

POLICY BRIEF:

Who is the Sectarian?

*Comparative Analysis
between Iraq & Saudi Arabia*

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“Do not say Sunni are our brothers. Say, they are us” - Ayatollah Ali Sistani, supreme Shia Muslim religious authority in Iraq and the world. Najaf, Iraq.¹



“Rafidah* [Shia] are not our brothers, they are the brothers of Satan” - Sheikh Saleh AlFawzan, deputy grand Saudi Mufti, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia.²

*‘Rafidah’ is a derogatory term for Shia akin the N word.

¹ <http://www.sistani.org/arabic/in-news/1038/>

² <http://youtu.be/ZxTurTkGjbE>



Saudi Arabia was established as an absolute monarchy in 1932. The Saudi ruling family, headed by King Abdullah Ibn Abdulaziz, monopolizes the country's political and economical apparatuses. The Saudi monarchy endorses the Hanbali-Wahhabi sect of Sunni Islam and uses it as the official state religion. The country does not have a constitution but a basic law of governance which was promulgated by King Fahd in 1993. The basic law of Saudi Arabia states that it is an Arab Islamic state where Arabic is the official language. It also articulates that the state shall forbid all activities that may lead to division, disorder, and partition. The cabinet consists of a council of ministers that is appointed by the monarch every four years as there are no elections. Political parties are banned in the Kingdom as they are seen as potential instigators of division, disorder, and partition.



Iraq achieved independence from British rule in 1932 and is now a parliamentary democracy. Iraq's constitution was voted on by the Iraqi people in 2005 making Iraq a republican and representative system of government. The constitution guarantees the Islamic identity of the majority while also guaranteeing full religious rights to the various religious minorities. It is acknowledged that Iraq is a country of many nationalities, religions, and sects and the Kurdish language is maintained alongside Arabic as an official language. The Iraqi government is headed by President Talabani (Kurd), Prime Minister al-Maliki (Shia), while the parliament speaker is Usama AlNujaify (Sunni). They were elected by the 328-member council of representatives; all of whom were elected by the people of Iraq. There are few dozen political parties in Iraq from its various ethnic, regional and religious communities.

Who's Really Sectarian: Iraq or Saudi Arabia?

In the past weeks, ISIS militants have captured several Iraqi cities as they look to extend their grip beyond Syria and establish an Islamic Caliphate in the heart of the Middle East. While the Iraqi army has outnumbered ISIS fighters nearly 40:1 in some instances³, several cities, including both Tikrit and Mosul, still lie under ISIS control.

Much speculation exists as to why Iraq has been unable to get its act together and maintain its territorial sovereignty in recent months. With a three-year old civil war still raging across the border in Syria, ISIS rebels have, with relative ease, journeyed across the porous demarcation that once separated Iraq and Syria. While shared borders in an unstable part of the world may be very much a part of the issue, there have been a number of claims, namely by the Saudi monarchy, that policies of sectarianism are to blame for the current bloodshed in Iraq.

As representatives of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation's (OIC) member states met recently in Jeddah to discuss a myriad of regional issues, Saudi Foreign Minister Prince Saud al-Faisal echoed earlier sentiments and stated that "...sectarian policies of exclusion..." conducted by Iraqi PM Maliki and the Shia majority have provided countries with "...bad intentions [towards Iraq] to go ahead with plots threatening its security, stability, national unity and sense of Arab identity." He went on to add that the deteriorating situation in predominantly Shia Iraq "...carries warning signs of a civil war with unpredictable consequences for the region."

Sectarian Cabinets of Exclusion

While both Saudi Arabia and Iraq are located in the heart of the region and claim membership to organizations like the *Arab League* and the *OIC*, Saud al-Faisal has condemned the sectarian policies in Iraq in an attempt to blunt any parallels between the two states. Such remarks are representative of the hypocrisy of the Saudi Kingdom, particularly with regard to sectarian policy. Looking at Iraqi cabinet positions after the 2010 general election, at least 20 different political coalitions/affiliations were represented by some 39 cabinet members.

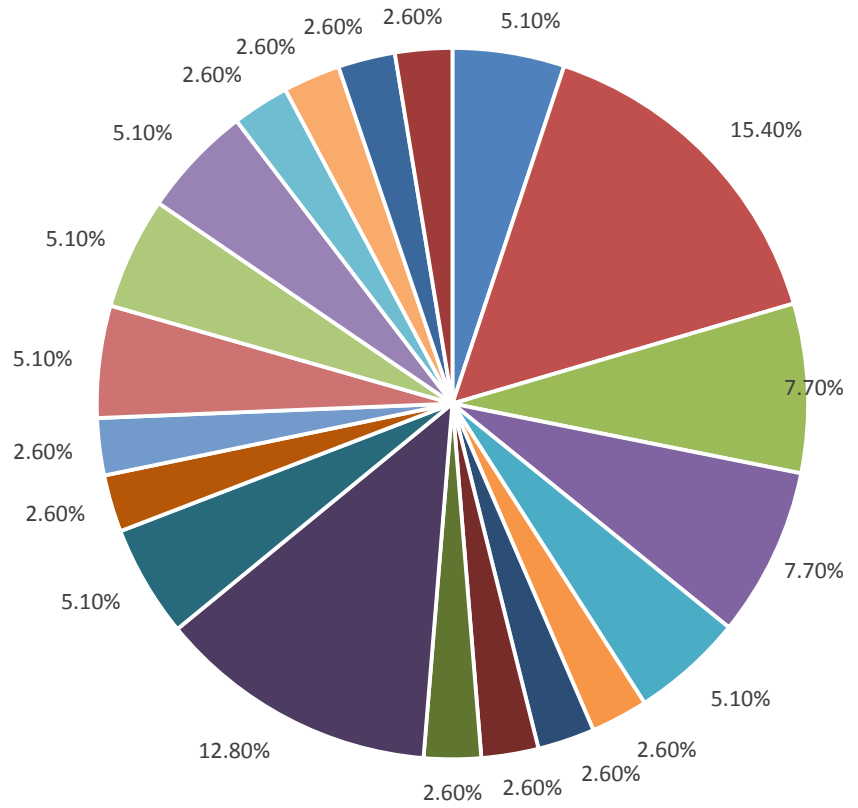
In comparing these numbers with the current Saudi Council of Ministers, there is a noticeable contrast. In the 34 ministerial positions examined, there is representation of but one political affiliation; the House of Saud. While the recent increase of militant activity in Iraq has made the current administration in Baghdad an easy target of criticism, Foreign Minister al-Faisal may want to have a look in the mirror if sectarian policies are a genuine concern of his. Al-Faisal, who has been the Saudi foreign minister since 1975, has constantly refused to allow a single Shia to be hired in his ministry. The only exception in 39 years was the appointment of Jamil Al-Jishi as an ambassador to Iran for three years on the request of then Crown Prince Abdullah in an attempt to repair relations with Iran.

In addition to his policy of blocking the appointment of Shia diplomats, Al-Faisal has expressed his anti-Shia animosity since the 1980s in speaking with British and Arab diplomats using many derogatory statements against Shia Muslims.

³ <http://www.vox.com/cards/things-about-isis-you-need-to-know/iraqi-army-sectarian-lines>

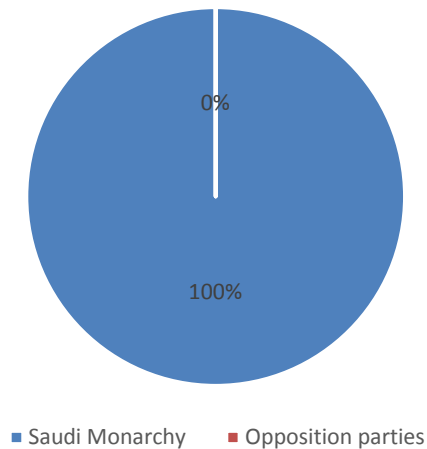
Iraqi Cabinet : Political Affiliation⁴

- Patriotic Union of Kurdistan
- Islamic Daawa
- Independent
- Hewar
- Kurdistan Democratic Party
- Unity Alliance of Iraq
- al-Mustaqbal
- Iraqiyoun
- Wifaq
- Sadrist Movement
- Consitution Party
- Kurd Islamic Union
- Assyrian Democratic Movement
- Tajdid
- Fadhila
- Islamic Supreme Council of Iraq
- Kurdistan List



⁴ Iraq Business News - <http://www.iraq-businessnews.com/2010/12/22/full-list-of-iraqs-new-cabinet/> (2010 elections)

Saudi Arabian Council of Ministers: Political Affiliation



Shifting Alliances

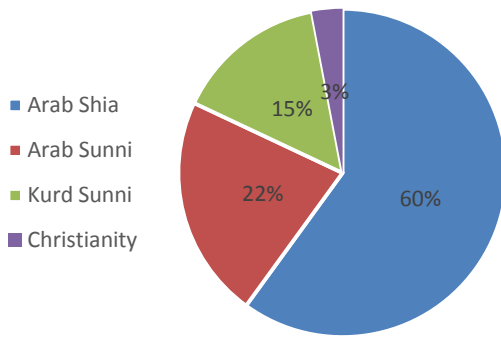
From the perspective of Prime Minister Nouri Maliki, Iraq's predominantly Sunni-Saudi neighbors are to blame not only for the situation in Iraq but for the ongoing violence in Syria as well. "We hold [Saudi Arabia] responsible for what these groups are receiving in terms of financial and moral support" said Maliki. In addition to accusing Saudi Arabia of promoting "genocide" by arming these foreign fighters, Baghdad has improved its relations with Tehran in recent years at the expense of its relationship with Riyadh. A complete purging of the animosity that endured between Iran and Iraq in the 1980s, Iranian President Hassan Rouhani announced that "...the great Iranian nation would not hesitate to protect holy shrines" in Iraq should ISIS militants push farther south into the cities of Karbala and Najaf.

Contrasting Representation

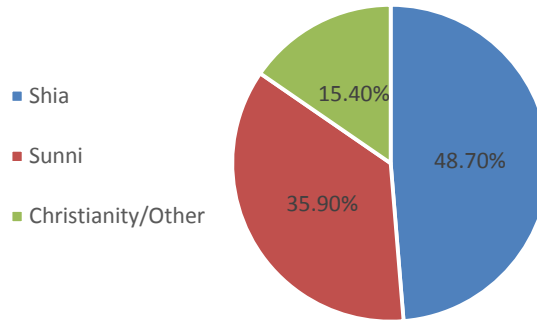
The rivalry between Iraq and Saudi Arabia is existential. These countries represent two of the world's largest oil exporters and they share a border that runs 814 kilometers through the Syrian Desert. This is where the similarities end. Iraq, a country of nearly 33 million people, has a majority Shia population which comprises 60% of the populace.⁵ While all but one of the remaining 40% of Iraqis belongs to the Sunni denomination, religious sect is not the only obstacle for Iraqi unanimity; ethnicity also plays a major role.

⁵ <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/iz.html>

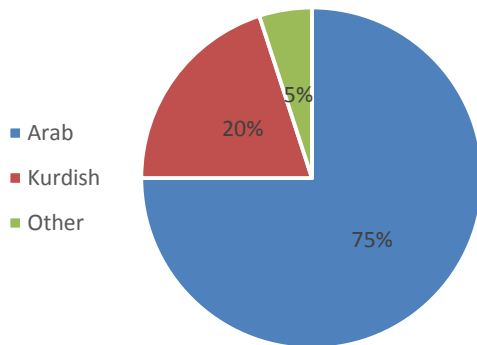
Iraqi Population- religious composition⁶



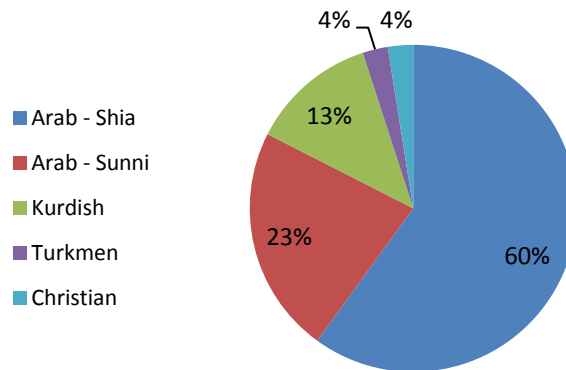
Iraqi Cabinet - religious composition⁷



Iraqi People - ethnic composition⁸



Iraqi Cabinet: ethno-religious composition⁹



⁶ <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/iz.html>

⁷ <http://www.iraq-businessnews.com/2010/12/22/full-list-of-iraqs-new-cabinet/>

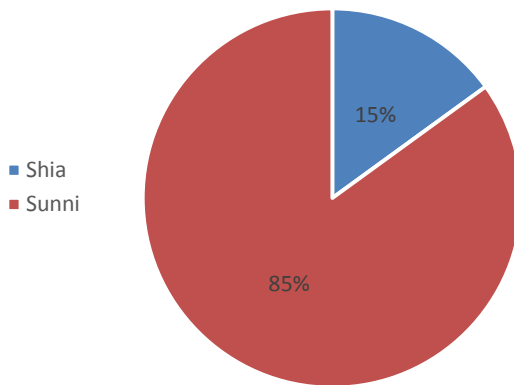
⁸ CIA - <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/iz.html>

⁹ Iraq Business News - <http://www.iraq-businessnews.com/2010/12/22/full-list-of-iraqs-new-cabinet>

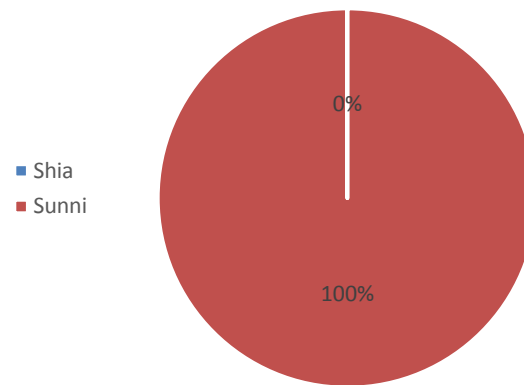
Ethnic Divide

As is to be expected, most Iraqis, or nearly 80%, are Arab. The largest minority ethnic group is the Kurds who wield a considerable amount of influence as they maintain an autonomous region in the North and East of the country, near the borders with Iran and Turkey. While not nearly as pronounced, the religio-ethnic demography of Saudi Arabia is quite diverse as well. Saudi Arabia has a population of 27 million people with 10% of that population subscribing to the Shia interpretation of Islam. For the most part, this group is confined to the oil-producing, Eastern province of Saudi Arabia. While Saudi Arabia is predominantly an Arab state, it is important to acknowledge that there exists a sizeable Afro-Asian ethnic group that constitutes approximately 10% of the Kingdom's population.¹⁰

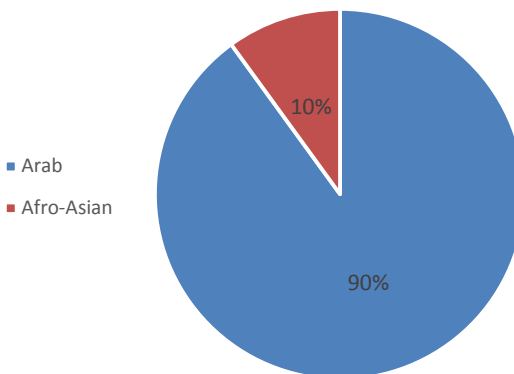
Saudi Arabia - religious composition¹¹



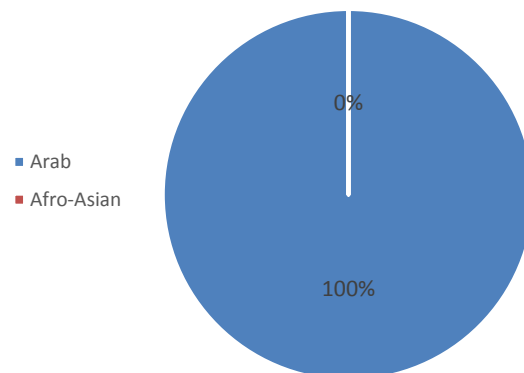
Saudi Arabian Cabinet – religious composition¹²



Saudi Arabia - ethnic composition¹³



Saudi Arabian Cabinet - ethnic composition



¹⁰ CIA - <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/sa.html>

¹¹ CIA - <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/sa.html>

¹² Saudi Embassy - <http://www.saudiembassy.net/about/Biographies-of-Ministers.aspx>

¹³ CIA - <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/sa.html>

Najdi Domination

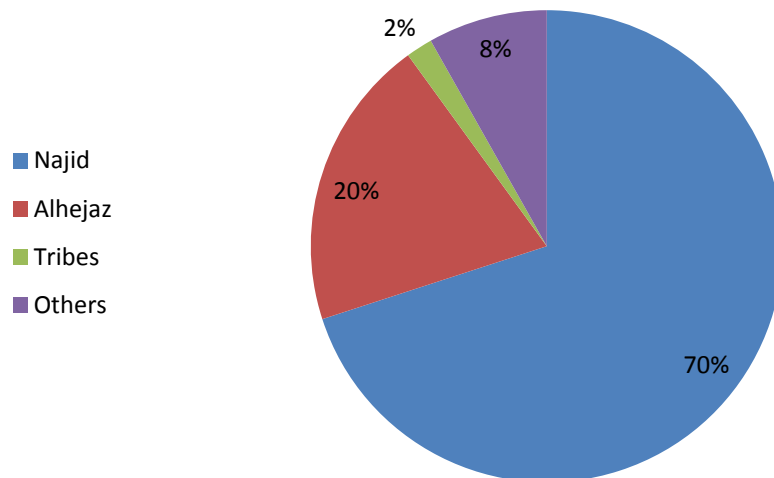
As a large country, Saudi Arabia is home to a number of schools of both the Sunni and Shia orientations. When the Kingdom was originally founded in 1932, the majority of its inhabitants were Sunni Muslims of the Hanafi or Shafe schools. While the current political regime manifests the Salafi/Wahhabi interpretation of Sunni Islam, it is important to note that this religious school was largely limited to the central Najd region prior to the Saudi monarchy's seizing power.

As the ruling family consolidated its power, it began to spread the puritanical Wahhabi/Salafi brand of Islam throughout Saudi Arabia by way of state-controlled media, education, and religion. This in turn forced many of its citizens to adopt the Saudi state-sanctioned version of Islam.

Because the Saudi bureaucracy is dominated by the Najdi interpretation of Islam known as Salafism, state policies have been skewed to represent the interests of the Najdi community. A rare survey by Saudi professor Mohammed Bin Snaytaan found that over 70% of senior government officials are Najdis.

Snaytaan's study found that the Saudi Monarchy has excluded the majority of the country's population from all governmental leadership positions while at the same time concentrating the lion's share of state power in the hands of the ruling family as well as its Najdi-Salafi adherents.

Najdi Domination of Senior Government Positions¹⁴



¹⁴ Mohamed Bin Snaytaan: Saudi Elite. Center for Arab Studies, Lebanon, 2004.

Conclusion

Since the June 9th seizure of Mosul, ISIS forces have rapidly advanced southward towards the Iraqi capital. Porous borders in conjunction with the spillover of violence from neighboring Syria have only exacerbated the troubles in Iraq. While a great number of opinions have been voiced in an attempt to explain the fragmentation that has taken place in recent days, it would be shortsighted to characterize the al-Maliki government as an instrument of sectarianism.

Such a condemnation by Foreign Minister al-Faisal warrants a comprehensive review of political, ethnic, and religious representation not only in Iraq, but also in Saudi Arabia. Interestingly enough, statistics show that while diverging ethnic, political, and religious groups are provided essentially no representation by the Saudi political system, majority demographics in Iraq, such as the Arab-Shia constituency, are actually underrepresented.

While dozens of Sunni mosques operate in Baghdad; there is not a single Shia Mosque or place of worship in Riyadh – a city that 50,000 Shia call home. Similarly, Shia constitute 30% of the population of Madina; another city that does not permit the existence of Shia mosques.

In Iraq, Shia, Sunni, and non-Muslims religious endowments are independent from the government. By contrast the only religious teachings and endowments officially allowed by the Saudi Monarchy is the Salafi-Wahhabi version of Islam. All other Sunni and Shia religious endowments are formally banned.

The Saudi Monarchy shuts off its Shia population from senior and low level positions; for example, there is not a single Shia mayor in the whole country. All mayors in Shia majority cities are Sunnis appointed by Riyadh and all the security forces in Shia-dominated cities and provinces are 100% Sunni.

In contrasting sectarian policies between Iraq and Saudi Arabia, the clear and unequivocal discovery is that Saudi Arabia leads the Middle East in its sectarian policies. In fact Saudi Arabia may even be considered the temple of sectarianism in the Middle East and beyond. Saudi sectarian policies are official and include all government agencies, programs, and the private sector, where the government has used its authority to enforce its hyper sectarian agenda.

From school books to media to government positions at all levels, the Saudi Monarchy has taken a very aggressive stance against Shia citizens by blocking them from simplest of political roles. Many agree that the Saudi Monarchy is one of the most, if not *the* most, anti-Shia regimes in the world today. Saudi sectarianism does not target Shia Arabs alone; it also marginalizes black communities, women, and the rural Arab tribes.

A quick look at the various Saudi government agencies reveals the Saudi Monarchy's preference for sectarianism since its foundation in 1932.

Saudi Cabinet ¹⁵

Position	Name	Affiliation
Head of State	King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz Al Saud	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
Prime Minister	Abdullah bin Abdulaziz Al Saud	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
Deputy Prime Minister/Minister of Defense	Salman bin Abdulaziz Al Saud	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
Second Deputy Prime Minister	Muqrin bin Abdulaziz Al Saud	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Saud bin Faisal bin Abulaziz Al Saud	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
Minister of the National Guard	Mutaib bin Abdullah bin Abdulaziz Al Saud	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
Minister of Municipal and Rural Affairs	Mansour bin Mutaib bin Abdulaziz Al Saud	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
Minister of Interior	Muhammad bin Nayef bin Abdulaziz Al Saud	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
Minister of Islamic Affairs	Saleh bin Abdul-Aziz Al ash-Sheikh	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
Minister of Education	Khalid bin Faisal Al Saud	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
Minister of Higher Education	Khalid bin Mohammed Al Angari	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
Minister of Justice	Muhammad bin Abdul Karim Issa	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
Minister of Petroleum	Ali bin Ibrahim Al Naimi	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
Minister of Transport	Jabara bin Eid Al Suraiseri	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
Minister of Commerce and Industry	Tawfiq Al Rabiah	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
Minister of Social Affairs	Yusuf bin Ahmed'Uthaymeen	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
Minister of Economy and Planning	Muhammad Al Jasser	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
Minister of Health	Abdullah bin Abdulaziz Al Rabiah	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
Minister of Culture and Information	Abdulaziz bin Mohieddin Khoja	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
Minister of Labor	Adel bin Mohammad Fakeih	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
Minister of Civil Service	Abdulrahman bin Abdullah Al Barrak	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
Minister of Finance	Ibrahim bin Abdulaziz Al Assaf	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
Minister of Water and Electricity	Abdullah bin Abdul Rahman Al Hussein	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
Minister of Agriculture	Fahd bin Abdul Rahman Balghunaim	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
Minister of Hajj	Bandar Al Hajjar	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
Minister of Housing	Shwaish bin Saud AlDhwaihy	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
Minister of Communication and Information Technology	Muhammad Jamil Ahmad Mulla	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni

¹⁵ <http://www.saudiembassy.net/about/Biographies-of-Ministers.aspx>

Minister of State	Abdulaziz bin Fahd bin Abdulaziz Al Saud	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
Minister of State	Dr. Saud bin Saeed Almathami	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
Minister of State for Political Affairs	Motleb bin Abdullah Al-Nafisah	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
Minister of State for Shura Council Affairs	Saud bin Saeed Al-Met'hami	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
Minister of State for Cabinet Affairs	Abdul Aziz bin Abdullah Al Khuwaiter	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
Minister of State for Foreign Trade	Musaas bin Mohammed Al Aiban	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
Minister of State for Foreign Affairs	Nizar bin Obaid Madani	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni

Iraqi Cabinet^{16, 17}

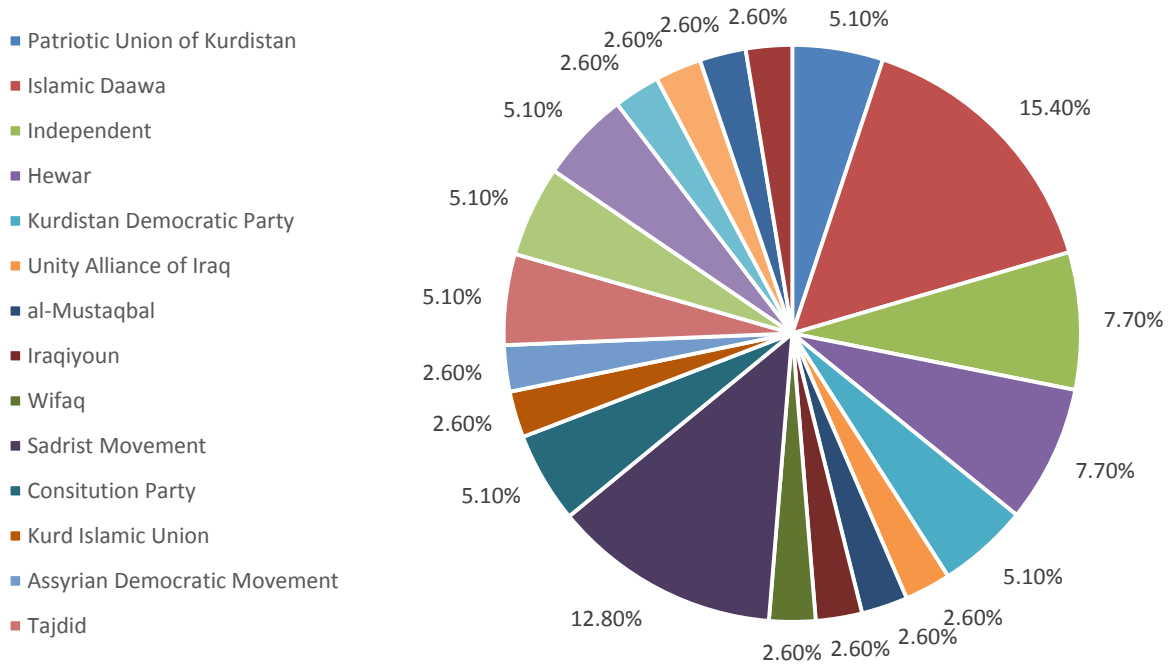
Position	Name	Affiliation
Head of State, president	Jalal Talibani	Patriotic Union of Kurdistan: Kurd, Sunni
Prime Minister	Nouri al-Maliki	Islamic Daawa: Arab, Shia
Deputy Prime Minister for Energy	Hussain al-Shahristani	Independent: Arab, Shia
Deputy Prime Minister	Saleh al-Mutlaq	Hewar: Arab, Sunni
Deputy Prime Minister	Rowsch Nuri Shaways	Kurdistan Democratic Party: Kurd, Sunni
Defense Minister	(Acting) Saadoun al-Dulaimi	Unity Alliance of Iraq: Arab, Sunni
Finance Minister	Rafi al-Issawi	al-Mustaqbal Party: Arab, Sunni
Minister of Planning	Ali Yousef Al-Shukri	Arab, Shia
Foreign Minister	Hoshyar Zebari	Kurdistan Democratic Party: Kurd, Sunni
Interior Minister	(acting) Adnan Al-Asadi	Arab, Shia
Oil Minister	Abdul Karim Luaibi	Independent: Arab, Shia
Agriculture Minister	Izz al-Din al-Dawla (resigned)	Iraqiyoun: Arab, Sunni
Communications Minister	Mohammad Allawai (resigned)	Arab, Shia
Construction/Housing Minister	Muhammad al-Darraji	Sadrism Movement: Arab, Shia
Culture Minister	Saadoun al-Dulaimi	Constitution Party: Arab, Sunni

¹⁶ <http://www.iraq-businessnews.com/2010/12/22/full-list-of-iraqs-new-cabinet/2/>

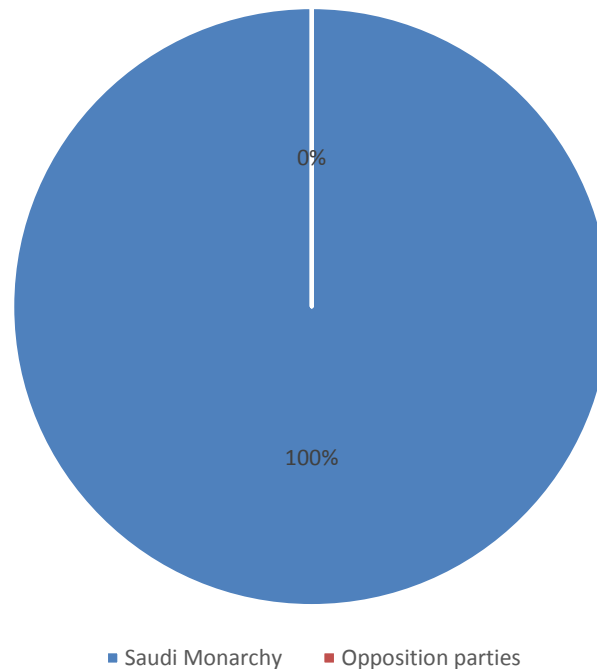
¹⁷ <http://understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/Fact%20Sheet%20on%20Iraq's%20Major%20Shia%20Political%20Parties%20and%20Militia%20Groups.pdf>

Displacement and Migration Minister	Dindar Najman	Kurd Islamic Union: Kurd, Sunni
Education Minister	Mohammed Tamim	Hewar: Arab, Sunni
Environment Minister	Sargon Lazon Sliwah	Assyrian Democratic Movement: Christian
Health Minister	Dr. Majeed Hamad Ameen	Patriotic Union of Kurdistan: Kurd, Sunni
Higher Education & Scientific Research Minister/Minister of State for National Dialogue	Ali al-Adeeb	Islamic Daawa: Arab, Shia
Human Rights Minister	Muhammad Shiya al-Sudani	Islamic Daawa: Arab, Shia
Industry & Minerals Minister	Ahmad Nassar Dali al-Karbouli	Tajdid: Arab, Sunni
Justice Minister	Hasan al-Shammari	Fadhila: Arab, Shia
Labour & Social Affairs Minister	Nassar al-Rubaie	Sadrism Movement: Arab, Shia
Municipalities and Public Works Minister	Adel Mahwadr	Arab Shia
Science & Technology Minister	Abd al-Karim al-Samarrai	Tajdid: Arab, Sunni
Trade Minister	Khairalla Hasan Babiker	Kurdistan List: Kurd, Sunni
Transport Minister	Hadi Al-Amiri	Islamic Supreme Council of Iraq: Arab, Shia
Tourism & Antiquities Minister	Liwa Smisim	Sadrism Movement: Arab, Shia
Water Resources Minister	Mohaned al-Saadi	Sadrism Movement: Arab, Shia
Youth & Sports Minister	Jasim Mohammed Jaafar	Islamic Daawa: Turkman, Shia
Minister of State for Parliament Affairs	Safa al-Safi	Independent: Arab, Shia
Minister of State	Abd al-Mahdi al-Mutayri	Sadrism Movement: Arab, Shia
Minister of State	Bushra Husseing Saleh	Fadhila: Arab, Shia
Minister of State	Hassan Radia al-Sari	Hezbollah Movement: Arab, Shia
Minister of State	Yassin Mohammed Ahmed	Islamic Supreme Council of Iraq: Arab, Shia
Minister of State for National Reconciliation	Amer al-Khizaii	Islamic Daawa: Arab, Shia
Minister of State for Foreign Affairs	Ali Abdullah al-Sajeri	Constitution Party: unknown
Minister of State for Tribal Affairs	Hussein Ali al-Shaalan	Iraqi National List: Arab, Shia
Minister of State	Salah Mazahem al-Jibouri	Hewar/Iraqi National Dialogue Front : Arab, Sunni
Minister of State for Provincial Affairs	Turhan Abdullah	Turkman, Shia

Iraqi Cabinet: Political Affiliation



Saudi Cabinet: Political Affiliation



Provincial Governors:

Every single one of the 13 provincial governors in Saudi Arabia is unelected; they are appointed by members of the Saudi ruling family. They include two sons of King Abdullah who were appointed by their father to govern Riyadh and Makah Provinces. Shia Arabs make up the majority of the largest and richest region in the Eastern Province while Ismaili Shias comprise the majority of the Southern region of Najran. The remaining provinces are inhabited by a Sunni majority.

There are 19 Iraqi provinces governed by elected governors as well as an elected provincial council. These governing bodies generally reflect the ethnic and religious composition of the individual province.

Out of the 19 provincial governors, there are ten Shia governors, four are Sunni governors, and five are Kurdish governors. These numbers more or less correspond with the ethno-religious composition of the provinces' majority populations.

Provincial Governors – Saudi Arabia¹⁸

	Province	Governor	Affiliation
1	Riyadh	Prince Turki bin Abdullah bin Abdulaziz	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
2	Makkah	Prince Mishaal bin Abdullah bin Abdulaziz	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
3	Madinah	Prince Faisal bin Salman bin Abdulaziz	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
4	Eastern	Prince Saud bin Nayef bin Abdulaziz	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
5	Asir	Prince Faisal bin Khalid bin Abdulazi	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
6	Al-Baha	Prince Mishari bin Saud bin Abdulaziz	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
7	Tabuk	Prince Fahd bin Sultan bin Abdulaziz	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
8	Qassim	Prince Faisal bin Bandar bin Abdulaziz	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
9	Hail	Prince Saud bin Abdulmohsin bin Abdulaziz	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
10	Al-Jouf	Prince Fahd bin Badr bin Abdulaziz	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
11	Northern Borders	Abdullah bin Musaid bin Jalawi	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
12	Jizan	Prince Muhammad bin Nasir bin Abdulaziz	al-Saud: Arab-Sunni
13	Najran	Currently vacant	

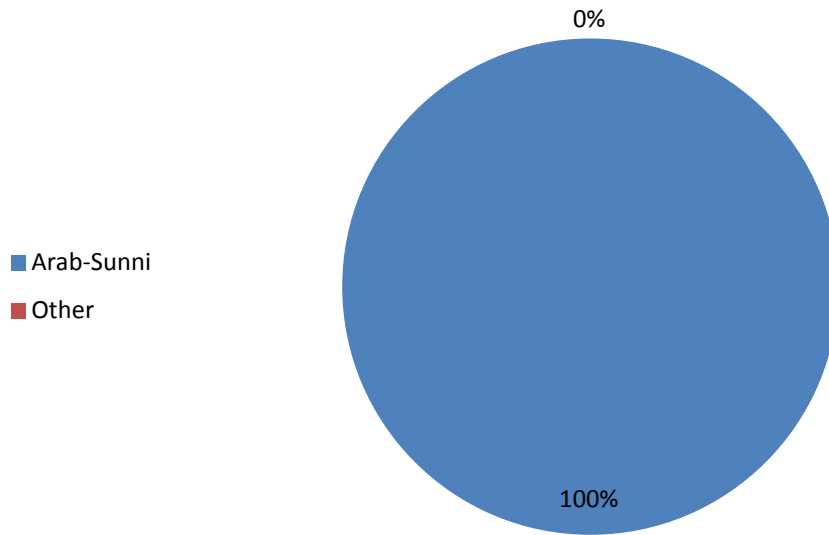
Provincial Governors – Iraq¹⁹

	Province	Name	Affiliation
1	Al-Anbar	Ahmed Khalaf Dheyabi	Arab, Sunni
2	Babil	Sadiq Madlool Hamad Jasim	Arab, Shia
3	Baghdad	Salah Abdulrazzaq	Arab, Shia
4	Al-Basrah	Majid al Nasrawi	Islamic Supreme Council: Arab, Shia
5	Dhi Qar	Talib Qathem Al Hassan	Arab, Shia
6	Diyala	Omar al-Humairi	Iraqi Islamic Party: Arab, Sunni
7	Dohuk	Tamar Fattah Kuchar	Kurdistan Democratic Party
8	Erbil	Nawzad Hadi Mawlood	Kurd
9	Halabja	Goran Adham	Kurd
10	Karbala	Akeel Al Turaihi	Arab, Shia
11	Kirkuk	Najmiddin Karim	Kurd, Patriotic Union of Kurdistan
12	Maysan	Ali Dawai Lazem	Sadrism Movement: Arab, Shia
13	Al-Muthanna	Ibrahim S. Al-Miali	Arab, Shia
14	An-Najaf	Adnan Alzurfy	Arab, Shia
15	Ninawa	Atheel al-Nukaifi	al-Hadba: Arab, Sunni
16	Al-Dewania	Ammar Almadani	Arab, Shia
17	Salah ad-Din	Amhed Abdullah Abid Kalaf	Arab, Sunni
18	As-Sulaymaniyyah	Bahroz Muhammed Salih	Kurd, Sunni
19	Wasit	Mahdi al-Zubaidi	Arab, Shia

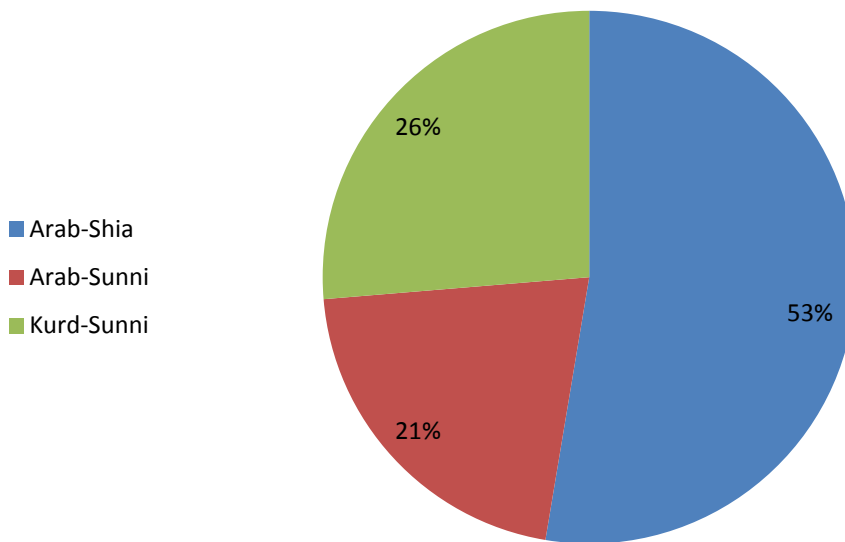
¹⁸ http://www.saudiembassy.net/about/country-information/map_of_provinces.aspx

¹⁹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Governorates_of_Iraq

Saudi Arabian Provincial Governors: ethno-religious



Iraqi Provincial Governors: ethno-religious



Supreme Courts:

The Iraqi Federal Supreme Court was established in 2005 after the dissolution of Saddam Hussein’s regime. It replaced the Justice Council which was chaired by Saddam’s half-brother, Busho Ibrahim, prior to the US-led 2003 invasion of Iraq. The Federal Supreme Court is now fully independent from the executive branch. The members of the court are nominated by the Judicial Council form across Iraq and are appointed by the Presidential Council which includes the president and his two deputies.

The court is chaired by Judge Medhat AlMahmood and the members are reflective of the majority of Iraq’s religious, linguistic, and ethnic communities. None of the members are religious clerics, and the court members include individuals of Shia, Sunni, Kurd, and Christian faiths. The court serves as a constitutional court ruling on constitutional issues. It has issued several rulings against the government.

The Saudi Supreme Court was established by a royal decree in 2008 from King Abdullah. The court members are all Sunni Wahhabi religious clerics and they are appointed after their name is “suggested”²⁰ by the Supreme Judicial Council and appointed by the king. There is some regional representation in the composition of the court but the judges all follow the same Wahhabi understanding of Islam that is endorsed by the Saudi Monarchy.

The court deals with criminal cases and does not address ‘constitutional’ matters. There is no constitutional court in the country. The court has never ruled against the government once.

Members of the Saudi Supreme Court²¹

	Name	Affiliation
1	Sheikh Gayhab AlGayhab	Sunni, Wahhabi
2	Sheikh AbdulAziz Ibrahim AlHussain	Sunni, Wahhabi
3	Sheikh Abdulelah Abdulaziz Alferyan	Sunni, Wahhabi
4	Sheikh Sulaiman Ibrahim Alhadeethi	Sunni, Wahhabi
5	Sheikh Mohamed Mohamed AlShaabi	Sunni, Wahhabi
6	Sheikh Abdullah Abdulrahman Qasim	Sunni, Wahhabi
7	Sheikh AbdulAziz Abdullah AlSubaei	Sunni, Wahhabi
8	Sheikh Saad Mohamed AlGhamdi	Sunni, Wahhabi
9	Sheikh Ahmed Maqbool Hakami	Sunni, Wahhabi
10	Sheikh Ahmed Hamad AlMazrou	Sunni, Wahhabi

²⁰ This is the exact wording from the Supreme Court law - <http://www.scj.gov.sa/index.cfm?do=cms.conArticle&contentid=1149&categoryid=579>

²¹ <http://www.alriyadh.com/801841>

Members of the Iraqi Supreme Court ²²

	Name	Affiliation
1	Judge Medhat AlMahmood	Shia, Kurd
2	Judge Farooq Mohamed AlSaami	Sunni, Arab
3	Judge Jafar Naser Husain	Shia, Arab
4	Judge Akram Taha Mohamed	Sunni, Arab
5	Judge Akram Ahmed Amin Baban	Sunni, Kurd
6	Judge Mohamed Saeb AlNqashbandi	Sunni, Kurd
7	Judge Abood Saleh Mahdi AlTamimi	Shia, Arab
8	Judge Michael Shamshon Qus Korkise	Christian
9	Judge Husain Abbas Abu AlTeman	Shia, Arab
10	Maki Najji, Court Director	Sunni, Arab

²² Iraqi Federal Supreme Court <http://www.iraqja.iq/index.php>



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