

## DANIEL L. BYMAN

---

### PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

*Professor*, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, 2009-present.

(Associate Professor, 2005-2009)

(Assistant Professor, 2003-2005)

Teach classes on terrorism, civil wars, and Middle East security as well as general classes on military operations, contemporary security issues, and research methods. Research includes U.S. counterterrorism strategy, terrorism in the Middle East, Persian Gulf security, U.S. uses of force, and the management of internal conflict. Concurrent appointment with the Georgetown Department of Government (since 2005). Provost's extraordinary merit award (2016) for teaching and scholarship.

*Senior Fellow*, Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution, 2003-present

(Research Director, 2011-2016)

Conduct research and offer expertise on terrorism and various Middle East security issues as a part-time senior fellow. As research director, oversaw and managed the Center's research on the Middle East and U.S. policy. Responsibilities included managing research of ten fellows and visiting fellows and overseeing research assistants, commissioning outside research, reviewing written products, seeking funding for existing and new research, and otherwise ensuring the quality of the Center's intellectual output.

*Vice Dean for Undergraduate Affairs*, School of Foreign Service,

Georgetown University, 2015-present.

Oversee the School of Foreign Service (SFS) undergraduate program, which has over 1,300 students. Lead efforts to reform and manage the undergraduate curriculum. Develop new programs, including a new joint degree with the School of Business. Promote innovation and flexibility within the SFS curriculum. Build and develop opportunities for in-depth research, global experiences, and policymaking knowledge for SFS students. Foster a strong sense of community among SFS undergraduates. Help oversee and support over 75 full-time faculty members involved with the undergraduate program and over 70 adjunct faculty members. Manage a staff of 12 professionals. Coordinate relations with study abroad programs and Georgetown's SFS branch in Qatar. Assist in fundraising from private and institutional donors. Work closely with other SFS faculty, the Provost, alumni affairs, career services, and other branches of the University.

*Lead Instructor*, "Georgetown X." 2013-present.

Teach Massive Open Online Course (MOOC) on "Terrorism and Counterterrorism" for Georgetown-EdX. Managed faculty team to address major issues related to the history of terrorism, important groups active today, and counterterrorism challenges, including those related to intelligence, law, and the use of military force. Extensive use of social media, current events segments, and a case study simulation. Over 20,000 students enrolled, with high rate of completion.

*Foreign Policy Editor, Lawfare* (2015-present)

Commission, curate, and edit a weekly essay series on foreign policy for the Lawfare blog. Author a biweekly column related to terrorism, the Middle East, and U.S. national security (2016-2018).

*Director, Center for Peace and Security Studies and the Security Studies Program at Georgetown University, 2005-2010.*

Directed the largest and most comprehensive masters-level security studies program in the United States with over 300 students from around the world. Supervised budget of over \$6 million and raised over a million dollars for the Center and Program. Managed core faculty of 11; staff of 12; and over 70 adjunct faculty. Oversaw fundraising, curriculum, hiring, admissions, book projects, directed research, and speaker series.

*Professional Staff Member, National Commission on Terrorist Attacks on the United States (The “9/11 Commission”), 2003-2004.*

Conducted research and offered expertise on U.S. counterterrorism policy, with particular attention to U.S. foreign relations with the Middle East, intelligence gathering, and covert action.

*Professional Staff Member. Joint 9/11 Inquiry, U.S. House and Senate Intelligence Committees, 2002*

Led team responsible for assessing U.S. intelligence agencies’ efforts against terrorism since 1986. Identified systemic problems in the intelligence community, and recommended changes to avoid future calamities. Organized hearings and briefed Members of Congress.

*Policy Analyst and Director for Research, Center for Middle East Public Policy, The RAND Corporation, 1997-2002.*

Led teams and conducted research on a range of Middle East security and political issues. Provided area expertise for functional experts working on the Middle East. Directed, managed, and researched studies for U.S. policy makers and military officers. Led research teams of 5-30 people. Administered budgets between \$100,000 and \$2,000,000. Briefed senior U.S. policy and military officials on research results.

*Political Analyst. Central Intelligence Agency, 1990-1993*

Lead political analyst on several Middle Eastern countries. Analyzed the domestic politics, political stability, and foreign policies of Middle East states for U.S. government policy makers.

## EDUCATION

Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Ph.D. in political science, 1997.

Amherst College, B.A. comparative religion, 1989

Honors: *magna cum laude*; Kellogg Prize for public speaking and Moseley Prize for scholarship in comparative religion

## BOOKS

*Road Warriors: Foreign Fighters in the Armies of Jihad* (Oxford University Press, 2019), 382 pages.

*Al Qaeda, the Islamic State, and the Global Jihadist Movement: What Everyone Needs to Know* (Oxford University Press, 2015), 284 pages.

*A High Price: The Triumphs and Failures of Israeli Counterterrorism* (Oxford University Press, 2011), 464 pages.

*The Five Front War: The Better Way to Fight Global Jihad* (Wiley and Sons, 2008), 304 pages.

*Things Fall Apart: Containing the Spillover from an Iraqi Civil War* (Brookings, 2007; co-authored with Kenneth Pollack), 238 pages.

*Deadly Connections: States that Sponsor Terrorism* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 269 pages.

*The Dynamics of Coercion: American Foreign Policy and the Limits of Military Might* (Cambridge University Press, 2002; co-authored with Matthew Waxman), 281 pages.

*Keeping the Peace: Lasting Solutions to Ethnic Conflicts* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 280 pages.

## EDITED BOOKS

*Religion, Democracy and Politics in the Middle East* (The Academy of Political Science, 2012). Co-edited with Marylena Mantas.

*The Arab Awakening: America and the Transformation of the Middle East* (Brookings Institution Press, 2011). Co-edited with Kenneth Pollack.

## PUBLICATIONS IN PEER-REVIEWED JOURNALS AND BOOK CHAPTERS

“Warlords and Western Policy,” in *The Rise and Future of Militias in the MENA Region*, Eds. Ranj Alaaldin *et al.*, (ISPI/Brookings: December 2019), pp. 106-118 (co-author).

“The Iranian Revolution’s Legacy of Terrorism,” in *The Iranian Revolution at Forty*, Ed. Suzanne Maloney (Brookings Institution Press, 2020), pp. 129-134.

“Counterterrorism Strategies,” in *Oxford Handbook of Terrorism*, Eds. Erica Chenoweth *et al.* (Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 623-639.

“Terrorism and the Threat to Democracy,” *Democracy and Disorder*, Eds. Bruce Jones and Torrey Taussig, (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 2019), pp. 1-10.

“Assessing Trump’s Emerging Counterterrorism Policy,” in *Chaos in the Liberal Order*,

- Robert Jervis, Francis J. Gavin, Joshua Rovner, and Diane Labrosse, eds. (Columbia University Press, 2018), pp. 198-209.
- “How States Exploit Foreign Fighters,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* (Fall 2017), pp. 1-15.
- “Explaining Al Qaeda’s Decline,” *Journal of Politics* (June 2017), pp. 1106-1117.
- “The United States and the Middle East: Interests, Risks, and Costs,” in *Sustainable Security*, Eds. Jeremi Suri and Benjamin Valentino (Oxford, 2016), pp. 263-296 (co-author).
- “US counterterrorism intelligence cooperation with the developing world and its limits,” *Intelligence and National Security* (September 2016), pp. 1-16.
- “Assessing Current US Policies and Goals in the Persian Gulf,” in *Crude Strategy: Rethinking the US Military Commitment to Defend Persian Gulf Oil*, Eds. Charles L. Glaser and Rosemary A. Kelanic (Georgetown, 2016), pp. 49-78.
- “The future of violent non-state actors,” in *The World in 2050*, Ed. Hrinder Kohli (Oxford, 2016), pp. 335-350,
- “Reaching Beyond the Ivory Tower: A How To Manual,” *Security Studies* (Spring 2016; co-author), pp. 289-319.
- “Understanding the Islamic State,” *International Security* (Spring 2016), pp. 127-165.
- “Measuring the Threat from Foreign Fighters,” *Armed Conflict Survey*, 2:1 (May 2016), pp. 33-46.
- “The Jihadist Returnee Threat: Just How Dangerous?” *Political Science Quarterly* (Spring 2016), pp. 69-99.
- “Intelligence and Its Critics,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* (December 2015), pp. 1-21.
- “Combating State Sponsors of Terrorism,” in *Essentials of Counterterrorism* (Praeger, 2015), pp. 87-104.
- “‘Death Solves All Problems’: The Authoritarian Model of Counterinsurgency,” *Journal of Strategic Studies* (Fall 2015), pp. 1-35.
- “The Homecomings: What Happens when Arab Foreign Fighters in Iraq and Syria Return?” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Published Online May 1, 2015.
- “Buddies or Burdens: Understanding the Al Qaeda and with Its Affiliate Organizations,” *Security Studies* (Fall 2014), pp. 431-470.
- “The Intelligence War on Terrorism,” *Intelligence and National Security* (December 2013), Vol. 29, no. 6 (December 2013), pp. 837-863.
- “Outside Support for Insurgent Movements,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 36, no. 12, (October 2013), pp. 981-1004
- “Explaining Western Responses to the Arab Spring,” *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 36, no. 2 (May 2013), pp. 289-320
- “Fighting Salafi-Jihadist Insurgencies: How Much Does Religion Really Matter?” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* (April 2013).
- “Curious Victory: Explaining Israel’s Suppression of the Second Intifada,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* (November 2012), pp. 825-852.
- “Regime Change in the Middle East: Problems and Prospects,” *Political Science Quarterly* (Spring 2012), pp. 25-46.
- “Keeping on Offense,” In Benjamin Wittes, *Campaign 2012: Twelve Independent Ideas for Improving American Public Policy* (Brookings Institution

- Press, 2012), 204-214.
- “The Lebanese Hizballah and Israeli Counterterrorism,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 34, no. 12 (2011), pp. 917-941
- “Regional Actors: The Changing Balance of Power in the Middle East,” in *The Arab Awakening: America and the Transformation of the Middle East* (Brookings Institution Press, 2011). Co-authored with Kenneth Pollack, pp. 243-250.
- “Terrorism: Al-Qaeda and the Arab Spring,” in *The Arab Awakening: America and the Transformation of the Middle East* (Brookings Institution Press, 2011), pp. 76-86.
- “Israel: A Frosty Response to the Arab Spring,” in *The Arab Awakening: America and the Transformation of the Middle East* (Brookings Institution Press, 2011), pp. 250-258.
- “States in Civil War: Challenges for the United States,” in *The Arab Awakening: America and the Transformation of the Middle East* (Brookings Institution Press, 2011), pp. 213-220.
- Talking to Groups that Use Terror* (USIP, 2011), eds. Nigel Quinney and A. Heather Coyne (contributing author).
- “Regional Consequences of Internal Turmoil in Iraq,” in Mehran Kamrava ed., *International Politics of the Persian Gulf* (Syracuse University Press, 2011), pp. 144-168
- “A U.S. Military Withdrawal from the Greater Middle East: Impact on Terrorism,” in Stephen Van Evera and Sidharth Shah (eds.), *The Prudent Use of Power* (Cambridge, MA: The Tobin Project, 2010), pp. 157-174.
- “Pyongyang's Survival Strategy: Tools of Authoritarian Control in North Korea,” *International Security* (Summer 2010; co-author)
- “Agents of Destruction? Applying Principal-Agent Analysis to State-Sponsored Terrorism,” *International Studies Perspectives* (February 2010; co-author), pp. 1-18.
- “Explaining the Iraq Quagmire: Policy Failure or Bridge Too Far?” *Security Studies* (Winter 2008/2009)
- Lead author for several chapters in the co-authored volume, *Which Path to Persia* (Brookings, 2009).
- “Counterterrorism and U.S. Policy toward the Middle East,” in Richard Haass and Martin Indyk, *Restoring the Balance: A Middle East Strategy for the Next President* (2008; co-authored), pp. 187-216.
- “Iraq and the Future of Terrorism,” *Annual Reviews of Political Science* (July 2008; co-authored), pp. 55-68.
- “Understanding Proto-Insurgencies,” *Journal of Strategic Studies* (Spring 2008), pp.165-200
- “Iran, Terrorism, and Weapons of Mass Destruction,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* (Spring 2008), pp.169-181
- “Fighting Terrorism with Democracy?” in Hillel Frisch and Efraim Inbar, eds., *Radical Islam and International Security* (Routledge, 2008), pp. 188-203.
- “Fighting State Sponsors of Terrorism,” in James Forest, ed., *Countering Terrorism in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (Praeger, 2007), pp. 25-41.
- “Do Counterterrorism and Counterproliferation Go Together?” *Political Science Quarterly* (Spring 2007), pp. 25-48

- “Israel and the Lebanese Hizballah,” in Robert Art, ed., *Democracy and Counterterrorism: Lessons from the Past* (U.S. Institute of Peace, 2007), pp. 305-342.
- “Allies and Counterinsurgency,” *International Security* (Fall 2006), pp.79-115
- “Allies in the War on Terrorism,” *Journal of Strategic Studies* (Fall 2006), pp.767-811
- “Talks with Terrorists: When Do They Work?” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, (Winter 2005/2006), pp. 403-414
- “A Corrective that Goes Too Far,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* (Fall 2005), pp. 511-516
- “The Lebanese Hizballah,” in David Kamien, ed., *Handbook on Homeland Security* (McGraw Hill, 2005), pp. 195-206.
- “The Implications of Leadership Change in the Arab World,” *Political Science Quarterly* (Spring 2005), pp. 59-84
- “Strategic Surprise and the September 11 Attacks,” *Annual Reviews of Political Science* (2005), pp.145-170
- “Humanitarian Intervention in Communal Civil Wars” *Security Studies* (Autumn 2003); co-author, pp. 33-78
- “Al-Qa’ida as an Adversary: Do We Understand the Enemy?” *World Politics* (Fall 2003), pp.139-164
- “Constructing a Democratic Iraq: Challenges and Opportunities,” *International Security* (Summer 2003), pp. 47-78
- “Now Let Us Praise Great Men (and Women): Individuals and Foreign Policy,” *International Security* (Spring 2001; co-author), pp.107-146
- “After the Storm: U.S. Policy Toward Iraq Since 1991,” *Political Science Quarterly*, Winter 2000), pp. 493-516
- “Kosovo and the Great Air Power Debate,” *International Security* (Spring 2000; co-author), pp. 5-38
- “Identities at War: The Manipulation of Ethnic Identities to Resolve Communal Conflict,” *Security Studies* (Spring 2000), pp.149-190
- “U.S. Policy toward an Emerging China,” *Pacific Review* (Summer 1999; co-author), pp. 421-451
- “Explaining Ethnic Peace in Morocco,” *Harvard Middle East and Islamic Review* (Winter 1998), pp. 1-29
- “Why They Fight: Hypotheses on the Causes of Contemporary Deadly Violence,” *Security Studies* (Spring 1998; co-author), pp. 1-50
- “The Logic of Ethnic Terrorism,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* (Spring 1998), pp. 149-169
- “Rethinking Partition,” *Security Studies* (Fall 1997), pp. 1-29

## REPORTS AND PUBLICATIONS IN POLICY JOURNALS

- “Beyond Great Forces: How Individuals Still Shape History,” *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2019; co-author), pp. 148-159.
- “Does Al Qaeda Have a Future,” *The Washington Quarterly* (Fall 2019) Vol. 42, no. 3, pp. 65-76.
- “Is China Prepared for Global Terrorism?” Brookings (October 2019);

- co-author), pp. 1-16.
- “Eighteen Years On: The War on Terror Comes of Age,” *CTC Sentinel*, Vol. 12, no. 8 (September 2019), pp. 1-7.
- “Terrorism Definitions and Designation Lists: What Technology Companies Need to Know.” Royal United Services Institute/Brookings (July 2019), pp. 1-15 (co-author)
- “The Threat from Within,” *The National Interest* (June 2019), pp. 52-62.
- “Israel’s Four Fronts,” *Survival* (Spring 2019), pp. 167-188.
- “Yemen’s Disastrous War,” *Survival* (Fall 2018), pp. 141-158.
- “Approximating War,” *The National Interest* (September 2018), pp. 10-19.
- “An Intelligence Reserve Corps to Counter Terrorist Use of the Internet,” *The Hoover Institution* (July 2018), pp. 1-16.
- “The New American War of War: Special Operation Forces in the War on Terrorism,” *The Washington Quarterly* (Summer 2018; co-author), pp. 79-94.
- “Confronting Iran,” *Survival*. Winter 2018, pp. 107-128.
- “ISIS’ Next Move,” *The National Interest* (January/February 2018), pp. 25-33.
- “Fight or Flight: How to Avoid a Forever War against Jihadists,” *The Washington Quarterly* (Summer 2017; co-author), pp. 67-77.
- Roundtable Introduction to *Coercion, Survival, and War*, ISSForum.org, May 2017.
- “Riyadh and Reality,” *The National Interest* (May/June 2017), pp. 30-37.
- “How to Hunt a Lone Wolf: Countering Terrorists Who Act on Their Own,” *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2017).
- “Trump and Counterterrorism,” *The National Interest* (Jan/Feb 2017), pp. 66-73.
- “The Jihadi Threat: ISIS, Al Qaeda, and Beyond,” *U.S. Institute of Peace* (December 12, 2016; contributing author), pp. 1-43.
- “The Syrian Refugee Crisis: Bad and Worse Options,” *The Washington Quarterly* (Summer 2016; co-author), pp. 45-60.
- “ISIS Goes Global: Fight the Islamic State by Targeting Its Affiliates,” *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2016), pp. 76-85.
- “Six Bad Options for Syria,” *The Washington Quarterly* (January 2016), pp. 171-186.
- “Containing Syria’s Chaos,” *The National Interest* (November/December 2015), pp. 30-40.
- “Beyond Counterterrorism,” *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2015), pp. 11-18.
- “Adversity and Opportunity: Facing the Security and Policy Challenges of the Middle East,” Netherlands Institute of International Relations (April 2015; co-author), pp. 1-42.
- “Jihadism’s Civil War: The Islamic State Versus Al Qaeda,” *The National Interest* (March/April 2015; co-author), pp. 10-18.
- “Five Bad Options for Gaza,” *The Washington Quarterly* (Winter 2015), pp. 37-53.
- “Be Afraid. Be A Little Afraid: The Threat of Terrorism from Western Foreign Fighters in Syria and Iraq,” *The Brookings Institution* (November 2014, co-author), pp. 1-30.
- “Hizballah in a Time of Transition,” (Atlantic Council, November 13, 2014; coauthor), pp. 1-8.
- “Homeward Bound? Don’t Exaggerate the Threat of Foreign Fighters” *Foreign Affairs* (October/November 2014; coauthor)

- “Reforming the NSA,” *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2014; coauthor)
- “The Middle East’s Sectarian Affliction,” *Survival* (February-March 2014), pp. 79-100.
- “The Deepening Chaos in the Sinai,” *The National Interest* (Fall 2013), pp. 43-55; co-author
- “Is Hamas Winning?” *The Washington Quarterly* (Summer 2013), pp. 63-76.
- “Tools and Tradeoffs: Confronting U.S. Citizen Terrorist Suspects Abroad,” The Brookings Institution, June 17, 2013, pp. 1-54 (co-author)
- “Why Drones Work: The Case for Washington’s Weapon of Choice,” *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 2013), pp. 32-43.
- “A Modest Post-Assad Plan,” *The National Interest* (November/December 2012; co-author)
- “The Rise of Settler Terrorism: The West Bank’s Other Violent Extremists,” *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2012; co-author).
- “Breaking the Bonds Between Al-Qa’ida and Its Affiliate Organizations,” Saban Center at Brookings Analysis Paper (August 2012), pp. 1-56.
- “The Mystery of Phantom States,” *The Washington Quarterly* (Summer 2012); co-author
- “The Salafi Awakening,” *The National Interest* (July/August 2012), pp. 27-37; co-author
- “Unlikely Alliance: Iran’s Secretive Relationship with Al-Qaeda,” IHS Defense, Risk, and Security Consulting (July 2012), pp. 26-33.
- “Saving Syria: Options for Regime Change,” Saban Center Analysis Paper, The Brookings Institution (March 2012), pp. 1-15 (co-author)
- “The Challenge of Gaza: Policy Options and Broader Implications,” Saban Center Analysis Paper 6, The Brookings Institution (July 2011), pp. 1-46.
- “Israel’s Frosty Response to the Arab Spring,” *Washington Quarterly* (Summer 2011)
- “Terrorism after the Revolutions,” *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2011)
- “Al-Qaeda’s M&A Strategy,” *Foreign Policy*, December 7, 2010.
- “How to Handle Hamas,” *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2010)
- “Latter-Day Sultans,” *The National Interest* (Summer 2010).
- Which Path to Persia? Options for a New American Strategy Toward Iran* (Brookings, 2009; co-author)
- “Talks with Insurgents: A Guide for the Perplexed,” *Washington Quarterly* (Spring 2009)
- “Rogue Operators,” *The National Interest* (July/August, 2008), pp. 52-60
- “The Changing Nature of State Sponsorship of Terrorism,” *Saban Analysis Paper* (Brookings, 2008), pp. 1-43.
- “Iraq and the Global War on Terrorism,” *Columbia International Affairs Online* (Summer 2007)
- “U.S. Counterterrorism Options: A Taxonomy,” *Survival* (Summer 2007), p.121-150
- “Keeping the Lid On in Iraq,” *The National Interest* (Summer 2007; co-authored), pp.58-64
- “Who Wins in Iraq: Al Qaeda,” *Foreign Policy* (January 2007), pp.38-51
- Things Fall Apart: Containing Spillover from the Iraq War* (Brookings Institution monograph, January 2007; co-authored)
- “The Lebanon War: A Scorecard,” *The National Interest* (Fall 2006; co-authored), pp. 55-61
- “Where You Stand Depends on Where You Get Hit: Explaining U.S. and European



- Differences in Counterterrorism,” *Washington Quarterly* (Fall 2006; co-authored), pp. 33-50
- “Do Targeted Killings Work?” *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2006), pp. 95-111
- “Israel’s Lessons for Fighting Terrorists and Their Implications for the United States,” *Saban Analysis Paper*, no 8. (Brookings: March 2006), pp. 1-34.
- Going to War with the Allies You Have: Allies, Counterinsurgency, and the War on Terror* (Carlisle, PA: U.S. Army War College, 2005),
- “Passive Sponsors of Terrorism,” *Survival* (Winter 2005), pp.117-144
- “Confronting Syrian-Backed Terrorism,” *The Washington Quarterly* (Summer 2005), pp. 99-113
- “How to Fight Terrorism,” *The National Interest* (Spring 2005), pp.124-131
- “Five Bad Options for Iraq,” *Survival* (Spring 2005), pp. 7-32
- “Symposium: Afghanistan, Iraq, and the War on ‘Terror,’” *Middle East Policy* (Spring 2005), pp.1-24
- “Confronting Passive Sponsors of Terrorism,” *Saban Analysis Paper*, no 4. (Brookings: February 2005)
- “Insecuring Iraq,” *The National Interest* (Summer 2004), pp. 8-15
- “Should Hezbollah Be Next?” *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2003), pp. 54-66
- “Measuring the War on Terrorism: A First Appraisal,” *Current History* (December 2003), pp. 411-416
- “Scoring the War on Terrorism,” *The National Interest* (Summer 2003), pp.67-75
- “Building the New Iraq: The Role of Military Forces,” *Survival* (Summer 2003), pp. 57-71
- “Democracy in Iraq?” *The Washington Quarterly* (Summer 2003; co-author), pp.119-136
- “Iraq After Saddam,” *The Washington Quarterly* (Fall 2001), pp.151-162
- “Uncertain Partners: Military Cooperation with Relief Agencies,” *Survival* (Summer 2001), pp. 97-114
- “An Independent Kosovo: Understanding the Risks,” *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* (Winter/Spring 2000), pp. 37-47
- “A Farewell to Arms Control,” *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 2000), pp.119-132
- “Confronting the Next Rogue State: U.S. Policy Toward Afghanistan,” *Washington Quarterly* (Winter 1999/2000; co-author), pp.65-78
- “The Enigma of Gulf Stability,” *MERIA Journal* (August 1999; co-author)
- “U.S. Policy in Afghanistan: Challenges and Solutions,” White Paper Prepared for the Afghanistan Foundation (June 1999; co-author).
- “Proceed with Caution: U.S. Support for the Iraqi Opposition,” *The Washington Quarterly* (Summer 1999), pp.23-37
- “Defeating US Coercion,” *Survival* (Summer 1999; co-author), pp.107-120
- “The Rollback Fantasy” *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 1999; co-author), pp. 24-41
- “Coercing Saddam: Lessons from the Past,” *Survival* (Fall 1998; co-author), pp. 127-152
- “Let Iraq Collapse,” *The National Interest* (Fall 1996), pp. 48-60

## RAND CORPORATION PUBLICATIONS

- “The Ideological and Information Campaign,” in Seth Jones *et al.*, *Rolling Back the Islamic State* (2017), pp. 175-201.

“Armed and Dangerous? UAVs and U.S. Security” (spring 2014),  
pp. 1-31 contributing author)  
“Understanding Proto-Insurgencies” (fall 2007)  
“Coordinating the War on Terrorism” (2004, co-author)  
*The Future Security Environment in the Middle East* (co-editor)  
*The Persian Gulf in the Coming Decade* (2002, lead author)  
*Trends in Outside Support for Insurgent Movements* (2001; co-author)  
*The Emergence of Peer Competitors* (2001; contributing author)  
*Iran’s Post-Revolutionary Security Policy* (2001; co-author)  
“U.S. Policy Toward Iraq,” in *Taking Charge: A Bipartisan Report to the President-  
Elect*, Frank Carlucci, Robert Hunter, and Zalmay Khalilzad, eds. (2000)  
*Strengthening the Partnership: Military Cooperation with Relief Agencies*  
(2000; lead author)  
*Anticipating Ethnic Conflict: Tomorrow’s Challenges* (2000 contributing author)  
*Confronting Iraq: U.S. Policy Since Desert Storm* (2000; lead author)  
*Explaining Chinese Arms Transfers* (1999; co-author).  
*Air Power as a Coercive Instrument* (1999; lead author).  
*The United States and a Rising China* (1999; contributing author).  
*Political Violence in the Northern Persian Gulf* (1999; co-author).  
*The Impact of an Arab-Israel Peace on Persian Gulf Security* (1997;  
contributing author)

## EDITORIALS AND OTHER SHORT PUBLICATIONS

“Iran’s Next Move,” *Slate.com*, January 9, 2020.  
“Iran Can Find a New Suleimani,” *ForeignPolicy.com*, January 6, 2020.  
“Trump’s reckless Middle East policy has brought the US to the brink of war,”  
*Vox.com*, January 6, 2020  
“How Terrorism Helps – and Hurts – Iran,” *Washington Post*, January 3, 2020.  
“Killing Qassem Soleimani Changes the Game in the Middle East,” January 2, 2020.  
“When Does Terrorism Have a Strategic Effect?” *War on the Rocks*  
(November 26, 2019).  
“Worried about an Islamic State Comeback? Here’s Why That’s Unlikely,”  
*WashingtonPost.com*, October 29, 2019.  
“Five Lessons from the Killing of Baghdadi,” *Vox.com*, October 27, 2019.  
“ISIS Reborn?” *Slate*, October 18, 2019.  
“Trump’s Syria Policy is a Boon for ISIS – and a Nightmare for Europe,” *Vox.com*,  
October 14, 2019.  
“It’s Hard to Commemorate 9/11 If You Don’t Understand It,” *ForeignPolicy.com*,  
September 11, 2019.  
“How Big Tech Can Fight White Supremacist Terrorism,” *ForeignAffairs.com*,  
August 16, 2019 (co-author)  
“Right-Wingers Are America’s Deadliest Terrorists,” *Slate*, August 5, 2019.  
“Right-Wing Terrorism Could Get Even Worse after Trump,” *Slate*, July 12, 2019.  
“Foreign Fighters Are Dangerous – For the Groups They Join,” *Slate*, May 24, 2019.  
“When Jihadists Come Marching Home.” *Wall Street Journal*, May 23, 2019.

“You Can’t Defeat Tomorrow’s Terrorists by Fighting Yesterday’s Enemy,”  
*ForeignPolicy.com*, May 16, 2019.

“Why Gaza Hasn’t Erupted into All-Out War.” *Washington Post*, May 7, 2019.

“Right Wing Terrorism Has Gone Global,” *Slate*, March 15, 2019.

“What Comes after ISIS?” *ForeignPolicy.com* February 19, 2019.

“Trump’s Rhetoric Is Raising the Risk of Right-Wing Terrorism,” *Slate*,  
January 21, 2019.

“The Good News about Terrorism,” *New York Times*, December 28, 2018.

“When to Call a Terrorist a Terrorist.” *ForeignPolicy.com*, October 27, 2018.

“It’s Time to Put the Brakes on Saudi Arabia’s War in Yemen,” *Washington Post*  
October 23, 2018 (co-author).

“How U.S. Policy in Yemen Empowers Iran,” *ForeignAffairs.com*, July 25, 2018.

“Trump and Obama Both Ignored Gaza -- At Great Cost.” *Vox.com*, May 15, 2018.

“Is It Possible To Serve Honorably in the Trump Administration?” *New York Times*,  
February 22, 2018.

“Should We Treat Domestic Terrorism the Way We Do ISIS?” *ForeignAffairs.com*,  
October 3, 2017.

“The Battle for the Leadership of Global Jihad Starts Now.” *ForeignPolicy.com*.  
September 29, 2017.

“Trump’s Surge in Afghanistan: Why We Can’t Seem to End the Forever War,”  
*ForeignAffairs.com*, September 18, 2017 (co-author).

“The Danger of Picking Sides in the Qatar Crisis.” *TheAtlantic.com*  
June 16, 2017 (co-author)

“Uninspiring Terrorism.” *Slate*, May 23, 2017.

“Don’t Let President Trump Keep You from Working in Government,” *Slate*  
November 11, 2016.

“Forget What Donald Trump Says, ISIS Is in Retreat,” *Washington Post*,  
October 26, 2016.

“Saudi Arabia is a Partner, not a Friend,” *TheAtlantic.com*, September 30, 2016.

“Teaching Donald Trump about ISIS,” *New York Daily News*, September 21, 2016.

“Why an Attack Like 9/11 Is Much Less Likely than It Was in 2001,”  
*Vox*, September 9, 2016.

“Rethinking Lone Wolf Terrorism,” *NPR.org*, July 15, 2016.

“The Vicious Cycle of French Terrorism,” *Slate*, July 15, 2016.

“ISIS Is Pushing Turkey in the Wrong Direction,” *Slate*, June 29, 2016.

“War Drives Terrorism,” *Washington Post*, June 21, 2016.

“Why Lone Wolves Fail,” *ForeignPolicy.com*, June 15, 2016.

“Omar Mateen, Lone Wolf Shooter,” *Slate*, June 12, 2016.

“Will ISIS and al-Qaida Always Be Rivals,” *Slate*, May 26, 2016.

“Could the Brussels Attack Backfire for ISIS,” *Slate*, March 23, 2016.

“The Islamic State’s European Front,” *New York Times*, March 23, 2016.

“Here are America’s best policy options for Syria. They’re all terrible.” *Vox*,  
February 22, 2016.

“Death Solves All Problems: The Authoritarian Counterinsurgency Toolkit,”  
*WarontheRocks.com*, February 3, 2016.

“What Do the Paris Attacks Tell Us about ISIS’ Use of Foreign Fighters,”

- Monkey Cage (Washington Post)*, November 16, 2015.
- “ISIS’ Big Mistake,” *ForeignAffairs.com*, November 15, 2015.
- “Five Things to Know about the Paris Attack,” *Slate*, November 14, 2015.
- “A New, Scarier Phase in the War on ISIS,” *Slate*, November 4, 2015.
- “Al Qaeda Is Losing the Battle for Jihadi Hearts and Minds,” *Foreignpolicy.com*, August 18, 2015 (coauthor).
- “Israel’s Gaza Withdrawal Ten Years Later,” *WarOnTheRocks.com*, August 13, 2015.
- “Can Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula Survive the Death of Its Leader?” *ForeignPolicy.com*, June 17, 2015.
- “Why U.S. Policy Really Needs Is ... 11 Useless Policy Recommendations,” *ForeignPolicy.com*, June 5, 2015.
- “Will Al Qaeda Be the Great Winner in Yemen’s Collapse?” *ForeignPolicy.com*, April 9, 2015 (coauthor).
- “Five Myths about Countering Violent Extremism,” *Washington Post*, February 15, 2015.
- “Hizballah Hesitates,” *ForeignAffairs.com* (coauthor), January 22, 2015.
- “Teaching Torture,” *Washington Post*, December 14, 2014.
- “Why We Shouldn’t Stop the Terrorists from Tweeting,” *Washington Post*, October 9, 2014 (coauthor).
- “Be Afraid: Be A Little Afraid,” *Slate*, October 2, 2014 (coauthor).
- “Mowing the Grass and Taking Out the Trash,” *ForeignPolicy.com*, August 25, 2014.
- “A Plan to Fight the Islamic State,” *Wall Street Journal*, August 22, 2014.
- “An Eye for a Tooth: The Trouble with Israeli Deterrence,” *ForeignPolicy.com*, July 23, 2014.
- “Five Myths about the Islamic State,” *Washington Post*, July 6, 2014.
- “Striking Distance,” *Foreign Policy*, June 19, 2014.
- “In Iraq, Obama Has a Choice: Bad Guys or Bad Government,” *Washington Post*, June 15, 2014.
- “The State of Terror,” *Slate*, June 13, 2014.
- “Now that the Brotherhood is declared a terrorist group, it just might become one,” *Washington Post*, January 10, 2014 (co-author).
- “The Dangers of Success,” *ForeignPolicy.com*, September 27, 2013.
- “Go Big or Go Home,” *ForeignPolicy.com*, July 22, 2013.
- “Israel’s Three Gambles,” *ForeignPolicy.com*, May 6, 2013 (co-author).
- “Mr. Obama, Don’t Draw that Line,” *New York Times*, May 4, 2013.
- “Should the United States Do More In Syria,” *USNews.com*, April 30, 2013.
- “Roundtable on Arming the Syrian Opposition,” *ForeignPolicy.com*, February 18, 2013.
- “Al Qaeda Is Alive in Africa,” *ForeignPolicy.com*, January 17, 2013.
- “How Obama Decides Your Fate If He Thinks You’re a Terrorist,” *The Atlantic.Com*, January 3, 2013 (co-author).
- “Al Qaeda’s Not as Battered as Obama Thinks,” *TheNewRepublic.com*, November 29, 2012.
- “Winning the Stalemate,” *ForeignPolicy.com*, November 19, 2012.
- “Israel’s Gamble in Gaza,” *ForeignAffairs.com*, November 15, 2012.
- “A Less Nimble America in the Arab World,” *Huffington Post*, November 7, 2012.
- “Don’t Assume Iran is the Greatest Threat,” *ForeignPolicy.com*, October 17, 2012.

“A Preemptive Strike on the Foreign Policy Failures of the Next Administration,”  
*Washington Post*, October 12, 2012.

“When Military Muscle Blocks the Path to Peace,” *Washington Post*, October 7, 2012.

“Red Light, Green Light,” *ForeignPolicy.com*, September 11, 2012.

“Stopping Extremists Settlers,” *New York Times Global*, August 16, 2012 (co-author).

“The Syrian Spillover,” *Foreign Policy.com*, August 10, 2012 (co-author).

“No More Half Measures,” *Foreign Policy.com*, June 14, 2012.

“Preparing for Failure in Syria,” *ForeignAffairs.com*, March 20, 2012

“The Odd Couple,” *ForeignPolicy.com*, February 21, 2012.

“Can We Help the Syrian Opposition without Making Things Worse,” *Washington Post*,  
 February 12, 2012.

“Finish Him,” *ForeignPolicy.com*, February 2, 2012.

“The Arab Winter,” *The Washington Post*, December 4, 2011.

“Plausible Culpability,” *Foreign Policy.com*, October 28, 2011.

“More than a Feeling: The Awlaki Killing,” *ForeignPolicy.com*, September 30, 2011.

“The Future of Al Qaida,” *Slate*, August 31, 2011.

“Al Qaida’s History,” *Slate*, August 31, 2011.

“The Phantom Menace,” *The New York Times*, August 17, 2011.

“Have the Arab Uprisings Made Israel Less Secure?” *Slate*, August 11, 2011.

“Why Haven’t There Been More Norways,” *ForeignPolicy.com*, July 21, 2011.

“Beware the perils of a Libya after Gaddafi has Gone,” *Financial Times*, June 20, 2011

“Management Tips for Al-Qaeda’s Boss,” *ForeignPolicy.com*, June 17, 2011.

“The Targeted Killings Debate,” *ForeignAffairs.com*, June 8, 2011.

“Libyan Limbo,” *ForeignPolicy.com*, June 3, 2011 (co-authored)

“Misnomers and Misdirection,” *Foreignpolicy.com*, May 25, 2011.

“Al Qaeda’s Terrible Spring,” *ForeignAffairs.com*, May 24, 2011.

“Zawahiri’s Big Challenge,” *Slate*, May 12, 2011.

“It Could Have Been a Disaster,” *Slate*, May 4, 2011 (co-authored).

“What to Read on Al Qaeda and Usama Bin Laden,” *Foreignaffairs.com*, May 4, 2011.

“Think Again: Al Qaeda,” *Foreignpolicy.com*, May 3, 2011.

“Al Qaeda after Osama,” *Slate*, May 2, 2011.

“OBL Is Dead, Al-Qaeda Isn’t,” *Foreignpolicy.com*, May 2, 2011.

“The Libyan Opposition: Approach with Caution,” *Slate*, March 31, 2011.

“The Long War Is against Terrorism,” *New York Times.com*, March 29, 2011.

“What the No-Fly Zone in Iraq Should Have Taught Us about Libya,”  
*Washington Post*, March 27, 2011.

“What’s Next for Yemen?” *Slate*, March 22, 2011.

“Things Could Get Even Worse in Libya,” *Slate*, February 23, 2011.

“Is Qaddafi Finished?” *Slate*, February 21, 2011.

“How Egypt Looks from Osama bin Laden’s Cave,” *Slate*, February 4, 2011.

“Okay, So We Don’t Like the Old System, but What Do We Do Now?” *Foreign  
 Policy* (Review of Peter Bergen’s *The Longest War*), January 17, 2011

“Was It Tragedy in Tucson? Or Terror?” *Washington Post*, January 16, 2011.

“How to Handle Hamas,” *International Herald Tribune*, August 24, 2010.

“The Case for Calling Them Nitwits,” *The Atlantic*, July/August 2010 (co-authored)

“Coming to America,” *Slate*, May 5, 2010.

“Homeland Insecurity,” *Wall Street Journal*, December 15, 2009.  
 “Kill or Be Killed?” *Wall Street Journal*, July 17, 2009 (website only).  
 “Do Targeted Killings Work?” *Foreign Policy*, July 14, 2009.  
 “Is Iran Ripe for Revolution?” *Slate*, July 18, 2009.  
 “Taliban vs. Predator,” *Foreign Affairs*, March 18, 2009.  
 “The Surprising Absence of an October Surprise,” *Slate*, November 5, 2008.  
 “Al-Qa’ida at Twenty,” *Slate*, August 11, 2008  
 “Veterans and Colleges Have a Lot to Offer Each Other,” *Chronicle of Higher Education*, December 14, 2007, p. B5.  
 “The Next Phase of the Iraq War,” *Slate*, November 15, 2007  
 “Renditions and the Rule of Law,” *The Boston Globe*, October 15, 2007, p.A11  
 “Bashar the Gambler,” *Slate*, October 9, 2007  
 “Dangerous Scholarship,” *Chronicle of Higher Education*, September 13, 2007, p.57  
 “Homeland Insecurities,” *Slate*, September 11, 2007  
 “The Rise of Low-Tech Terrorism,” *Washington Post*, May 6, 2007, p.B3  
 “The Confession as Propaganda,” *Slate*, March 15, 2007  
 “What is Iran Up To in Iraq?” *Washington Post*, February 18, 2007, p.B1  
 “Saudi Arabia’s Own Iraq Nightmare,” *Salon.com*, February 8, 2007  
 “Even the Wise Men Can’t Save Us in Iraq,” *Washington Post*, December 3, 2006, p.B3  
 “Carriers of Conflict,” *The Atlantic*, October 2006 (Co-author), p.38-40  
 “Iraq Runneth Over,” *Washington Post*, August 20, 2006 (Co-author), p.B1  
 “Proxy Power: Understanding Iran’s Use of Terrorism,” *Slate*, July 26, 2006  
 “Strange Bedfellows: What’s Behind the Iran-Syria Alliance?” *Slate*, July 19, 2006  
 “What Zarqawi’s Death Means for the Iraqi Insurgency,” *Slate*, June 8, 2006  
 “The Impact of Assassinations,” *ForeignPolicy.com* (Winter 2006)  
 “London Lessons,” *The Big Issue* (UK), July 18-24, 2005  
 “Democratic Dominoes,” *The Atlantic*, June 2005, p.42-44  
 “Reject the Abuses, Retain the Tactic,” *Washington Post*, April 17, 2005, p.B1  
 “Postscript to ‘Should Hizballah Be Next’” *Foreign Affairs*, April 13, 2005 (Web version only)  
 “Lebanon’s Hidden Dangers,” *ForeignPolicy.com*, March 10, 2005  
 “Why We Can’t Help Margaret Hassan,” *Slate*, October 29, 2004  
 “Safer than We Think,” *Slate*, August 2, 2004  
 “Don’t Rush Rebuilding of Iraqi Military,” *Forward*, February 27, 2004, p.9  
 “Assessing Victory in the War on Terrorism,” United States Institute of Peace  
 October 22, 2003  
 “The War on Terror Requires Subtler Weapons,” *Financial Times*, May 28, 2003, p.17  
 “Achieving Peace in Iraq Requires Staying the Course on Democracy,” *Forward*,  
 April 11, 2003 (co-author), p.1  
 “After the Fall of Baghdad,” *San Diego Union Press*, April 10, 2003, p.B11-B13  
 “Building Democracy in a post-Saddam Iraq,” *In the National Interest*, November 20,  
 2002  
 “Get Ready for a Nasty War in Iraq,” *International Herald Tribune*, March 11, 2002, p.6  
 “Peacekeeping Forces Have a Long Afghan Haul Ahead of Them,” *International Herald Tribune*,  
 November 29, 2001, p.6  
 “Bin Laden’s Group Will Survive Him,” *Newsday*, September 25, 2001 (co-author)

“Beef Up the Taliban’s Enemy,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 20, 2001 (co-author), p. B15

“The Logic of Sanctions,” *The Hartford Courant*, November 4, 2000

“Iraq Stands to Gain if Saddam Falls,” *Gulf News*, August 2, 2000

“All Talk May Be Best Policy Towards Iraq,” *The Washington Post*, January 2, 2000, p. B4

“Right Tactics, Wrong War,” *Los Angeles Times* (May 2, 1999; co-author), p.2

“U.S. and Europe Collide in Mideast,” *Wall Street Journal* (Oct. 21, 1997; co-author), p.22

## TESTIMONY

“Beyond Iraq and Syria: ISIS’ Ability to Conduct Attacks Abroad.” Testimony before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. June 8, 2017.

“Nuclear Deal Fallout: The Global Threat of Iran.” Testimony before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade and the Subcommittee on the Middle East and North Africa, May 24, 2017.

“The U.S.-Saudi Arabia Counterterrorism Relationship.” Testimony before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade and the Subcommittee on the Middle East and North Africa, May 23, 2016.

“Hezbollah's Growing Threat Against U.S. National Security Interests in the Middle East,” Testimony before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on the Middle East and North Africa, March 22, 2016.

“Terrorism in Africa: The Imminent Threat to the United States.” Testimony before the Subcommittee on Counterterrorism and Intelligence of the House Committee on Homeland Security, April 29, 2015.

“State Sponsor of Terror: The Global Threat of Iran.” Testimony before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade, February 15, 2015.

“The Resurgence of al-Qaeda in Iraq.” Testimony before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade and the Subcommittee on the Middle East and North Africa, December 12, 2013.

“Terrorism in North Africa: Before and After Benghazi.” Testimony before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade and the Subcommittee on the Middle East and North Africa, July 10, 2013.

“Iran’s Support for Terrorism in the Middle East.” Testimony before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, July 25, 2012.

“Denying Terrorist Safe Havens: Homeland Security Efforts to Counter Threats from Pakistan, Yemen and Somalia,” Testimony before the Subcommittee on Oversight, Investigations and Management of the House Committee on Homeland Security, June 3, 2011.

“Innovative Approaches to Defeating Al-Qa’ida.” Testimony before the Subcommittee on National Security and Foreign Affairs of the House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform. February 14, 2008.

“Extraordinary Rendition, Extraterritorial Detention, and Treatment of Detainees: Restoring Our Moral Credibility and Strengthening Our Diplomatic Standing.” Testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. July 26, 2007.

“A Third Way: Alternatives for Iraq’s Future.” Testimony before the Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations of the House Armed Services Committee, July 18, 2007.

“Confronting a Nuclear Iran.” Testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, March 2007.

“The Future Security Environment of the Middle East.” Testimony before the Defense Review Threat Panel of the House Committee on Armed Services, September 2005.

“Iran, Terrorism, and Weapons of Mass Destruction,” Subcommittee on the Prevention of Nuclear and Biological Attacks of the Homeland Security Committee, September 2005.

“Lessons from Past U.S. Counterterrorism Experiences.” Testimony before the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks on the United States (“the 9/11 Commission”), February 2003.

## **EDITORIAL AND ADVISORY BOARDS AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS**

*International Security, The Washington Quarterly, Political Science Quarterly, Georgetown University Press Advisory Board; Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, and Terrorism and Political Violence.*