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Iraqi History Conference

A Decade of Research Using Archives of Ba‘thist Iraq: What We Now Know

August 17-18, 2023

The Hoover Institution Library & Archives is pleased to host the two-day conference, “A Decade of Research Using Archives of Ba‘thist Iraq: What We Now Know,” on August 17–18, 2023, at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University. The conference brings together thirty scholars of the history of Iraq and American foreign policy. It is organized by Lisa Blaydes (Stanford University) and Samuel Helfont (US Naval War College), featuring keynote talks by Dina Khoury (George Washington University) and Joseph Sassoon (Georgetown University).

The conference, marking the twentieth anniversary of the fall of Saddam Hussein’s regime, features scholars who have worked with the Iraqi Ba‘th Party records held at the Hoover Institution or the formerly publicly available documents of the Conflict Records Research Center. The papers presented investigate how the availability of such unprecedented archives has changed the historiography and social science on Ba‘thist Iraq. Participants will address such questions as: What do we know now that we did not or could not have known without access to Iraqi records? Were former assumptions about Iraq confirmed or negated? Did new questions emerge based on archival research? And what are the limitations of working with such records? A selection of the papers presented at the conference will also be published in a volume co-edited by Blaydes and Helfont for Stanford University Press in the Stanford–Hoover Series on Authoritarianism.



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Speaker Bios



Ibrahim Al-Marashi is Associate Professor of Middle East history at California State University San Marcos and an advisory board member of the International Security and Conflict Resolution program at San Diego State University. He obtained his doctorate in Modern History at University of Oxford, completing a thesis on the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, part of which was plagiarized by the British government prior to the 2003 Iraq War, otherwise known as the “Dodgy Dossier.” He is co-author of *Iraq’s Armed Forces: An Analytical History* (Routledge, 2008), *The Modern History of Iraq* (Routledge, 2017), and *A Concise History of the Middle East* (Routledge, 2018).



Ahmed Al-Rawi is an Associate Professor of News, Social Media, and Public Communication at the School of Communication at Simon Fraser University. His research interests are related to news, global communication, and social media with emphasis on the Middle East and Canada.



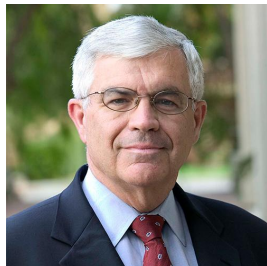
Marsin Alshamary is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at Boston College. She holds a PhD from MIT and studies religion, civil society, and protest in Iraq.



Russell A. Berman is a Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution where he directs the Working Group on the Middle East and the Islamic World. He is also Walter A. Haas Professor in the Humanities at Stanford, where is a member of the department of German Studies and chair of Comparative Literature. He previously served as Senior Advisor on the Policy Planning Staff of the U.S. State Dept and is a member of the National Humanities Council.



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John B. Taylor is the George P. Shultz Senior Fellow in Economics at the Hoover Institution and the Mary and Robert Raymond Professor of Economics at Stanford University. He chairs the Hoover Working Group on Economic Policy, co-chairs the Hoover Technology, Economics and Governance Working Group, and is director of Stanford's Introductory Economics Center.

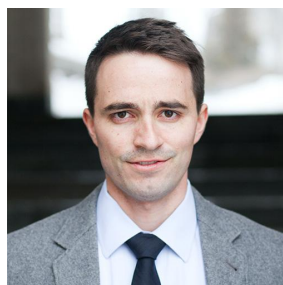


Lisa Blaydes is Professor of Political Science at Stanford University. She is the author of *Elections and Distributive Politics in Mubarak's Egypt* (Cambridge University Press, 2011) and *State of Repression: Iraq under Saddam Hussein* (Princeton University Press, 2018). During the 2008-9 and 2009-10 academic years, Professor Blaydes was an Academy Scholar at the Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies. During the 2015-16 academic year, she was a Fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences.



Målfrid Braut-Hegghammer is Professor of Political Science at the University of Oslo, and is the founding director of the Oslo Nuclear Project. She has previously been a Junior Faculty Fellow at CISAC, Stanford University (2012-13), and a pre- and post-doctoral fellow at the Belfer Center, Harvard University (2008-10). She received her doctoral degree from London School of Economics in 2010, which received the Michael Nicholson Thesis Prize from BISA the following year. She published *Unclear Physics: Why Iraq and Libya Failed to Build Nuclear Weapons* (Cornell University Press, 2016) based on her dissertation research. Her work has been published in numerous outlets including

International Security, The Middle East Journal, the New York Times (online), International Herald Tribune, Monkey Cage and War on the Rocks.



Cole Bunzel is a Hoover Fellow at the Hoover Institution at Stanford. His work focuses on the history of Saudi Arabia, Islamic theology and law, and militant Islamism. He earned his Ph.D. in Near Eastern Studies at Princeton University and is the author of *Wahhābism: The History of a Militant Islamic Movement* (Princeton University Press, 2023).



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Daniel Chardell received his PhD in history from Harvard University in May 2023. His dissertation uses the Gulf War of 1991 as a lens through which to explore contending American and Arab visions of sovereignty and order at the dawn of the post-Cold War era. In September, he will join Yale University's Brady-Johnson Program in Grand Strategy as a Henry Chauncey '57 postdoctoral fellow. Previously, he was a research associate at the Council on Foreign Relations in Washington, DC.



Aaron Faust is the Acting Division Chief for Iran, Iraq, and the Arabian Peninsula in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research (INR) at the Department of State, where he also worked as an Iraq analyst and on counter-ISIS and Syrian issues. He holds a Ph.D. in Middle East History and Statecraft from Boston University and is the author of, *The Ba'thification of Iraq: Saddam Hussein's Totalitarianism* (Univ. of Texas Press, 2015). The views he expresses during the conference are his own and do not represent those of the State Department or U.S. Government.



Samuel Helfont is an Assistant Professor of Strategy and Policy in the Naval War College program at the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, California. His research focuses on international history in the Middle East. He is the author of *Iraq against the World: Saddam, America, and the Post-Cold War Order* (Oxford University Press, 2023), and *Compulsion in Religion: Saddam Hussein, Islam, and the Roots of Insurgencies in Iraq* (Oxford University Press 2018). Prior to his current position, he completed a postdoctoral lectureship at the University of Pennsylvania.



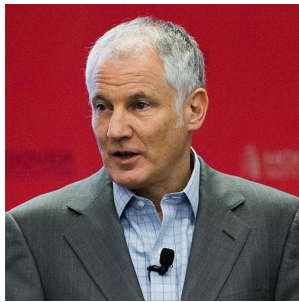
Lily Hindy is a PhD candidate in history at UCLA. Her dissertation examines how the Kurdish nationalist movement in Iraq and in the diaspora harnessed the bureaucracy of human rights to gain international attention for their plight and support for autonomy between 1975 and 2003. Prior to UCLA she was a foreign policy associate at The Century Foundation and an editorial assistant at The Associated Press. She holds a Master's in International Affairs from Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs and a Bachelor's in Government from Smith College.



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Joost Hiltermann is the Middle East & North Africa Program Director at the International Crisis Group. In the early 1990s, he worked on Iraq and the Kurds for Human Rights Watch, including on what has become known as the Northern Iraq Dataset. He is the author, inter alia, of *A Poisonous Affair: America, Iraq, and the Gassing of Halabja* (Cambridge, 2007).”



Stephen Kotkin is the Kleinheiz Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution and a senior fellow at Stanford’s Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies. He is also the Birkelund Professor in History and International Affairs emeritus at the Princeton School of Public and International Affairs (formerly the Woodrow Wilson School), where he taught for 33 years. He earned his PhD at the University of California–Berkeley and has been conducting research in the Hoover Library & Archives for more than three decades.



H.R. McMaster is the Fouad and Michelle Ajami Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution. He is also the Bernard and Susan Liautaud Fellow at the Freeman Spogli Institute and lecturer at Stanford University’s Graduate School of Business. H. R. McMaster was the 26th assistant to the president for National Security Affairs. He served as a commissioned officer in the United States Army for thirty-four years before retiring as a Lieutenant General in June 2018.



Shamiran Mako is an Assistant Professor of International Relations at the Pardee School of Global Studies at Boston University with a joint appointment at Boston University’s Political Science Department. In 2022, Mako was awarded a Fulbright U.S. Scholars Fellowship as Canada Research Chair in Global Governance. Her research focuses on the international relations and comparative politics of the Middle East with a substantive emphasis on ethnic politics, institutions and power-sharing, post-conflict statebuilding, and governance in divided societies. She is the author of *After the Arab Uprisings: Progress and Stagnation in the Middle East and North Africa*, with Valentine Moghadam (Cambridge University Press, 2021), and co-editor of *State and*

Society in Iraq: Citizenship under Occupation, Dictatorship, and Democratisation, with Benjamin Isakhan and Fadi Dawood (I.B. Tauris 2017). Her research has appeared in or is forthcoming in *International Peacekeeping*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *International Politics*, the *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, *Journal of Minority and Group Rights*, *Lawfare*, *APSA-MENA Newsletter*, among other outlets.



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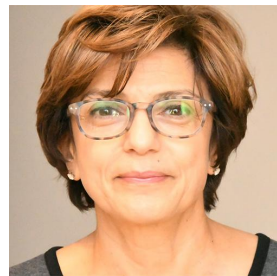


Toby Matthiesen is Senior Lecturer in Global Islam at the University of Bristol. He has previously been a Marie Curie Global Fellow at Ca' Foscari University and at Stanford University, and has held fellowships at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. He is the author of *Sectarian Gulf: Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, and the Arab Spring That Wasn't* (Stanford University Press, 2013) and *The Other Saudis: Shiism, Dissent and Sectarianism* (Cambridge University Press, 2015). His latest book, *The Caliph and the Imam: The Making of Sunnism and Shiism*, a global and longue durée history of Sunni-Shii relations, is published by Oxford University Press in 2023. His current research interests relate to the role of religion in international affairs,

Islamism and the Cold War, and the rise of the Gulf States.



David Palkki is an Associate Professor in the strategy department at the Air War College. He is co-editor of *The Saddam Tapes* (Cambridge University Press) and has published a variety of articles and book chapters dealing with Iraq. He has held a variety of positions in academia, think tanks, and government, including as the Deputy Director (and Acting Director) of the Conflict Records Research Center. Dr. Palkki holds a PhD in political science from UCLA.



Dina Rizk Khoury's research and writing spans the early modern and modern history of the Middle East. Her first book, *State and Provincial Society in the Ottoman Empire: Mosul, 1540-1834* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), which won awards from the Turkish Studies Association and British Society of Middle Eastern Studies, explores the relationship between the Ottoman state and group of local power holders and urban gentry on the eastern Iraqi frontiers of the Ottoman Empire. Prof. Khoury has also written on the politics of reform and rebellion in eighteenth- and nineteenth- century Baghdad. Since 2007, she has been researching and writing on war and memory. Her book, *Iraq in Wartime:*

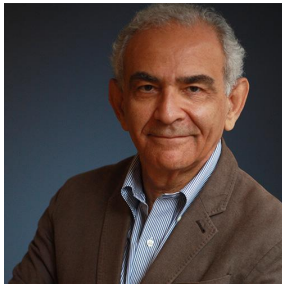
Soldiering, Martyrdom and Remembrance (Cambridge University Press, 2013), draws on government documents and interviews to argue that war was a form of everyday bureaucratic governance that transformed the manner in which Iraqis made claims to citizenship and expressed notions of selfhood. Dr. Khoury's research has been funded by the Social Science Research Council, The American Council of Learned Societies, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation.



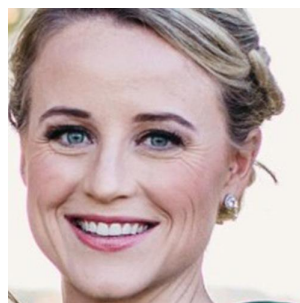
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David Siddhartha Patel is a senior fellow at the Crown Center for Middle East Studies at Brandeis University. His book *Order Out of Chaos: Islam, Information, and the Rise and Fall of Social Orders in Iraq* (Cornell University Press) examines the role of mosques and clerical networks in generating order after state collapse and is based upon independent field research he conducted in Basra. Beginning in September 2023, Patel will be a research fellow at the Middle East Initiative at Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. Stanford gave him a PhD.



Joseph Sassoon is Professor of History and Political Economy at Georgetown's Center for Contemporary Arab Studies and holds the al-Sabah Chair in Politics and Political Economy of the Arab World. He is also a Senior Associate Member at St Antony's College, Oxford. His research interests include political economy, economic history, Iraq, Iraqi refugees, and authoritarianism. Sassoon's book, *The Iraqi Refugees: The New Crisis in the Middle East* (London, I.B. Tauris, 2009) is a comprehensive study of Iraqi refugees and the impact of their displacement on their home and host countries after the 2003 invasion. In 2013, his book *Saddam Hussein's Ba'ath Party: Inside an Authoritarian Regime* (Cambridge University Press, 2012) won the prestigious British-Kuwait Prize for the best book on the Middle East. He is also the author of *Anatomy of Authoritarianism in the Arab Republics* (Cambridge University Press, 2016). Sassoon completed his Ph.D. at St Antony's College, Oxford.



Kate Tietzen-Wisdom is a military historian at the U.S. Army Center of Military History. She is the author of the forthcoming book, *Transition and Withdrawal: The U.S. Army in Operations IRAQI FREEDOM and NEW DAWN, 2009-2011*, which is part of the U.S. Army Campaigns in Iraq series from the U.S. Army Center of Military History. Her Ph.D. is from Kansas State University.



Yaniv Voller is a Senior Lecturer in Middle East Politics at the School of Politics and International Relations, University of Kent. He is the author of two books, *The Kurdish Liberation Movement in Iraq: From Insurgency to Statehood*; and *Second Generation Liberation Wars: Rethinking Colonialism in Iraqi Kurdistan and Southern Sudan*, as well many articles on the international security and politics of the Middle East. In 2023 he was awarded the Harry Frank Guggenheim Distinguished Scholar Award in support of his research project on pro-government militias in the Middle East and North Africa.



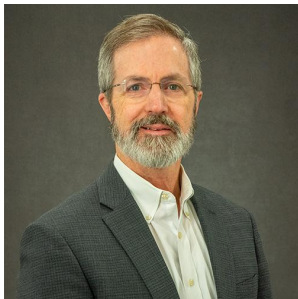
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Alissa Walter is an Associate Professor of History at Seattle Pacific University. She conducted research in the Ba'ath Party archives from 2015-2017 for her dissertation. Since earning her PhD from Georgetown University in 2018, she has published several articles and book chapters on modern Iraqi history. Her book manuscript, based on her dissertation, is currently under review with the working title *Contested City: State-Society Relations in Baghdad through Wars, Sanctions, and Authoritarian Rule, 1950-2011*.



Eckart Woertz is Director of the Institute for Middle East Studies (IMES) at the German Institute for Global and Area Studies (GIGA) in Hamburg and professor for contemporary history and politics of the Middle East at the University of Hamburg. His research interests encompass the political economy of the Middle East and North Africa, food security and energy issues. Previously he held positions at the Barcelona Centre for International Affairs (CIDOB), Sciences Po in Paris, Princeton University and the Gulf Research Center in Dubai and worked for banks in Germany and the United Arab Emirates in equity and fixed income trading.



Kevin M. Woods is a retired Army officer, defense analyst, historian, and the Deputy Director of the Joint Advanced Warfighting Division at the Institute for Defense Analyses (IDA). Educated at Auburn University, the US Naval War College, and the University of Leeds, Kevin is also a part-time lecturer at Johns Hopkins University. As part of his research portfolio at IDA, Kevin led the decade-long Iraqi Perspectives Project and developed the Conflict Records Research Center. He is the author/co-author of several books, articles, and studies regarding the contemporary military history of Iraq and the regime of Saddam Hussein.