

Tamara Cofman Wittes
Curriculum Vitae

Saban Center for Middle East Policy
The Brookings Institution
1775 Massachusetts Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20016
202-797-4379
202-797-2481 fax
twittes@brookings.edu

Current Research

Egypt and America: Looking Ahead

Current Position

**Senior Fellow and Director, Middle East Democracy and Development Project
Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution**

Direct and conduct research on Arab political and economic reform and on American policies to promote democracy abroad. Provide frequent media commentary and lectures on Middle East policy including the Arab-Israeli peace process, regional security, and US-Arab relations. Host visiting fellows and policy discussions. Interact with government officials, nonprofit and private-sector policy analysts, and NGO activists on wide range of Middle East issues.

Education

Ph.D. with Distinction in Government, 2000. Georgetown University, Washington, DC.

Dissertation: *Symbols and Security in Ethnic Conflict: Confidence-Building in the Palestinian-Israeli Peace Process, 1993-1995.*

Examined attempts by Israeli and Palestinian leaders to employ public diplomacy to build and sustain support for the Oslo peace process between 1993 and the end of 1995.

Fieldwork, undertaken in Israel and the Palestinian Authority during Summer 1999, included interviews of nearly all major Israeli and Palestinian negotiators, as well as policymakers and analysts from both communities and the United States.

M.A. in Government, 1995. Georgetown University, Washington, DC

B.A. with Highest Honors in Judaic and Near Eastern Studies, 1991. Minor in Government.

Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio

Honors Thesis: *Under the Big Tent: Jewish Communal Identification and the Development of Zionism in Cleveland, 1945-1970.*

Previous Positions

**Research Fellow, Saban Center for Middle East Policy at The Brookings Institution,
December 2003-June 2007**

Conducted research on Arab political and economic reform and on American democracy promotion in the Middle East. Authored book on US democracy promotion (*Freedom's Unsteady March: America's Role in Building Arab Democracy, Brookings Press 2008*)

Middle East Specialist, Research and Studies Program, United States Institute of Peace, December 2002-November 2003

Designed, supervised, and carried out research and programs on Middle East policy issues including the Arab-Israeli peace process, Gulf security, cross-cultural negotiations, and pivotal states in the Muslim World. Designed and moderated public briefings, roundtables and working groups with academic experts, policy analysts, journalists, US government officials, foreign dignitaries and others. Provided feedback on Middle East-related programs to grants department, fellows department and executive leadership of Institute.

Director of Programs, The Middle East Institute, June 2000-December 2002

Designed, planned and implemented policy-oriented programs for nonpartisan, nonprofit institution dedicated to educating Americans about the Middle East. Designed program proposals and solicited funding from corporations and foundations. Designed and moderated lectures, roundtables and briefings with academic experts, journalists, industry analysts, US government officials, foreign dignitaries and business executives. Produced two or more major conferences yearly examining key issues in US Middle East policy, regional development and other trends.

Consultant, RAND Corporation's Project Air Force, Spring 2001

Authored working paper on sources of instability and potential threats to US interests in the Levant (Syria, Jordan, Palestinian territories) in the upcoming decade.

Adjunct Professor of National Security Studies, Georgetown University, 2000-2002

Courses: Conflict and Conflict Resolution in the Middle East
International Security

Instructor, Department of Government, Georgetown University, 1997 and 1999

Courses: Confronting Humanitarian Crises
International Relations

Teaching Assistant, Department of Government, Georgetown University, 1994-1999

Courses: International Relations
Public International Law
International Organization
International Law and United States Foreign Policy
International Environmental Law

Research Assistant to Dr. Barry Blechman, Henry L. Stimson Center, 1996

Researched characteristics of effective compellence in post-Cold War US foreign policy, analyzing eleven cases since 1989 in which the United States used or threatened to use force to persuade foreign targets.

Research Assistant to Dr. Roy Godson, National Strategy Information Center, 1993-1994 and 1995-1996

Coauthored analysis of information needed for assessment of domestic terrorist threat to United States. Researched ethnic conflict, Islamism, and organized crime. Prepared book manuscripts on intelligence and security studies for publication.

Assistant to the Washington Representative, American Jewish Congress, 1992-1993

Tracked US government policy, formulated and implemented advocacy strategies on issues including the Arab-Israeli peace process, human rights in the Bosnian war, the coup in Haiti, and the Arab League boycott of Israel. Coordinated Washington policy conferences and served as sole administrative support staffer for public policy office of grassroots membership organization.

Legislative Assistant, Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism, June-August 1991

Tracked US government policy on issues including Israel and the Middle East, education, and drug policy for advocacy office representing 1.5 million Reform Jews. Coordinated major grassroots campaign for foreign aid authorization. Edited manual on joint Black-Jewish community programming and other congregational programming materials. Represented office at strategy and advocacy meetings.

Publications

Books and Monographs

Freedom's Unsteady March: The American Role in Building Arab Democracy
(Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2008)

How Israelis and Palestinians Negotiate: A Cross Cultural Analysis of the Oslo Peace Process
(editor and contributor) (Washington: US Institute of Peace Press, 2005)

What Price Freedom? Assessing the Bush Administration's Freedom Agenda, with Sarah Yerkes, *Saban Center Analysis #10*, September 2006

Book Chapters

“Promoting Reform in the Arab World,” in *The Road Ahead: Middle East Policy in the Bush Administration's Second Term*, Flynt Leverett, ed., Brookings Institution Press (2005).

“Peace as a Three-Level Game: The Role of Diasporas in Conflict Resolution,” with Yossi Shain, in Thomas Ambrosio, ed., *Identity Politics and US Foreign Policy* (Westport: Greenwood, 2002).

“Defining Moment: The Threat and Use of Force in US Foreign Policy,” with Barry L. Blechman, in James A. Caraley, ed., *The New American Interventionism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999) and in Paul C. Stern and Daniel Druckman, eds.,

International Conflict Resolution After the Cold War (Washington: National Academy Press, 2000).

Articles

“Middle East Democracy: The Limits of Limited Reform,” with Michael McFaul, *Journal of Democracy*, January 2008.

“Back to Balancing,” with Martin Indyk, *The American Interest* 3:2 (November/December 2007), pp. 42-51.

“Moroccan Roulette: What Happens if You Hold an Election and Nobody Comes?” *Slate*, 24 August 2007.

“American Hegemony: Myth and Reality,” *Today's Zaman*, 22 March 2007.

“The Middle East Freedom Agenda: An Update,” with Sarah Yerkes, *Current History*, January 2007.

“Dual Dilemmas: U.S. Policy Options for the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict,” with Martin S. Indyk, *Middle East Memo #9*, Saban Center for Middle East Policy, 19 May 2006.

“Democracy Means Difficult Choices,” *al-Hayat*, 19 February 2006.

“United States: Progress of the ‘Freedom Strategy’ in the Middle East,” *Arab Reform Bulletin*, February 2006.

“Still Splitsville: Israeli-Palestinian Disengagement, Post Sharon,” *Slate*, 13 January 2006.

“The 2005 Egyptian Elections: How Free? How Important?” *Middle East Memo #8*, Saban Center for Middle East Policy, 24 August 2005.

“Seizing the Moment in Israeli-Palestinian Relations: How to Sustain the Cease-Fire and Revitalize the Road Map,” with Martin Indyk, *Saban Center Middle East Memo #6*, Saban Center for Middle East Policy, 2 March 2005.

“Promoting Democracy in the Arab World: The Challenge of Joint Action,” *The International Spectator*, December 2004.

“The Middle East Partnership Initiative: Progress, Problems, and Prospects,” with Sarah E. Yerkes, *Saban Center Middle East Memo #5*, Saban Center for Middle East Policy, 29 November 2004.

“The Promise of Arab Liberalism.” *Policy Review* June-July 2004.

“The New US Proposal for a Greater Middle East Initiative: An Evaluation.” *Middle East Memo #2*, Saban Center for Middle East Policy 10 May 2004.

“Arab Democracy, American Ambivalence.” *The Weekly Standard* 23 February 2004.

“Iraq’s Neighbors: Help or Hindrance? The Missing Dimension of Iraqi Reconstruction.” *Newsbyte*, United States Institute of Peace, July 30, 2003.

“Quietly Rooting Against Saddam.” *The Weekly Standard* 7 April 2003, pp. 21-22.

“What Will the World Be Like 5 Years After a War With Iraq? The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict.” *Chronicle of Higher Education* 8 November 2002, p. B10.

“Defining Moment: The Threat and Use of Force in US Foreign Policy,” with Barry L. Blechman, *Political Science Quarterly* 114:1 (Spring 1999).

“Bringing International Law to Life: Classroom Debates on the Lawfulness of US Foreign Policy.” *International Studies Notes* (Summer 1999), with Christopher C. Joyner.

“International Terrorism and US Policy: Threat and Response.” *Current World Leaders: International Issues* 39:4 (August 1996), pp. 27-50, with Christopher C. Joyner.

Assessing US Domestic Terrorism, 1996-2000 (Washington: National Strategy Information Center, 1996), with Roy Godson.

Book Review of *Between Memory and Desire*, by R. Stephen Humphreys. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* (Fall 2000).

Book Review of *Coercive Military Strategy*, by Stephen J. Cimbala. *Political Science Quarterly* 114:3 (Winter 1999-2000), pp. 702-703.

Book Review of *The Imperative of American Leadership*, by Joshua Muravchik. *National Security Studies Quarterly* 2:4 (Autumn 1996), pp. 96-100.

Selected Lectures

“Democratization,” with Terry Karl, Seminar XXI, Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Washington, DC, April 7, 2008.

“Freedom’s Unsteady March: Democracy Promotion in the Middle East After President Bush,” Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law, Stanford, CA, January 29, 2008.

“American Hegemony: Myth and Reality,” US Ambassador’s Speaker Series, Nicosia, Cyprus, March 1, 2007.

- “From Stability to Democracy: The New Driving Force Behind U.S. Foreign Policy,” US Embassy Journalists’ Symposium, Nicosia, Cyprus, March 18, 2006.
- “Mapping Out the Landscape of Reform,” Conference on Assessing Reform in the MENA Region, Brussels, Belgium, November 9, 2005.
- “The Unsustainable Status Quo in the Middle East,” Rochester Committee on Foreign Relations, Rochester, NY, November 2, 2005.
- “Israeli Disengagement From Gaza,” Hadassah Annual Convention, Washington, DC, July 18, 2005.
- “Prospects for Israeli-Palestinian Peace,” Women’s National Democratic Club, Washington, May 10, 2005.
- “US Policy to Promote Arab Reform: Why and How,” Lectures to classes at Fort Leavenworth – US Army Command and General Staff College, April 20 and 22, 2005.
- “US Democracy Promotion in the Arab World,” The Anti-Defamation League Annual Policy Conference, Washington DC April 4, 2005.
- “Promoting Democratic Reform in the Arab World: The Strategic Challenges of Joint Action.” Transatlantic Perspectives on the Broader Middle East and North Africa, Istituto Affari Internazionali, Rome, October 8, 2004.
- “Dialogue Amid Difference.” George Washington University Conference on Engaging the Arab/Islamic World – Next Steps for US Public Diplomacy. Washington, DC, February 27, 2004.
- “Prospects for Peacemaking: US Options for Resolving the Conflict.” Israel Policy Forum/American University, Washington, DC, November 18, 2003.
- “The Middle East: A Changing Landscape?” Meridian International Center/Smithsonian Associates Seminar on After Iraq: New Opportunities, New Challenges, Washington, DC, October 15, 2003.
- “The Last Gulf War and This One: Implications for the Middle East Peace Process.” Oberlin College Days of Education on Iraq, Oberlin, Ohio, April 2003.
- “The Confrontation with Iraq and America’s Future in the Middle East.” Institute for Political and International Studies 13th International Seminar on the Persian Gulf, Tehran, Iran, March 2003.
- “The United States, the Arab World, and Iraq.” Middle East Institute-Al-Ahram Center Dialogue on Development, Cairo, Egypt, December 2002.

“US Foreign Policy and the Arab-Israeli Peace Process.” Conference on Continuing the Dialogue Between Civilizations – After September 11, Odense, Denmark, September 1, 2002.

Academic Papers

“Europe and America in the Middle East Peace Process: Complementarity or Competition?” International Studies Association Annual Convention, San Francisco, CA, March 26, 2008.

“Culture as an Intervening Variable in the Oslo Process.” Middle East Studies Association Annual Meeting, Washington, DC, November 2005.

“Talking About a Resolution: Culture in Peace Negotiations.” American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL, September 2004.

“Transnational Ties Between the Middle East and the West: Peacemaking as a Three-Level Game.” International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL, February 23, 2001.

“Symbols, Strategy, and Symbolic Strategies: Confidence-Building in Ethnic Conflicts.” Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Los Angeles, CA, March 17, 2000.

“About Face: Israeli Threat Perception and Yassir Arafat’s PLO.” Annual Meeting of the International Security Studies Section / International Studies Association, Washington, DC, November 12, 1999.

“Building Trust Between Ethnic Rivals: Symbolic Politics in the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Negotiations.” Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Washington, DC, February 20, 1999.

“Bringing International Law to Life: Classroom Debates on the Lawfulness of US Foreign Policy.” Annual Meeting of American Political Science Association, Boston, Mass., September 4, 1998 (with Christopher C. Joyner).

“Resolving Ethnic Conflicts: The Role of Ethnic Symbols in Provoking and Assuaging Ethnic Insecurity.” Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Minneapolis, Minnesota, March 18, 1998.

“Resolving Ethnic Conflict: Ethnic Symbols and Ethnic Insecurity.” Annual Meeting of the International Security Studies Section / International Studies Association, Norfolk, Virginia, October 25, 1997.

“Mass Refugee Flows: Challenges for State Sovereignty and Human Rights.” Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Toronto, Canada, March 21, 1997.

“Resolving Ethnic Conflict: What Works?” Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association/Southern Section, Roanoke, Virginia, October 25, 1996.

"A Question of Identity: Irrational Decision Making and Wars of Ethnic Definition." Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association/Southern Section, Atlanta, Georgia, October 21, 1995.

Revised version presented at "Security Policy at the Crossroads," Women in International Security Summer Symposium, June 16, 1996.

Honors and Awards

Jill A. Hopper Fellowship for teaching and research, Georgetown University, 1999-2000.

Peres-Rabin Peace Award, Tel Aviv University, 1999.

Best Graduate Student Paper in International Relations, Department of Government, Georgetown University, 1997.

Paper: "Loose Sovereignty: Political Realities, Shifting Norms, and the Legal Right to Humanitarian Intervention."

Distinction on Major Field Comprehensive Exams (oral and written), 1996.

University Fellowship, Georgetown University, 1994-1995, 1996-1997, 1997-1998, 1998-1999.

Lynde and Harry Bradley Fellowship in International Affairs, 1993-1994 and 1995-1996.

Jerome Davis Award for thesis research, Oberlin College, 1991.

National Merit Scholar, Oberlin College, 1987-1990.

Memberships and Public Service

Member, Board of Directors, Tharwa Foundation USA.

Life Member, Council on Foreign Relations.

Member, Women in International Security.

Task Force on Arab Reform, Council on Foreign Relations (2004-2005).

Roundtable on "Establishing a Stable Democratic Constitutional Structure in Iraq," Public International Law and Policy Group, American University (Spring 2003).

Middle East Institute – Al-Ahram Center Working Group on US-Arab Relations (2001-2002).

Public Education and Media Activities

Analysis of Arab politics, the Arab-Israeli peace process, US policy in the Middle East, and other Middle East issues for CNN, Fox News, BBC, and other television, radio, and print news outlets.

Lectures on Middle East politics and US foreign policy for World Affairs Councils, the US Army War College, the US Army Special Operations Command, foreign delegations, Washington intern groups such as Close-Up, and Washington semester programs.