

Gareth Stansfield

Reader in Middle East Politics
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Personal information

Nationality: UK citizen
Date of birth: 26 October 1973

Professional career

University of Exeter (2002-)

Institute of Arab & Islamic Studies

2005- Reader in Middle East Politics
2004-5 Lecturer in Middle East Politics
2002-4 Leverhulme Special Research Fellow in Political Development
2002 Honorary Research Fellow

Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House (2003-)

2003- Associate Fellow, Middle East Programme

University of Durham (1999-2001)

College of St Hild and St Bede

1999-01 Undergraduate Tutor

University of Durham (1997-2001)

Centre for Middle East & Islamic Studies

1997-01 Research Associate

Education

University of Durham

Centre for Middle East & Islamic Studies

1997-01 PhD in Political Science
1995-96 MA (Distinction) in Middle East Politics

University of Durham

Department of Geography

1992-95 BA (Honours) in Geography

Hulme Grammar School, Oldham

1992 4 A levels, all grade A
1989-90 10 GCSEs

Scholarships, Awards and Prizes

2004 University of Exeter 'Contribution Based Reward' recipient
2002-4 Leverhulme Trust Special Research Fellowship (post-doctoral)
1999 University of Durham PhD Bursary
1997-9 University of Durham PhD Scholarship
1997 Kuwait University language scholarship (declined)
1995-6 Hatfield College Postgraduate Award
1995 University of Durham, Department of Geography, W A Moyes Prize for Geography
1992 Hulme Grammar School Governors' Major Leaving Exhibition
Oldham Metropolitan Borough Council Gerald Pritchard Award for music
Hulme Grammar School John Chadwick Award for music

Administrative experience

University of Exeter

Faculty of Graduate Studies

2005- Member of Faculty Board

Faculty of Undergraduate Studies

2004-5 Member of Faculty Board
Member of Programme Accreditation Committee

School of Humanities and Social Sciences (incorporating the Institute of Arab & Islamic Studies)

2005- Director of Graduate Studies
Chair of Graduate Studies Committee
Member of the School's Executive Group

Institute of Arab & Islamic Studies

2005- Member of Research Committee
Staff mentor
2004- Director of MRes degree
2004-5 Director of Undergraduate Studies
Admissions Officer (second semester)
Member of Teaching Committee
Modular Degrees Coordinator
Syllabus Coordinator (second semester)
Staff-Student Liaison Committee Coordinator
MA dissertation coordinator
2003-5 Widening Participation Director
Undergraduate dissertation coordinator
2003-4 Board member of Centre for Red Sea Studies
Conference Convenor (BRISMES)

University of Durham

1999-01 Programme Manager of Iraqi Kurdistan Research Programme.
1998 Acting Programme Manager of Iraqi Kurdistan Research Programme, based in Erbil and Suleimaniyah, Iraqi Kurdistan.

Teaching experience

Undergraduate teaching

2004- Nationalism in the Middle East
History of Iraq
Politics and Economy of the Middle East
2003- Geography of the Middle East

MA teaching

2004- History of Iraq
Nationalism in the Middle East
2002-3 Research methodology
Research seminars for postgraduate students

PhD supervision

2005- US foreign policy toward the Kurds.
Regional security and the UAE.
Analysis of US policy towards Palestine-Israel and the National Security Strategy 2002.
2004- Assessing the Oman-UAE boundary.
Federalism and the UAE.

- The socio-political impact of the *Anfal* campaign in Iraq.
Iraqi Kurdish identity in the 1990s.
Kurdish nationalism in Ba'athist Iraq.
Kurdish nationalist discourse in the late Ottoman Empire.
- 2003- Federalism and the political reconstruction of post-war Iraq.

MA/MRes dissertation supervision

- 2005-6 Considering the state institutions of Somaliland
2004-5 Assessing Britain's role in Palestine

PhD examining

- 2005 School of Government and International Affairs
University of Durham

Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies
University of Exeter

Research groups

- 2006- Centre for the Study of War, State and Society (History, Exeter)
2005- Gulf Studies Programme (IAIS, Exeter)
2003- Middle East Studies Group (London and Oxford)
2003-4 Centre for Red Sea Studies (IAIS, Exeter)

Teaching innovations

Undergraduate level

- 2005 Co-designed new degree programme, BA in Arabic and Middle East Studies, commencing 2005-06.
2004 Designed and implemented new module on 'History and Political Development of Iraq'.
2003 Designed and implemented new module on 'Geography of the Middle East'.

Postgraduate level

- 2005 Restructured MRes in Middle East Studies to include new research training programme and regional language pathways.
2003 Co-designed ESRC-recognised MRes in Middle East Studies.

Research Grants/Fundraising

- 2005 Secured £5,000 grant from UK government to consider British military posture in the Middle East.

Awarded £400 Overseas Conference Grant (refereed competition) from the British Academy to attend the Middle East Studies Association 2005 annual conference in Washington DC.

Awarded \$38,469 grant from United States Institute of Peace (USIP) unsolicited (refereed) grant competition for 'Investigating Political Mobilization in Iraqi Kurdistan' (USIP-250-04F).

Granted research fund of £920 from the University of Exeter.
- 2004 Secured £111,000 grant (£37,000 pa, 2005-8) for new three-year Lectureship in Kurdish Studies at the University of Exeter from the Ibrahim Ahmed Foundation.
- 2003 £2,500 from ESRC (University of Birmingham) for 'Iraq War Archive' Arabic language component.
- 2002-4 Leverhulme Trust Special Research Fellowship (£65,000 – 50% from University of Exeter).
- 1997-01 Co-designer of University of Durham proposal to DFID for 'Policy Planning Unit' project in Iraqi Kurdistan, assisting the Kurdistan Regional Government(s) (total app. £950,000).

Board memberships

- 2005- Iraq Institute for Strategic Studies advisory board member.
London Middle East Institute Papers on the Contemporary Middle East. Editorial board member for politics and international relations.
- 2002-4 British Society for Middle Eastern Studies co-opted committee member.
- 2001- Washington Kurdish Institute (WKI) advisory board member.
Kurdistan Childrens' Fund advisory board member.

Professional memberships/associations

- American Political Science Association
Durham Geography Graduates' Association
International Studies Association
London Middle East Institute
Royal Institute of International Affairs
Kurdish Scientific and Medical Association
British Society for Middle Eastern Studies
Middle East Studies Association of North America

Publications I: Books/Collections

Books in print

1. *The Future of Iraq: Dictatorship, Democracy or Division?* (co-authored with Liam Anderson. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004). 260 pp.
a. Revised and updated 2nd edition (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005). 278 pp.
b. Arabic edition. *Iraq al-Mustaqbal: Dictatoriyya, Dimocratiyya am Taqsim?* (London: Al-Warrak Publishers, 2005). 424 pp.
2. *Iraqi Kurdistan: Political Development and Emergent Democracy* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003). 261 pp.
3. *The 1995-1996 Yemen-Eritrea Conflict Over the Islands of Hanish and Jabal Zuqar: A Geopolitical Analysis* (Durham: Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, Occasional Paper no. 66, 2001). 80 pp.

Books in preparation

1. *Iraq* (contracted 2002, Cambridge: Polity Press).
2. *A History of Kurdistan* (contracted 2004, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
3. *Living on the Edge: The Trials and Tribulations of the Kurds in Iraq*. (contracted 2005, London: Routledge).

Publications II: Articles and Chapters

1. (in press) 'The Tortured Resurgence of Kurdish Nationalism in Iraq, 1975-1991' (with Shorsh Haji Resool) in Michael Gunter and Mohammed Ahmed (eds.) *Evolution of Kurdish Nationalism*. Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Press.
2. (in press) 'Political Mobilization in Iraqi Kurdistan' in Faleh Abd al-Jaber and Hashem Daoud, eds., *Ethnicity in the Middle East: The Case of the Kurds*. London: Saqi.
2. 'The Implications of Elections for Federalism in Iraq: Toward a Five-Region Model' (co-authored with Liam Anderson) in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 35, no. 3 (2005) pp. 1-24.
3. 'Political Life and the Military' in Youssef Choueiri (ed.) *Companion to the History of the Middle East* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005) pp. 355-371.
4. 'Governing Kurdistan: The Strength of Division', in Brendan O'Leary, John McGarry and Khaled Saleh (eds.) *The Future of Kurdistan in Iraq* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005) pp. 195-218.

5. 'The Transition to Democracy in Iraq: Historical Legacies, Resurgent Identities and Reactionary Tendencies', in Alex Danchev & John Macmillan (eds.) *The Iraq War and Democratic Politics* (London: Routledge, 2004) pp. 134-159.
6. 'Iraq in Transition: From Occupation to Sovereignty' in *The Middle East and North Africa 2005* (London: Europa, 2005) pp. 105-109.
7. 'History of Iraq' in *The Middle East and North Africa 2005* (Rewrite of previous essay. London: Europa, 2005) pp. 461-507.
8. 'Political Parties of Iraq' in *Political Parties of the World* (London: J H Publishing, 2004) pp. 309-316.
9. *Iraq on the Way to its New Constitution: Conference Proceedings*. (Ankara: Bilkent University/ Turkish Foreign Policy Institute, 2004) pp. 21-23, 45-47, 63-64, 122-125.
10. 'The Iraq War', in *Grolier Multimedia Encyclopaedia*, 2004 (internet resource, www.go.grolier.com).
11. 'Carpişan Milliyetçilikler ve Irak Devleti'nin Cöküşü' in Fulya Atacan (ed.) *Değişen Toplumlar Değişmeyen Siyaset: Ortadoğu* (Istanbul: Bağlam Yayıncılık, 2004) pp 181-190.
12. 'The Removal of Saddam and the Deconstruction of Iraq' in *The Middle East and North Africa 2004* (London: Europa, 2004) pp. 99-104.
13. 'History of Iraq' in *The Middle East and North Africa 2004*. Rewrite of previous essay (London: Europa, 2004) pp. 444-488.
14. Contributor to *The Iraq Policy Group: Transitional Authority in Iraq*. Centre for Defence Studies Policy Research Papers. (London: King's College, 2003).
15. (with Hassan Abdulrazak) 'A survey of possible political arrangements for Iraq' in Céline Auclair (ed.) *Constitutional Options for Post-War Iraq* (Ottawa: Forum of Federations, 2003) pp. 15-25.
 - a. Arabic translation. 'Mas'h lil-tartibat aw al-andhima al-sayasiyya al-mubtamala fl al-Iraq' in Céline Auclair (ed.) *al-Khayarat al-Dusturiyya lil-Iraq ma ba'd al-Harb* (Ottawa: Forum of Federations, 2003) pp. 17-29.
16. 'Toward a sustainable institutional arrangement for Iraq' in Céline Auclair (ed.) *Constitutional Options for Post-War Iraq* (Ottawa: Forum of Federations, 2003) pp. 26-35.
 - a. Arabic translation. 'Nabunna tadbir mussasati mustadam lil-Iraq' in Céline Auclair (ed.) *al-Khayarat al-Dusturiyya lil-Iraq ma ba'd al-Harb* (Ottawa: Forum of Federations, 2003) pp. 30-42.
17. 'Politics and Governance in the New Iraq: Reconstruction of the New Versus Resurrection of the Old' in Jonathan Eyal (ed.) *War in Iraq: Combat and Consequence*. RUSI Whitehall Paper 59 (London: Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies, Summer 2003) pp. 67-83.
18. 'The Kurdish Dilemma: The Golden Era Threatened' in Toby Dodge & Steve Simon (eds.) *Iraq at the Crossroads: State and Society in the Shadow of Regime Change*. International Institute for Strategic Studies Adelphi Paper no. 354 (Oxford and London: IISS/Oxford University Press, 2002) pp. 131-148.
19. 'Distribution of Asylum Requests Over European Countries: A Qualitative Description and Analysis of Male Potential Asylum Seekers from Erbil, Northern Iraq (Kurdistan)' in D Efiionayi-Mäder, M Chimienti, J Dahinden & E Piguët (eds.), *Distribution of Asylum Requests Over European Countries* (Neuchâtel: Schweizerisches Forum für Migrationsstudien, 2001) pp. 289-326.
3. 'The Bitterest of Friends: The Merger of the Kurdistan Regional Governments in Iraq', part of USIP grant research.
4. 'Considering the tribes in Kurdistan-Iraq's post-Saddam political development', part of USIP grant research.
5. 'Assessing the role of Islamist organizations in Kurdistan-Iraq', part of USIP grant research.
6. 'To be a minority in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq: The Political and civic organizations of the Chaldo-Assyrians and Turkmen in Kurdistan-Iraq', part of USIP grant research.
7. 'The Formation and Early Development of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan,' for submission to the *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*.
8. 'The Cannon of Rowanduz,' for submission to academic journal.

Publications III: Briefings, Magazines and Newspapers

1. 'Kurdish Representation in London', in *The Middle East*, magazine of the London Middle East Institute, February 2006.
2. 'Iraq Outlook: Metrics Don't Make Reality', in *Eurofuture* 6, December 2005.
3. 'Iraq After the Referendum: Stuff of Nightmares,' in *The World Today*, October 2005, pp. 9-11.
4. 'Political Developments in Post-Saddam Iraq,' in House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee, *Foreign Policy Aspects of the War Against Terrorism* (Sixth Report of Session 2004-05) Volume II, pp. Ev 135-137.
5. 'Iraq: Make Up or Break Up,' posted on *KurdishMedia* and *Kurdistan Observer*, 7 March 2005.
6. 'Make Up, or Break Up,' *The World Today*, March 2005, pp. 4-6.
7. 'The Kurds after the Iraqi Elections,' *Oxford Analytica Daily Brief*, February 2005.
8. 'Letter from Iraq,' *Hulme Grammar School Old Boy's Association Newsletter*, 34, January 2005.
9. *Iraq in Transition: Vortex or Catalyst?* Briefing Paper No. 4/2. RIIA, London, September 2004.
10. 'Continued developments threaten Iraq's territorial integrity' in *Kurdistan Observer* and *Kurdish Media*, 20 May 2004.
11. 'Don't allow the ethnic fissures to widen in Iraq' in *Gulf News* and *Kurdistan World*, 18 May 2004.
12. 'The Unthinkable' in *The World Today*, May 2004. London: RIIA, pp. 6-8.
13. 'What to do about Iraq?' London Middle East Institute magazine, vol. 1, no. 1, April 2004, pp. 8-10.
14. 'The Reshaping of Sunni Politics in Iraq,' *Al-Jazeera.Net*, 15 March 2004. Doha: Al-Jazeera.
15. 'Apocalypse Soon?' in *The World Today*, vol. 60, no. 3, March 2004. London: RIIA, pp. 4-6.
16. 'Governing Iraq: Who's Boss Around Here Anyway?' in *The World Today*, Vol. 23 No. 7, July 2003. London: RIIA, pp. 6-8.
17. 'The Iraqi Kurds: A New Start or Repeated History?' in *RUSI Newsbrief*, Vol. 23 No. 4, April 2003. London: RUSI, pp. 40-41.
18. 'Toward a New Government in Iraq: Farce or Future?' in *The World Today*, Vol. 59, No. 4, April 2003. London: RIIA, pp.7-9.
19. 'A Novel Mix of the Modern and Traditional' in *The Scotsman*, 27 March 2003.
20. 'Can the Iraqi Opposition Unite?' *The Observer Comment Extra: The World Today Essay*. London: The Observer, March 2003.

Articles and chapters in preparation

1. 'The Changing Parameters of Kurdish Statehood' (with Liam Anderson) for submission to *Middle East Journal*.
2. 'Kirkuk and Ethno-political Conflict in Iraq' (with Liam Anderson) for submission to *Middle East Policy*.

1. 'Iraq and its Kurdish State: Dream On' in *The World Today*, Vol. 59, No. 3, February 2003. London: RIIA.
2. 'Insight into Iraq' in *Expression: The Magazine for Exeter Alumni*, Winter 2002. University of Exeter.
23. 'News Section: Middle East and North Africa.' *Boundary and Security Bulletin*. Vol. 4, No. 2. Durham: International Boundaries Research Unit, Summer 1996.
24. 'News Section: Middle East and North Africa.' *Boundary and Security Bulletin*. Vol. 4, No. 1. Durham: International Boundaries Research Unit, Spring 1996.
25. 'News Section: Middle East and North Africa.' *Boundary and Security Bulletin*. Vol. 3, No. 4. Durham: International Boundaries Research Unit, Winter 1995.
26. 'News Section: Middle East and North Africa.' *Boundary and Security Bulletin*. Vol. 3, No. 3. Durham: International Boundaries Research Unit, Autumn 1995, pp. 10-12.

Publications IV: Book Reviews

1. *Inheriting Syria: Bashar's Trial By Fire* by Flynt Leverett. Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2005. Reviewed in the *Times Higher Education Supplement*, January 2006.
2. *Deadly Connections: States that Sponsor Terrorism* by Daniel Byman. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. Reviewed in the *Times Higher Education Supplement*, September 2005.
3. *Memories of State: Politics, History and Collective Identity in Modern Iraq* by Eric Davis. University of California Press, 2005. Reviewed in *Middle East Journal*, Winter 2006.
4. *Historical Dictionary of Iraq* by Edmund Ghareeb (with Beth Dougherty). Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press. Reviewed in *Middle East Journal*, Winter 2005.
5. *The Kurdish Predicament in Iraq: A Political Analysis* by Michael Gunter. New York: St. Martin's Press. Reviewed in *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*, Vol. 34 No. 1, 2000, pp. 124-125.

Manuscript/proposal reviews

I have reviewed manuscripts, book proposals and journal submissions for: Routledge (London), Routledge Curzon (London), Palgrave Macmillan (Basingstoke and New York), University of Florida Press, Hurst & Co. (London), British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies, International Affairs, British Society for Middle Eastern Studies, Journal of Social Affairs (UAE), International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies (US), Melbourne Journal of International Law (Australia), Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism (LSE).

Broadcasting and journalism

Regular appearances and interviews on UK, European, US, South African, Middle Eastern, and Asian media organizations, including the following networks and programmes:

BBC World Service, Radio 4, Radio 5, Scotland, Wales, News 24, Breakfast, Devon, Channel 4 news, Deutsche Welle (Qantara), Radio France International, National Greek Radio, British Satellite Broadcasting, CBC, CNBC, *Jaam-i Jam* (Iran), South Africa Radio, Radio Singapore, *AlJazeera*, Juniper Productions, The History Channel. A full list of approximately 200 appearances since 2002 is available.

Consultancy

I have acted as a consultant to Department for International Development, British Council, Centra Technology (USA), Oxford Analytica, London Middle East Institute, HOBE Corporation (USA), and various political and governmental institutions in the UK and abroad. I also have written numerous 'Expert Reports' for UK lawyers representing asylum seekers from Iraq and Kurdistan. A selection of consultancy activities includes:

1. Japan Cooperation Center for the Middle East, report on political economy of Iraq, February 2006.
2. Chatham House consultancy on developments in post-Saddam Iraq, as part of wider regional study, November 2005.
3. Briefed National Geographic magazine on the demise of the Ottoman Empire and Iraqi political pathologies, July 2005.
4. Advised BBC on establishment of a Kurdish language service, April 2005.
5. Acted as advisor to foreign policy team of Liberal Democrat Foreign Affairs and Defence Spokesman Sir Menzies Campbell, December 2004.
6. 'The Kurdish Region of Iraq in 2009', report prepared for US military, Washington DC, October 2004.
7. 'Political participation fund for Iraq: Project portfolio guidance', report prepared for the Department for International Development (DFID) by the London Middle East Institute, 24 May 2004.
8. 'Scenarios for Iraq'. Consultancy for the Royal Institute for International Affairs, February 2004.
9. 'Kirkuk and South Korean Military Deployment.' Report submitted to the South Korean Ambassador to the UK. February 2004.
10. 'Threats to Kurdish Economic Security in Iraq.' *Oxford Analytica Daily Brief*, January 2004.
11. 'The Kurds and Arabs in Iraq: Putting the Pieces Back Together.' *Oxford Analytica Daily Brief*, October 2003.
12. 'An Assessment of Iraqi Electoral Laws and Procedures.' Contributor to report coordinated and compiled by the London Middle East Institute, SOAS, for the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), October 2003.
13. 'Initial Iraq Conflict Scoping Study.' Contributor to report compiled by the Iraq Policy Group convened by the Ministry of Defence at the Centre for Defence Studies at King's College London, July 2003.
14. 'The Alleviation of Humanitarian Suffering in Iraq: Some Considerations.' Brief provided to the Hobe Corporation, Washington DC, January 2003.
15. 'The Kurds and the Iraqi Opposition.' *Oxford Analytica Daily Brief*, December 2002.
16. 'Scenarios for a Future Iraq.' Consultancy for US Government, October 2002.
17. 'Irak: Die aktuelle Lage im Nordirak.' Briefing for Swiss Federal Office of Refugees, May 2002.
18. 'Tribalism in the Middle East.' *Tribalism 2001*. Oxford Analytica Report. 2001.
19. 'Iraq/Turkey: Kurdish Interests.' *Oxford Analytica Daily Brief*, 7 September 2001, III, pp. 9-11.
20. 'Iraq: Kurdish Chessboard.' *Oxford Analytica Daily Brief*, 2 August 2000, III, pp. 8-10.
21. 'Iraq: Kurdish Divisions.' *Oxford Analytica Daily Brief*, 14 April 2000, V, pp. 14-16.
22. 'The Situation of Saudi Arabia's Borders as Inferred by Analysis of Foreign Relations, 1997-1999.' Consultancy for Professor Ewan Anderson, March 1999.
23. 'Fractal Shapes and Boundaries.' Consultancy for Geopolitica, May 1997.
24. 'The Republic of Yemen and the Commonwealth: Foreign Policy, Political Economy and the GCC.' Consultancy for Geopolitica, April 1997.
25. Assembled bibliography of political economy references for Professor Tim Niblock, December 1995.

Significant public lectures, presentations and conference participation

1. Joint Services Command and Staff College Advanced Command and Staff Course, Shrivenham, March 2006.
2. Invited to address US government conference on Iraqi politics, Washington DC, March 2006.
3. Invited to participate in UN workshop on security in Iraq, February 2006.
4. Invited to lecture to British military, Germany, 30 January 2006.
5. Invited speaker at Royal United Services Institute conference on *Transnational Terrorism*, 16 January 2006.
6. Panel speaker at the Middle East Studies Association Conference, Washington DC, November 2005.
7. Invited speaker, Kurdish National Congress of North America conference, universities of Salahadin and Suleimani, Iraqi Kurdistan, November 2005.
8. Invited participant in seminar hosted by Institutte d'Etudes du Sécurité (Paris) on 'The Kurdish Issue and the EU', October 2005.
9. Invited to present paper at *Empire and After* conference at University of St. Andrew's, 21 October 2005.
10. Invited speaker at *Democracy in the Middle East* conference, Erbil, Iraqi Kurdistan, 7 October 2005.
11. Paper presentation at the BRISMES/European Middle East Studies Association (EUROMES) conference, University of Durham, September 2005.
12. Invited to give lecture to British Army, Germany, September 2005.
13. Invited guest speaker at the Ahmed Foundation for Kurdish Studies Conference, Boston, MA, September 2005.
14. Chaired General Meeting at Chatham House (book launch of Brendan O'Leary *et. al. The Future of Kurdistan in Iraq* at the Royal Institute of International Affairs) London. 30 May 2005.
15. Invited to brief British military officials of the Permanent Joint Headquarters, Exeter, 15 May 2005.
16. Invited speaker at seminar for Statoil (Norway) held at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (Stavanger), April 25, 2005.
17. Invited participant at US Government conference on Iraq, Washington DC, April 20, 2005.
18. Paper presentation at the International Studies Association annual conference, Honolulu, March 2005.
19. Invited lecture to the Joint Services Command and Staff College Advanced Command and Staff Course, Shrivenham, March 2005.
20. Guest speaker, Department of Geography, University of Exeter, January 2005.
21. Invited speaker, Madingley Hall, University of Cambridge, on *Iraq and Regional Security*. 21 January 2005.
22. Invited speaker at U.S. Government Office of Iraq Analysis conference on *The Future of Iraq: Nationalism, Ethnicity, Religion*. Washington D.C., 2-4 December 2004.
23. Invited participant on 'Kurdish Re-Nationalisation in Post-Saddam Iraq' on *Prospects for Kurdish Nationalism* round-table at the Middle East Studies Association (MESA) Conference, San Francisco, November 2004.
24. Guest lecture at the Middle East Centre, St Antony's College, Oxford University, 12 November 2004.
25. Participant in RIIA seminar on *The Kurds in Iraq*. London, 30 October 2004.
26. Guest lecture at the Bath Historical Association on the *History of Iraq*. Bath, 29 October 2004.
27. Lecture at the Members' Conference at the RIIA, London, on *Can American Deliver: The Case of Nation-Building in Iraq*. 28 October 2004.
28. Invited participant, *The Future of Iraq*, Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies, Eleventh Ditchley Park Conference, 3-5 September.
29. *Iraqi Kurdistan and the New Iraq*, guest lecture at the National Defense University, Washington DC, 21 July 2004.
30. *Political Strategic Scene Setting*, Lecture to 1 (UK) Armoured Division, Herford, Germany, 13 July 2004.
31. *Scenarios for the Future of Iraq*, Politics Department, American University of Beirut, 8 June 2004.
32. *Internal Political Developments in Iraq*, Centre for Strategic Studies and Research, Damascus, 2 June 2004.
33. Participant in roundtable with the Institute of Political and International Studies, Tehran, at RIIA, London, 21 April 2004.
34. General meeting and book launch of *The Future of Iraq: Dictatorship, Democracy or Division?* RIIA, London, 21 April 2004.
35. Lecture and book launch of *The Future of Iraq: Dictatorship, Democracy or Division?* SOAS, 20 April 2004.
36. Invited participant for symposium *Iraq on the way to its new constitution* convened by the Turkish Foreign Policy Institute, Bilkent University, Ankara, 22-23 March 2004.
37. *The Political Development of Iraq*, Joint Command and Staff College of the UK Defence Academy, Shrivenham, 18 March 2004.
38. Invited to brief Standard Chartered Bank by the Royal Institute of International Affairs on Iraqi politics, London, February 2003.
39. Spoke at Clyst Vale Community College on the Iraq situation, Exeter, March 2003.
40. Gave lecture at the General Meeting of the Royal Institute of International Affairs on *The Future for the Kurds*, London, April 2003.
41. Invited to brief Institute of War and Peace Reporting on the Iraq War, London, April 2003.
42. Book launch of *Iraqi Kurdistan: Political Development and Emergent Democracy*. Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, University of Exeter, May 2003.
43. Participant in seminar on Iraq, Institute for Contemporary Arts, London, June 2003.
44. Regular member of 'Iraq Policy Group', regular meetings, London, summer 2003.
45. Paper on *Communalism in Iraq* at the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies conference, Exeter, July 2003.
46. Invited to lecture to the Kurdistan Scientific and Medical Association on *Iraqi Kurdistan and Federalism*. London, October 2003.
47. Invited lecture to University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand, 23 October 2003
48. Invited lecture to the New Zealand Institute of International Affairs, Victoria University, Wellington, 19 October 2003.
49. Invited lecture to the New Zealand Institute of International Affairs, Timaru branch, 22 October 2003.
50. Invited participant for symposium held at the Crown Prince's Court, Abu Dhabi, UAE, 12 October 2003.
51. *The New Iraq: Toward the Institutionalization of Communal Identity*, invited presenter at international conference on *Post Saddam Iraq: New Challenges and Prospects in the Middle East*. Yildiz Technical University, Istanbul, 10 October 2003.

52. Invited presenter on the *Middle East Forum* at RUSI, London, 18 September 2003.
53. Invited to brief European Commissioner for External Relations (Chris Patten) on Iraqi politics. Brussels, 10 June 2003.
54. '*Winning the Peace in Iraq*', lecture at the Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding, London, 15 May 2003.
55. '*The Behaviour of Iraq in the International System*', Joint Command and Staff College, Defence Academy of the UK, Shrivenham, 20 March 2003.
56. '*The Managed Partition of Iraq*', Wright State University, Dayton, Ohio, 18 February 2003.
57. Invited to present paper on '*Changing Political Authority in Iraq*', at seminar at the London Middle East Institute, SOAS, London, October 2003.
58. Chaired viewing of '*An Independent Camera in Kurdistan*', Institute of Arab & Islamic Studies, University of Exeter, November 2003.
59. Guest lecturer at the Institute of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, University of Durham, on '*The Democracy Dilemma in Iraq*', November 2003.
60. Invited to lecture to US government analysts on Iraqi politics. Washington DC, 13 October 2002.
61. Invited to present paper on the '*Iraqi Opposition*' at the Royal Institute for International Affairs, London, December 2002.
62. Briefed CEO of the HOBE Corporation on '*economic development in the Middle East and North Africa*', Washington DC, December 2002.
63. Invited participant in workshop on '*Iraq at the Crossroads*', International Institute for Strategic Studies, London, 18 September 2002.
64. '*Iraqi Kurdish Political Dynamics*', briefing to Swiss Office of Refugees, Ministry of Justice, Bern, 8 May 2002.
65. '*Political Development of Iraqi Kurdistan*', invited lecture to the National Defense University, Washington DC, December 2001.
66. Guest lecture at the Department of Anthropology, University of Durham on '*Iraq: Geopolitics and State Building*', May 2001.
67. Invited to brief officials from the US State Department on '*Iraqi Kurdish politics*', Washington DC, December 2001.
68. '*Future Humanitarian Needs in Iraq*', paper presented at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, London, 2001.
69. Guest lecture at the Institute of Arab & Islamic Studies, University of Exeter, on '*Political developments in Iraqi Kurdistan*', October, 2001.
70. Invited to brief the Foreign Affairs Bureau of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan on '*Foreign Policy Options for the Iraqi Kurds*', Suleimaniyah, June 2000.
71. Headed series of seminars with the Council of Ministers of the Kurdistan Regional Government on a '*Coordinated Planning Initiative*'. Summer, 2000.
72. Invited to lecture to US government analysts on the '*Political Dynamics of Iraqi Kurdistan*' at the National Defense University, Washington DC, November 1999.
73. Briefed US State Department officials on Iraqi Kurdish politics, Washington DC, November 1999.
74. Invited lecture on '*structures and mechanisms of Kurdish parties*', at the Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, University of Durham, 1999.
75. Participated in workshop on '*Iraqi Kurdish developmental issues*', at the Department for International Development, London, 1999.
76. Led seminar on '*Capacity-Building Measures*' for the Council of Ministers, Kurdistan Regional Government, Erbil, July 1999.
77. Invited to speak to the Senior Common Room of the College of St. Hild and St. Bede at the University of Durham on '*Contemporary Kurdistan*'. October 1999.
78. '*UN Security Council Resolutions regarding Iraq*', invited lecture to the Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, University of Durham, 1997.
79. '*UN Security Council Resolution 986 and Iraqi Kurdistan*', seminar presentation at the Department for International Development, London, 1997.

References

Available on request