

IBRAHIM AL-MARASHI

Associate Professor, Department of History; and Global Studies, CSUSM

Adjunct Professor, School of Public Health, SDSU

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EDUCATION

University of Oxford, St. Antony's College, Doctor of Philosophy, Department of Modern History, 2004

Dissertation Title: *The Nineteenth Province: The Invasion of Kuwait and the 1991 Gulf War from the Perspective of the Iraqi State*

Georgetown University, MA, Arab Studies, Concentration in Politics, 1998

University of California Los Angeles, BA, History, & BA, Near Eastern Studies (summa cum laude), 1995

ACADEMIC EXPERIENCE

Associate Professor, **California State University San Marcos (CSUSM)**, San Marcos, California, 2016-present

Assistant Professor, **California State University San Marcos (CSUSM)**, San Marcos, California, 2011-2015

Assistant Professor of International Relations and Communication, **IE University**, Madrid, Spain, 2008-2011

Research and Teaching Fellow, Annenberg School of Communication, **University of Pennsylvania**, Philadelphia, PA, 2008

Adjunct Faculty, Department of History, **Bogazici University**, Istanbul, Turkey, 2007

Visiting Faculty, Department of International Relations, **Koc University**, Istanbul, Turkey, 2007

Post-Doctoral Fellow, Arts & Social Sciences Faculty, **Sabanci University**, Istanbul, 2004-2006

Visiting Academic Posts

Visiting Professor, Department of Visual Studies, **University of California San Diego (UCSD)**, 2024-present

Visiting Professor, Department of Political Science and International Relations, **University of San Diego**, 2024-present

Adjunct Professor, School of Public Health, **San Diego State University (SDSU)**, San Diego, California, 2024-present

Summer School on Pandemics, **University of Dubrovnik**, Dubrovnik, Croatia, 2021

School of Politics, Economics, & Global Affairs, **IE University**, Madrid, Spain, 2017-present

Department of American Studies, **Ivan Franko University**, Lviv, Ukraine, 2016-2018

Department of International Relations, **Universita Cattolica del Sacro Cuore**, Milan, Italy, 2016-present

Department of Communication, **John Cabot University**, Rome, Italy, 2014-present

Department of Political Science and International Affairs, **John Cabot University**, Rome, Italy, 2013-present

Department of Peace & Conflict Studies, **United Nations University for Peace**, San Jose, Costa Rica, 2006

Department of International Policy Studies, **Middlebury Institute of International Studies**, Monterey, CA, 2002-2013

Research for NGO/Policy Centers

Biodefense and Middle East Researcher, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, **Middlebury Institute of International Affairs**, Monterey, CA, 2002-2003

Middle East Researcher, **Child Soldiers International**, London, 2000-2001

ADMINISTRATIVE EXPERIENCE

Associate Dean of International Relations, **IE University**, Madrid, Spain, 2008-2011

TAUGHT COURSES

CSUSM

World Civilizations to 1500

World Civilizations 1500-present

War and Modern Society

History of the Middle East 600-1700

History of the Middle East 1700-present

Women & the Middle East

History of the Middle East through Film

The Spanish Past & The Modern Middle East

Covid-19, Pandemics, Illness, & Wellness

Graduate Seminars

Teaching History: Theory & Practice

Advanced Methods in Middle East History

Historical Perspectives on Media:

History of Food

History of Drugs

History of the Environment

History of American Foreign Policy

San Diego State University

Plague through the Ages

University of California San Diego

Art and the Middle East

University of San Diego

Graduate Seminar

Regional Security

School of Politics, Economics, and Global Affairs, IE University (Madrid, Spain)

Political Theory & Philosophy

Impact Writing for Politics

Geopolitics & Globalization of Pandemics

Interplanetary Relations

History of IR up to 1945

History of IR from 1945 to the present

The Anthropocene: From Geopolitics to Astropolitics (with The School of Law)

History of Trade (with The Division of Arts & Humanities)

The Politics of Freedom of Speech

Graduate Seminars

Geopolitics & Globalization of Pandemics

Introduction to Globalization (with the School of Human Sciences and Technology)

Charles University (Prague, Czech Republic)

Conflict Management & Analysis

Kyiv National Linguistic University

Graduate Seminar in American History

Ivan Franko University (Lviv, Ukraine)

The Post-Soviet System: Russia, Georgia, & Ukraine

Universita Cattolica del Sacro Cuore (Milan, Italy)

Introduction to International Relations

Graduate Seminars

IR Theory & the Middle East

John Cabot University (Rome, Italy)

Italy & the Middle East

The Middle East in the American Media

Media in the Middle East

The Media & Pandemics

University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia)

Imagery, Media, & Middle East Politics

Sabanci University (Istanbul, Turkey)

Media & Politics

Introduction to Middle East Politics

Graduate Seminars

Media & Conflict Resolution

Conflict Resolution in the Middle East

Bogazici University (Istanbul, Turkey)

History of Iran

Koc University (Istanbul, Turkey)

Introduction to Comparative Politics

Izmir University of Economics (Izmir, Turkey)

Geopolitics of Energy

UN University of Peace (San Jose, Costa Rica)

Advanced Seminar: Conflict & Peace in the Middle East

Middlebury Institute of International Studies (Monterey, CA)

Advanced Seminar: Media & Terrorism in the Middle East

MASTER CLASSES, 1-UNIT SEMINARS, & COURSES IN DEVELOPMENT**Political Science/IR Focus**

Writing and Storytelling for Politics, Policy, and Influence

Art and Power

Political Ideologies and the -Isms that Define Us

The Victims of War (*a course on GBV, PTSD, IDPs, refugees, landmines, prosthetics, horses*)

Petropolitics, Energy, and Sustainability

Global Security of the Future: Digitalism, Drones, AI, & Space

The IR and Politics of Flight

Food, Drinks, Drugs, and Diseases: From Afghanistan to the Zetas

Middle East Focus

The History of the Abrahamic Faiths

Food, Drinks, and Drugs in the Middle East

Minorities in the Middle East
 The Environment and Sustainability in Middle East
 Pandemics and Public Health in the Middle East
 The Politics and Foreign Policy of Iraq and Iran and the GCC
 Middle East Politics through Comics
 Conflict Resolution in the Middle East

Global History

The History of the Cold War
 A Global History of Gender-based Violence
 A Global History of Migration, Refugees, and Citizenship

RESEARCH

Books

The Nineteenth Province: Saddam Hussein's Strategy during the Occupation of Kuwait and the 1991 Gulf War (Manuscript proposal passed review process with Cambridge University Press)

With Arthur Goldschmidt, *A Concise History of the Middle East*, 13th edition (Routledge, forthcoming 2024)

With Phebe Marr, *The Modern History of Iraq*, 4th edition (Routledge, 2017)

With Sammy Salama, *Iraq's Armed Forces: An Analytical History* (Routledge, 2008) and in Arabic (Oma Publishing House, 2018)

With Alexander Grey, *Peace and Conflict: Europe and Beyond* (University of Deusto Press, 2006)

Sample of Journal Articles

"Islamic State's Necropolitical Regime of the Jazira: The Necropraxy of Destroying the Necropolis," *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, (forthcoming)

With Amar Causevic, "NATO and Anthropogenic Strategic Security," [*Connections: The Quarterly Journal*](#), vol. 22, no. 1 (2023): 67-78

"Iraq's Popular Mobilisation Units: Intra-Sectarian Rivalry and Arab Shi'a Mobilisation from the 2003 Invasion to the Covid-19 Pandemic," *International Politics*, vol. 60, 2023, pp. 194–213

"Demobilization minus Disarmament and Reintegration: Iraq's Security Sector from the US Occupation to the Covid-19 Pandemic," *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, vol. 15, no. 4, 2021, pp. 441-458

"Baghdad in the Middle: Iraq's Negotiation of its Constrained Sovereignty during the Trump Presidency," *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 44, no. 2, Winter 2021, pp.1-18

With Amar Causevic, "NATO and Collective Environmental Security in the Middle East and North Africa: From the Cold War to Covid-19," *Journal of Strategic Security*, vol. 13, no. 4, Fall 2020, pp. 28-41

With Amar Causevic, "Can NATO Evolve into A Climate Alliance Treaty Organization in The Middle East?" *The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, vol. 76, no. 2, March 2020

"The 2003 Iraq War Did Not Take Place: A First-Person Perspective on Intelligence and Iraq's WMD Program," *International Journal of Baudrillard Studies*, vol. 11, no. 2, Spring 2014

"Iraq's Gulf Policy and Regime Security from the Monarchy to the post-Baathist Era," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 36, no. 3, Fall 2009, pp. 449-461

With Aysegul Keskin, "Reconciliation Dilemmas in post-Baathist Iraq: Truth Commissions, Media and Ethno-sectarian Conflicts," *Mediterranean Politics*, vol. 13, no. 2, Summer 2008, pp. 243-259

"The Dynamics of Iraq's Media: Ethno-Sectarian Violence, Political Islam, Public Advocacy, and Globalization," *Cardozo Arts and Entertainment Law Journal*, vol. 25, no. 95, Summer 2007, pp. 96-140

"Constructing the Myth of the Shia Arc: From the Iranian Revolution to the 2003 Iraq War," *Eurasia Dossier*, vol. 13, no. 3, 2007, pp. 1-37 (in Turkish)

"The 'Dodgy Dossier': The Academic Implications of the British Government's Plagiarism Incident," *The Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*, vol. 40, Summer 2006, pp. 33-44

"Middle Eastern Perceptions of US-Turkey Relations after the 2003 War," *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, vol. 4, no. 1, Spring 2005, pp. 123-136

"A New Chapter in Iraqi-Turkish Relations?: Examining the Iraqi and Arab Reactions to the Proposed Turkish Deployment to Iraq," *Insight Turkey*, vol. 6, no. 1, Winter 2004, pp. 119-128

"Iraq's Hostage Crisis: Kidnappings, Hostages and the Mass Media," *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, vol. 8, no. 4, December 2004, pp. 1-11

"Saddam's Security Apparatus during the Invasion of Kuwait and the Kuwaiti Resistance," *The Journal of Intelligence History*, vol. 4, no. 2, Winter 2003, pp. 61-86

"The Mindset of Iraq's Security Apparatus," *Journal of Intelligence and National Security*, vol. 18, no. 3, Fall 2003, pp. 1-23

"The Clan, Tribal and Family Network of Saddam's Intelligence Apparatus," *International Journal of Intelligence and Counter Intelligence*, vol. 16, no. 2, Summer 2003, pp. 202-211

“Iraq’s Security and Intelligence Network: A Guide and Analysis,” *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, vol. 6, no. 3, Fall 2002, pp. 1-13

Current Journal Articles/Chapters in Progress

“A Non-Weberian History of Iraq’s Military,” *Middle East Journal*, or *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, covering Iraq’s formation in 1920 to the present.

“Revisiting the Halabja Massacre: Ba’athism, Kurds, and Chemical Weapons in Iraq,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, dealing with the events from 1987 to 1988.

“The 1991 Uprising in Iraq,” *Middle Eastern Studies*, like the preceding article, situated in the Iraqi state’s history of violence, this time in the south of Iraq.

“An International History of Drones and Mercenaries Twenty Years after the 2003 Iraq War,” for *Survival*, examining how the US introduced two new forms of proxy warfare in the region, resulting in their global proliferation.

“Searching for the ‘Iraq’ in ISIS: The Disbanded Ba’ath Party, Unemployed Officers, and The Islamic State’s Transnational Terrorism,” *Journal of Intelligence and National Security*, which has one of the highest impact scores among the modern history journals, examines legacy of the 2003 American decision to disband Iraq’s army.

Sample of Book Chapters

“The Iraqi Security Services and The Dodgy Dossier: The Relevance of Iraqi History and Archives,” The Stanford-Hoover Series on Authoritarianism, Stanford University Press.

With Mohammad Eslami, “Artificial Intelligence and Nuclear Proliferation: Towards a High-tech Nuclear Arms Race” in Arshin Adib-Moghaddam and Alena Vieira (eds.), *Artificial Intelligence and The Global Arms Race: The Question of World Peace Reconsidered* (Manchester University Press, forthcoming 2025)

“The Modern Political History of Iraq,” in Raymond Hinnebusch (ed.), *Routledge Research Handbook on the Modern Levant* (Routledge, forthcoming 2024)

With Mohammad Eslami, “Sectarianism and the New Cold War in the Middle East,” in Mohammad Eslami and Alena Vieira (eds.), *The Handbook of Arms Race in the Middle East: Implications for Regional and International Security* (Springer, 2023)

“The Syrian Civil War’s 2015 Hurting Stalemate: How Russia’s Intervention Turned the Tide,” in Jasmine Gani and Raymond Hinnebusch (eds.), *The Syrian Uprising: Late Trajectories and Consequences* (Routledge St. Andrews Syrian Studies Series, 2022)

“Iraq,” in Noha Mellor (ed.), *Routledge Handbook on Arab Media* (Routledge, 2020)

“Iraq: From Saddam Hussein’s Security Services to Dismantling ISIS,” in Bob de Graaf (ed.), *Intelligence Communities and Cultures in Asia and the Middle East* (Lynne Reiner, 2020)

“The Future of Iraq’s Security,” in Anders Jägerskog, Michael Schulz and Ashok Swain (eds.), *Routledge Handbook on Middle East Security* (Routledge, 2019)

“ISIS’s Projection of Landpower in Iraq,” in Jason W. Warren (ed.), *Makers of Modern Landpower: Post 9/11 Perspective* (University Press of Kentucky, 2019), pp. 202-216

“Iraq: State, Society, and the Evolution of the Petroleum Sector in the Shadows of Invasion and Insurgency” in Indra Øverland (ed.), *Public Brainpower: Civil Society and Natural Resource Management* (Palgrave, 2018)

“Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and the Counter-Shock,” in Duccio Basosi (ed.), *Countershock: Energy Policy in the 1980s* (IB Tauris, 2018)

“Reconceptualizing Shi’ism and Notions of the ‘Shi’a Crescent’: A History of Intra-Shi’a Tensions in Iraq vis-à-vis the Islamic Republic of Iran before and after the 2011 Uprisings,” in Paola Rivetti and Hendrik Kraetzschmar (eds.), *Islamists and the Politics of the Arab Uprisings: Governance, Pluralisation and Contention* (Edinburgh University Press, 2018)

“Military-Society Relations in Iraq, 1921-1958: Competing Roles of the Army,” in Benjamin Isakhan, Shamiran Mako and Fadi Dawood (eds.), *State and Society in Iraq: Citizenship under Occupation, Dictatorship and Democratization* (IB Tauris, 2017)

“Iraq’s Thwarted Arab Spring: From the Anbar Protests to the Islamic State,” in David W. Lesch and Mark L. Haas (eds.), *The Arab Spring: Change and Resistance in the Middle East* (Routledge, 2016)

“The Future of Religious Pilgrimage for Iraq’s Minorities: The Impact of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria’s Campaign on the Yezidis,” in Kevin Griffin and Maria Leppäkari (eds.), *Pilgrimage & Tourism of Holy Cities: Ideological Perspectives and Practical Management* (CABI, Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage Series, 2016)

“Sadrabilia: The Visual Narrative of Muqtada Al-Sadr’s Islamist Politics and Insurgency in Iraq” in Sune Haugobolle and Christianne Gruber (eds.), *Rhetoric of the Image: Visual Culture in Modern Muslim Contexts* (Indiana University Press, 2013)

“Lessons Learned: Civil Military Relations during the Iran-Iraq War and their influence on the 1991 Gulf War and 2003 Iraq War,” in Nigel Ashton and Bryan Gibson (eds.), *The Iran-Iraq War: New International Perspectives* (Routledge, 2013)

“Turkey,” in Daniel Moran (ed.), *Climate Change and Regional Security* (Georgetown University Press, 2011)

“Egypt,” in Daniel Moran (ed.), *Climate Change and Regional Security* (Georgetown University Press, 2011)

With Monroe Price and Nicole Stremlau, “Media in Peace-building Processes: Ethiopia and Iraq,” in Pippa Norris (ed.), *Public Sentinel: News Media and Governance Reform* (The World Bank, 2010)

“Iraq’s Gulf Policy and Regime Security from the Monarchy to the post-Baathist Era,” in Matteo Legrenzi (ed.), *Security in the Gulf: Historical Legacies and Future Prospects* (Routledge, 2010)

“Petro-nukes? Divining Saudi Nuclear Intentions from Mass Media, Political Communication, and Regime Survival Strategies,” in William Potter (ed.), *Forecasting Nuclear Proliferation* (Stanford University Press, 2010)

“Epilogue” in Antonius C.G.M. Robben (ed.), *Iraq at A Distance: What Anthropologists Have to Say about the Iraq War* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010)

With Aysegul Keskin, “Reconciliation Dilemmas in post-Baathist Iraq: Truth Commissions, Media and Ethno-sectarian Conflicts,” in Sune Haugbolle and Anders Hastrup (eds.), *The Politics of Violence, Truth and Reconciliation in the Arab Middle East* (Routledge, 2008)

“Regional Organizations as Conflict Mediators? The Arab League and Iraq,” in Cilja Harders and Matteo Legrenzi (eds.), *Beyond Regionalism? Regional Cooperation, Regionalism and Regionalisation in the Middle East* (Ashgate, 2008)

“Saddam’s Security Apparatus during the Invasion of Kuwait and the Kuwaiti Resistance,” in Ahron Bergman (ed.), *Warfare in the Middle East Since 1945* (Ashgate, 2008)

“Saddam Hussein’s Defense Strategy in the 2003 Iraq War,” in Barry Rubin (ed.), *After the Dictator: The Rebirth of Iraq* (ME Sharpe, 2008)

With Abdul Hadi Al-Khalili, “Iraqi Perceptions of the US,” in David Farber (ed.), *What They Think of US: International Perceptions of America’s War on Terror* (Princeton University Press, 2007)

“Feminism and Censorship in an Islamic Republic: Women Filmmakers in Iran,” in Valentine Moghadam (ed.), *From Patriarchy to Empowerment: Women’s Participation, Movements, and Rights in the Middle East, North Africa, and South Asia* (Syracuse University Press, 2007)

Occasional Papers

“The Dynamics of Iraq’s Media: Ethno-Sectarian Violence, Political Islam, Public Advocacy, and Globalization,” in Monroe Price, Douglas Griffin & Ibrahim Al-Marashi, (eds.), *Toward an Understanding of Media Policy and Media Systems in Iraq*, Center for Global Communication Studies Occasional Paper no. 1, Annenberg School for Communication, University of Pennsylvania, May 2007

Sample of Academic Essays

“Warfare in Iraq Since the 2003 Invasion: The Diffusion of The Projection of Political Violence,” Duetsche Orient Institut, *Orient*, Vol. 3, 2023

“[Iraq Still Faces Security, Gender, and Environmental Concerns](#),” Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale (Institute for the Study of International Politics, ISPI, Milan), 17 March 2023

“NATO as a Climate Alliance Treaty Organization,” in Christopher Maternowski (ed.) *Navigating a Global Crisis: Climate Change and NATO*, Winter 2023

“[Control of Violence in Iraq: Not a State Monopoly](#),” ISPI, Milan, 20 September 2022

“[Astropolitics: Iran’s Failed Satellite Launch and its Nuclear Diplomacy Success](#),” The Pacific Council on International Policy, 10 January 2022

“[The Legacy of Desmond Tutu and His Fight Against Climate Apartheid](#),” The Pacific Council on International Policy, 28 December 2021

“[Covid-19 and the Middle East’s ‘Cold War’](#),” The Pacific Council on International Policy, 7 May 2020

“[The Coronavirus and Biosecurity in the Middle East](#),” The Pacific Council on International Policy, 16 March 2020

“[The Coronavirus and Mediterranean as a Site of Epidemics](#),” The Square Centre for Revolutionary Studies, Comment #14, March 2020

“[The Geopolitics of the Coronavirus Outbreak](#),” The Pacific Council on International Policy, 21 February 2020

“Black Plague, Spanish Flu, Smallpox: All Hold Lessons for Coronavirus,” *The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, 13 March 2020

“[Climate Orientalism and the Middle East](#),” The Pacific Council on International Policy, 20 August 2019

“[The Case for a Climate Alliance Treaty Organization](#),” The Pacific Council on International Policy, 12 July 2019

“Does an Iraqi “Sunnistan” Really Exist?” *Oasis: Christians and Muslims in the Global World*, No. 27, July 2018, p.114-120.

“[Iraq’s Duopoly of Violence: A Headache for NATO](#),” ISPI, 5 July 2018

“The Arab League as Conflict Mediator: Between Ambitions and Reality,” for the theme issued on International and Regional Organisations in the Near and Middle East, Deutsche Orient-Stiftung/German Orient-Foundation, *Orient*, vol. 1, 2018

“US Travel Bans Define Terrorists,” in Kristina Lyn Heitkamp (ed.) *Economic Sanctions: Global Viewpoints* (Greenhaven, 2018)

“Travel Bans in Historical Perspective: Executive Orders Have Defined ‘Terrorists’ since Nixon,” American Historical Association’s *Perspectives on History*, November 2017, pp. 16-18

“Between Syria and Iraq: Geography and Identity,” in Marina Calculli and Shadi Hamid (eds.) *Syrian Exile: Migration and Political Responsibility* (Edizioni Angelo Guerini, 2016)

“Les Medias Irakiens Dans L’ombre De l’État Islamique,” *Les Cahiers de l’Orient*, no. 121, Hiver 2015, pp. 91-98.

“[What Future for Iraq: Unity and Partition after Mosul](#),” ISPI, 27 June 2017

“[Reconceptualizing Sectarianism in the Middle East and Asia](#),” The Middle East Institute, 18 June 2014

“[Iraq’s Security Outlook for 2013](#),” ISPI, 3 October 2013

“The Unexpected Aftermath of Operation ‘Iraqi Freedom’,” The International Institute for the Study of Islam in the Modern World (ISIM) Newsletter, no. 12, June 2003

Sample of Op-eds

“[History Suggests U.S. Airstrikes Against the Houthis Will Backfire](#),” *Time* magazine, January 17, 2024

“[Victims of War are more than just a Statistic](#),” *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 10, 2023

“[What the World Can Learn from the History of Hamas](#),” *Time* magazine, 17 October 2023

“[My Plagiarised Work Was Used to Justify the War on Iraq](#),” Al-Jazeera English, 21 March 2023

“[Iraqi Women Still Live the Legacy of Gender-Based Violence](#),” The New Arab, 8 March 2023

“[The Poway Shooter Used an Aged Old Terrorist Tactic](#),” *Washington Post*, 29 April 2019

“[Effects of Trump’s Travel Ban Felt In San Diego](#),” San Diego *Union Tribune*, 9 February 2017

“[These Are the Three Most Common Myths about What’s Happening in Iraq](#),” Huffington Post, 1 July 2014

[“Iraq in Turmoil: The Rise of ‘Syraq’,”](#) Al-Jazeera English, 17 June 2014

[“Syria Intervention: the US Should Heed the Lessons of the Iraq Weapons Dossier”,](#) *The Guardian*, 1 September 2013

[“Just Following Saddam Hussein's Orders,”](#) *New York Times*, 25 March 2003

Sample of Book Reviews

Patriotic Ayatollahs: Nationalism in Post-Saddam Iraq, by Caroleen Marji Sayej, *Middle East Journal*, vol. 73, no. 1, Spring 2019, pp. 158-159

Iraqi Federalism and the Kurds-Learning to Live Together, by Alex Danilovich, *Middle East Journal*, vol. 68, no. 4, Fall 2014, pp. 645-646

Dark Victory: America’s Second War Against Iraq, by Jeffery Record, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 37, no. 3, August 2005, pp. 441-442

Sample of Article Reviews

Hal Brands and David Palkki, “[“Conspiring Bastards”](#): Saddam Hussein’s Strategic View of the United States,” *Diplomatic History* 36:3 (June 2012)

Hal Brands [“Before the Tilt](#): The Carter Administration Engages Saddam Hussein.” *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, 26:1 (2015)

CONFERENCES AND TALKS

Conferences Organized

China, the BRI, and the Mediterranean: New Dynamics, Department of Political Science and International Affairs, John Cabot University, Rome, Italy, 8 June 2023

Public, Mental, and Climate Health: Future Challenges in the Three Years after the Pandemic, Global Commitment Committee, CSUSM, 14 April 2023

[The 20-Year Anniversary of the Iraq War](#): What does the 2003 Invasion Mean for Refugees from Ukraine, Syria, and Future Humanitarian Crises?, Global Commitment Committee, CSUSM, 23 February 2023

Iran’s Media 30 Years after the Revolution: The State, New Spaces, and Identity in the Islamic Republic, Annenberg School of Communication, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 23 January 2009

Peace and Conflict Case Studies: Europe and Beyond, Intensive Programme in Peace Studies, (funding European Commission), Sabanci University, Istanbul, Turkey, July 2005

Sample of Invited Talks

“Writing the History of the Middle East after 7 October and the Futures of Climate Change to Gaza,” Middle East Centre, University of Oxford, 29 September 2024

“Caffeinated Orientalism: The History and Politics of Coffee from Yemen to Italy,” University of San Diego, 23 September 2024

“Five Eyes, and British and American Intelligence on the Eve of the 2003 Iraq War: The Case of the ‘Dodgy Dossier’,” University of Oxford, 4 July 2024

“The Global Order after Gaza: The Aftermath of British Decolonization to the AI Apocalypse,” Keynote Address, University of Minho, Braga, Portugal, 23 April 2024

“Sustainability, Climate Change, and Islam: Environmentalism’s Roots in the Middle East and how it Relates to the Gaza Conflict,” Department of Theology and Religious Studies, University of San Diego, 14 March 2024

“The Middle East and Nonproliferation: From Gaza to Iran,” Department of Political Science, University of San Diego, 14 March 2024

“A Transnational History of Ukraine’s Decade of War,” Department of History, San Diego State University, 13 March 2024

“Black History in the Middle East: Afro-Iraqi and Afro-Palestinian Population,” CSUSM History Club, 12 February 2024

“The History of Hamas, Human Cyborgs, and Homicide Attacks: The Weaponization of Suicide and Voluntary Death,” University of Minho, Braga, Portugal, 12 December 2023

“Italy and the Middle East, From the 1911 Libya War to the 2023 Plan Mattei,” LUISS School of Government, Mediterranean Platform, Rome, Italy, 5 December 2023

“Twenty Years on the Invasion of Iraq in the Eyes of Refugees,” IE IR Society, IE University, Madrid, Spain, 30 November 2023

“[Femicide and Gender-Based Violence from Iraq to Italy](#),” IE Girl Up Club, IE University, 29 November 2023

“Projecting the Feminine: Depictions of Women from Art to Advertising,” IE Arts and Business Club, IE Girl Up Club, IE Women in Business Club, IE University, 22 November 2023

“From Struggles to Strength: SDGs and Child Well-being in the Middle East and Central Asia,” IE Sustainable Development Goals Club and IE Middle East and North Africa Club, IE University, 20 November 2023

“Empathy and Compassion during Global Conflicts and Climate Change,” IE Center for Well-Being, IE University, 14 November 2023

“[The Weaponization of Water and Climate Migration in the Middle East: Contested Rivers, Aquifers, and Dams from Iraq, Egypt and Ethiopia, to the Current Israel-Palestine Crisis,](#)” Inaugural Lecture for the Fred J. Hansen Chair, San Diego State University, 7 November 2023

“[The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: A History,](#)” Department of History, California State University San Marcos, 19 October 2023

“[The New Space Race,](#)” IE Space & Politics Club, IE University, 5 October 2023

“[History and Averting the Disasters of the 2003 Iraq War: Lessons from the Humanities Two Decades Later,](#)” Humanities Center Illume Speaker Series, University of San Diego, 18 September 2023

“Iraq’s Future, 20 Years after the 2003 War: Gender Security, Religious Minority Security, and Climate Change - a Unique Perspective,” Distinguished Speaker Series, The San Diego World Affairs Council, San Diego, 9 May 2023

“Twenty Years after the Invasion of Iraq: Assessing Its Impact on the Nation, the Middle East, and US Foreign Policy,” Center for Islamic and Arabic Studies, San Diego State University, 20 April 2023

“Navigating Iraq’s Future: Human Security and Climate Change,” The Mediterranean Platform, LUISS School of Government, Rome, Italy, 23 March 2023

“[The Transformation of Iraq since the 2003 Invasion: From the Dodgy Dossier to Human Security, Gender, and the Nation’s Future in the Face of Climate Change,](#)” Middle East Centre, University of Oxford, 10 March 2023

“Patriarchy, Power, and Protests in Iran: History and Women in Iran,” Department of History, and Phi Alpha Theta History Honors Society, San Diego State University, 18 November 2022

“Women, Life, Freedom: Dynamics of the Uprising in Iran,” Department of Theology and Religious Studies, and the Department of History, University of San Diego, 15 November 2022

“[The Dodgy Dossier, The Iraq War, and Me,](#)” TEDx Madrid, IE University, Madrid, Spain, 2 June 2022

“Understanding the History of Ukraine and the War with Russia,” Department of History, Center for War and Society, and Phi Alpha Theta History Honors Society, San Diego State University, 16 March 2022

“Afghanistan and the Middle East,” Middle East Centre, University of Oxford, November 25, 2021

“Afghanistan as the ‘Graveyard of Empires?’ Using History to Reflect on the 20 Years of the ‘War on Terror,’” Department of History, Phi Alpha Theta, and the Dwight E. Stanford Chair in American Foreign Relations, San Diego State University, 6 October 2021

“International Security after World War V: Covid-19 and Global Transformations,” IE University, Madrid, 23 April 2020

“The Black Mirror of Covid-19: The History of Pandemics and You,” IE University Arts & Humanities Division, Madrid, 12 April 2020

“Surveilling Covid-19: The Effect of a Pandemic on Intelligence Infrastructures,” School of Law and Government, Dublin City University, Dublin, Ireland, 8 April 2020

“The Syrian Civil War at Year Eight,” Department of Political Science and International Affairs, John Cabot University, Rome, Italy, 1 July 2019

“Homage to Catalonia: From the Barcelona Terrorist Attacks to the Catalan Referendum,” IE School of International Relations, IE University, Madrid, Spain, 18 October 2017

“Conceptualizing the Ideology and Tactics of ISIS,” Department of International Relations, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA, 2 December 2014

“The Iraq Crisis: US and Iranian Interest and Roles,” Institute for International Political Studies & International Centro Studi Americani, Rome, 7 July 2014

“Exploring Regime Resilience in Damascus,” International Institute of Strategic Studies, London, 18 April 2013

“Uprisings, State, and Sect in Syria and Iraq: What Saddam Hussein's Iraq Reveals about the Conflict in Syria,” Department of Anthropology, Fluminense Federal University (UFF), Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 18 December 2012

“Comparing Saddam Hussein's Iraq and the Syria of Al-Asad: Coup-Proofing and Counter-insurgency in Two Ba’athist States,” Joseph Kruzel Memorial Foreign and Defense Policy Luncheon Series, Washington State University, Pullman, 20 November 2012

“Coup-proofing in Syria: How Ba’athist States in Syria and Iraq Manage(d) to Stay in Power,” Center for International Studies, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 20 September 2012

“Coup-proofing in Syria: How Ba’athist States in Syria and Iraq Manage(d) to Stay in Power,” National Defense Institute of Portugal, Lisbon, 18 July 2012

“The Endurance of the Baathist State: Saddam Hussein’s Legacy after the December 2011 US Withdrawal from Iraq,” Middle East Studies Program, University of California San Diego, San Diego, 19 January 2012

“Thirty Years after the Iran-Iraq War: Lessons of Counterproliferation & WMD Deployment,” Middlebury Institute for International Studies, Monterey, California, 21 August 2010

“Iran’s Media Sphere: Communicating Reform, ‘Regime change,’ and Legitimacy in the Islamic Republic,” Annenberg School for Communication, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 17 March 2008

“The Insurgent Press in the Iraqi Media Landscape,” Squadron Program in Media Law & Society, Cardozo School of Law, New York, 9 February 2006

“Insurgent Media in the New Iraq,” Solomon Asch Center for Study of Ethnopolitical Conflict, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 7 February 2006

“Public Debate in the New Iraq,” Annenberg School for Communication, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 2 February 2006

“Iraq’s Cyber Insurgency: The Internet, Mass Media and the Iraqi Resistance,” *Lecture Series on Iraq*, University of Oxford, Oxford, 22 October 2004

Sample of Papers on Panels and Academic Conferences

“The History of the Holy Land, Har-Megiddo, Herzl, Hizballah, Human Cyborgs, Hamas, Houthis, and Hydro-necropolitics,” The Israel-Hamas War in Gaza,” SDSU Presidential Task Force on Anti-Semitism, San Diego State University, 12 March 2024

“[Saddam Hussein, Scuds, and the 1991 Attacks on Israel in the Palestinian Imagination](#),” *To Whom Palestine? History and Memory in Israel/Palestine*, Department of History, University of San Diego, 6 November 2023

“20 Years Since the Dodgy Dossier: The Relevance of Iraqi History and Archives since 2003,” Conference on *A Decade of Research Using Iraqi Archives: What We Now Know*, The Hoover Institution Library & Archives, Stanford University, 17-18 August 2023

“China as a Third-Party Mediator between Iran and Saudi Arabia, Russia and Ukraine,” Panel on *China, the BRI, and the Mediterranean: New Dynamics*, Department of Political Science and International Affairs, John Cabot University, Rome, Italy, 8 June 2023

“Twenty Years After the Iraq: Drones, Mercenaries, and Their Proliferation,” Conference on *Iraq 20 Years after the US Invasion: Regional and International Implications*, GIGA Institute for Middle East Studies, University of Hamburg, 2-3 May 2022

“History and Understanding the Invasion of Ukraine,” Panel on *The Conflict in Ukraine*, CSUSM, 28 April 2022

“Demobilization minus Disarmament and Reintegration: Iraq’s Security Sector from the US Occupation to the Covid-19 Pandemic,” Panel on *Building Sustainable Peace in Iraq*, Middle East Centre, London School of Economics, 17 November 2021

“Iraq, Trauma, and the Two Horsemen of the Apocalypse: War and Pestilence from Cholera to Covid-19,” Conference on *Iraq After 2003: When Trauma Becomes Art: Myth, History, and Literature*, Dipartimento Istituto Italiano di Studi Orientali, and Sapienza University of Rome, Rome, 23-24 September 2021

“From the Crimean War to the Syrian Civil War,” Panel on *History: Lessons Learned*, Lviv Security Conference, Lviv, Ukraine, 31 October 2019

“Demobilization minus Disarmament and Reintegration: Iraq’s Security Sector after the 2003 Iraq War,” Conference on *Building Sustainable Peace in Iraq: the Role of Transitional Justice and Post-Conflict Peacebuilding*, Boston University, 11-12 April 2019

“Searching for the ‘Iraq’ in ISIS: Is the Islamic State a Neo-Ba’athist Insurgency or Transnational Terrorist Group?” Panel on *Ba’athism, Islamism, and ISIS*, Middle East Studies Association Conference, Boston, 21-24 November 2016

“Chemical Weapons Deployment and Counter-Insurgency in Ba’athist Iraq,” Panel on *Studying the Iraqi Ba’th Party: Challenges, Opportunities, and New Findings*, Middle East Studies Association Conference, Denver, 21-24 November 2015

“Iraq and the Oil Counter-Shock of 1986,” Conference on the *Counter-Shock/Counter-Revolution*, Università Ca’ Foscari, Venice, Italy, 5-7 November 2015

“Iraq’s Public Sphere and its Hydrocarbon Sector,” Conference on *Oil Policy and Publics*, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Oslo, Norway, 3-4 September 2015

“Has the Syrian Civil War Reached a Mutually Hurting Stalemate?” Conference on *Syria: Moving Beyond the Stalemate*, University of St Andrews, St. Andrews, UK, 1-3 July 2015

“Dhulfiqar Ascendant? Reconceptualizing the Applications of Omnibalancing to the ISIS Threat and the pan-Shi’i Imaginary,” Panel on *Dependence, Interdependence and Autonomy in Middle East Security*, Annual Conference of the Italian Standing Group of International Relations, University of Trent, Italy, 26-27 June 2015

“The Future of Religious Pilgrimage for Iraq’s Minorities: The Impact of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria’s Campaign on The Yezidis,” 7th Annual International Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage, University of Girona, Spain, 11-13 June 2015

“Situating the Rise of ISIS in a Historical Perspective,” Panel on *Multi-Pronged Approaches to Deal with ISIS*, Pacific Council Spring Conference, Los Angeles, California, 17 April 2015

“A History of Neo-patrimonialism and the Iraqi Nuclear Program,” *Nuclear Experts and Nuclear Expertise in a Global Context after 1945*, Department of History, Humboldt University, Berlin, Germany, 5-7 October 2014

“The Theological Genealogy of ISIS,” Conference on *Perspectives on Salafi Extremism in the Levant and Iraq*, U.S. Department of State, Washington DC, 18 August 2014

“The 2003 Iraq War Did Not Take Place: A First-Person Perspective of the Simulation of Secret Intelligence and Iraq’s WMD Program,” Conference on *Baudrillard and War*, Department of War Studies, Swedish Defence College, Stockholm, Sweden, 11 October 2013

“Nonproliferation in the Middle East and the Iraq and Syria Cases”, Panel on Syria, International Security and Conflict Resolution Program, San Diego State University, 8 October 2013

“Military Strikes and WMD Programs in Iraq and Syria,” Panel on the *Crisis in Syria*, Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies, University of San Diego, 9 September 2013

“Comparative Sectarianism in Ba’athist Iraq and Syria: How the Ba’th-era Security Services Viewed the Iraqi Shi’a,” Conference on *Sectarianism in the Contemporary Middle East*, Centre for Academic Shi’a Studies, London, 13 April 2013

“Defeating the Alliance of 30: Hussein’s Concept of Political Victory during the 1991 Gulf War,” Panel on *War Initiation and Termination: Insights from Captured Iraqi Records*, International Studies Association Conference, San Francisco, 3-6 April 2013

“Lessons Learned: Civil Military Relations during the Iran-Iraq War and its influence on the 1991 Gulf War and 2003 Iraq War,” Conference on *Reappraising the Iran-Iraq War Thirty Years Later*, IDEAS Center for Diplomacy and Strategy, London School of Economics, 23-24 September 2010

“The Myth and Memory of Islamist Politics in Iraq,” Conference on *Islamic Resurgence in the Age of Globalization: Myth, Memory, Emotion*, The Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim, Norway, 4-6 September 2009

“The Visual Narrative of Islamist Politics and Insurgency in Iraq,” Conference on *Rhetoric of the Image: Visual Culture in Political Islam*, University of Copenhagen, 20-22 March 2009

“Iraq’s Gulf Policy and Regime Security from the Monarchy to the post-Baathist Era,” International Studies Association Conference, New York, 15-18 February 2009

“Devolving Power and Decentralization in Iraq in the Aftermath of the 2003 Iraq War: Iraqi Perspectives of International Actors and Local Governance,” World Conference for Humanitarian Studies, Groningen, Netherlands, 4-7 February 2009

“Post-Conflict Reconstruction, Fragile States and The Mass Media,” *The Role of the News Media in the Governance Agenda: Watch-dog, Agenda-setter, and Gate-keeper*, The World Bank

Communication for Governance and Accountability Program, and the Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 29-31 May 2008

“Iraq and Regional Security,” Conference on *Security Democratization and Stability in the Middle East*, Catholic University, Milan, Italy, 3 December 2007

“Identities within Iraqi Society and Their Relationship to the Media,” Conference on *Unity and Diversity in Iraq: The Nation’s Past and Future*, The American Academic Research Institute in Iraq, and The Hollings Center, Istanbul, Turkey, 26-28 October 2007

“The Role of Satellite TV and Iraq’s Violence,” *Media Incitement in the Iraq Crisis*, United States Institute of Peace, Washington DC, 24 October 2007

“The Media in Iraq,” Conference on *Freedom of Expression and Media Development in Iraq*, UNESCO Headquarters, Paris, France, 6-8 November 2006

“Communicating the Insurgency: Media Coverage of Iraqi Hostages,” Conference on *Media: Vital Ground for Terrorist Operations*, NATO Centre of Excellence, Ankara, Turkey, 7-8 June 2006

“The Ambivalent Relationship: The Arab League as Regional Intermediary in Iraq,” Workshop on *Regionalism and Regionalization in the Middle East: Theoretical and Empirical Issues*, European University Institute, Montecatini, Italy, 22-24 March 2006

“Ten Myths about the Middle East and Democracy,” Panel on *Democratization and Security in the Wider Middle East*, XV Economic Forum, Krynica Górská, Poland, 7-10 September 2005

“Examining Soft Security Issues in Post-Conflict Iraq,” *First Global International Studies Conference*, International Studies Association Pre-Conference, Istanbul, Turkey, 24-27 August 2005

“Iraqi Perceptions of the US,” Conference on *What They Think of US: International Perceptions of America’s War on Terror*, Temple University, Philadelphia, 25-27 March 2005

“Re-examining Iraq’s ‘Nineteenth Province’: Saddam Hussein and the Ba’ath Party’s Notions of the Iraqi Nation during the 1991 Gulf Crisis,” Workshop on *The Debate on the Iraqi Nation: Artificial Construct or Work in Progress*, European University Institute, Montecatini, Italy, 16-20 March 2005

“Emerging from the Republic of Silence: Media in the New Iraq,” *Experts’ Meeting on Media Development in the Arab Region*, United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Doha, Qatar, 6-8 December 2004

“Feminism and Censorship in an Islamic Republic: Women Filmmakers in Iran,” Conference on *Women in the Global Community*, US Fulbright Commission, Istanbul, Turkey, 7-9 September 2002

“Representations of Enmity in Iraqi State Documents,” Workshop on *The Symbolic Representation of Conflicts: Images and Discourses of Enmity in the Middle East*, European University Institute, Montecatini, Italy, 16-20 March 2002

As Discussant

Panel on *The Archives of Dictatorship: Ba’ath Party Records and the Saddam Era in Iraq*, American Historical Association, New Orleans, 6-9 January 2022

Panel on *The Saddam Tapes, 1978-2001: The Inner Workings of a Tyrant’s Regime*, International Studies Association Conference, San Diego, California, 1-4 April 2012

Panel on *Achieving Nuclear Ambitions: Scientists, Politicians and Proliferation*, International Political Science Association, Madrid, Spain, 8-12 July 2012

Sample of Radio and TV Appearances

“[Divided Iraq, Fractured Storyline](#),” Al-Jazeera English, 6 July 2014

“[This Is About More than Sects](#),” On The Media, 27 June 2014

“[How Should the US Navigate Talks with Iran?](#)” Huffington Post TV, 19 June 2014

“60 Minutes,” CBS News, 23 March 2003

“American Morning with Paula Zahn,” CNN, 10 February 2003

“Lou Dobbs Moneyline,” CNN, 6 February 2003

SERVICE ACTIVITIES AT CSUSM

Department Level

2013-2014, Member, Search Committee for Medieval/Early Modern Europe position

2013-2014, Member, History Department Retention, Tenure, and Promotion Drafting Committee

2015-2017, Member, History Department Graduate Committee

2020-present, Member, History Department Curriculum Committee

College Level

2012-2014 Member, Faculty Development Committee (FDC)

2022-2023, Member, Global Commitment Committee (GCC)

University level

2014-2016, Member, Arts & Lecture Committee (A&L)

2014-2016, Member, Global Advisory Committee (UGAC)
 2015-2017, Member, General Education Committee (GEC)
 2019-2022, Member, General Education Committee (GEC)
 2022-present, Member, Elections and Free Speech Task Force
 2024-present, Member, Teaching Climate Change and Resilience Faculty Learning Community

Faculty Advisor & Mentoring

2014-present, Faculty Mentor
 2015-present, Faculty Advisor, Model United Nations
 2021-present, Faculty Advisor, Muslim Students Association

GRANTS AWARDS, FELLOWSHIPS

CSUSM Grants

Faculty Development Grant for 2017 to present the paper, “Searching for the ‘Iraq’ in ISIS: Is the Islamic State a Neo-Ba'athist Insurgency or Transnational Terrorist Group?” Panel on *Ba'athism, Islamism, and ISIS*, Middle East Studies Association Conference, Boston, 21-24 November 2016

University Professional Development Grant for 2015 for archival research at Oxford University, Summer 2015

Faculty Development Grant for 2015 to present the paper, “The Future of Religious Pilgrimage for Iraq’s Minorities: The Impact of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria’s Campaign on The Yezidis,” 7th Annual International Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage (IRTP), University of Girona, Spain, 11-13 June 2015

Other Grants

International Policy Fellow, Center for Policy Studies, Central European University, Budapest, Hungary, 2006-2007

Pachachi Scholarship for Thesis Research, University of Oxford, 2003-2004

Wingate Foundation Scholarship for Thesis Research, University of Oxford, 2002-2004

Fellowship for Study in Africa, (conducted in Zanzibar, Tanzania), Oxford University, 2001

Fellowship for the Study of Advanced Arabic Texts, (conducted in Fez, Morocco), Univ. of Saint Louis, 1999

Full MA Tuition Scholarship, Georgetown University, 1995-1997