

PROGRAM ON THE MIDDLE EAST



FOREIGN POLICY RESEARCH INSTITUTE



Director: Tally Helfont

PROGRAM ON THE MIDDLE EAST

Despite the clamor for America's foreign policy to pivot away from the Middle East, events in the region over the past two decades have demanded sustained American attention. The challenges at hand are many, including Iran's regional destabilizing ambitions, the rise and fall of ISIS's Caliphate and enduring threat of jihadi terrorism, the ostensible collapse of the old state order in the Greater Middle East, and numerous ever-entrenched conflicts between, inter alia, Sunnis and Shi'is, Kurds and Arab, Israelis and Palestinians, and even among Syrians themselves.

The Program on the Middle East at the Foreign Policy Research Institute is uniquely positioned to provide the kind of strategic thinking and thoughtful analysis required to address the perennial foreign policy challenges that this fraught region poses for American policymakers. The program brings together both established and emerging scholars from the academic, military, and policy worlds in an effort to develop a new cadre of strategic policy thinkers, versed in the languages, geography, history, culture, and politics of the region.

The Middle East Program offers context, content, and policy recommendations based on this holistic view of American strategic interests in the region. Its analysis transcends headlines and catch phrases. Through its research, publications, and educational outreach, the program focuses on key themes such as authoritarianism and reform; the aftermath of the Arab Uprisings; radicalism and regional threats; sectarian divisions; and the Arab-Israeli conflict and peace efforts.



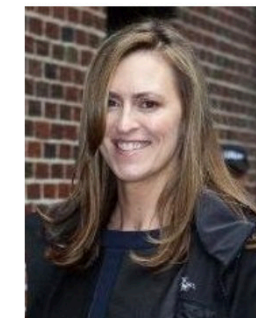
- **2016-2017 Robert A. Fox Fellow Benedetta Berti** has taken up a position as Senior Advisor and Acting Head of the Policy Planning Division of the Office of Secretary General of NATO.
- **Senior Fellow Eric Trager** has joined the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's majority staff as the professional staff member for the Middle East and North Africa.
- **2017-2018 Robert A. Fox Fellow Clint Watts'** work on tracking jihadis online and Russian influence operations has made him a daily fixture in both print and broadcast media. Notably, Watts testified three times before Congress in 2017, drawing on his cutting edge work on Russia's online behavior and election meddling.
- **Director Tally Helfont** participated in the 2018 Raisina Dialogue, a multilateral conference committed to addressing the most challenging issues facing the global community held each year in New Delhi, India.
- **Denise Natali**, a member of the Board of Advisors at FPRI, was nominated for the position of Assistant Secretary of State for conflict and stabilization.
- **Senior Fellow Samuel Helfont** attended the influential Sulaimani Forum at the American University of Iraq - Sulaimani (AUIS) alongside government leaders and international experts to tackle the issue Beyond DAESH: Ending the Cycle of Conflict toward Durable Solutions. Dr. Helfont also met with senior Peshmerga political and military leaders to discuss the United States' role in meeting the difficult challenges facing Iraq and the Kurds.
- **2017-2018 Robert A. Fox Fellow Joshua Krasna** briefed 40 senior U.S. officers and civil servants studying at the National War College at the National Defense University on Geopolitics and Regional Dynamics of the Middle East. Many of the attendees travelled soon after to Egypt, Tunisia and Israel.
- **Senior Fellow Frank Gunter** received a request from the Director of Public Policy in the Office of the President of Iraq to provide him with Gunter's latest work on Iraq. Gunter sent the Director his most recent *Orbis* article, "Immunizing Iraq Against al-Qaeda 3.0" (May 2018) from FPRI's After the Caliphate Project.

After the Caliphate: Reassessing the Jihadi Threat and Stabilizing the Fertile Crescent is a special project being carried out by the Program on the Middle East in 2017-18 and includes a book, a thematic issue of *Orbis: FPRI's Journal of World Affairs* (Summer 2018), three events, and three podcasts meant to bring the insights of the project to a diverse audience in Washington D.C., Philadelphia, and on the web.

Project Team Members:



Tally Helfont, Project Lead



Nada Bakos



Benedetta Berti



Mia Bloom



Colin P. Clarke



Chelsea L. Daymon



Brandon Friedman



Frank R. Gunter



Samuel Helfont



Barak Mendelsohn



Assaf Moghadam



Dominic Tierney

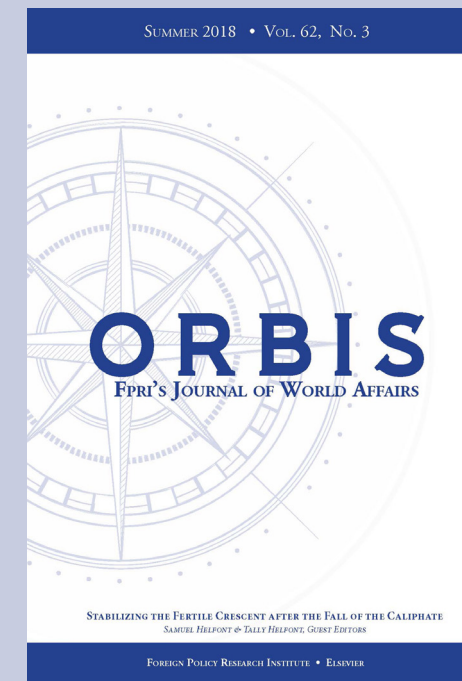
AFTER THE CALIPHATE PROJECT

In October 2006, al-Qaeda in Iraq consolidated its alliances and declared itself a state—the Islamic State of Iraq (ISI). Despite the fact that ISI created ministries and other trappings of a state, it never controlled territory in a manner that states do. As such, the world mostly ignored its claim of statehood. In 2011, as American forces withdrew from Iraq and as Syria descended into civil war, the Islamic State of Iraq gradually took control of territory in both of those countries. In April 2013, ISI changed its name to the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) to convey the fact that it held territory on both sides of the border. Still, the world mostly ignored its existence. By June 2014, such willful ignorance could no longer be maintained in the wake of the blitzkrieg offensive that ISIS blazed across northern Iraq. With the fall of Mosul, Iraq's second most important city, and the ensuing collapse of the Iraqi military, the United States finally was forced to take notice and abandon its plans for withdrawal. However, by the time American forces began to reengage, ISIS ruled vast sections of Iraq and Syria in the manner typical of a territorial state. It collected taxes, ran schools, collected garbage, and maintained the all-important monopoly on the use of force. ISIS's statehood created a situation which was new for counter-terrorism strategists, and the military operations against ISIS often resembled conventional state-on-state warfare—with front lines, battles for cities, and the massing of troops—rather than traditional

counter-terrorism operations.

When the United States began those operations in 2014, its stated intention was to “degrade and destroy” ISIS. Since then, a diverse array of forces has worked tirelessly to liberate key territories in Iraq and Syria from ISIS's Caliphate. Now, in the summer of 2018, ISIS's Caliphate has largely been dismantled as a territorial entity. However, the group is far from destroyed, and its ability to maneuver is much improved as it reverts to an insurgency. What's more, there is very little to prevent yet another non-state armed group from retaking the very same lands that ISIS once held. Accordingly, American diplomacy, military strategy, and intelligence collection likely will focus on Iraq and Syria for many years to come. Thus, the question for policymakers is how the U.S. can prevent non-state armed groups from regaining a territorial foothold, further destabilizing these territories, and ultimately threatening U.S. interests in the region. Relatedly, the question of what to do about the likes of al-Qaeda and ISIS even if they do not hold territory remains equally pressing.

A post-territorial counter-terrorism strategy that provides post-conflict stabilization and impairs jihadis from operating in this theater is needed. This strategy will have to blend kinetic, cyber, political, and economic toolsets on the local, regional, and international levels. It also will need to reassess the jihadi threat emanating from the Fertile Crescent. This Summer 2018 special issue of Orbis, “Stabilizing the Fertile Crescent after the Fall of the Caliphate,” is designed both to provide a framework for thinking about the threat of terrorism emanating from the Fertile Crescent now that ISIS's Caliphate is being undone and to provide concrete policy recommendations to establish a tenable politico-economic status quo. As such, it brings together a mix of practitioners and academics to examine a wide range of topics at the local, state, transnational, and international levels.



Stabilizing the Fertile Crescent After the Fall of the Caliphate - June, 2018 - Left to right: Barak Mendelsohn, Assaf Moghadam, Tally Helfont, Samuel Helfont.

In this Issue:

- **MAPPING TODAY'S JIHADI LANDSCAPE AND THREAT**
Colin P. Clarke & Assaf Moghadam
- **ASSESSING THE FUTURE THREAT: ISIS'S VIRTUAL CALIPHATE**
Mia Bloom & Chelsea L. Daymon
- **IMMUNIZING IRAQ AGAINST AL-QAEDA 3.0**
Frank Gunter
- **AN ARAB OPTION FOR IRAQ**
Samuel Helfont
- **STABILITY IN SYRIA: WHAT WOULD IT TAKE TO MAKE IT HAPPEN?**
Benedetta Berti
- **IRAN'S HEZBOLLAH MODEL IN IRAQ AND SYRIA: FAIT ACCOMPLI?**
Brandon Friedman
- **A MORE FORWARD ROLE FOR THE GULF STATES? COMBATING TERRORISM AT HOME AND ABROAD**
Tally Helfont
- **BEYOND KINETIC OPERATIONS: A ROAD MAP TO SUCCESS IN SYRIA AND IRAQ**
Nada Bakos
- **A WEARY HERCULES: THE UNITED STATES AND THE FERTILE CRESCENT IN A POST-CALIPHATE ERA**
Dominic Tierney

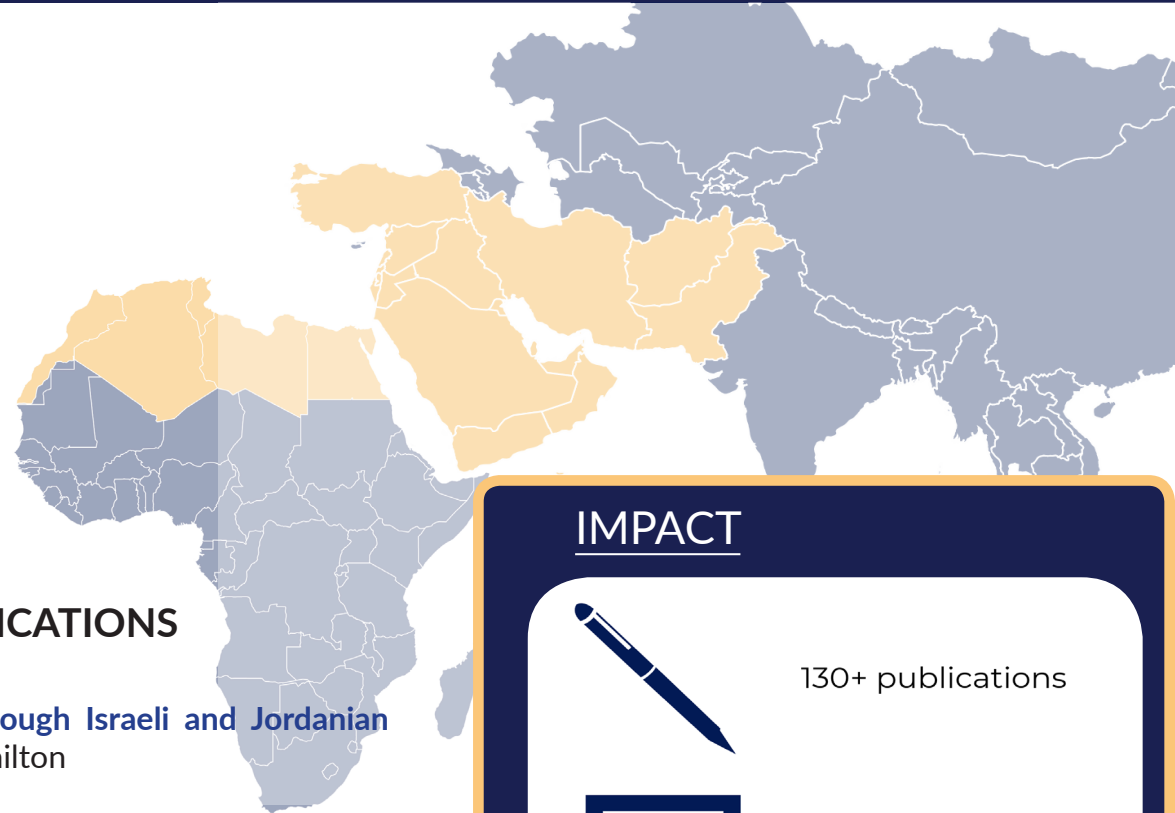


MID-YEAR UPDATE

MEDIA APPEARANCES

20
SCHOLARS

on the Middle East and North Africa



TOP PUBLICATIONS

The Middle East through Israeli and Jordanian Eyes ~ Robert E. Hamilton

Trump's Jerusalem Embassy Move: A Busted Flush? ~ Bernard Wasserstein

Saudi Arabia's New Realism in Iraq ~ Rasha Al Aqeedi

Elections in Turkey: Erdogan's Juggernaut Continues ~ Michael A. Reynolds

The Brewing Battle over U.S. Troop Presence in Syria ~ Christopher J. Bolan

Defeating the ISIS Nostalgia Narrative ~ Colin P. Clarke & Haroro J. Ingram

Philadelphia Papers

**A GUIDE FOR THE PERPLEXED:
THE ISRAELI NATIONAL SECURITY
CONSTELLATION AND ITS EFFECT
ON POLICYMAKING**

by Joshua Krasna



IMPACT



130+ publications



100+ media citations

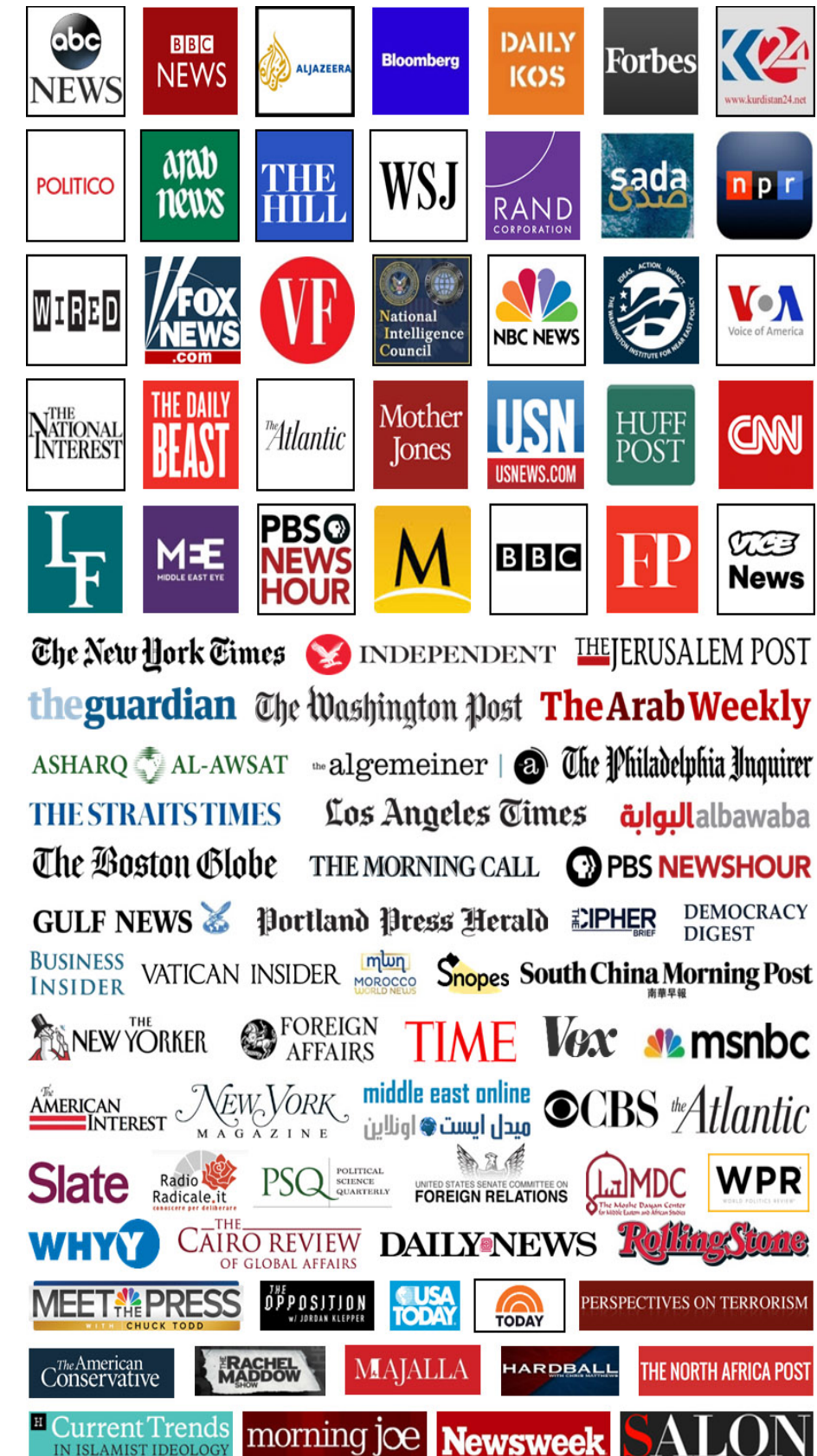


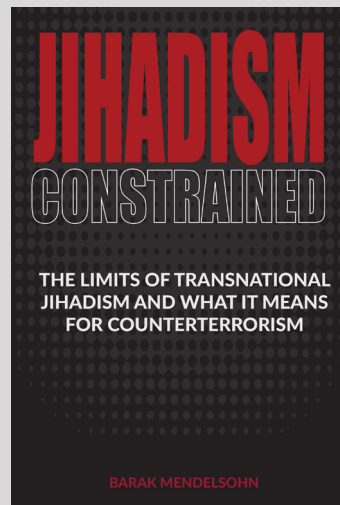
8 FPRI events



On January 17, 2018 **Clint Watts**, a 2017-2018 Robert A. Fox Fellow, testified before the U.S. Senate Committee on Commerce, Science and Transportation on Russian disinformation operations on social media.

In May 2018, Senior Fellow **Frank Gunter** sent the Director of Public Policy in the Office of the President of Iraq his most recent Orbis article, "Immunizing Iraq Against al-Qaeda 3.0," at the Director's request.



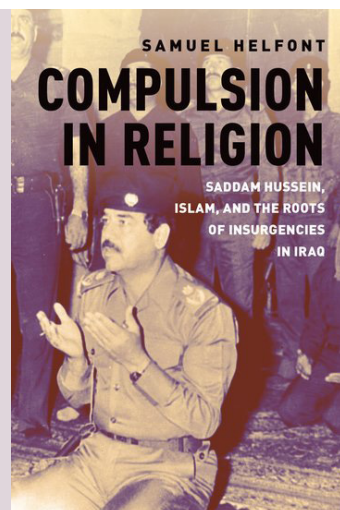


BARAK MENDELSON

Jihadism Constrained: The Limits of Transnational Jihadim and What it Means for Counterterrorism

(Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Forthcoming, 2018)

How threatening are al-Qaeda and the Islamic State? In *Jihadism Constrained*, Barak Mendelsohn suggests that although jihadi terrorism is a serious challenge, it must not be exaggerated. The book argues that transnational jihadism has been struggling to create a polity based on religious affiliation, to generate political effects across borders, and to produce unity among all components of the transnational movement.

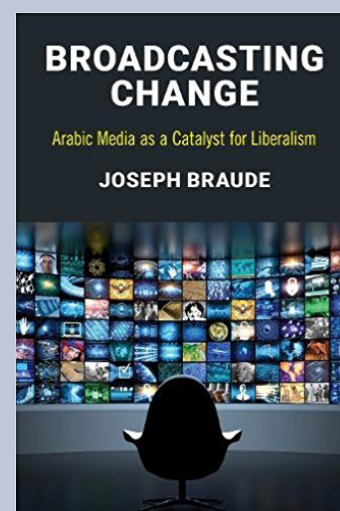


SAMUEL HELFONT

Compulsion in Religion: Saddam Hussein, Islam, and the Roots of Insurgencies in Iraq

(Oxford University Press, 2018)

Compulsion in Religion investigates the roots of religious insurgencies which erupted in Iraq following the American-led invasion in 2003. Western analysts, including American military planners, assumed Saddam's regime had little control over Iraqi religious institutions and therefore that the regime's removal would not disrupt the country's religious landscape. This book relies on access to the former regime's internal archives and secret files to dispel that notion.



JOSEPH BRAUDE

Broadcasting Change: Arabic Media as a Catalyst for Liberalism

(Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2017)

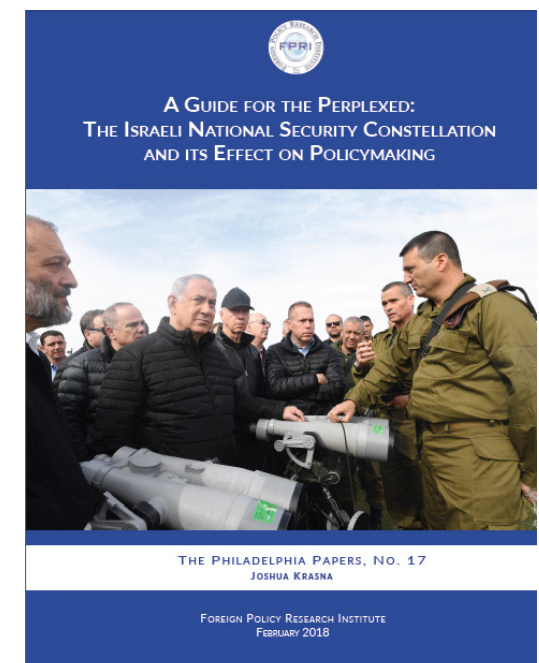
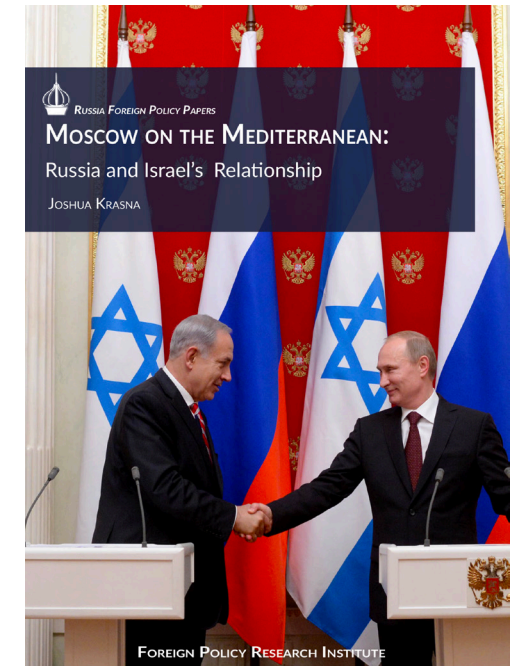
Amid civil war, failing states, and terrorism, Arab liberals are growing in numbers and influence. Advocating a culture of equity, tolerance, good governance, and the rule of law, they work through some of the region's largest media outlets to spread their ideals within the culture. *Broadcasting Change* analyzes this trend by portraying the intersection of media and politics in two Arab countries with seismic impact on the region and beyond.



Joshua Krasna, a 2017-2018 Robert A. Fox Fellow in the Program on the Middle East, is an analyst specializing in Middle East political and regional developments and forecasting, as well as in international strategic issues. He recently retired after 30 years of service in Israel to include postings as an Israeli diplomat in Jordan and Canada. His last assignment before retirement was as an Instructor at Israel's senior professional military education school, the Israel National Defense College. While there, he mentored and led teams of senior military and civilian students, taught courses on intelligence and on national security, and served as lead instructor for the economic and social tracks of the program. He has published articles in the *Journal of Conflict Studies* and *Contemporary Security Policy*.

Dr. Krasna holds a PhD from the Bar Ilan University and is a graduate of Columbia University and the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies.

During his time at FPRI, Dr. Krasna was extremely prolific, writing reports on the relationship between Russia and Israel and on Israeli National Security Constellation; and articles on Israel's crisis of leadership, tensions between Israel and Iran, and the implications of leadership changes in Saudi Arabia on the Middle East region. He briefed the National War College at the National Defense University and gave talks for FPRI in Washington, D.C. and in Philadelphia at numerous think tanks and organizations. Krasna was also quoted in the media by publications ranging from the *Arab Weekly* to the *Jewish Exponent*.



EVENTS

Broadcasting Change: Arabic Media as a Catalyst for Liberalism - January, 2018
Joseph Braude



Stabilizing the Fertile Crescent After the Fall of the Caliphate - June, 2018
Left to right: Barak Mendelsohn, Assaf Moghadam, Tally Helfont, Samuel Helfont



BookTalk: False Dawn: Protest, Democracy, and Violence in the New Middle East - August, 2017
Left to right : Steven A. Cook, Tally Helfont



Compulsion in Religion: Saddam Hussein, Islam, and the Roots of Insurgencies
January, 2018
Left to right: Ronald Granieri, Samuel Helfont

BookTalk: Nexus of Global Jihad: Understanding Cooperation Among Terrorists - August, 2017
Left to right:
Barak Mendelsohn, Assaf Moghadam



A Panel Discussion on Life after the Caliphate - January, 2018
Left to right: Tally Helfont, Nada Bakos, Mia Bloom



Tally Helfont is the Director of the Program on the Middle East at the Foreign Policy Research Institute. Her research focuses on regional balance of power, the Levant and the Gulf States, and U.S. policy therein. She is also a Contributing Analyst for Wikistrat's Middle East Desk, a crowd-sourcing consultancy. Ms. Helfont has instructed training courses in Civil Information Management to U.S. Military Civil Affairs Units and Human Terrain Teams assigned to Iraq and Afghanistan. A frequent commentator in the media, her writings have appeared in English, Hebrew, and Arabic in publications such as *Orbis* (US), *The American Interest* (US), *INSS Insight* (IL), *Raisina Files* (IN), *al-Mesbar* (UAE), and *al Majalla* (UK/KSA). She holds an M.A. in Middle East Studies from Tel Aviv University, and is proficient at various levels in Hebrew, Arabic, and French.

You can follow her @TallyHelfont on Twitter.



Rasha Al Aqeedi is Managing Editor of *Irfaa Sawtak* (Raise Your Voice) and a researcher and analyst of contemporary Iraqi politics and political Islam. She is also a non-resident fellow of George Washington University's Program on Extremism. Previously, Rasha was a researcher at the Al Mesbar Studies and Research Center in Dubai, and an analyst at Inside Iraqi Politics. Her work on Mosul and Sunni politics is frequently cited by the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *AP*, and *Buzzfeed*. Rasha received an M.A. in Translation, a B.A. in Translation, and a B.A. in Computer Engineering from Mosul University.



Ronen Hoffman is an academician and former member of Knesset 2013-2015. He served as a member of Israel's Defense and Foreign Affairs Committee as well as the chairman of the sub-committee on Foreign Affairs and Public Diplomacy. Hoffman is an expert in the fields of Israel's Foreign Policy and the Middle East political negotiations. He served as Personal Assistant to the late Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin during his political campaign, and was a member and the coordinator of the Israeli delegation to the peace negotiations with Syria. Dr. Hoffman is a lecturer at the School of Government at the Interdisciplinary Center Herzliya and teaches courses on strategies and tactics in the Middle East peace negotiations, political marketing and campaign management, and psychological warfare in conflict management, among others.



Michael A. Reynolds is Director of Princeton University's Program on Russian, East European, and Eurasian Studies, and Associate Professor in Princeton's Department of Near Eastern Studies. His teaching and research ranges over the geography of the Middle East and Eurasia and covers the themes of empire, international relations, nationalism, geopolitics, ethnic conflict, and religion and culture. He is the author of *Shattering Empires: The Clash and Collapse of the Ottoman and Russian Empires, 1908-1918* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), co-winner of the 2011 American Historical Association's George Louis Beer Prize, a *Financial Times* book of the summer, and a Choice outstanding academic title, and is the editor of *Constellations of the Caucasus: Empires, Peoples, and Faiths* (Markus Weiner, 2016). Currently, he is at work on a biography of Enver Pasha, hero of the Young Turk Revolution and Ottoman Minister of War during WWI. He has written for the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the *National Interest*, and *Newsweek*. He holds a PhD in Near Eastern Studies from Princeton, an MA in Political Science from Columbia, and a BA in Government and Slavic Languages from Harvard.



Christopher J. Bolan, a Senior Fellow at the Foreign Policy Research Institute's Program on the Middle East, is Professor of Middle East Security Studies at the Strategic Studies Institute of the U.S. Army War College, where he researches and teaches graduate level courses on U.S. national security, foreign policy, and Middle East security issues. He has served as a foreign policy advisor on Middle East and South Asia affairs for Vice Presidents Gore and Cheney. He is a retired U.S. Army colonel with overseas tours in Korea, Egypt, Jordan, and Tunisia. He holds a PhD in International Relations and Master of Arts Degree in Arab Studies from Georgetown University.



Joseph Braude is a Senior Fellow at FPRI. Braude is a Middle East scholar, and author whose research appears in print and on air, in Arabic as well as English. He studied in the departments of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at Yale and Near Eastern Studies at Princeton University. Since July 2010, Joseph Braude's weekly program in Arabic, *Risalat New York* (Letter from New York), has aired nationally on Morocco's MED Radio. He appears frequently as a commentator on Al-Arabiya and other satellite television networks. He writes a biweekly column in *Al-Majalla*, and contributes regularly to the daily newspaper *Asharq Alawsat*. In the United States, he has written for *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The American Interest*, *Foreign Policy*, *The Atlantic*, and *The New Republic*. He provides commentary on public radio programs, and produces documentaries on current affairs in the Middle East for PRI's *America Abroad*. He hosts the English-language podcast *Eye on Arabia*, a light-hearted roundup of reporting and analysis from the Arab world. He is also a contributing editor at *Tablet*. Joseph Braude is Advisor at the Al-Mesbar Studies and Research Center in Dubai, a think tank specializing in Islamist movements across the Middle East and North Africa. In addition to leading seminars and contributing research to its monthly book, he conducts outreach on behalf of the Center in the United States and elsewhere.



Sarah Bush is a Senior Fellow in the Program on the Middle East at the Foreign Policy Research Institute, an Associate Professor of Political Science at Yale University, and a Research Fellow at the MacMillan Center for International and Area Studies. Her research examines how international actors try to aid democracy, promote women's representation, and support elections in developing countries. She is the author of *The Taming of Democracy Assistance: Why Democracy Promotion Does Not Confront Dictators* (Cambridge University Press). Her articles have appeared in *International Organization*, *Journal of Politics*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Perspectives on Politics*, and other journals, as well as outlets such as *ForeignPolicy.com* and *WashingtonPost.com*. She received a Ph.D. in Politics from Princeton University in 2011. She teaches courses on international relations, global governance, non-state actors in world politics, and democracy promotion.



Brandon Friedman, a Senior Fellow in the Program on the Middle East at FPRI, is a Research Fellow at the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle East and African Studies at Tel Aviv University. Brandon is also the Managing Editor of the Dayan Center's journal *Bustan: The Middle East Book Review*. Brandon teaches in Tel Aviv University's international Master's in Middle East Studies program and its B.A. in Liberal Arts program. His research interests include contemporary Middle East geopolitics and strategic analysis, nuclear arms proliferation, and the political history of the Middle East during the modern period. Brandon's PhD research focused on the political relations between the rulers of the Persian Gulf littoral during the period of British military withdrawal from the region (1968 to 1971). Prior to beginning his academic career in Israel, Brandon spent seven years working for a risk advisory consulting firm in the U.S.



Frank R. Gunter is a Senior Fellow in the Program on the Middle East at FPRI, a Professor of Economics at Lehigh University, and a retired U.S. Marine Colonel. After receiving his Doctorate in Political Economy from Johns Hopkins University in 1985, Dr. Gunter joined the faculty of Lehigh University where he teaches Principles of Economics, Economic Development, and the Political Economy of Iraq. He has won four major and multiple minor awards for excellence in undergraduate teaching. In 2005-2006 and 2008-2009, he served as an economic advisor to the U.S. Government in Baghdad for which he received the Bronze Star Medal and the Senior Civilian Service Award. Based on his experiences, he wrote, *The Political Economy of Iraq: Restoring Balance in a Post-Conflict Society*. This book was published in both English and Arabic and was selected by Choice magazine as one of the "Outstanding Academic Titles" of 2013. Frank has given multiple presentations on the political economy of Iraq in the United States, Iraq, and the United Arab Emirates.



Samuel Helfont is a Senior Fellow in the Program on the Middle East at FPRI, and an Assistant Professor of Strategy and Policy at the Naval War College program at the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, CA. His research focuses on international politics of the Middle East, especially Iraq and the Iraq Wars. Helfont is the author of *Compulsion in Religion: Saddam Hussein, Islam, and the Roots of Insurgencies in Iraq* (Oxford University Press, 2018), *Yusuf Al-Qaradawi: Islam and Modernity* (The Moshe Dayan Center/Tel Aviv University Press, 2009); and the FPRI monograph, *The Sunni Divide: Understanding Politics and Terrorism in the Arab Middle East*. He has written widely in publications such as *Foreign Affairs*, *The Middle East Journal*, *Orbis*, *The New Republic*, *The American Interest*, and *The Jewish Review of Books*, among others.



Joshua Krasna is a Senior Fellow in the Program on the Middle East at FPRI, and an analyst specializing in Middle East political and regional developments and forecasting, as well as in international strategic issues. He recently retired after 30 years of service in Israel to include postings as an Israeli diplomat in Jordan and Canada. His last assignment before retirement was as an Instructor at Israel's senior professional military education school the Israel National Defense College. While there, he mentored and led teams of senior military and civilian students, taught courses on intelligence and on national security, and served as lead instructor for the economic and social tracks of the program. He has published articles in the *Journal of Conflict Studies and Contemporary Security Policy*, and is proficient in Hebrew and Arabic. Dr. Krasna holds a PhD from the Bar Ilan University and is a graduate of Columbia University and the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies.



Bruce Maddy-Weitzman is a Senior Fellow in the Program on the Middle East at FPRI, Associate Professor in the Department of Middle Eastern and African History and Senior Fellow at the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies at Tel Aviv University. Maddy-Weitzman's research focuses on contemporary Middle Eastern history, inter-Arab relations, and the modern Maghrib. He is the author of *A Century of Arab Politics* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2016); *The Berber Identity Movement and the Challenge to North African States* (University of Texas Press, 2011), which was awarded the L.Carl Brown Prize by the American Institute for Maghrib Studies in 2013; and *The Crystallization of the Arab State System, 1945-1954* (Syracuse University Press, 1993); and is the editor or co-editor of thirteen volumes on the modern Middle East and North Africa.



Barak Mendelsohn is a Senior Fellow in the Program on the Middle East at FPRI, is an Associate Professor of Political Science at Haverford College. He is author of *The al-Qaeda Franchise: The Expansion of al-Qaeda and Its Consequences* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2016) and *Combating Jihadism: American Hegemony and International Cooperation in the War on Terrorism* (University of Chicago Press, 2009). He served in the Israeli army for five years and received his Ph.D. in Government from Cornell University. He specializes in radical Islamist organizations, with an emphasis on al-Qaeda and the Islamic State. His research interests also cover Middle East security, terrorism and counter-terrorism, U.S. foreign policy, and questions of international order.



S. Abdallah Schleifer, a Senior Fellow at the Foreign Policy Research Institute, is Professor Emeritus and Senior Fellow at the Kamal Adham Center for Television Journalism – which he founded and served as first director (1985-2005) at The American University in Cairo. He is currently a distinguished visiting professor in the Faculty of Economics and Political Science at Future University; chief editor of *The Muslim 500*; Adjunct Scholar at the Middle East Institute; editor at large of *Arab Media & Society* journal; member of the Board of Trustees of the Center for the Study of Islam and Democracy (USA); and Senior Fellow at the Royal Aal Al-Bayt Institute for Islamic Thought (Amman.) A frequent guest on Al Jazeera English, he reported for AJE from Cairo at the height of the Tahrir Uprising in Feb. 2011 as well as for the *Forward* (USA). A veteran journalist Schleifer has lived in Cairo for 36 years, first serving as NBC News Cairo Bureau Chief ('74-'83) before joining the AUC faculty. Shortly after retiring from full-time teaching, Schleifer served as Al Arabiya News channel's Bureau Chief in Washington DC ('06-'07). Prior to coming to Cairo, Schleifer served as NBC News M.E. Producer-Reporter based in Beirut. He came to the region in 1965, serving as first Managing Editor of Jordan's daily English-language newspaper published in then Jordanian Jerusalem, *The Jerusalem Star*, later known as *The Palestine News*. His eyewitness account of the June 1967 War – *The Fall of Jerusalem* – was published in 1971.



Amin Tarzi is a Senior Fellow in the Program on the Middle East at FPRI, and the Director of Middle East Studies at the Marine Corps University (MCU) in Quantico, Virginia. Dr. Tarzi's prior experience includes holding the post of Political Advisor to the Saudi Arabian Mission to the United Nations dealing with the conflicts in Iraq, Afghanistan, the Balkans and Somalia; the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty extension; Iranian behavior in the United Nations; and Security Council expansion. After his tenure with the Saudi government, Dr. Tarzi held the position of Researcher/Analyst on Iranian affairs at the Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research in Abu Dhabi. Dr. Tarzi has a PhD and an M.A. from the Department of Middle East Studies at New York University. His works include: *Taliban and the Crisis in Afghanistan*, a co-edited volume with Professor Robert D. Crews of Stanford University (Harvard University Press, 2008) and *The Iranian Puzzle Piece: Understanding Iran in the Global Context* (MCU Press, 2009).



Eric Trager is a Senior Fellow in the Program on the Middle East at FPRI, and a Professional Staff Member for the Middle East and North Africa on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Formerly the Esther K. Wagner Fellow at The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Dr. Trager's work focused on Egyptian politics and the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. He was in Egypt during the 2011 anti-Mubarak revolts and returns frequently to conduct firsthand interviews with leaders in Egypt's government, military, political parties, media, and civil society. He is the author of *Arab Fall: How the Muslim Brotherhood Lost in 891 Days* (Georgetown University Press, 2016). His writings have also appeared in numerous publications, including the *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Foreign Affairs*, *the Atlantic*, and the *New Republic*.



Lorenzo Vidino, a Senior Fellow in the Program on the Middle East at FPRI, is the Director of the Program on Extremism at George Washington University's Center for Cyber & Homeland Security. An expert on Islamism in Europe and North America, his research over the past 15 years has focused on the mobilization dynamics of jihadist networks in the West; governmental counter-radicalization policies; and the activities of Muslim Brotherhood-inspired organizations in the West. Dr. Vidino earned a law degree from the University of Milan Law School and a doctorate in international relations from Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. He has held positions at Harvard University's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at the Kennedy School of Government, the U.S. Institute of Peace, the RAND Corporation, and the Center for Security Studies (ETH Zurich). The author of several books and numerous articles, Dr. Vidino's most prominent work is *The New Muslim Brotherhood in the West*, a book published in 2010 by Columbia University Press, with an Arabic edition released the following year by the Al Mesbar Studies and Research Center.



Sean L. Yom is a Senior Fellow at the Program on the Middle East at FPRI, and an Associate Professor of Political Science at Temple University. His research broadly focuses on authoritarianism, democracy, and development in the Middle East and North Africa. He has published widely on regional topics like post-colonial state formation, the dynamics of regime durability, and strategic implications for US foreign policy. His work has appeared in *Journal of Democracy*, *Middle East Journal*, *Studies in Comparative International Development*, *CTC Sentinel*, and other journals. He has been quoted or featured in the *BBC News*, *Financial Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Voice of America*, *Time Magazine*, *NPR*, and the *Associated Press*, as well as overseas media like *O Globo* (Brazil), *La Razón* (Spain), *Público* (Portugal), *Le Figaro* (France), and *Al-Ghad* (Jordan). He has published numerous academic works, including *From Resilience to Revolution: How Foreign Interventions Destabilize the Middle East* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015) and (as co-editor) *The Government and Politics of the Middle East* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2016), 8th ed. He received his Ph.D. at Harvard.



Vish Sakthivel is a Fellow in the Program on the Middle East at FPRI and a doctoral candidate in Modern Middle East Studies at Oxford University, where she is writing her dissertation on Islamist politics in Algeria and Morocco. Her research is based primarily on ethnographies and is supplemented by archival consultation. She is also a nonresident adjunct fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy (WINEP) responsible for coverage of North Africa, and is the author of the WINEP monograph, *"Al-Adl wal-Ihsan: Inside Morocco's Islamist Challenge."* She has lived in Algeria, Morocco, and the United Kingdom. Her work has appeared in *Foreign Affairs*, *World Politics Review*, *Al Monitor*, and the *Oxford University Press Islamic Encyclopedia*, among other outlets. She is proficient at various levels in Maghreb Arabic dialects, Modern Standard Arabic, Tamil, and French.



Andrew Spath is a Fellow in the Program on the Middle East at FPRI and an Instructor at American University's School of International Service. He is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Political Science at Rutgers University, where he also teaches courses on authoritarian regimes, Middle East politics and security, and Model United Nations. His current research examines the effects of leadership succession on the relationship between government and society in Jordan and Syria. Spath was awarded both a Fulbright fellowship and a David L. Boren fellowship for 2012-13.



Tamar Friedman Wilson is an Associate Scholar in the Program on the Middle East at FPRI. Her research focuses on electoral politics in the Middle East. She is currently working as the Marketing Associate at the Taub Center for Social Policy Studies in Israel. Tamar is a recent graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, where she earned her B.A. in Political Science, with a minor in Modern Middle Eastern Studies. She completed her senior thesis under the direction of Dr. Brendan O'Leary entitled *"Negotiating Identities: The Strategic Adoption of Gender Quotas but not Ethnic Quotas in Post-Conflict Iraq and Afghanistan."* Tamar has previously interned at the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Nkaikela Youth Group (an NGO in Botswana that focuses on HIV prevention), and at the Foreign Policy Research Institute in Philadelphia.



Denise Natali is a member of the Board of Advisors at FPRI and a Distinguished Research Fellow at the Institute for National Strategic Studies (INSS) where she specializes on the Middle East, Iraq, trans-border Kurdish issue, and post-conflict stabilization. Dr. Natali joined INSS in January 2011 as the Minerva Chair, following more than two decades of researching and working in the Kurdish regions of Iraq, Turkey, Iran, and Syria. She is the author of numerous publications, op-eds, and short analyses on Iraq, Syria, Turkey, Kurds, and countering ISIL. Her books include; *The Kurdish Quasi-State: Development and Dependency in Post-Gulf War Iraq* and *The Kurds and the State: Evolving National Identity in Iraq, Turkey and Iran*, which was the recipient of the Choice Award for Outstanding Academic Title (trans. to Turkish *Kurtler ve Devlet: Iraq, Turkiye ve Iran'da Ulusal Kimligin Gelismesi*). Dr. Natali is currently writing a second edition of *The Kurds and the State* to include chapters on Syria.



FOREIGN POLICY RESEARCH INSTITUTE

The Foreign Policy Research Institute is a non-partisan, non-profit 501 (c)(3) organization dedicated to bringing the insights of scholarship to bear on the foreign policy and national security challenges facing the United States. It seeks to educate the public, teach teachers, train students, and offer ideas to advance U.S. national interests based on a non-partisan, geopolitical perspective that illuminates contemporary international affairs through the lens of history, geography, and culture.

Foreign Policy Research Institute

1528 Walnut Street, Suite 610
Philadelphia, PA 19102

215-732-3774 www.fpri.org