

Tamara Cofman Wittes

Curriculum Vitae

Senior Fellow, Center for Middle East Policy The Brookings Institution (March 2012 - present)

Book project on America's ties with autocratic allies.

Ongoing research and writing on: US strategy and policy in the Middle East, Israeli politics and the US-Israel relationship, reform in the Arab world, and US democracy promotion.

Engaging government, media, and the public through congressional testimony, briefings, public speaking in the United States and abroad, media interviews, and more.

Service:

Foreign Policy Program Representative, Brookings Diversity and Inclusion Committee Steering Committee, Brookings Women's Impact Network

Andrew H. Siegal Professor, Center for Jewish Civilization, Georgetown University School of Foreign Service (2018-2019 academic year)

Teach undergraduate seminar on U.S. alliances in the Middle East.

Presented the 2018 Andrew H. Siegal Lecture, "Is Israel in Democratic Decline?"

Education

Ph.D. (Distinction), Government, 2000. Georgetown University, Washington, DC.

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

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

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

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

Previous Positions

Director, Center for Middle East Policy The Brookings Institution (March 2012-February 2017)

Directed the Center's efforts to chart the path to a Middle East at peace with itself and the world.

Led team of eight permanent scholars in Washington, affiliates at Brookings Doha Center and nonresident fellows, administrative and research support staff. Led development efforts; launched new initiative on Imagining Israel's Future; planned and hosted annual US-Israel Saban Forum and US-Islamic World Forum.

Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs, U.S. Department of State (November 2009-January 2012)

Deputy Special Coordinator for Middle East Transitions (concurrent from September 2011-January 2012)

Senior executive in the State Department's regional bureau responsible for formulating, coordinating, and implementing policy and Bureau-led assistance to advance democracy and

human rights in the Middle East and North Africa. Designed and oversaw civil society assistance program with two field offices and projects across the NEA region. Designed and stood up new Middle East Transitions office reporting to Deputy Secretary of State, to organize US government assistance to Egypt, Libya and Tunisia; developed, organized, and implemented coherent State-USAID support strategies for democratic transitions. Coordinated policies and strategies for transitional countries with counterparts from European governments, European Union, and OECD.

Senior Fellow and Director, Middle East Democracy and Development Project (July 2008 - October 2009)

Fellow, Saban Center for Middle East Policy (December 2003-June 2008)

Analyzed Arab political and economic reform and American policies to promote democracy abroad. Investigated, collected, and analyzed data on USG democracy assistance programs in the Middle East. Built research project to study economic and political reform in the Arab world: raised funds, recruited and selected visiting fellows, supervised visiting fellows, research assistant, and interns.

Adjunct Professor of Security Studies, Georgetown University (various, 2001-2008)

Courses: Security Problems of the Middle East and North Africa (seminar); Conflict and Conflict Resolution in the Middle East (seminar); International Security (core course for master's students).

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

Designed, supervised, and conducted research and analysis on Middle East policy issues including the Arab-Israeli peace process, Persian Gulf security, cross-cultural negotiations, and pivotal states in the Muslim World. Reviewed grant and fellowship applications related to the Middle East. Consulted with operational departments of USIP engaged in Middle East, including Rule of Law program, Religion and Peacebuilding program, and Stability Operations program. Advised USIP executive director on Middle East policy. Wrote two of five chapters for, and edited, peer-reviewed book, *How Israelis and Palestinians Negotiate: A Cross-Cultural Analysis of the Oslo Peace Process*. Traveled to Tehran to present paper at policy conference on U.S. policy toward Iraq just prior to Operation Iraqi Freedom.

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. Planned and moderated weekly series of 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.

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

Co-authored study of coercive diplomacy 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

Co-authored 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, implemented advocacy strategies on the Arab-Israeli peace process, human rights in the Bosnian war, the coup in Haiti, and the Arab League boycott of Israel. Served as sole administrative support for public policy office of grassroots organization.

Books and Monographs

Real Security: Governance and Stability in the Arab World (Washington: Atlantic Council Middle East Strategy Task Force, November 2016).

Freedom's Unsteady March: America's 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).

Europe, the United States and Middle Eastern Democracy: Repairing the Breach, with Richard Youngs, *Saban Center Analysis #18*, January 2009.

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

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

Book Chapters

"Memorandum to the President – Nightmare: Muslim Brotherhood Radicalizes," with Daniel L. Byman, in *Big Bets and Black Swans: A Presidential Briefing Book*, January 2014.

"Peacemaking as Interstate Diplomacy: Samuel Lewis," with Craig Daigle, in Mona Fixdal, editor, *Ways Out of War: Peacemakers in the Middle East and Balkans* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

"Economic and Political Development in the Middle East: Managing Change, Building a New Kind of Partnership," with Isobel Coleman, in Richard N. Haass and Martin S. Indyk,

Restoring the Balance: A Middle East Strategy for the Next President (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2008).

“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).

Journal Articles

“America’s Middle East Purgatory: The Case for Doing Less,” with Mara Karlin, in *Foreign Affairs* 98:1 (January/February 2019).

“Islamist Parties and Democracy: Three Kinds of Movements,” *Journal of Democracy* 19:3, (July 2008).

“Middle East Democracy: The Limits of Limited Reform,” with Michael McFaul, *Journal of Democracy* 19:1 (January 2008).

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

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

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

“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.

Magazine and Newspaper Articles

“Everyone Loves Israel Now,” with Shai Feldman, in *Foreign Policy*, March 26, 2018.

“Saudi Arabia and Kuwait: A Trip Report,” with Shai Feldman, *Crown Center for Middle East Studies*, March 2018.

“How Not to Measure Americans’ Support for Israel,” with Daniel Shapiro, in *The Atlantic*, January 26, 2018.

“How Trump’s Black and White World View Met Reality in the Middle East,” with Ilan Goldenberg, in *Foreign Policy*, June 14, 2017.

“There’s Such a Thing as Too Much Security, and 3 Other Tips for Tillerson,” *Foreign Policy*, February 6, 2017.

“The Global Refugee Crisis: Practical Solutions,” with Elizabeth Ferris, in *The Berlin Journal* 30, Fall 2016.

“The Slipperiest Slope of Them All,” *The Atlantic*, March 12, 2016.

“Israel’s Inertia on Palestinian Conflict Has a Price: American Support,” *Haaretz*, December 3, 2015.

“[The mysterious absence of women from Middle East policy debates](#),” *The Washington Post*, with Marc Lynch January 20, 2015.

“Now That the Muslim Brotherhood is Declared a Terrorist Group, It Just Might Become One,” with Daniel L. Byman, *The Washington Post*, January 10, 2014.

“Why Democracy in Egypt Still Matters,” *Moment Magazine*, March/April 2014.

“U.S. Should Suspend Funds to the Egyptian Military,” with Amy Hawthorne, *Boston Globe*, August 22, 2013.

“The Egypt-Israel Peace Test,” with Itamar Rabinovich, *Project Syndicate*, May 10, 2013.

“Egypt’s NGOs Matter,” *Foreign Policy*, June 5, 2013.

“What the U.S. Can Do for Egypt,” *Foreign Policy*, March 1, 2013.

“Can Kerry Fill Clinton’s Shoes?” *Foreign Policy*, February 4, 2013.

“Memorandum to the President: Camp David Peace Treaty Collapse,” with Shadi Hamid, in *Big Bets and Black Swans: A Presidential Briefing Book*, January 2013.

“Supporting Arab Transitions: Four Challenges for the Next U.S. President,” *al-Hayat*, 6 November 2012.

“Learning to Live with the Islamist Winter,” *Foreign Policy*, 19 July 2012.

“Shaming Russia for Arming Assad Won’t Help End Syria’s Civil War,” *The Daily Beast*, 13 June 2012.

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

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

“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.

“A Better Model Than Beirut,” *Washington Post* op-ed, 31 March 2005.

“Hosni Mubarak: Elections or No, He’s Still Pharaoh,” *Slate*, 3 March 2005.

“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.

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.

Brookings Publications

“Iran’s revolution and the problem of autocratic allies,” *Order From Chaos*, January 24, 2019.

“Shuffling the deck chairs in Saudi Arabia,” with Bruce Riedel, in *Order From Chaos*, December 28, 2018.

“Getting America out of Middle East purgatory,” with Mara Karlin, in *Order From Chaos*, December 11, 2018.

“Sanctions on Saudi Arabia aren’t enough,” *Order From Chaos*, December 5, 2018.

“In Trump we trust? Israel and the Trump administration,” with Daniel Byman, in *Order From Chaos*, October 26, 2018.

“On Jamal Khashoggi, the Muslim Brotherhood, and Saudi Arabia,” *Order From Chaos*, October 19, 2018.

“The Oslo Accords at 25: A personal reflection,” *Order From Chaos*, September 13, 2018.

“What does an empowered Saudi woman look like?” *Order From Chaos*, August 2, 2018.

“Elections in Lebanon and Iraq offer a glimmer of hope—how the US should prepare for the long term,” *Order From Chaos*, May 23, 2018.

“A Glimpse Inside Saudi Arabia In Photos” (annotated slideshow), *Order From Chaos*, March 7, 2018.

“The Fire Next Time: Stabilization in the Middle East and North Africa,” with Brian Reeves, March 2017.

“No easy way out of reconstructing Raqqa,” with Brian Reeves, *Order From Chaos*, November 6, 2017.

“Trump’s ‘America First’ is America the Small,” *Order From Chaos*, June 2, 2017.

“50 years after 1967, investing in a common future in the Middle East,” *Markaz*, May 30, 2017.

“What Tillerson got right—and wrong—in his speech at State,” *Order From Chaos*, February 7, 2017.

“The case for slower foreign policy decisionmaking,” *Order From Chaos*, January 25, 2017.

“Want to Stabilize the Middle East? Start with Governance,” *Markaz*, November 22, 2016.

“The United States Can’t Save Egypt From Itself,” *Markaz* Monday, April 4, 2016

“Saudi Arabia’s execution of al-Nimr throws U.S. policy dilemmas into sharp relief,” *Markaz*, Friday, January 8, 2016

“An Iran deal won’t stabilize the messy Middle East — but maybe Arab states can,” *Markaz*, Tuesday, July 14, 2015

“How important is Saudi-Israeli track-two diplomacy?” *Markaz*, Saturday, June 6, 2015

“Security interests overshadow Tunisia’s President Essebsi in Washington,” *Markaz*, Tuesday, May 19, 2015

“Israel’s turn to come to Washington,” *Markaz*, Friday, May 15, 2015

“U.S. policy in a broken Middle East,” *Markaz*, Thursday, May 7, 2015

“Obama administration to Sissi: Egypt-bound weapons released with caveat,” *Markaz*, Monday, April 6, 2015

“Four years on, Syria’s refugees search for a future,” *Markaz*, Tuesday, March 17, 2015

“Bigger than Iran: stormy seas ahead for Netanyahu-Obama relationship,” *Markaz*, Wednesday, March 4, 2015

“With friends like these: America’s allies in the Middle East create as many problems as they solve,” *Markaz*, Monday, March 2, 2015

“The Absence of Women from Middle East Policy Debates: An Update,” *Markaz*, with Marc Lynch, Friday, January 23, 2015

“State of the Union 2015: Sobering Dilemmas for Obama’s Middle East Policy,” *Markaz*, Tuesday, January 20, 2015

“Mubarak’s Trial: Coda to a Revolution,” *Markaz*, Saturday, November 29, 2014

“What Matters, and What Doesn’t, About Palestinian Unity,” *Markaz*, Friday, April 25, 2014

“The Personal Touch in Arab-Israeli Diplomacy: A Remembrance of Ambassador Samuel W. Lewis,” *Markaz*, Wednesday, March 12, 2014

“Failed Iran Nuclear Talks May Erode Sanctions, Complicate Peace Process,” *Markaz*, Monday, November 11, 2013

“Reported Suspension of U.S. Aid to Egypt a Short-Term Measure,” *Up Front*, Wednesday, October 9, 2013

“Obama-Netanyahu Meeting: It’s All About Iran,” *Up Front*, Monday, September 30, 2013

“Six Thoughts on Egypt’s Revolutionary Coup,” *Up Front*, Thursday, July 4, 2012

“Three Key Challenges in Confronting the Arab Awakening,” *Brookings Institution*, September 2012.

“Egypt’s Delicate Transition to a New Government,” *Up Front*, Monday, April 2, 2012

- “The Arab League Summit 2012,” *Up Front*, Tuesday, March 27, 2012
- “The Focus of Israeli and Palestinian Politics,” with Martin S. Indyk, *Foreign Policy Trip Report* (May 2012).
- “Democracy in Egypt: Necessary Ingredient in a U.S.-Egyptian Partnership,” with Michele Dunne. *Brookings Institution* (17 August 2009).
- “Democracy Promotion Under Obama: Lessons from the Middle East Partnership Initiative,” *Saban Center Middle East Memo #13* (May 2009).
- “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 at Brookings, 19 May 2006.
- “The 2005 Egyptian Elections: How Free? How Important?” *Middle East Memo #8*, Saban Center for Middle East Policy at Brookings, 24 August 2005.
- “Seizing the Moment in Israeli-Palestinian Relations: How to Sustain the Cease-Fire and Revitalize the Road Map,” with Martin Indyk, *Middle East Memo #6*, Saban Center for Middle East Policy at Brookings, 2 March 2005.
- “The Middle East Partnership Initiative: Progress, Problems, and Prospects,” with Sarah E. Yerkes, *Middle East Memo #5*, Saban Center for Middle East Policy at Brookings, 29 November 2004.
- “The New US Proposal for a Greater Middle East Initiative: An Evaluation.” *Middle East Memo #2*, Saban Center for Middle East Policy at Brookings, 10 May 2004.

Congressional Testimony

- “Lebanon and Iraq: After the Elections,” testimony before the Subcommittee on the Middle East and North Africa of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, May 22, 2018.
- “The Latest Developments in Saudi Arabia and Lebanon,” testimony before the Subcommittee on the Middle East and North Africa of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, November 29, 2017.
- “War in Syria: Next Steps to Mitigate the Crisis,” testimony before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, May 17, 2016.
- “Israel Imperiled: Threats to the Jewish State,” testimony before the Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade and the Subcommittee on the Middle East and North Africa of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, April 19, 2016.
- “Regional Impact of U.S. Policy Towards Iraq and Syria,” testimony before the Subcommittee on the Middle East and North Africa of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, April 30, 2015.
- “Demonstrations in Tahrir Square: Two Years Later, What has Changed?” testimony before the Subcommittee on the Middle East and North Africa of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, February 26, 2013.

“Syria: U.S. Policy Options,” testimony before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, April 19, 2012.

“Reflections on the Revolution in Egypt: Part I,” testimony before the Subcommittee on the Middle East and North Africa of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, February 15, 2012.

“Women and the Arab Spring,” testimony before the Subcommittee on International Operations and Organizations, Human Rights, Democracy, and Global Women’s Issues and the Subcommittee on Near Eastern and South and Central Asian Affairs of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, November 2, 2011.

“Shifting Sands: Political Transitions in the Middle East, Part 2,” testimony before the Subcommittee on the Middle East and South Asia of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, May 5, 2011.

Public Education and Outreach

- ◆ Testimony before congressional committees on Middle East topics including U.S. strategy, Lebanon, Iraq, Israel, Syria and Egypt.
- ◆ Media appearances including NPR, CNN, Fox News, PBS, CBC, BBC, and internationally.
- ◆ Public lectures and guest teaching including Peking University; Marine Corps University, Air War College; National Defense University; World Affairs Councils; Seminar XXI (MIT); and abroad in China, Germany, Cyprus, Denmark, Italy, Egypt, Iraq, Israel, and Iran.

Service, Memberships and Awards

Founder, Leadership Council for Women in National Security, 2017-present.

Board of Directors, National Democratic Institute, 2014 - present.

Advisory Board, Israel Institute, 2013 - present.

Advisory Committee, Women’s Impact Network, Brookings Institution, 2012 - present.

Life Member, Council on Foreign Relations.

Member, Women in International Security.

Dr. Jean Mayer Global Citizenship Award, Tufts University, 2014.

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