

# Inside Iraqi Politics

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*The document below is a translation of the list of 13 demands published on Jan. 6, 2013 by Sunni protesters in Iraq. These demands were to be the subject of the special session of parliament scheduled for that day, and although the session failed to make quorum, these "13 demands" thereby gained establishment legitimacy. While this list has been discussed generally in a range of English-language media outlets, to present no accurate translation of them has been published. For this translation we have relied on the text published by the Iraqi website [al-Masalah](#), but the same text has been published by other sources.*

*While these demands have been put forward as representing the "tansiqiyat" – the coordination committees in Anbar and Ninawa – our analysis of the Anbar protest movement suggests that Abd al-Malik al-Saadi, an Anbari cleric resident in Jordan who returned to Anbar in late December, is the closest to being the author of the document any individual might claim to be. While the demands have been broadly repeated in interviews by protest leaders – activists who themselves revere Saadi – several of the demands track especially closely with comments he made in a Dec. 31 interview on al-Baghdadia TV. We addressed this issue in IIP 54.*

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First: Release of all female prisoners accused under the Counterterrorism Law and the referral of all of their cases to their provinces, and the women of Baghdad specifically to Anbar, and also the transfer of the case against Dr. Rafia al-Isawi and his guards to courts in Anbar and the prosecution of culpable officers and rapists connected with the above-mentioned cases.

Second: An end to the implementation of the death penalty corresponding with international calls to end this punishment.

Third: Freeze execution of Article 4 of the Counterterrorism Law<sup>1</sup> in all its components and stop all cases connected to this law until it can be voided by parliament.

Fourth: Parliament should pass with due haste the General Amnesty Law while removing the exceptions<sup>2</sup> and release all prisoners.

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<sup>1</sup> The text of this article, which comes from the [2005 Counterterrorism Law](#), is worded very broadly to allow for the death penalty for accomplice liability, and also allows for life terms for individuals who refuse to provide information about accused under the same. The latter is primarily meant to apply to female family members of suspects.

<sup>2</sup> This is a reference to amendments made to the bill by Maliki's State of Law Coalition in parliament.

Fifth: Freeze execution of the ill-famed Accountability and Justice Law<sup>3</sup> until parliament can repeal it.

Sixth: Achieve balance in all institutions of the state and especially the military,<sup>4</sup> security services and judiciary, beginning immediately with executory procedures necessary to ensure the same and guarantee a dignified life to all Iraqis.

Seventh: Repeal the operations commands in all provinces of Iraq and all elements of the security services which are not constitutional and withdraw the Army from cities and inhabited neighborhoods in Baghdad and the provinces, remove the concrete barriers as they are a form of discrimination and work fervently to provide security to citizens in the new Iraq and devolve responsibility for security to local police taken from their neighborhoods.

Eighth: Reinvestigate cases related to religious and national leaders both inside and outside Iraq<sup>5</sup> before neutral judicial forums free from political influence.

Ninth: Prohibit the use of sectarian phrases and slogans in state institutions and especially in the security services, and likewise in the media.

Tenth: Undertake a comprehensive national census before the next general elections with inclusion of reference to religious, sectarian and ethnic identity.

Eleventh: End the arbitrary night raids, and arrest accused persons in the light of day and by legal methods and end the “secret informer” law as some such claims are based on false oaths either for personal or sectarian reasons.

Twelfth: Speedily form a Federal Supreme Court of professional and non-corrupt judges, who do not belong to any specific ruling party or bloc, to serve as an independent, non-politicized judiciary.

Thirteenth: Return all mosques and other religious properties as well as private properties improperly taken under expropriation, and repeal Law No. 19 of 2005.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> This is a reference to the 2008 reform of deBaathification, the [National High Commission for Accountability and Justice Law](#).

<sup>4</sup> This is based on Article 9 of the constitution, although the mandate of ethno-sectarian balance is only applied to the military and security services.

<sup>5</sup> The use of the term *rumuz* and the reference to “outside Iraq” makes it clear this is a reference to Vice-President Tariq al-Hashemi.

<sup>6</sup> This statute, [Law Governing the Holy Shrines and Shia Pilgrimages No. 19 of 2005](#), is the law which formally created the Shia waqf as a separate institution from the Sunni waqf. It was Abd al-Maliki al-Saadi who introduced this demand into the protesters’ discourse. It has not been a demand of Sunni politicians or other mainstream Sunni religious figures.