Tamara Cofman Wittes

Current Employment

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

- Conduct research and writing on: US strategy and policy in the Middle East, democracy promotion, the US-Israel relationship, US-Arab relations, and Israeli-Palestinian affairs.
- Co-host, *Rational Security*, weekly podcast on national security affairs with audience of 20,000 listeners.
- Convene monthly seminar for next-generation legislative and executive branch officials in partnership with Brandeis University
- Engage government, media, and the public through congressional testimony, briefings, public speaking in the United States and abroad, media interviews, and more.

Adjunct Professor, Georgetown University School of Foreign Service (Fall 2018-present)

- Teach undergraduate seminar on U.S. alliances in the Middle East.
- Presented the 2018 Andrew H. Siegal Lecture, "Is Israel in Democratic Decline?"

Work History

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

- Directed team of eight permanent scholars plus nonresident fellows, administrative and research support staff, with budget of about \$3 million.
- Coordinated with Foreign Policy Program colleagues and affiliates at Brookings Doha Center.
- Led development efforts for Center
- Launched new initiative on Imagining Israel's Future; planned and hosted annual US-Israel Saban Forum and oversaw annual 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, September 2011-January 2012)

- Senior executive in the State Department's Bureau for Near Eastern Affairs. Managed policy and Bureau-led assistance to advance democracy and human rights in the Middle East and North Africa
- Managed federal program with over \$100 million under management to support pluralism, participation, and prosperity in the Arab world through partnerships with civil society.

- Oversaw DC-based program office plus two field offices (totalling over 50 staff); worked closely with US missions regionwide on in-country programs and diplomacy.
- Led U.S. engagement in the G-7's Broader Middle East and North Africa multilateral framework, including annual conference.
- Designed and stood up new Middle East Transitions office to organize US government assistance to Egypt, Libya and Tunisia; developed coherent State-USAID support strategies for democratic transitions.
- Coordinated policies and strategies with counterparts from Group of Seven, European states, the 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)

- Built research program on Arab political and economic reform and American policies to promote democracy in the Middle East.
- Investigated, collected, and analyzed data on USG democracy assistance programs in the Middle East using FOIA and other tools.
- Raised funds, recruited and selected visiting fellows, supervised visiting fellows, research assistant, and interns.

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

- 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 the Arab-Israeli peace process, Persian Gulf security, cross-cultural negotiations, and pivotal states in the Muslim World.
- 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.*
- 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.
- 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.

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.

Board Service

- Founder, Leadership Council for Women in National Security, 2017-present; current Co-chair.
- Board of Directors, National Democratic Institute, 2014-present; serve as Board Secretary and Chair of Middle East Committee; serve on Finance Committee; ad hoc Diversity, Equity and Inclusion advisory committee.
- Advisory Board, Israel Institute, 2013-present.

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

- Global Advisory Council, Education for Employment Foundation, 2019-present.
- Foreign Policy Program Representative, Inclusion and Diversity Committee, The Brookings Institution, 2016-2020.
- Advisory Committee, Women's Impact Network, Brookings Institution, 2012-2019.
- Advisory Board, Berkeley Program on Entrepreneurship and Development in the Middle East, 2014-2017.
- 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.

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.*

Publications

Books

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).

Monographs

<u>A New U.S. Strategy for the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict</u>, with Ilan Goldenberg and Michael Koplow (Washington: Center for a New American Security, December 2020).

Stabilization and Human Development in a Disordered Middle East and North Africa: Lessons from a Joint Brookings-World Bank Project, with Joseph Saba and Kevin Huggard (Washington: Brookings Foreign Policy Program, 2020).

Is Israel in Democratic Decline? with Yael Mizrahi-Arnaud, Policy Brief (Washington: Brookings Foreign Policy Program, April 2019).

The Fire Next Time: Stabilization in the Middle East and North Africa, with Brian Reeves (Washington: Brookings Foreign Policy Program, March 2017).

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

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).

Other Research Reports

"Democracy Promotion Under Obama: Lessons from the Middle East Partnership Initiative," *Middle East Memo #13*, Saban Center for Middle East Policy at Brookings, 14 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.

Book Chapters

- "Palestinian Statehood in American Policy: The Changing Roles of Values, Interests, and Domestic Politics," with Kevin Huggard, in Michael Barnett, Nathan Brown, Marc Lynch, and Shibley Telhami, eds., *What Is Israel/Palestine?* (under review)
- "Washington, the Shah, and the Problem of Autocratic Allies," in Suzanne Maloney, ed., *The Iranian Revolution at Forty* (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2020).
- "Think Tank Analysis in a Polarized Political Era," in Alex Bollfrass and R. Taj Moore, eds., *Reflections on a National Security Life*, Stimson Center, 2019.
- "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, ed., Ways Out of War: Peacemakers in the Middle East and Balkans (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).
- "Back to Balancing in the Middle East: A New Strategy for Constructive Engagement," with Martin S. Indyk, in Michael E. O'Hanlon, ed., *Opportunity '08: Independent Ideas for America's Next President* (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2007).
- "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, eds., *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

- "Blaming the deep state," Democracy, October 2020.
- "How to Do More With Less in the Middle East: American Policy in the Wake of the Pandemic," with Mara Karlin, *Foreign Affairs* online (15 September 2020).
- "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.

General-Interest Articles

"Netanyahu traded Israel's independence for the 'deal of the century'," *The Forward*, January 29, 2020.

- "The Lessons of the Afghanistan Papers," with Kevin Huggard, in *The Atlantic*, December 19, 2019.
- "The Case for Gender Diversity in National Security," with Heather Hurlburt, *Lawfare*, July 9, 2019.
- "Trump's Golan Fiasco," with Ilan Goldenberg, in Politico Magazine, March 22, 2019.
- "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: An American president who rejected the notion of a "global war on terror" has now launched one," *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.
- "A popular impeachment in Egypt," with Michael E. O'Hanlon, USA Today July 3, 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," The Washington Post, 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 Commentary

- "What to do and what not to do in the Middle East," Order From Chaos, January 25, 2021
- "Advice for new appointees to consider as they enter the Biden administration," Order From Chaos, January 19, 2021
- "On the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, practical steps are more important than grand visions," Order From Chaos, December 18, 2021
- "Saudi-Israeli relations: The curious case of a NEOM meeting denied," with Natan Sachs, *Order From Chaos*, November 25, 2020
- "Don't appoint a new high-level Israeli-Palestinian envoy or seek to launch a new round of peace talks." in A list of specific, actionable foreign policy ideas for the next president, *Order From Chaos*, October 27, 2020.
- "The needed reset for the US-Egypt relationship," Order From Chaos, September 10, 2020.
- Contributor to "Around-the-halls: Experts analyze the normalization of Israel-UAE ties," *Order From Chaos*, August 13, 2020
- "Civil society creativity around the world can sustain protests in the coronavirus era," *Order From Chaos*, June 4, 2020.
- "Promoting human rights abroad when they're being trampled at home," *Order From Chaos*, June 3, 2020.
- "Hosni Mubarak's risk-averse reign brought Egypt to calamity," *Order From Chaos*, February 25, 2020.
- Contributor to "Around the halls: Brookings experts on the Middle East react to the White House's peace plan," *Order From Chaos*, January 29, 2020.
- Contributor to "Around the halls: Experts react to the killing of Iranian commander Qassem Soleimani," *Order From Chaos*, January 3, 2020.

- "The Pensacola attack by a Saudi pilot: Implications for US-Saudi ties," *Order From Chaos*, Friday, December 6, 2019.
- "Brookings experts reflect on the life and legacy of Janne Nolan," *Order From Chaos*, June 28, 2019.
- "Iran's revolution and the problem of autocratic allies," Order From Chaos, January 24, 2019.
- Contributor to "Around the halls: Brookings experts react to Secretary of State Pompeo's speech in Cairo," *Order From Chaos*, January 10, 2019.
- Contributor to *The New Geopolitics of the Middle East*, edited by Bruce Jones, January 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.
- Contributor to *Brookings Experts on Trump's UNGA Speech*, Brookings Report, September 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.
- "Three observations after observing the Lebanese elections." Order From Chaos, May 17, 2018.
- Contributor to "Around the halls: Brookings experts discuss the implications of President Trump's Iran nuclear deal announcement," *Order From Chaos*, May 8, 2018.
- "A Glimpse Inside Saudi Arabia In Photos" (annotated slideshow), *Order From Chaos*, March 7, 2018.

- "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 oped*, August 17, 2009.

Congressional Testimony

- "Egypt: Trends in Politics, Economics, and Human Rights," testimony before the Subcommittee on the Middle East and North Africa of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, September 9, 2020.
- "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 Foreign Affairs Committee, 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 (representing the Department of State).
- "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 (representing the Department of State).