation of security and of government

- Question the role of Iran why would Tehran really want to see a successful Iraqi state, producing more oil than Iran, and with links to the West that would create problems? Never has made sense to me...

Baghdad-Basra





- ⊗ Or what should we be brave enough to acknowledge?
 - ø Iranian hegemony in Baghdad-Basra
 - ষ Sectarianisation of security
 - g IS being a social movement with durability
 - অ Only Western and Russian intervention, in Iraq and Syria respectively, will remove the immediate threat
 - ষ Would you join IS? (if you happened to live in Nineveh?) Yes, you would...
 - Kurdistan being a political reality
 - ষ Kurdistan does have a long-term relationship with Turkey, and oil is getting to market
 - g Iraqi integrity a historical story

What can we be certain about?

- ₹ Turkish intentions to the Kurds, and to IS
- k Iranian intentions to everyone
- Western policy − is there one? A snowball? Boots on Ground? Unintended consequences?
- k Impact on West of an IS attack in Europe/US
 - ø IS moves fast, and in unexpected ways
 - ø Since 2011, IS has had a strategy and a vision
 - ø Since 2003, Western powers have not

What is uncertain?

- - ø Continued divergent trajectories
 - ষ IS Pariah (Somalia)
 - ষ KRG sort of accepted (Taiwan)
 - ষ Baghdad-Basra de jure rump
 - g Ganging up on IS
 - ষ Erbil and Baghdad-Basra pushed into alliance, including oil
 - ম West engages fully, establishing safe haven (Mosul?)
 - g Islamic State continues to march
 - A Attacks Baghdad and holy cities
 - ষ Black flags in Jordan and Lebanon
 - ম Rampant attacks across Europe
 - a Middle East landscape chaotic sectarian/ethnic wars

Scenarios for Iraq, 5-10 years