

**Dr. Frederic M. Wehrey**

Senior Associate, Middle East Program

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Frederic Wehrey is a senior associate in the Middle East Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He focuses on Gulf political and security affairs, Libya, and U.S. policy in the Middle East.

His most recent Carnegie publications include: *The Struggle for Security in Eastern Libya* (2012); *The Precarious Ally: Bahrain's Impasse and U.S. Policy* (2013); *The Forgotten Uprising in Eastern Saudi Arabia* (2013); *Perilous Desert: Sources of Saharan Insecurity*, co-edited with Anouar Boukhars (2013); and *Building Libya's Security Sector*, co-authored with Peter Cole (2013).

Prior to joining Carnegie, he was a senior policy analyst at the RAND Corporation, where he was the lead author of monographs on the domestic roles of Iran's Revolutionary Guards, Saudi-Iranian rivalry, and the strategic impact of the Iraq War in the Middle East. In 2008, he led a RAND strategic advisory team to Baghdad, focusing on post-surge challenges in support of Multinational Forces–Iraq.

Wehrey is also a lieutenant colonel in the U.S. Air Force Reserve and has completed tours in Turkey, Uganda, Libya, Algeria, and Iraq, where he earned the Bronze Star in 2003.

His articles have appeared in the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Foreign Affairs*, the *Atlantic*, *Washington Quarterly*, *Current History*, the *International Herald Tribune*, *Survival*, *Sada*, the *Journal of Democracy*, *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, *Financial Times*, and the *Chicago Journal of International Law*. He has been interviewed by major media outlets such as the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, *PBS NewsHour*, NPR, BBC, and CNN. He routinely briefs U.S. and European government officials on Middle East affairs and has testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

He is the author of a new book exploring Sunni-Shi'a identity politics in Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait, entitled *Sectarian Politics in the Gulf: From the Iraq War to the Arab Uprising* (Columbia University Press, 2013), named one of 2013's top five books on the Middle East by *Foreign Policy* magazine.

He holds a PhD in International Relations from Oxford University and a Master's in Near Eastern Studies from Princeton University.

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## **Senior Associate**

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## **EXPERIENCE**

### **Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, DC, May 2012 to Present**

- Carnegie's lead researcher on Libya and the Gulf—focusing on political reform, security sectors, and U.S. policy
- Extensive fieldwork and interviews in Libya, Bahrain, and Saudi Arabia, 2012-2013

### **Senior Policy Analyst, RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, CA, July 2005 to May 2012**

- Lead researcher for RAND projects on re-building Libya's security sector and political institutions; the impact of liberalization on political violence in Bahrain and Saudi Arabia; the effect of U.S. security assistance on political reform in Arab Awakening states; the domestic roles of Iran's Revolutionary Guards; Arab perceptions of Iranian influence and power; strategic debates among Salafi ideologues; U.S. security assistance to the Lebanese Armed Forces.
- Extensive briefings to government sponsors including the Office of the Secretary of Defense, Congress, intelligence agencies, U.S. Central Command, the State Department, and the National Security Council.
- Extensive fieldwork in Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, the UAE, Lebanon, Jordan, and Egypt from 2005 to 2011. Interviews with a range of officials, religious leaders, oppositionists, journalists and scholars.
- Led a RAND strategic advisory team to Multi-National Forces-Iraq (MNF-I), Baghdad in 2008, focusing on post-surge challenges in Iraq: provincial electoral legitimacy, Iranian influence, and foreign fighters.

## **EDUCATION**

### **Ph.D, International Relations—University of Oxford, St. Antony's College, 2012.**

Dissertation Title: "The Politics of Sectarianism in the Arab Gulf: Bahrain, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, 2003-2011." Advisor: Philip S. Robins. Committee Chair: Avi Shlaim.

**MA, Near Eastern Studies—Princeton University, 2002.** Intensive summer Arabic study at Middlebury College, VT.

**BA, Middle Eastern History with Honors—Occidental College, 1994.** Six-month study at Cairo University, Egypt and travel to Gaza and the West Bank. Thesis field research on Bedouin Arab communities in Israel's Negev Desert.

## **LANGUAGES**

**Advanced Speaking, Listening, and Writing Proficiency in Modern Standard Arabic (DLPT 3/2+)**

## **TEACHING**

**Adjunct Professor of Security Studies, Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, Fall 2009.** Taught a graduate seminar on Middle East security; student reviews within the top 98 percentile of the School of Foreign Service.

## **MILITARY CAREER**

**U.S. Air Force and U.S. Air Force Reserve, 1995 to present. Currently a reserve air attaché with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. Previous reserve and active assignments include:**

- **Defense Liaison Officer—U.S. Embassy, Algiers, Algeria, February 2013**
- **Defense Liaison Officer—U.S. Embassy, Kampala, Uganda, April 2012**
- **Chief, Security Cooperation—U.S. Embassy, Tripoli, Libya, Jan–Feb 2011**
- **Defense Liaison Officer—U.S. Embassy, Kampala, Uganda, January 2010**
- **Chief, Security Cooperation—U.S. Embassy, Tripoli, Libya, Jun–Aug 2009**
- **Iran Analyst—Joint Staff Directorate for Intelligence (J2), 2004–2005**
- **Chief, Field Liaison Element—Iraq Survey Group, 2003 Baghdad, Iraq**
- **Assistant Chief, Anti-Terrorism Awareness Branch, 1997–1998**  
US Air Force Special Operations School—Hurlburt Field, FL
- **Deputy Chief, Operations, 39<sup>th</sup> Wing, 1996–1997**  
Inçirlik Air Base—Adana, Turkey

## **AWARDS**

- Frank Carlucci Investigator Award for research excellence, RAND, 2008
- Smith Richardson Foundation grant for research on Saudi-Iranian relations, 2006

- Bronze Star Medal for meritorious combat service in Iraq, United States Army, 2003
- Cleveland Dodge Memorial Prize for Best Thesis in Near Eastern Studies, Princeton University, 2002

## **PUBLICATIONS WITH THE RAND CORPORATION**

- *Coping with a Nuclearizing Iran*, James Dobbins, Alireza Nader, Dalia Dassa Kaye, and Frederic Wehrey (2011).
- “The Iraq War: Strategic Overreach by the United States...and also al Qaeda,” a chapter in Brian Jenkins, and John F. Godges, eds., *The Long Shadow of 9/11: America’s Response to Terrorism* (2011).
- *The Iraq Effect: The Middle East After the Iraq War*, Frederic Wehrey, Dalia Dassa Kaye, Jeffrey Martini, Jessica Watkins, and Robert A. Guffey (2010).
- *Mullahs, Guards and Bonyads: An Exploration of Iranian Leadership Dynamics*, David Thaler, Alireza Nader, Jerrold D. Green, Shahram Chubin, Charlotte Lynch, and Frederic Wehrey (2010).
- *Dangerous But Not Omnipotent: Exploring the Reach and Limitations of Iranian Power in the Middle East*, Frederic Wehrey, David Thaler, Nora Bensahel, Kim Cragin, Jerrold D. Green, Dalia Dassa Kaye, Nadia Oweidat, and Jennifer Li (2009).
- *Saudi-Iranian Relations Since the Fall of Saddam: Rivalry, Cooperation and Implications for U.S. Policy*, Frederic Wehrey, Theodore Karasik, Alireza Nader, Jeremy Ghez, Lydia Hansell, and Robert A. Guffey (2009).
- *The Rise of the Pasdaran: Assessing the Domestic Roles of Iran’s Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps*, Frederic Wehrey, Jerrold D. Green, Alireza Nader, Brian Nichiporuk, Rasool Nafisi, Lydia Hansell, and Susan Bohandy (2009).
- *More Freedom, Less Terror? Liberalization and Political Violence in the Arab World*, Dalia Dassa Kaye, Frederic Wehrey, Audra Grant, and Dale Stahl (2008).
- *Future U.S. Security Relationships with Iraq and Afghanistan: U.S. Air Force Roles*, David Thaler, Theodore W. Karasik, Dalia Dassa Kaye, Jennifer D. P. Moroney, Frederic Wehrey, Obaid Younossi, Farhana Ali, and Robert A. Guffey (2008).

## **SELECT PUBLICATIONS WITH THE CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT**

- “Building Libya’s Security Sector,” *Policy Outlook*, August 2013, with Peter Cole
- “The Forgotten Uprising in Eastern Saudi Arabia,” *Carnegie Paper*, June 2013
- “The Precarious Ally: Bahrain’s Impasse and U.S. Policy,” *Carnegie Paper*, February 2013
- “The Struggle for Security in Eastern Libya,” *Carnegie Paper*, September 2012
- “The Wrath of Libya’s Salafis,” *Carnegie Article*, September 2012

## **BOOKS**

- *Sectarian Politics in the Gulf: From the Iraq War to the Arab Uprisings* (Columbia University Press: 2013)
- *Perilous Desert: Insecurity in the Sahara*, editor, with Anouar Boukhars (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment, 2013)

## **CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY**

- “Can Washington Stop Libya’s Downward Spiral?” Testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, November 21, 2013

## **SELECT ARTICLES AND COMMENTARY**

- “The Battle for Benghazi,” *The Atlantic.com*, February 28, 2014
- “Modest Mission: The U.S. Plan to Build Libya’s Army,” *Foreign Affairs.com*, November 4, 2013
- “Bahrain’s Decade of Discontent,” *The Journal of Democracy*, Vol 24, No.3, July 2013
- “Libya Doesn’t Need More Militias,” *The New York Times*, June 10, 2013
- “A Desperate Salafi Attack in a Weak Libya,” *The Financial Times*, September 12, 2012
- “Libya’s Militia Menace,” *Foreign Affairs.com*, July 2012
- “Bringing Libya under Control,” *International Herald Tribune*, February 24, 2012.
- “Uprisings Jolt the Saudi-Iranian Rivalry,” *Current History* (December 2011).
- “An Open Door in Libya,” with Christopher S. Chivvis, *CNN.com* (October 21, 2011).
- “Nation-Building in Libya: How to Help the Rebels Help Themselves,” with James Dobbins, *Foreign Affairs.com* (August 23, 2011).

- “Arab Spring, Persian Winter?” with Dalia Dassa Kaye, *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2011.
- “Libya’s Terra Incognita: Who and What Will Follow Qaddafi?” *Foreign Affairs.com* (February 28, 2011). Also included in the *Foreign Affairs* e-book, *The New Arab Revolt*, edited by Gideon Rose (May 2011).
- “Bahrain Protests: A Point of No Return for Ruling Family—and Obama,” *Christian Science Monitor* (February 23, 2011).
- “Fifth Columns in the Gulf?” with Dalia Dassa Kaye, *Foreignpolicy.com* (May 24, 2010).
- “Containing Iran? Avoiding a Two-Dimensional Strategy in a Four-Dimensional Region,” with Dalia Dassa Kaye, *Washington Quarterly* (July 2009).
- “Islamic Finance in a Global Context: Opportunities and Challenges,” with Theodore Karasik and Steven Strom, *Chicago Journal of International Law*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (Winter 2007), pp. 379–396.
- “Saudi Arabia: Shi’a Pessimistic on Reform, But Seek Reconciliation,” *Arab Reform Bulletin*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Vol. 5, Issue 5 (June 2007).
- “A Nuclear Iran: The Reactions of Neighbours,” with Dalia Dassa Kaye, *Survival*, Vol. 49, No. 2 (Summer 2007), pp. 111–128.
- “In Bahrain, Democracy in Action or Just Divide and Rule?” *The Daily Star* (Lebanon) December 15, 2006.
- “A Clash of Wills: Hizballah’s Psychological Campaign against Israel in South Lebanon,” *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (Fall 2002).
- Book Review for D. K. Fieldhouse, ed., “Kurds, Arabs & Britons: The Memoir of Wallace Lyon in Iraq, 1918–1944,” *Bulletin of the Turkish Studies Association*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (Fall 2002).

## **MEDIA INTERVIEWS**

- *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *USA Today*, *Washington Times*, *TIME Magazine*, *Le Monde*, *NPR*, *Reuters*, *AFP*, *UPI*, *CFR.org*, *CNN*, *PBS News Hour*, *C-SPAN*, *BBC World Service*, *Voice of America*.

## **SELECTED PRESENTATIONS**

- “Islamists and the Struggle for Libya’s Security Sector,” CENTRA conference on Islamists and Governance, May 13, 2013
- “U.S. Policy and Political Islam after the Arab Revolts,” Körber Dialogue (Track II), Berlin, Germany, October 14-15, 2011.

- “Regional Rivalries and the Arab Spring,” Chatham House, London, United Kingdom, September 30, 2011.
- “The Arab Spring in the Gulf: Balancing Stability, Security and Reform,” U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) Conference on “The Future of Gulf Security in a Region of Dramatic Change: Mutual Equities and Enduring Relationships,” Washington, D.C., June 20, 2011.
- “The Middle East after the Arab Spring,” Google Talks, Santa Monica, California, May 25, 2011.
- “The Road to Pearl Square: The Roots of Bahrain’s Crisis,” Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) Gulf Roundtable Series, Washington, D.C., March 8, 2011.
- “Sectarian Identity and Gulf Security,” New York University (NYU) Abu Dhabi, The U.S., Iran and the Gulf: Regional Contexts and Transnational Currents, Abu Dhabi, UAE, December 14-17, 2010.
- “Gulf Security Architectures,” Brookings/CENTCOM/U.S. Army Directed Studies Office Conference on “Partnership, Strength and Presence: Converging Regional Interests and Opportunities in the Gulf,” Washington, D.C, July 7-8, 2010.
- “Challenges of Gulf Security,” Middle East Institute, Annual Conference, Washington, DC, November 10, 2009 (invited; unable to attend).
- “The Rise of the *Pasdaran*: The Revolutionary Guards in Iranian Politics and Implications for U.S. Policy,” New York University, New York City, October 30, 2009.
- “Bahrain: Liberalization and Political Violence,” American Political Science Association (APSA), Toronto, Canada, September 3, 2009.
- “Saudi-Iranian Relations” U.S. State Department, Seminar on Saudi Arabia for Ambassador-Designate James Smith, Meridian House, Washington DC, September 2, 2009.
- “Elusive Consensus: The Regional Response to Iran’s Rise,” RAND Center for Middle East Public Policy (CMEPP) Conference on Understanding Iran, Washington, DC, June 5, 2009.
- “Saudi Arabia’s Perception of the U.S. Drawdown in Iraq,” Defense Policy Board, Pentagon, Washington DC, December 1, 2008.
- “Saudi Arabia and Iran: The Trajectory of Future Relations,” Institute for Diplomatic Studies, Riyadh, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, March 12, 2007.
- “GCC Perceptions of a Nuclear Iran,” Geneva Center for Security Policy, Annual Middle East Policy Conference, Gstaad, Switzerland, July 3, 2007.

- “Iran: Meeting the Military Challenge,” Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Gulf Roundtable, Washington, D.C., October 11, 2007.
- “Sectarian Identity in the Middle East,” Harvard Long Term Strategy Project (HLTSP) Workshop, Washington, D.C., December 1, 2006.
- “Understanding GCC Perceptions of Iran’s Nuclear Program,” Henry L. Stimson Center, Washington, D.C., September 8, 2006.
- “Understanding Salafi-Jihadist Debates,” Army Science Board, Irvine, CA, July 10, 2006.
- “Jihadist Debates in Saudi Arabia: Triggers and Texts,” Conference on Internal Islamic Debates on Jihad and Terrorism, CENTRA Corporation, Arlington, VA, March 20, 2006.
- “The Psychological Strategy of the Lebanese Hizballah,” Middle East Studies Association of North America, Washington, DC, November 23–26, 2002.
- “Negotiating Assyrian Identity in Iraq, 1919–1933,” Middle East Studies Association of North America, San Francisco, CA, November 20, 2001.