

EMMA SKY

# THE UNRAVELING

HIGH HOPES AND  
MISSED OPPORTUNITIES  
IN IRAQ



# The Unraveling High Hopes And Missed Opportunities In Iraq

**Thomas Mallon**



## **The Unraveling High Hopes And Missed Opportunities In Iraq:**

*The Unraveling* Emma Sky, 2015-04-07 When Emma Sky volunteered to help rebuild Iraq after the overthrow of Saddam Hussein in 2003 she had little idea what she was getting in to Her assignment was only supposed to last three months She went on to serve there longer than any other senior military or diplomatic figure giving her an unrivaled perspective of the entire conflict As the representative of the Coalition Provisional Authority in Kirkuk in 2003 and then the political advisor to US General Odierno from 2007 2010 Sky was valued for her knowledge of the region and her outspoken voice She became a tireless witness to American efforts to transform a country traumatized by decades of war sanctions and brutal dictatorship to insurgencies and civil war to the planning and implementation of the surge and the subsequent drawdown of US troops to the corrupt political elites who used sectarianism to mobilize support and to the takeover of a third of the country by the Islamic State With sharp detail and tremendous empathy Sky provides unique insights into the US military as well as the complexities diversity and evolution of Iraqi society *The Unraveling* is an intimate insider's portrait of how and why the Iraq adventure failed and contains a unique analysis of the course of the war Highlighting how nothing that happened in Iraq after 2003 was inevitable Sky exposes the failures of the policies of both Republicans and Democrats and the lessons that must be learned about the limitations of power

*The Unravelling* Emma Sky, 2015-05-14 SHORTLISTED FOR THE ORWELL PRIZE 2016 SHORTLISTED FOR THE SAMUEL JOHNSON PRIZE 2015 Emma Sky was working for the British Council during the invasion of Iraq when the ad went around calling for volunteers Appalled at what she saw as a wrongful war she signed up expecting to be gone for months Instead her time in Iraq spanned a decade and became a personal odyssey so unlikely that it could be a work of fiction Quickly made civilian representative of the CPA in Kirkuk and then political advisor to General Odierno Sky became valued for her outspoken voice and the unique perspective she offered as an outsider In her intimate clear eyed memoir of her time in Iraq a young British woman among the men of the US military Emma Sky provides a vivid portrait of this most controversial of interventions exploring how and why the Iraq project failed

**City of Black Gold** Arbella Bet-Shlimon, 2023-05-25 This fine social history of the city of Kirkuk in northern Iraq traces a century of political upheaval John Waterbury Foreign Affairs Kirkuk is Iraq's most multilingual city for millennia home to a diverse population It was also where in 1927 a foreign company first struck oil in Iraq Over the following decades Kirkuk became the heart of Iraq's booming petroleum industry *City of Black Gold* tells a story of oil urbanization and colonialism in Kirkuk and how these factors shaped the identities of Kirkuk's citizens forming the foundation of an ethnic conflict Arbella Bet Shlimon reconstructs the twentieth century history of Kirkuk to question the assumptions about the past underpinning today's ethnic divisions In the early 1920s when the Iraqi state was formed under British administration group identities in Kirkuk were fluid But as the oil industry fostered colonial power and Baghdad's influence over Kirkuk intercommunal violence and competing claims to the city's history took hold The ethnicities of Kurds Turkmens and Arabs in Kirkuk were formed

throughout a century of urban development interactions between communities and political mobilization Ultimately this book shows how contentious politics in disputed areas are not primordial traits of those regions but are a modern phenomenon tightly bound to the society and economics of urban life Praise for City of Black Gold Blending smooth storytelling and sharp analysis Arbella Bet Shlimon challenges readers to rethink much of what passes as conventional wisdom about Iraq and about power oil and ethnicity in the twentieth century A wonderful book richly documented accessible and creative Toby C Jones Rutgers University City of Black Gold is essential for anyone interested in the modern history of Iraq and the roots of the standoff between the government in Baghdad and the Kurdistan regional government Written with care and sensitivity Arbella Bet Shlimon s history of Kirkuk is a delight to read Joost Hiltermann Middle East and North Africa Program Director International Crisis Group This remarkable study of Kirkuk uncovers the ways in which the city became and did not become part of the Iraqi state Arbella Bet Shlimon bravely covers silenced histories as she encourages us to look at Iraqi history through its northern urban peripheries A fascinating urban history Orit Bashkin University of Chicago

**Faith and Fear** Gregory A. Daddis, 2025 In a groundbreaking reassessment of the long Cold War era historian Gregory A Daddis argues that ever since the Second World War s fateful conclusion faith in and fear of war became central to Americans thinking about the world around them With war pervading nearly all aspects of American society an interplay between blind faith and existential fear framed US policymaking and grand strategy often with tragic results A sweeping history Faith and Fear makes a forceful argument by examining the tensions between Americans overreaching faith in war as a foreign policy tool and their overwhelming fear of war as a destructive force

Land Warfare since 1860 Jeremy Black, 2018-08-10 This cogent global history traces the evolution of land warfare since the start of the Crimean War Jeremy Black argues that although it has always been critical to the outcome of conflicts worldwide land warfare has become undervalued in comparison to air power in modern military thinking In practice land warfare was crucial during the American Civil War the two world wars and the conflicts of the Cold War Indeed the revival of great power confrontation has led to an urgent need to re examine the entire contemporary period Looking to the future the book shows convincingly that we must consider the nature of the military for non state actors as well for as the major powers Ultimately Black contends there is no substitute for the control over territory provided by boots on the ground

The Ambassadors Paul Richter, 2020-10-27 Veteran diplomatic correspondent Paul Richter goes behind the battles and the headlines to show how American ambassadors are the unconventional warriors in the Muslim world running local government directing drone strikes building nations and risking their lives on the front lines The tale s heroes are a small circle of top career diplomats who have been an unheralded but crucial line of national defense in the past two decades of wars in the greater Middle East In The Ambassadors Paul Richter shares the astonishing true life stories of four expeditionary diplomats who do the hardest things in the hardest places The book describes how Ryan Crocker helped rebuild a shattered Afghan government after the fall of the Taliban and secretly negotiated with the shadowy Iranian

mastermind General Qassim Suleimani to wage war in Afghanistan and choose new leaders for post invasion Iraq Robert Ford assigned to be a one man occupation government for an Iraqi province struggled to restart a collapsed economy and to deal with spiraling sectarian violence and was taken hostage by a militia In Syria at the eruption of the civil war he is chased by government thugs for defying the country s ruler J Christopher Stevens is smuggled into Libya as US Envoy to the rebels during its bloody civil war then returns as ambassador only to be killed during a terror attack in Benghazi War zone veteran Anne Patterson is sent to Pakistan considered the world s most dangerous country to broker deals that prevent a government collapse and to help guide the secret war on jihadists An important and illuminating read The Washington Post and the winner of the prestigious Douglas Dillon Book Award from the American Academy of Diplomacy The Ambassadors is a candid examination of the career diplomatic corps America s first point of contact with the outside world and a critical piece of modern day history

**Air Power in the Age of Primacy** Phil Haun,Colin Jackson,Timothy Paul Schultz,Tim Schultz,2021-12-16 Analyzes the effectiveness of post Cold War air wars in Bosnia Kosovo Afghanistan Iraq Lebanon Libya Yemen Syria and against terrorist groups

**ISIS** Brian L. Steed,2016-06-20 Providing up to date information for general readers as well as those well informed about the Islamic State this book offers an essential understanding of the rise of ISIS and its current influence in the Middle East as well as worldwide ISIS also referred to as ISIL the Islamic State or Daesh began to assert its power and gain recognition for its militant and terroristic activities in April 2013 After the coordinated attacks in Paris on November 13th 2015 ISIS has captured the full attention of observers in the West This accessible book explains what ISIS is what the group s goals are what their members believe and why their ranks are growing Readers will gain an understanding of how ISIS is a unique group one seeking to be the army of the righteous fighting to defeat the unbelievers and usher in the end of days but that the extremist views of ISIS are an expression of a growing frustration with life in the Middle East and elsewhere shared by a larger community of non state and post state actors The book provides an introduction that documents the origins of ISIS within the larger Al Qaeda organization during the Iraq War The following chapters discuss the origins development and territorial expansion of ISIS in Syria and Iraq and examine the ideological motivations behind the emergence of ISIS thereby enabling a nuanced understanding of the importance of ISIS in contemporary history Other entries discuss individuals events and organizations that put ISIS in historical context in terms of contemporary events since the Iraq War into the present and explain the group s position within the complex conflict currently boiling in the Middle East

**Gender for the Warfare State** Robin Truth Goodman,2016-10-14 Gender for the Warfare State is the first scholarly investigation into the written works of U S women combat veterans in twenty first century wars Most recent studies quantify military participation showing how many women participate in armed services and what their experiences are in a traditionally male institution Many of these treatments regard women as victims solely of enemy fire even as they are also often victims of their own military apparatus and of their own involvement in global aggression By

applying literary analysis to a sociological question Gender for the Warfare State views women s experiences through story and literary traditions that carry meaning into present practices Goodman shows that women in combat are not just entering and being victimized in male institutions but are also actively changing the story of gender and thus the structure of power that is constructed through gender Moreover this book unveils a new narrative of care that affects economic relations more broadly and the contemporary politics of the liberal social contract Women s participation in combat is not just a U S event but global and therefore has a deeper historical range than current sociological accounts imply The book compares the political contexts of women s entry into war now with their prior twentieth century contributions to wars in other cultural settings and then uses this comparison to show a variety of meanings at play in the gender of war *The Day After* Brendan R. Gallagher,2019-09-15 Since 9 11 why have we won smashing battlefield victories only to botch nearly everything that comes next In the opening phases of war in Afghanistan Iraq and Libya we mopped the floor with our enemies But in short order things went horribly wrong We soon discovered we had no coherent plan to manage the day after The ensuing debacles had truly staggering consequences many thousands of lives lost trillions of dollars squandered and the apparent discrediting of our foreign policy establishment This helped set the stage for an extraordinary historical moment in which America s role in the world along with our commitment to democracy at home and abroad have become subject to growing doubt With the benefit of hindsight can we discern what went wrong Why have we had such great difficulty planning for the aftermath of war In *The Day After* Brendan Gallagher an Army lieutenant colonel with multiple combat tours to Iraq and Afghanistan and a Princeton Ph D seeks to tackle this vital question Gallagher argues there is a tension between our desire to create a new democracy and our competing desire to pull out as soon as possible Our leaders often strive to accomplish both to keep everyone happy But by avoiding the tough underlying decisions it fosters an incoherent strategy This makes chaos more likely *The Day After* draws on new interviews with dozens of civilian and military officials ranging from US cabinet secretaries to four star generals It also sheds light on how in Kosovo we lowered our postwar aims to quietly achieve a surprising partial success Striking at the heart of what went wrong in our recent wars and what we should do about it Gallagher asks whether we will learn from our mistakes or provoke even more disasters Human lives money elections and America s place in the world may hinge on the answer **The Hell of Good Intentions** Stephen M. Walt,2018-10-16 A provocative analysis of recent American foreign policy and why it has been plagued by disasters like the forever wars in Iraq and Afghanistan Instead of a long hoped for era of peace and prosperity relations with Russia and China have soured the European Union is wobbling nationalism and populism are on the rise and the United States is stuck in costly and pointless wars that have squandered trillions of dollars and undermined its influence around the world The root of this dismal record Walt argues is the American foreign policy establishment s stubborn commitment to a strategy of liberal hegemony Since the end of the Cold War Republicans and Democrats alike have tried to use US power to spread democracy open markets and

other liberal values into every nook and cranny of the planet This strategy was doomed to fail but its proponents in the foreign policy elite were never held accountable and kept repeating the same mistakes Donald Trump s erratic and impulsive style of governing combined with a deeply flawed understanding of world politics made a bad situation worse The best alternative Walt argues is a return to the realist strategy of offshore balancing which eschews regime change nation building and other forms of global social engineering The American people would surely welcome a more restrained foreign policy one that allowed greater attention to problems here at home Clear eyed candid and elegantly written Stephen M Walt s *The Hell of Good Intentions* offers both a compelling diagnosis of America s recent foreign policy follies and a proven formula for renewed success Thought provoking This excellent analysis is cogent accessible and well argued Publishers Weekly starred review

**New Critical Spaces in Transitional Justice** Arnaud Kurze, Christopher K. Lamont, 2019-01-10 Since the 1980s transitional justice mechanisms have been increasingly applied to account for mass atrocities and grave human rights violations throughout the world Over time post conflict justice practices have expanded across continents and state borders and have fueled the creation of new ideas that go beyond traditional notions of amnesty retribution and reconciliation Gathering work from contributors in international law political science sociology and history *New Critical Spaces in Transitional Justice* addresses issues of space and time in transitional justice studies It explains new trends in responses to post conflict and post authoritarian nations and offers original empirical research to help define the field for the future

*Mavericks of War* Jason S Ridler, 2023-06-14 A military historian sheds light on the maverick thinkers who hatched outlandish plots and shaped warfare from WWI to Vietnam and beyond During World War I Oxford trained archeologist Lawrence of Arabia used his knowledge of the Middle East to help organize the Arab revolt against the Ottoman Empire In this entertaining and insightful book Jason Ridler profiles the intellectuals outsiders and eccentrics who followed in Lawrence s footsteps across the next hundred years of warfare those who relied on creativity curiosity and outside the box thinking to shape battlefields from World War II and Vietnam to Iraq and Afghanistan These men were Ivy Leaguers and Oxford scholars anthropologists and archeologists Among them were an ad executive an international activist a Peace Corps veteran an migr journalist and former teenage member of the French Resistance and a diplomat These mavericks and oddballs both men and women were not always heralded or heeded and sometimes they were hated But they each challenged traditional military thought and helped win wars secure peace and change the face of modern military conflict

*Global Issues* CQ Researcher, 2017-02-17 CQ Researcher s *Global Issues* offers an in depth and nuanced look at a wide range of today s most pressing issues The 2017 edition of this annual reader looks at topics such as defeating the Islamic State the Obama legacy privacy and the Internet fighting cancer and arctic development And because it s CQ Researcher the reports are expertly researched and written Each chapter identifies the key players explores what s at stake and offers the background and analysis necessary to understand how past and current developments impact the future of each global issue

**Cycles in**

**US Foreign Policy since the Cold War** Thomas H. Henriksen, 2017-01-25 This book describes how American international policy alternates between engagement and disengagement cycles in world affairs. These cycles provide a unique way to understand, assess, and describe fluctuations in America's involvement or non-involvement overseas. In addition to its basic thesis, the book presents a fair-minded account of four presidents' foreign policies in the post-Cold War period: George H. W. Bush, Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, and Barack Obama. It suggests recurring sources of cyclical change along with implications for the future. An engaged or involved foreign policy entails the use of military power and diplomatic pressure against other powers to secure American ends. A disengaged or noninvolved policy relies on normal economic and political interaction with other states which seeks to disassociate from entanglements.

*Why Nation-Building Matters* Keith W. Mines, 2020-08 No one likes nation building. The public dismisses it. Politicians criticize it. The traditional military disdains it, and civilian agencies lack the blueprint necessary to make it work. Yet functioning states play a foundational role in international security and stability. Left unattended, ungoverned spaces can produce crises from migration to economic collapse to terrorism. Keith W. Mines has taken part in nation building efforts as a Special Forces officer, diplomat, occupation administrator, and United Nations official. In *Why Nation Building Matters*, he uses cases from his own career to argue that repairing failed states is a high-yield investment in our own nation's global future. Eyewitness accounts of eight projects in Colombia, Grenada, El Salvador, Somalia, Haiti, Darfur, Afghanistan, and Iraq inform Mines's in-depth analysis of how foreign interventions succeed and fail. Building on that analysis, he establishes a framework for nation building in the core areas of building security forces, economic development, and political consolidation that blend soft and hard power into an effective package. Grounded in real-world experience, *Why Nation Building Matters* is an informed and essential guide to meeting one of the foremost challenges of our foreign policy present and future.

**Landfall** Thomas Mallon, 2020-02-11 Set during the tumultuous middle of the George W. Bush years amid the twin catastrophes of the Iraq insurgency and Hurricane Katrina, *Landfall* brings Thomas Mallon's cavalcade of contemporary American politics which began with *Watergate* and continues with *Finale* to a vivid and emotional climax. The president at the novel's center possesses a personality whose high-speed alternations between charm and petulance, resoluteness and self-pity continually energize and mystify the panoply of characters around him. They include his acerbic, crafty mother, former First Lady Barbara Bush; his desperately correct and eager-to-please secretary of state, Condoleezza Rice; the gnomish and manipulative Donald Rumsfeld; foreign leaders from Tony Blair to Vladimir Putin; and the caustic one-woman chorus of Ann Richards, Bush's predecessor as governor of Texas. A gallery of political and media figures from the widowed Nancy Reagan to the philandering John Edwards to the brilliantly contrarian Christopher Hitchens bring the novel and the era to life. The story is deepened and driven by a love affair between two West Texans, Ross Weatherall and Allison O'Connor, whose destinies have been affixed to Bush's since they were teenagers in the 1970s. The true believer and the skeptic who end up exchanging ideological places in a romantic and political drama that unfolds in locations from New

Orleans to Baghdad and during the parties press conferences and state funerals of Washington D C

**Just War Reconsidered** James M. Dubik, 2016-08-12 In the seminal Just and Unjust Wars Michael Walzer famously considered the ethics of modern warfare examining the moral issues that arise before during and after conflict However Walzer and subsequent scholars have often limited their analyses of the ethics of combat to soldiers on the ground and failed to recognize the moral responsibilities of senior political and military leaders In Just War Reconsidered Strategy Ethics and Theory James M Dubik draws on years of research as well as his own experiences as a soldier and teacher to fill the gaps left by other theorists He applies moral philosophy political philosophy and strategic studies to historical and contemporary case studies to reveal the inaccuracies and moral bankruptcy that inform some of the literature on military ethics Conventional just war theory adopts a binary approach wherein political leaders have moral accountability for the decision to go to war and soldiers have accountability for fighting the war ethically Dubik argues however that political and military leadership should be held accountable for the planning and execution of war in addition to the decision to initiate conflict Dubik bases his sober reassessment on the fundamental truth that war risks the lives of soldiers and innocents as well as the political and social health of communities He offers new standards to evaluate the ethics of warfare in the hope of increasing the probability that the lives of soldiers will not be used in vain and the innocent not put at risk unnecessarily

**Foucault on Leadership** Nathan W. Harter, 2016-02-05 Michel Foucault one of the most cited scholars in the social sciences devoted his last three lectures to a study of leader development Going back to pagan sources Foucault found a persistent theme in Hellenistic antiquity that in order to qualify for leadership a person must undergo processes of subjectivation which is simply the way that a person becomes a Subject From this perspective an aspiring leader first becomes a Subject who happens to lead These processes depend on a condition of *parresia* which is truth telling at great risk that is for the edification of the other person A leader requires a mentor and advisors in order to lead successfully while also developing the capacity in one's own mind to heed the truth In other words a leader must learn how to guide oneself A valuable contribution to the field of leadership studies this book summarizes these last lectures as they pertain to the study and practice of leadership emphasizing the role of ethics and truth telling as a check on power It then presents several other contexts where these same lessons can be seen in practice including in the life of Alexander Solzhenitsyn whose career as a writer epitomized speaking truth to power and somewhat surprisingly in the United States military in response to its twenty first century mission of counterinsurgency

**The Theory and Practice of Associative Power** Stephen B. Young, 2017-06-19 To succeed in achieving its national security objectives the United States needs to use Associative Power in place of both Hard Power and Soft Power Associative Power is the use of joint ventures and alliances to optimize the forms of power brought to bear in conflicts responding with precision to a spectrum of enemy threats situational challenges and political opportunities Associative Power was wisely and successfully used by the United States in the Vietnam War through the CORDS program of

counter insurgency and village development to defeat the Viet Cong insurgency and permit the withdrawal of American combat forces Associative power was not used by the United States nor was the best counter insurgency practices of CORDS in the Iraq and Afghanistan conflicts As a result of this omission interim outcomes in Iraq and Afghanistan did not acceptably accomplish American objectives

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