

Kenneth M. Pollack

Professional Experience

2012-present **Senior Fellow, the Brookings Institution**

- Senior Fellow of the Center for Middle East Policy (formerly the Saban Center)
- Analysis of Middle Eastern political-military affairs
- Concentration primarily on Middle Eastern strategic/military issues, Iraq, Iran, Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries, Syria and Israel

2004-present **Adjunct Professor, Georgetown University**

- I teach one class each semester in the Security Studies Program of the School of Foreign Service
- Courses taught: Security and Politics in the Contemporary Middle East, Warfare in the Middle East, Advanced Conventional Military Analysis

2009-2012 **Senior Fellow and Director, The Saban Center for Middle East Policy, The Brookings Institution**

- Director of the Saban Center, responsibilities include fundraising, events and conferences, direction of research, production, general administrative and personnel matters.
- Management of approximately 36 employees located in Washington, DC and Doha, Qatar.
- Analysis of Middle Eastern political-military affairs

2002-2009 **Senior Fellow and Director of Research, The Saban Center for Middle East Policy, The Brookings Institution**

- Deputy Director of the Saban Center, responsible for day-to-day administrative and personnel matters as well as oversight of research and production.
- Analysis of Middle Eastern political-military affairs.

2001-2002 **Senior Fellow and Director of National Security Studies, The Council on Foreign Relations**

- Chairman, Kissinger Roundtable on terrorism.
- Research on Middle East and National Security Issues.

2001 **Senior Research Professor, Institute for National Security Studies, National Defense University, U.S. Department of Defense**

- Analysis of Middle Eastern political-military affairs.
- Support to the Joint Chiefs of Staff Middle East directorates and U.S. Central Command.
- Completed a study for the Joint Chiefs of Staff regarding future threats and U.S. force posture in the Persian Gulf region.

1999-2001 **Director for Near East and South Asian Affairs, The National Security Council**

- Director for the Persian Gulf and Arabian Peninsula.
- Principal working-level official responsible for implementation of U.S. policy toward Iraq, Iran, Yemen and the GCC states.
- Advised the President and the National Security Adviser to the President on U.S. policy toward Iraq, Iran, Yemen and the GCC states.

1998-1999 **Senior Research Professor, Institute for National Security Studies, National Defense University, U.S. Department of Defense**

- Analysis of Middle Eastern political-military affairs.
- Support to the Joint Chiefs of Staff Middle East directorates and U.S. Central Command.
- Executed projects on the military requirements of a strategy of regime change in Iraq, impact of Iranian acquisition of nuclear weapons on U.S. military and diplomatic posture in the Middle East.
- Organized INSS seminar series on strategic issues facing the U.S. in the 21st Century.

1996 - 1998 **Research Fellow, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy**

- Assessed military and political developments in the Middle East.
- Conducted in-depth analysis of longer term trends in Arab military and political affairs.
- Drafted a 100+ page analysis of Egyptian military capabilities since Camp David and the US-Egyptian military relationship.
- Supervisor of the Institute's 6-8 research assistants and interns — required collecting tasking, assigning priorities, supervision and guidance of research, and editing of all finished work.

1995-1996 **Director for Near East and South Asian Affairs, The National Security Council**
John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies Fellow

- Assisted in coordination of U.S. policy toward the Middle East
- Support to the President and other senior foreign policy officials on Middle East issues

1988-1995 **Persian Gulf Military Analyst, The Central Intelligence Agency**

- Assessments of the security policies and military capabilities of Iran and Iraq.
- Analytic input on Persian Gulf militaries to U.S. policy-makers and military personnel throughout the Persian Gulf War, 1990-1991.
- Principal author of CIA's history of Iraqi military strategy and operations during the Gulf War.
- Twice Promoted short of time-in-grade qualifications.

Other Professional Positions:

- Contributing Editor, *The National Interest*
- Contributing Editor, *The Washington Quarterly*
- Senior Advisor, Albright Stonebridge Group

Education

1996 **Ph.D. in Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology**
 Concentrations in International Relations and Defense and Arms Control Studies
 Dissertation Title: *The Influence of Arab Culture on Arab Military Effectiveness*

1988 **B.A., Yale University**
 Magna Cum Laude
 Honors in Political Science

Awards

2003 Article, “**Next Stop Baghdad**,” published originally in Foreign Affairs, selected for inclusion in *The Best American Political Writing 2003*.

2002 **The Washington Monthly 2002 Political Book Award** for *The Threatening Storm: The Case for Invading Iraq*

1993 **CIA Exceptional Achievement Award**, for classified post-mortem on Iraqi strategy and operations during the Gulf War.

1991 **CIA Certificate of Distinction for Outstanding Performance of Duty**, for work during the Gulf War.

1991 **CIA Exceptional Achievement Award**, for work during the Gulf War.

Professional Memberships

Member, The Council on Foreign Relations

Books:

Armies of Sand: Understanding the Sources of Arab Military Weakness (In preparation)

- Under review with Oxford University Press
- Expected publication in 2018

Unthinkable: Iran, the Bomb and American Strategy (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2013).

- *The New York Times Book Review*, “Notable Books of 2013”
- *New York Times Book Review* Editor’s Choice
- *The Economist*, “Best Books of the Year, 2013”
- *Foreign Affairs*, “Best Books of the Year, 2013”

The Arab Awakening: America and the Transformation of the Middle East, (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution Press, 2011), lead author with Daniel L. Byman plus 16 others.

Unfinished Business: An American Strategy for Iraq Moving Forward (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution Press, 2011), lead author, with Raad Alkadiri, J. Scott Carpenter, Frederick Kagan and Sean Kane.

Which Path to Persia? Options for a New American Strategy Toward Iran, (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution Press, 2009), lead author, with contributions from Daniel L. Byman, Martin Indyk, Suzanne Maloney, Michael E. O’Hanlon and Bruce Riedel.

A Path Out of the Desert: A Grand Strategy for America in the Middle East. (New York, NY: Random House, 2008)

- *New York Times Book Review* Editor’s Choice
- *Washington Post* “Best Books of the Year 2008”
- *Washington Post* Bestseller
- *Foreign Affairs* Bestseller

Things Fall Apart: Containing the Spillover from an Iraqi Civil War, (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution Press, 2007), with Daniel L. Byman..

The Persian Puzzle: The Conflict between Iran and America (New York, NY: Random House, 2004)

- *Foreign Affairs* Bestseller

The Threatening Storm: The Case for Invading Iraq (New York, NY: Random House, 2002)

- *New York Times* Bestseller
- *Washington Post* Bestseller
- *Foreign Affairs* Bestseller
- Winner, *The Washington Monthly* 2002 Political Book Award
- *The New York Times Book Review*, “Notable Book of 2002”

Arabs at War: Arab Military Effectiveness, 1948-1991. (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2002)

- A History Book Club and Military History Book Club selection

Monographs:

A Switch in Time: A New Strategy for America in Iraq, Analysis Paper Number 7, Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution, February 2006.

Journal Articles, Research Papers, and Book Chapters

- “Iraq and a Policy Proposal for the Next Administration,” in Michael E. O’Hanlon ed., *Brookings Big Ideas for America* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution Press, 2016).
- “Fight or Flight: America’s Choice in the Middle East,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 95, No. 2 (March/April 2016), pp. 62-75.
- “Escaping the Civil War Trap in the Middle East,” *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (Summer 2015), pp. 29-46, co-authored with Barbara F. Walter.
- “An Army to Defeat Assad: How to Turn Syria’s Opposition Into a Real Fighting Force,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 93, No. 5 (September/October 2014), pp. 110-124.
- “Near Eastern Promises: Why Washington Should Focus on the Middle East,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 93, No. 3 (May/June 2014), pp. 106-116, co-authored with Ray Takeyh.
- “Iraq Faces the Brink Again,” *Current History*, Vol. 112, No. 758 (December 2013), pp. 349-355.
- “The Iraq Wars,” in Timothy J. Lynch ed., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of American Military and Diplomatic History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 543-559.
- “Reading Machiavelli in Iraq,” *The National Interest*, Number 122 (November-December 2012), pp. 8-19.
- “Ties that Bind: The United States, Iraq and the Neighbors,” in Henri J. Barkey, Scott B. Lasensky, and Phebe Marr editors, *Iraq, Its Neighbors and the United States: Competition, Crisis, and The Reordering of Power* (Washington, D.C.: The United States Institute of Peace, 2011), pp. 209-232.
- “Doubling Down on Iran,” *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 4 (Fall 2011), pp. 7-22, co-authored with Ray Takeyh.
- “Something’s Rotten in the State of Iraq,” *The National Interest*, No. 115 (September/October 2011), pp. 59-70.
- “Pariahs in Tehran,” *The National Interest*, Number 110 (November-December 2010), pp. 42-52.
- “Extended Deterrence and the Middle East,” in Steve Pifer et. al., “U.S. Nuclear and Extended Deterrence: Considerations and Challenges,” The Brookings Institution, June 2010, co-authored with Martin Indyk.
- “Deterring a Nuclear Iran,” The Council on Foreign Relations, Program on Deterring a Nuclear Iran, June 2010.
- “The Other Side of the COIN: The Perils of Premature Evacuation from Iraq,” *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (April 2010), pp. 17-32, co-authored with Irena Sargsyan.
- “The Battle for Baghdad,” *The National Interest*, Number 103 (September/October 2009), pp. 8-18.
- “Passing the Baton: The Obama Administration Confronts the Challenge of Iraq,” *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (December 2008).
- “The Evolution of Iraq Strategy,” in Richard N. Haass and Martin S. Indyk eds., *Restoring the Balance: A Middle East Strategy for the Next President* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution Press, 2008), pp. 27-58, co-authored with Stephen Biddle and Michael E. O’Hanlon.
- “Standing Down as Iraq Stands Up: Building on Progress,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 87, No. 5 (September/October 2008), co-authored with Stephen Biddle and Michael E. O’Hanlon.
- “Iraq’s Long-Term Impact on Jihadist Terrorism,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, No. 618 (July 2008), pp. 55-68, co-authored with Daniel Byman.
- “Salvaging the Possible: Policy Options in Iraq,” Policy Paper No. 2, The Brookings Institution, September 2007, co-authored with Carlos Pascual.
- “The Critical Battles: Political Reconciliation and Reconstruction in Iraq,” *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (Summer 2007), pp. 7-19, co-authored with Carlos Pascual.
- “Keeping the Lid on Iraq’s Civil War,” *The National Interest*, No. 89 (May/June 2007), pp. 58-65, co-authored with Daniel L. Byman.
- “Iraq: Waning Chances for Stability—Least Bad Options for a Failed, War-Torn State,” Opportunity ’08 Project, The Brookings Institution, February 2007, co-authored with Carlos Pascual.
- “The Seven Deadly Sins of Failure in Iraq: A Retrospective Analysis of the Reconstruction,” *The Middle East Review of International Affairs*, Volume 10, No. 4 (December 2006).
- “Explosive Affinities: Cross-Border Consequences of Civil Strife,” *The Berlin Journal*, No. 13 (Fall 2006), pp. 26-29, co-authored with Daniel Byman.

- “Bringing Iran to the Bargaining Table,” *Current History*, Vol. 105, No. 694 (November 2006), pp. 365-370.
- “Things Fall Apart: What do We Do If Iraq Implodes?” The Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution, Analysis Paper Number 11, August 2006, co-authored with Daniel Byman.
- “Iran: Three Alternative Futures,” *The Middle East Review of International Affairs*, Volume 10, No. 2 (June 2006).
- “A Grand Strategy for the Middle East,” in Will Marshall ed., *With All Our Might: A Progressive Strategy for Defeating Jihadism and Defending Liberty* (NY: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006), pp. 33-48.
- “A Common Approach to Iran,” in Ivo Daalder, Nicole Gnesotto and Philip Gordon eds., *Crescent of Crisis: U.S.-European Strategy for the Greater Middle East* (Washington, DC: Brookings, 2006), pp. 7-24.
- “Air Power in the Six-Day War,” *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 3, (Fall 2005), pp. 471-503.
- “Insurgent Dilemma: Finding the Right Strategies in Iraq,” *The Berlin Journal*, No. 11 (Fall 2005), pp. 4-9.
- “Taking on Tehran,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 84, No. 2, March/April 2005, pp. 20-34, co-authored with Ray Takeyh.
- “Saving Iraq,” in *The Road Ahead: Middle East Policy in the Bush Administration’s Second Term*, edited by Flynt Leverett (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, March 2005).
- “Tackling Tehran,” in *The Road Ahead: Middle East Policy in the Bush Administration’s Second Term*, edited by Flynt Leverett (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, March 2005).
- “After Saddam: Assessing the Reconstruction of Iraq,” Analysis Paper No. 1, The Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution, January 7, 2004.
- “Symposium: Imperial Dreams: Can the Middle East be Transformed,” *Middle East Policy*, Volume 10, No. 3 (Winter 2003), with W. Patrick Lang, Amy Hawthorne, and Philip C. Wilcox.
- “Securing the Gulf,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 82, No. 4, July-August 2003.
- “Democracy in Iraq?” *The Washington Quarterly*, Summer 2003, with Daniel Byman.
- “The Regional Military Balance,” in Richard Sokolsky ed., *The United States and the Persian Gulf: Reshaping U.S. Security Strategy for the Post-Containment Era* (Washington, DC: National Defense University, 2003), pp. 61-87.
- “The New Transatlantic Project: A Response to Robert Kagan,” *Policy Review*, October/November 2002, pp. 3-18, co-authored with Ronald D. Asmus.
- “Next Stop Baghdad?” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 2, March-April 2002, pp. 32-47. Selected for inclusion in *The Best American Political Writing 2003*, edited by Royce Flippin.
- “Armies of Snow and Armies of Sand: The Impact of Soviet Doctrine on Arab Armed Forces,” *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 55, No. 4, Autumn 2001, pp. 549-579, co-authored with Michael Eisenstadt.
- “Let Us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing the Statesman Back In,” *International Security*, Vol. 25., No. 4 (Spring 2001), pp. 107-146, co-authored with Daniel Byman.
- “The Rollback Fantasy.” *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 1999: 24-41, co-authored with Daniel Byman and Gideon Rose.
- “Coercing Saddam Hussein: Lessons from the Past.” *Survival*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (Autumn 1998): 127-152, co-authored with Daniel Byman and Matthew Waxman.
- “Narrow Containment: Looking Beyond the Security Council.” In *Iraq Strategy Review: Options for U.S. Policy*. Washington, DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 1998.
- “Undermine: Supporting the Iraqi Opposition.” In *Iraq Strategy Review: Options for U.S. Policy*. Washington, DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 1998, co-authored with Daniel Byman.
- “Iraqi Conventional Military Capabilities.” In *Iraq Strategy Review: Options for U.S. Policy*. Washington, DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 1998.

Other Unclassified Published Work

- “Robert F. Worth’s A Rage for Order,” *The New York Times Book Review*, April 25, 2016.
- “Security and Public Order,” a Working Group Report of the Middle East Strategy Task Force, The Atlantic Council and the Brookings Institution, February 2016.
- “Why Obama’s Middle East Policy is Failing,” *The Wall Street Journal*, February 15, 2016, co-authored with Barbara Walter.
- “Fear and Loathing in Saudi Arabia,” *Foreign Policy* online, January 7, 2016, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/01/07/fear-and-loathing-in-saudi-arabia/>.
- “A Strategy to Push Back Iran in Syria,” *The Daily Beast*, September 24, 2015, co-authored with Ilan Goldenberg.
- “U.S. Policy Toward the Middle East After the Iranian Nuclear Agreement,” Testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, August 5, 2015.
- “Regional Implications of a Nuclear Agreement with Iran, Testimony before the House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs, July 9, 2015.
- “You Never Know: Approaching Iran,” *The Octavian Report*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (June 2015), pp. 13-17.
- “Book Review: *The Iran-Iraq War: A Military and Strategic History*, by Williamson Murray and Kevin M. Woods,” *Journal of Military History*, Vol. 79, No. 2 (April 2015), pp. 550-551.
- “U.S. Policy Toward a Turbulent Middle East,” Testimony before the United States Senate Committee on Armed Services, March 24, 2015.
- “ISIS is Losing in Iraq, But What Comes Next?” *The New York Times*, February 4, 2015.
- “How to Pull Iraq Back from the Abyss,” *The Wall Street Journal*, June 11, 2014.
- “The Right Way to Press Iran,” *The New York Times*, May 6, 2014.
- “Hard Road to Damascus: A Crisis Simulation of U.S.-Iranian Confrontation Over Syria,” Middle East Memo Number 31, The Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution, January 2014.
- “The Resurgence of al-Qaeda in Iraq,” Testimony before a joint hearing of the Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade Subcommittee and the Middle East and North Africa Subcommittee of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, December 12, 2013.
- “Kennedy Showed How to Contain Iran,” *Bloomberg News*, November 17, 2013.
- “An Iranian Nuclear Deal Doesn’t Have to be Perfect—Just Better than the Alternatives,” *The Washington Post, Outlook*, November 15, 2013.
- “Iran: U.S. Has Time, Rouhani Doesn’t,” *Al-Monitor*, October 14, 2013.
- “Here’s the Deal the U.S. and Iran Should Make Right Now,” *The New Republic* online, September 24, 2013.
- “Short of a Deal, Containing Iran is the Best Option,” *The New York Times*, September 22, 2013.
- “On Syria, Go Big or Stay Home,” *Newsweek/The Daily Beast*, August 30, 2013.
- “Breaking the Stalemate: The Military Dynamics of the Syrian Civil War and Options for Limited U.S. Intervention,” Middle East Memo Number 30, The Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution, August 2013.
- “The Fall and Rise and Fall of Iraq,” Middle East Memo Number 29, The Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution, July 2013.
- “How, When and Whether to Intervene in Syria,” *The Washington Post, Outlook*, August 10, 2012.
- “The Syrian Spillover,” FP.com, August 10, 2012, co-authored with Daniel Byman.
- “Unraveling the Syria Mess: A Crisis Simulation of Spillover from the Syrian Civil War,” Middle East Memo Number 25, The Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution, August 2012, co-authored with Frederick Kagan, Kimberly Kagan and Marisa Sullivan.
- “Security in the Persian Gulf: New Frameworks for the Twenty-First Century,” Middle East Memo Number 24, The Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution, June 2012.
- “Saving Syria: Assessing Options for Regime Change,” Middle East Memo Number 21, The Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution, March 15, 2012, co-authored with Daniel Byman, Michael Doran, and Salman Shaikh.
- “The Revolt in Syria Could Easily Spread to Other Middle East Countries,” *The Daily Beast*, January 31, 2012.
- “Winds of Change in the Middle East,” *The Los Angeles Times*, February 27, 2011.

- “Could al-Qaeda Hijack Egypt’s Revolution?” *The Wall Street Journal*, February 9, 2011.
- “5 Myths About the Iraq Troop Withdrawal,” *The Washington Post, Outlook*, August 22, 2010.
- “A Responsible Exit,” *The Daily Beast*, August 16, 2010.
- “A Government for Baghdad,” *The National Interest Online*, July 27, 2010.
- “The Political Battle in Iraq,” Brookings Foreign Policy Trip Reports, June 30, 2010.
- “Iraq’s Bid to Ban Democracy,” *The New York Times*, January 18, 2010, co-authored with Michael E. O’Hanlon.
- “Not Quite Ready to Go Home,” *The New York Times*, August 5, 2008, p. A19, co-authored with Stephen Biddle and Michael E. O’Hanlon.
- “Drowning in Riches,” *The New York Times*, July 13, 2008.
- “2008 Iraq Report,” Stronger Women, Stronger Nations Report Series, Women for Women International, contributor.
- “So Much for Good Intentions,” *The New York Times*, March 16, 2008.
- “Apres-Surge: The Next Iraq Debates,” *The New Republic*, December 31, 2007, pp. 12-14.
- “Picturing Iraq Without Maliki,” *Newsweek International*, September 17, 2007.
- “A War We Might Just Win,” *The New York Times*, July 30, 2007, p. A19, co-authored with Michael O’Hanlon.
- “Civil Defense: The Surge That Would Really Save Iraq,” *The New Republic*, May 21, 2007, pp. 24-25.
- “Rights and Wrongs of Fixing Iraq,” FT.Com, December 6, 2006, co-authored with Carlos Pascual.
- “Carriers of Conflict,” *The Atlantic Monthly*, Volume 298, No. 4 (November 2006), pp. 38-39, co-authored with Daniel Byman.
- “Iraq Runneth Over: What Next?” *The Washington Post Outlook*, August 20, 2006, pp. B1, 4-5, co-authored with Daniel Byman.
- “The Iranian Calculus,” *The Wall Street Journal*, August 3, 2006, co-authored with Philip Gordon.
- “Iran: Our Next Crisis?,” *Reader’s Digest*, August 2006, pp. 144-151.
- “Grand Strategy: Why America Should Promote a New Liberal Order in the Middle East,” *Blueprint*, Issue 37, July 2006, pp. 40-43.
- “Saving Iraq,” Testimony before the House Subcommittee on National Security, Emerging Threats, and International Relations, July 11, 2006.
- “The Iranian Nuclear Program: Motivations and Priorities,” Testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, May 17, 2006.
- “Muqtada as-Sadr: Iraq’s Shadowy Power Broker,” *Time*, “The Time 100,” May 1, 2006.
- “The Right Way: Seven Steps Toward a Last Chance in Iraq,” *The Atlantic Monthly*, Volume 297, No. 2 (March 2006), pp. 104-111.
- “The Threat from Iran,” Testimony before the House Armed Services Committee, September 29, 2005.
- “Iraq’s Security,” Testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, July 18, 2005.
- “Five Ways to Win Back Iraq,” *The New York Times*, July 1, 2005, p. A19.
- “World War II: Looking Back on the Worst Conflict in Human History,” *The Washington Post Book World*, June 5, 2005, p. BW08.
- “Reading the Future in Tehran: *The Crisis*, by David Harris,” *The New York Times Sunday Book Review*, February 27, 2005.
- “America’s Refusal to Engage Iran a Dead End,” *The Chicago Tribune*, December 15, 2004, with Philip Gordon.
- “U.S. is Needed to Defuse Iran: Containing Tehran’s Nuclear Program Can’t Be Outsourced,” *The Los Angeles Times*, November 17, 2004.
- “What the Mullahs Learned from the Neighbors,” *The New York Times*, November 9, 2004, p. A23.
- “Mourning After: How They Screwed it Up,” *The New Republic*, June 28, 2004.
- “Securing Iraq,” Testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, April 21, 2004.
- “Spies, Lies, and Weapons: What Went Wrong,” *The Atlantic Monthly*, January/February 2004, pp. 78-92.
- “Saudi Arabia’s Big Leap,” *The New York Times*, October 16, 2003.

- “The Neoliberal Take on the Middle East,” *The Washington Post*, July 22, 2003, co-authored with Ronald D. Asmus.
- “Building a Democratic Iraq,” Testimony Before the Senate Foreign Relations and Judiciary Committees, June 25, 2003.
- “Saddam’s Bombs: We’ll Find Them,” *The New York Times*, June 20, 2003.
- “Iraq’s Coming Democracy,” *Blueprint*, April 2003, co-authored with Daniel Byman.
- “Reassessing the Iraqi Adversary,” Iraq Memo No. 14, The Saban Center for Middle East Policy, April 4, 2003.
- “Faith and Terrorism in the Muslim World: *The Crisis of Islam*, by Bernard Lewis,” *The New York Times Book Review*, April 6, 2003,
- “Democracy in the Middle East: Democracy as Realism,” *Prospect* (UK), April 2003, pp. 27-28, co-authored with Daniel Byman.
- “One Last Chance to Stop Iraq,” *The New York Times*, February 21, 2003.
- “Turning the Tide; Powell’s speech on Iraq was a success, but the U.S. must keep pressing to win over world opinion,” *The Los Angeles Times*, February 7, 2003.
- “How Bush Can Avoid the Inspections’ Trap,” *The New York Times*, January 27, 2003, co-authored with Martin Indyk.
- “A Democratic Iraq Could Work with U.S.,” *The Wall Street Journal Europe*, January 24, 2003.
- “Lock and Load: If War with Iraq is Inevitable, Let it Begin Sooner Rather than Later,” *The Los Angeles Times*, December 19, 2002, co-authored with Martin Indyk.
- “Sizing Up an Invasion of Iraq,” Iraq Memo No. 7, The Saban Center for Middle East Policy, December 18, 2002.
- “Why Iraq Can’t Be Deterred,” *The New York Times*, September 26, p. A31.
- “Bin Laden’s Group Will Survive Him,” *Newsday*, September 25, 2001, co-authored with Daniel Byman.
- “Beef Up the Taliban’s Enemies,” *The Los Angeles Times*, September 20, 2001, co-authored with Daniel Byman and Gideon Rose.
- “How to Win a War Against Al Qaeda,” *The Wall Street Journal*, September 18, 2001, p. A22.
- “US Policy Toward Iraq.” Testimony before the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, U.S. Senate, May 21, 1998
- “Weakened Iraq Faces Stronger U.S. than Before.” *The Washington Times*. February 18, 1998, p. 15.
- “What if Iran was Behind al-Khobar? Planning for a U.S. Response.” Policy Watch No. 243. Washington, DC: Washington Institute for Near East Policy, April 16, 1997.
- “Syria’s ‘War Option’: Assessing the Lessons from West Bank/Gaza Riots.” Peace Watch No. 107. Washington, DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, October 8, 1996.