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1. REPORT DATE (DD-MM-YYYY) 08-04-2014	2. REPORT TYPE Final Report	3. DATES COVERED (From - To) 15-Apr-2009 - 14-Oct-2013
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4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE Final Progress Report - Individual papers, presentations, etc. reported below.	5a. CONTRACT NUMBER W911NF-09-1-0105
	5b. GRANT NUMBER
	5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER 611103

6. AUTHORS Leonard S. Spector [author of final report]; Ibrahim al-Marashi, Amy Smithson, Raymond Zilinskas; Egle Murauskaite [authors of individual papers and presentations]	5d. PROJECT NUMBER
	5e. TASK NUMBER
	5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER

7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAMES AND ADDRESSES Monterey Institute of International Studies CNS 460 Pierce Street Monterey, CA 93940 -2658	8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER
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9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS (ES) U.S. Army Research Office P.O. Box 12211 Research Triangle Park, NC 27709-2211	10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S) ARO
	11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S) 55853-LS-MRI.12

12. DISTRIBUTION AVAILABILITY STATEMENT
Approved for Public Release; Distribution Unlimited

13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES
The views, opinions and/or findings contained in this report are those of the author(s) and should not be construed as an official Department of the Army position, policy or decision, unless so designated by other documentation.

14. ABSTRACT
This report highlights the work of this project from September 2012 to September 2013, including: papers on the internal workings of the Saddam Hussein regime; comparisons with the workings of the Bashar al-Asad regime; the policies of both regimes regarding the use of chemical weapons against domestic adversaries; the policies of Saddam Hussein with respect to inflicting casualties against Iranian civilians during the Iran-Iraq war; and Saddam Hussein's attitudes toward developing and using chemical and biological weapons, more generally. The key source for this work has been the archive of documents of the Saddam Hussein regime (including transcripts of meetings).

15. SUBJECT TERMS
Saddam Hussein; Bashar al-Asad; intelligence services; security services; Ba'ath Party; competing government security structures; internal threats; coup d'etat; suppression of insurgencies; use of force against domestic adversaries; weapons of mass destruction;

16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:			17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT	15. NUMBER OF PAGES	19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON
a. REPORT	b. ABSTRACT	c. THIS PAGE	UU		Leonard Spector
UU	UU	UU			19b. TELEPHONE NUMBER 202-842-3100

Report Title

Final Progress Report - Individual papers, presentations, etc. reported below.

ABSTRACT

This report highlights the work of this project from September 2012 to September 2013, including: papers on the internal workings of the Saddam Hussein regime; comparisons with the workings of the Bashar al-Asad regime; the policies of both regimes regarding the use of chemical weapons against domestic adversaries; the policies of Saddam Hussein with respect inflicting casualties against Iranian civilians during the Iran-Iraq war; and Saddam Hussein's attitudes toward developing and using chemical and biological weapons, more generally. The key source for this work has been the archive of documents of the Saddam Hussein regime (including transcripts of meetings of key leaders) captured by U.S. and Coalition forces in Kuwait in 1991 and Baghdad in 2003, available through the Conflict Records Research Center, National Defense University.

Enter List of papers submitted or published that acknowledge ARO support from the start of the project to the date of this printing. List the papers, including journal references, in the following categories:

(a) Papers published in peer-reviewed journals (N/A for none)

<u>Received</u>	<u>Paper</u>
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TOTAL:

Number of Papers published in peer-reviewed journals:

(b) Papers published in non-peer-reviewed journals (N/A for none)

<u>Received</u>	<u>Paper</u>
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01/01/2014 11.00	Amy E. Smithson, Ph.D. . Ugly Truths: Saddam Hussein and Other Insiders on Iraq's Covert Bioweapons Program , James Martin Center Occasional Paper 17, (03 2013): 0. doi:
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TOTAL: 1

(c) Presentations

Dr. Ibrahim al-Marashi gave the following presentations drawing from manuscripts listed above, using PowerPoint slides:

- “Nonproliferation in the Middle East and the Iraq and Syria Cases,” Panel on the Crisis in Syria, Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies, University of San Diego, September 9, 2013.
- “Al-Asad’s Chemical Arsenal: Analyzing WMD Deployment during the Syrian Civil War and the Challenges of Disarmament,” The James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Monterey, CA, September 26, 2013.
- “Nonproliferation in the Middle East and the Iraq and Syria Cases,” International Security and Conflict Resolution Program, San Diego State University, October 8, 2013.

Also, as anticipated, Ms. Egle Murauskaite delivered a paper, “Saddam’s Targeting of Civilians During the Iran-Iraq War: Extraordinary Measure or Business as Usual?” at the 26th Annual Conference of the International Association for Conflict Management, in Tacoma, Washington, June 30, 2013-July 3, 2013. (This version of the paper was provided to the Minerva Project in April 2013.)

Dr. al-Marashi also gave a number of presentations between July 2012 and May 2013, not all of which may have been previously listed in reports under this grant:

1. “Nonproliferation in the Middle East and the Iraq and Syria Cases,” International Security and Conflict Resolution Program, San Diego State University, October 8, 2013.
2. “Al-Asad’s Chemical Arsenal: Analyzing WMD Deployment during the Syrian Civil War and the Challenges of Disarmament,” The James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Monterey, CA, September 26, 2013.
3. “Nonproliferation in the Middle East and the Iraq and Syria Cases,” Panel on the Crisis in Syria, Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies, University of San Diego, September 9, 2013.
4. Briefing on the Relevance of the Iraq Documents for the Syrian Civil War to a panel of members of the British Parliament, which included former Minister of Defense Malcolm Rivkind, April 19, 2013.
5. Briefing on the Relevance of the Iraq Documents for the Syrian Civil War, Royal United Services Institute, London, April 18, 2013.
6. “Exploring Regime Resilience in Damascus,” International Institute of Strategic Studies, London, April 18, 2013, <http://www.iiss.org/events-calendar/2013-events-archive/april-2013/exploring-regime-resilience-in-damascus/> (video of presentation)
7. Briefing on the Relevance of the Iraq Documents for the Syrian Civil War, Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, London, April 15, 2013.
8. “Comparative Sectarianism in Ba’athist Iraq and Syria: How the Ba’th-era Security Services Viewed the Iraqi Shi’a,” Sectarianism in the Contemporary Middle East, Centre for Academic Shi’a Studies, London, April 13, 2013..
9. “Defeating the Alliance of 30: Hussein’s Concept of Political Victory during the 1991 Gulf War”, War Initiation and Termination: Insights from Captured Iraqi Records, International Studies Association Conference, San Francisco, April 3-6 2013.
10. “Al-Asad’s Toxic Deterrent: Would Damascus Deploy Chemical Weapons during the Syrian Civil War?” The Monterey Institute of International Studies & The James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Monterey, CA, January 16, 2013.
11. “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, December 18, 2012.
12. “Comparing Saddam Hussein's Iraq and the Syria of Al-Asad: Coup-Proofing and Counter-insurgency in Two Ba’athist States,” Joseph Kruzal Memorial Foreign and Defense Policy Luncheon Series, Washington State University, Pullman, November 30, 2012.

Egle Murauskaite, M.A., delivered a paper, “Saddam’s Targeting of Civilians During the Iran-Iraq War: Extraordinary Measure or Business as Usual?” at the 26th Annual Conference of the International Association for Conflict Management, in Tacoma, Washington, June 30, 2013-July 3, 2013. (This version of the paper was provided to the Minerva Project in April 2013 and is part of the on-line conference proceedings; the revised, current version is included earlier in this report. It is now pending with the Journal of Terrorism and Political Violence, which has expressed interest in publishing the revised version once certain comments are addressed.)

Number of Presentations: 16.00

Non Peer-Reviewed Conference Proceeding publications (other than abstracts):

Received Paper

TOTAL:

Number of Non Peer-Reviewed Conference Proceeding publications (other than abstracts):

Peer-Reviewed Conference Proceeding publications (other than abstracts):

Received Paper

TOTAL:

Number of Peer-Reviewed Conference Proceeding publications (other than abstracts):

(d) Manuscripts

<u>Received</u>	<u>Paper</u>
01/01/2014 7.00	. Regime Resilience and the Evolution of the Iraqi and Syrian Security Services: How Governments of Saddam Hussein and Bashar Al-Asad Persevered against Internal Threats, ()
01/01/2014 10.00	. "Chemical Weapons Deployment and Counter-Insurgency in Iraq and Syria., ()
01/01/2014 9.00	. "Civil War and Counter-Insurgency in Ba'athist Iraq and Syria: A Comparison of the Iraqi Uprising of 1991 with the Syrian Civil War of 2011, ()
01/08/2014 8.00	Egle Murauskaite, M.A.. "Saddam's Targeting of Civilians during the Iran-Iraq: Extraordinary Measure or Business as Usual, ()
08/30/2012 4.00	Amy_Smithson_Ph.D.. Saddam Hussein and Other Insiders on Iraq's Covert Bioweapons Program: Selected Insights from the Captured Document Collection of the Conflict Research Records Center, (03 2012)
08/31/2012 6.00	Dr. Ibrahim al-Marashi. The History and Evolution of Iraq's Security Architecture: 1932-2012 , None (07 2012)
TOTAL:	6

Number of Manuscripts:

Books

<u>Received</u>	<u>Paper</u>
08/30/2011 1.00	Ibrahim Al-Marashi, Editor Matteo Legrenzi . Iraq's Gulf Policy and Regime Security from the Monarchy to the post-Ba'athist Era, New York USA: Routledge, (10 2010)
08/30/2011 2.00	Ibrahim Al-Marashi, Editor Barry Rubin . Iraqi Politics and Control of the Media, Armonk NY 10504 USA: M. E. Sharpe, (11 2011)
08/30/2011 3.00	Amy E. Smithson. Germ Gambits: the Bioweapons Dilemma, Iraq and Beyond, Stanford USA: Stanford University Press, (09 2011)
TOTAL:	3

Patents Submitted

Patents Awarded

Awards

Graduate Students

<u>NAME</u>	<u>PERCENT SUPPORTED</u>
FTE Equivalent:	
Total Number:	

Names of Post Doctorates

<u>NAME</u>	<u>PERCENT SUPPORTED</u>
FTE Equivalent:	
Total Number:	

Names of Faculty Supported

<u>NAME</u>	<u>PERCENT SUPPORTED</u>
FTE Equivalent:	
Total Number:	

Names of Under Graduate students supported

<u>NAME</u>	<u>PERCENT SUPPORTED</u>
FTE Equivalent:	
Total Number:	

Student Metrics

This section only applies to graduating undergraduates supported by this agreement in this reporting period

The number of undergraduates funded by this agreement who graduated during this period: 0.00

The number of undergraduates funded by this agreement who graduated during this period with a degree in science, mathematics, engineering, or technology fields:..... 0.00

The number of undergraduates funded by your agreement who graduated during this period and will continue to pursue a graduate or Ph.D. degree in science, mathematics, engineering, or technology fields:..... 0.00

Number of graduating undergraduates who achieved a 3.5 GPA to 4.0 (4.0 max scale):..... 0.00

Number of graduating undergraduates funded by a DoD funded Center of Excellence grant for Education, Research and Engineering:..... 0.00

The number of undergraduates funded by your agreement who graduated during this period and intend to work for the Department of Defense 0.00

The number of undergraduates funded by your agreement who graduated during this period and will receive scholarships or fellowships for further studies in science, mathematics, engineering or technology fields: 0.00

Names of Personnel receiving masters degrees

NAME

Total Number:

Names of personnel receiving PHDs

NAME

Total Number:

Names of other research staff

<u>NAME</u>	<u>PERCENT SUPPORTED</u>
Ibrahim al-Marashi	0.50
Leonard Spector	0.25
Egle Murauskaite	0.35
Amy Smithson	0.10
Raymond Zilinskas	0.30
FTE Equivalent:	1.50
Total Number:	5

Sub Contractors (DD882)

Inventions (DD882)

Scientific Progress

This project involved social science, rather than experimental science, but sought to advance the former through analysis along a number of avenues of a unique archive of historical documents, those captured by U.S. and coalition forces in Kuwait, during the First Persian Gulf War, and in Baghdad, during the Second Gulf War. The records were made available through the Conflict Records Research Center (CRRC). The archive included numerous transcribed recordings of Saddam Hussein speaking with his closest counselors regarding political and military strategy during the 1980-1988 Iran-Iraq War, the First and Second Gulf Wars and the uprisings that followed the former, as well as how Iraq would manage relations with the UN Special Commission during the 1990s, when the Commission was tasked with the elimination of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. Numerous other internal documents of the regime provided further insights into these issues.

The archival record was partial: documents were translated and vetted for release through a careful, labor-intensive process, and the CNS team was obliged to work with the material at hand, knowing that more might soon come available. Nonetheless because of the expertise the CNS team brought to the task, we were able to offer important new insights. We saw our work as creating a set of building blocks, a foundation to which future scholars will be able to add, as new evidence about these historical episodes emerges.

Our work focused on the internal dynamics of the Saddam Hussein regime, the role of the Ba'ath party, the security structures that Saddam used to maintain power, parallels with the Syrian Ba'athist regime of the Assads, and Saddam's attitudes toward attacking civilians and the development and use of weapons of mass destruction, in particular his chemical and biological weapons - where again we were able to draw parallels with developments in Syria.

We greatly appreciated the collaboration with the always helpful staff of the CRRC and, toward the end of our Minerva work, we were able to turn the tables and assist these colleagues by helping to identify documents for accelerated translation and vetting that could shed further light on Saddam's chemical weapons program.

Technology Transfer