

## **HENRI J. BARKEY**

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### **Education**

University of Pennsylvania, Phila, Pa. Ph.D., Political Science, 1984  
University College, London, England, M.Sc., International Relations, 1976  
City University, London, England, B.Sc., Economics, 1975

### **Professional Experience**

#### **LEHIGH UNIVERSITY, Bethlehem, PA**

Bernard L. and Bertha F. Cohen Chair in International Relations, 1999-present  
Department Chair, Department of International Relations, 2010-2013, 2014-2015  
Department Chair, Department of International Relations, 2000-2009  
Professor, Department of International Relations, 1999  
Associate Professor, Department of International Relations, 1992- 1999  
Assistant Professor Department of International Relations, 1987- 1992  
Chairman, Academic Committee, Board of Trustees of the American University of Iraq,  
Sulaimani, 2012-

#### **COUNCIL on FOREIGN RELATIONS**

Adjunct Senior Fellow for Middle East Studies, Washington DC. 2018-

#### **WOODROW WILSON INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR SCHOLARS, Washington, DC**

Director, Middle East Program, 2015-2017  
Public Policy Scholar Spring 2007

#### **CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE, Washington, DC**

Non-Resident Senior Associate, June 2008-2011

#### **STATE DEPARTMENT**

Policy Planning Staff Member, January 1998-January 2000 (remained as a consultant for the  
balance of 2000)

#### **PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, Princeton, New Jersey**

Visiting Adjunct Associate Professor, Near Eastern Studies, Spring 1995.

#### **COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, New York, NY**

Visiting Research Fellow, Middle East Institute, 1992-93.

#### **UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, Philadelphia, PA**

Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, 1986 - 1987

STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK, College at Brockport, Brockport, NY  
Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, 1984-1986  
Assistant Director, Global Studies Program, 1985-1986

## **Publications**

### a. Books/Monographs

Iraq, Its Neighbors and the United States, co-edited with Phebe Marr and Scott Lasensky, (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2011).  
Preventing Conflict over Kurdistan (Monograph, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, January 2009).  
European Responses to Globalization: Resistance, Adaptation and Alternatives co-edited with Janet Laible (Oxford: Elsevier, 2006).  
Turkey's Kurdish Question with Graham E. Fuller (Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 1998).  
Reluctant Neighbor: Turkey's Role in the Middle East (ed.) (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 1996).  
The Politics of Economic Reform in the Middle East (ed.) (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992).  
The State and the Industrialization Crisis in Turkey (Boulder: Westview Press, 1990).

### b. Articles and book chapters

"Erdogan, Turkish Foreign Policy and the Middle East," in James Gelvin (ed.) *The Contemporary Middle East in an Age of Upheaval* (California: Stanford University Press, 2021).  
"The Prospects for Conflict or Cooperation in the Eastern Mediterranean," (with Ellen Laipson), *Cairo Review of Global Affairs* (Summer 2020).  
"Erdogan's Foreign Policy: The Role of Personality and Identity," in Turkey in Transition: The Dynamics of Domestic and Foreign Politics, eds. Gürkan Çelik and Ronald Linden, Lynne Reiner, 2020).  
"The Kurdish Awakening: Unity, Betrayal, and the Future of the Middle East," *Foreign Affairs*, March-April 2019.  
"[No Exit: The U.S. Predicament in the Middle East](#)," *Caravan*, Hoover Institute, Stanford University, March 21, 2019.  
"[Restoring Religion's Role in Foreign and Domestic Policy in Erdogan's Turkey](#)," *Caravan*, Hoover Institute, Stanford University, December 6, 2018.  
"[How to Manage Post-Democratic Turkey](#)," *American Interest* January-February 2018.  
"[Turkey: Climbing the Ladder of Authoritarianism](#)," IEMed 2018 Yearbook.  
"The Transformation of Turkey's Kurdish Question," The Kurdish Question Revisited, Gareth Stansfield and Mohammed Shareef, C. Hurst and Co., 2017.  
"[Il Rapsodico Approccio Americano ai Curdi](#)," *Rivista Italiana di Geopolitica* (August 2017).  
"Turkey and the Arab Spring: From Engagement to the Sidelines," (with Selin Nasi), in Sverre Lodgaard (ed). *External Powers and the Arab Spring*. (Oslo: Scandinavian Academic Press, 2016.)  
"Syria's Dark Shadow over US-Turkey Relations," *Turkish Policy Quarterly* (Winter 2016).  
"The US and the Syrian Experience: Some Lessons," in Andis Kudros and Artis Pabriks (eds.) *The War in Syria: Lessons for the West*. (Riga: University of Latvia Press, 2016.) Pp. 53-64.  
"On the KRG, the Turkish-Kurdish Peace Process, and the Future of the Kurds," *Istituto Affari Internazionali* (July 2015).  
"Turkey's Syria Predicament," *Survival* (December 2014).

(Reprinted in Toby Dodge and Emile Hokayem (eds.) *Middle Eastern Security, the US Pivot and the Rise of ISIS* (London: Adelphi Series, 2014).

"Turkish Democracy: Two Steps Forward, Two Steps Backward," *Harvard International Review*, June 13, 2014.

"Spinoff: The Syrian Crisis and the Future of Iraq," *American Interest* December 26, 2012.

"Turkish-Iranian Competition after the Arab Spring," *Survival*, Volume 54:6, 2012.

"The Evolution of Turkish Foreign Policy in the Middle East," TESEV July 2012.

"A Transformed Relationship: Turkey and Iraq," in Henri Barkey, Phebe Marr and Scott Lasensky, eds. *Iraq, Its Neighbors and the United States*, (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2011).

"Turkey and Iraq: The Making of a Partnership," *Turkish Studies*, 12:4, 663-674, (December 2011).

"The Broken Triangle: How the U.S.-Israeli-Turkey Relationship got Unglued," in William B. Quandt (ed.) *Troubled Alliance: The United States, Turkey and Israel in the Middle East* (Virginia: Just World Press, 2011).

"Coordinating Responses to the 2011 Arab Revolt: Turkey and the Transatlantic Alliance," Mediterranean Paper Series, German Marshall Fund and Instituto Affari Internazionali, October 2011.

"Turkish Foreign Policy and the Middle East," Sciences-PO, CERI Strategic papers, September 2011.

"Iran and Turkey," in Robin Wright (ed.) *The Iran Primer: Power, Politics and U.S. Policy*, (Washington, DC: USIP, 2010).

"Turkey's Moment of Inflection," *Survival* Vol 52, No. 3 (June-July 2010).

"Turkey's New Engagement in Iraq: Embracing Iraqi Kurdistan," U.S. Institute Special Report #237, May 2010.

"Turkey and the Great Powers," in Celia Kerslake, Kerem Oktem and Philip Robins (eds.) *Turkey's Engagement with Modernity: Conflict and Change in the Twentieth Century* (U.K., Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

"Turkey's Transformers," *Foreign Affairs* Volume 88, No. 6 (November/December 2009) (with Morton Abramowitz).

"Turkey's Perspectives on Nuclear Weapons and Disarmament," in Barry Blechman (ed.) *Unblocking the Road to Zero* (Washington, DC. Stimson Center, 2009).

"La politique turque, toujours a la croisee des chemins," *Afkar/ Idees*, no. 22 (Summer 2009).

"Effect of US policy in the Middle East on EU-Turkey relations," *International Spectator* Volume 43, Issue 4 (December 2008)

"Deciphering Turkey's Elections: The Making of a Revolution," *World Policy Journal* (Fall 2007) with Yasemin Congar

"Kurdistanoff," *National Interest* 90 (July/August 2007).

"Notes from a Funeral," *American Interest* (July/August 2007).

"Turkey and the PKK: A Pyrrhic Victory?" in Robert Art and Louise Richardson (eds.) *Democracy and Counterterrorism Lessons from the Past* (USIP Press, 2007).

"The Republic of Turkey" in (eds.) David Long, Bernard Reich and Mark Gasiorowski, *Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa* 6th edition, (Boulder: Westview, 2007), (with Omer Taspinar), 2011.

"The Push and Pull of Strategic Cooperation: The U.S. Relationship with Turkey in the Middle East," in David W. Lesch and Mark Haas (eds.) *The Middle East and the United States*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition, (Boulder: Westview Press, 2007.) 5th edition 2011.

"Introduction - Europe and Globalization: Recasting the Dynamics of the Relationship," in *European Responses to Globalization: Resistance, Adaptation and Alternatives* co edited with

Janet Laible (Oxford: Elseiver, 2006), xi - xxi.

"Turkey: On Europe's verge?" in *Great Decisions 2006* New York: Foreign Policy Association, 2006 (with Omer Taspinar).

"Iraqi Kurds and the Future of Iraq," *Middle East Policy* 12:4• December 2005. (with Ellen Laipson).

"Turkey and Iraq: The Perils (and Prospects) of Proximity," U.S. Institute Special Report #141, July 2005.

"The Strategic Implications of Turkey's Integration in the European Union," in Esther Brimmer and Stefan Frolich (eds.) *The Strategic Implication of European Union Enlargement* (Washington, DC.: Center for Transatlantic Relations, Johns Hopkins University, 2005). (With Anne-Marie Le Gloannec).

"The United States, Turkey, and Human Rights Policy," in Debra Liang-Fenton (ed.), *Implementing U.S. Human Rights Policy: Agendas, Policies, and Practices* (Washington, DC.: U.S. Institute of Peace Press, 2004).

"Cyprus: Between Ankara and a Hard Place," *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* 10:1 (Summer/Fall 2003).

"The Endless Pursuit: Improving U.S.-Turkish Relations," in Morton Abramowitz (ed.) *Friends in Need: Turkey and the United States after September 11* (New York, The Century Foundation, 2003)

"Avoiding a Cyprus Crisis," Brookings Policy Brief No. 102, June 2002 (with Philip Gordon).

"Turkey's Elections and the United States: Challenges Ahead," Center for Strategic and International Studies, Euro-Focus 8:7, November 8, 2002 (with Philip Gordon).

"Cyprus: The Predictable Crisis," *The National Interest* 66 (Winter 2001/2) with Philip H. Gordon.

"The Middle East after the Cold War," in Oles Smolansky (ed.) *The Lost Equilibrium: International Relations in the Post-Soviet Era* (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2001).

"Hemmed in by Circumstances: Turkey and Iraq since the Gulf War," *Middle East Policy* 7:4 (October 2000).

"The Struggles of a 'Strong' State," *Journal of International Affairs* 54: 1 (Fall 2000).

"Les Occidentaux apportent un soutien mesuré aux Kurdes," *Confluences Méditerranée* (Paris) 34 (Summer 2000).

"The People's Democracy Party: Travails of Kurdish Party in Turkey," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 18:1, 1998.

"Turkey's Kurdish Question: Critical Turning Points and Missed Opportunities," *Middle East Journal* (Winter 1997) (with Graham Fuller).

"Kurdish Geopolitics," *Current History* (January 1997).

"Turkey and the New Middle East: A Geopolitical Exploration," in Henri J. Barkey (ed.) in *Reluctant Neighbor: Turkey's Role in the Middle East* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 1996).

"Turkey, Islamic Politics, and the Kurdish Question," *World Policy Journal* 13:1 (Spring 1996).

"Under the Gun: Turkish Foreign Policy and the Kurdish Question," in Robert Olson (ed.) *The Kurdish Nationalist Movement in the 1990s* (Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1996).

"When Kurds' 'Official' Identity and Turkish Reality Clash," *Transition* Vol. 2, No. 12 June 14, 1996.

"Can the Middle East Compete?" *Journal of Democracy* 6: 2 (April, 1995). Reprinted in Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner (eds.) *Economic Reform and Democracy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995).

"Iran and Turkey: Confrontation across an Ideological Divide," in Alvin Z. Rubinstein and Oles Smolansky (eds.) *Regional Power Rivalries in the New Eurasia* (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1995).

"When Politics Matter: Economic Stabilization in Argentina and Israel," *Studies in Comparative International Development* Vol. 29:4 (Winter 1994).

"The Inevitability of Economic Reform in the Arab World," in Daniel Brumberg (ed.) American-Arab Relations: A New Beginning (Washington, DC.: The Foundation on Democratization and Political Change in the Middle East, 1994).

"Reluctant Neighbors: Reflections on Turkish-Arab-Relations," Beirut Review, 7, (Spring 1994).

"Turkey's Kurdish Dilemma," Survival 35, no 4 (Winter 1993-94). Reprinted in Semih Vaner (ed.) Turquie: La Nouvelle Donne (Paris: La Documentation Française, no. 757, 1995).

"The Transformation of Central Asia: Implications for the Emerging World Order," Survival 34, no 4 (Winter 1992-93), with Rajan Menon.

"An Alliance of Convenience: Turkish-American Relations in the Post-War Era," Orient 33, 3 (September 1992).

"The Engineering of a Heterodox Shock: The Case of Israel 1985-1987," in The Politics of Economic Reform in the Middle East (ed.) (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992).

"Politics and the Failure of the Austral Plan," MACLAS Vol. 5 (1992).

"Why Military Regimes Fail: The Perils of Transition," Armed Forces and Society Vol. 16, No. 2 (February 1990).

"State Autonomy and the Crisis of Import Substitution," Comparative Political Studies Vol. 22, No. 3, (1989).

"The Silent Victor: Turkey's Role in the Iran-Iraq War," in Efraim Karsh (ed.) The Iran Iraq War: Strategic and Political Implications (London: Macmillan, 1989).

"The Republic of Lebanon," George Delury ed., World Encyclopedia of Political Systems and Parties (New York: Facts on File, 1986.)

"Crises of the Turkish Political Economy: 1960-1980," in Ahmet Evin (ed.) Modern Turkey: Continuity and Change (Hamburg: Deutsches Orient Intitut, 1984).

#### c. Commentary 2013-

["Erdogan's War on Truth,"](#) *The Atlantic*, November 8, 2021.

["As wildfires rage, conspiracy theories won't help Erdogan,"](#) *Asia Times/Syndication Bureau*, June 3, 2021.

["Erdogan squanders Turkey's geographic advantage,"](#) *Asia Times/Syndication Bureau*, April 21, 2021.

["How Erdogan turned the Turkish courts into a political weapon,"](#) *Washington Post*, April 14, 2021.

["Turkey's strategy to build influence focuses on Africa,"](#) *Asia Times/Syndication Bureau*, January 25, 2021.

["Why There's No Easy Solution to the U.S.-Turkey Dispute Over the S-400,"](#) *World Politics Review*, December 29, 2020.

["A Biden administration a setback for Erdogan,"](#) *Asia Times/Syndication Bureau*, November 9, 2020.

["How Erdogan Muscled Turkey to the Center of the World Stage,"](#) *World Politics Review*, October 30, 2020.

["The UAE-Israel Agreement Isn't Only About Iran. There's Also Turkey,"](#) *Asia Times/Syndication Bureau*, September 17, 2020.

["France vs. Turkey: A Showdown in the Mediterranean Is Brewing,"](#) *The National Interest*, September 16, 2020.

["Turkey's 'Blue Homeland' doctrine takes shape in Libya,"](#) *Asia Times/Syndication Bureau*, June 17, 2020.

["Erdogan Weaponizes Turkish Justice,"](#) (with Steve Cook) *American Interest*, June 4, 2020.

[“Globalization here to stay, but will need reform,”](#) *Asia Times (and Syndication Bureau)*, March 23, 2020.

[“Erdogan’s Libya adventure about shoring up his legacy,”](#) *Asia Times/Syndication Bureau*, January 10, 2020.

[“Turkey extends influence with Libya agreement,”](#) *Asia Times/Syndication Bureau*, December 10, 2019.

“In presidential face-off, Erdogan conquers Trump,” *Asia Times/Syndication Bureau*, November 20, 2019.

[“Dashing Kurdish Hopes Will Not Bring Erdogan Peace,”](#) *Foreign Affairs*, October 16, 2019.

[“Putin plays Erdogan like a fiddle,”](#) *Foreign Policy*, September 3, 2019.

[“Trump can still put the brakes on Turkish offensive but is sending mixed signals,”](#) *The National*, October 14, 2019.

[“You Don’t Need a Crystal Ball to See the Disastrous Ramifications of Trump’s Syria Decision”](#) *Newsweek*, October 10, 2019.

[“Major clashes in the Eastern Mediterranean unlikely,”](#) *Asia Times*, August 29, 2019.

[“If we lose Istanbul, we lose Turkey’: why the mayoral election is so critical to Erdogan’s hold on power,”](#) *The National*, June 20, 2019.

[“Erdogan just committed political suicide,”](#) *Foreign Policy*, May 10, 2019.

[“Why the Trump Administration and Turkey Don’t Win in Pastor Andrew Brunson’s Release,”](#) *Time*, October 12, 2018.

[“The US-Turkey dispute, a play in three parts, has taught us that there is no rule of law in Turkey – there is only Erdogan’s law,”](#) *The National*, August 16, 2018.

[“Erdogan will win by any means necessary,”](#) *Foreign Policy*, June 21, 2018.

[“Fight for these State Department workers detained in Turkey,”](#) with Eric Edelman, *Washington Post*, July 29, 2018.

[“Getting Ready for 2020,”](#) *American Interest*, July 23, 2018.

“Erdogan will win by any means necessary,” *Foreign Policy*, June 21, 2018.

[“The Making of a Kurdish Mandela,”](#) *Foreign Policy*, May 10, 2018.

[“Limited strikes, limited goals and no strategy on Syria,”](#) *The National* April 15, 2018.

[“Springtime for Autocrats,”](#) *American Interest*, March 19, 2018.

[“Erdogan’s High-Stakes Game,”](#) *American Interest* October 11, 2017.

[“One year later, the Turkish coup attempt remains shrouded I mystery,”](#) *Washington Post*, July 14, 2017.

“Turkey will never be the same after this vote,” [The Washington Post](#), April 11, 2017.

“Putin and Erdogan’s Marriage of Convenience,” *Foreign Policy*, January 11, 2017

“A Murder in Ankara,” *American Interest*, December 21, 2016

“Les ravages d’un coup d’État frustré,” *afkar/idées*, No. 51 (Automne 2016).

“Erdogan Ups the Ante,” *American Interest*, November 4, 2016

“A Post-ISIS Recovery Plan for Syria,” *American Interest*, October 27, 2016

“Why is Turkey Accusing Me of Plotting a Coup?” *The New York Times*, September 1, 2016.

“Washington’s Tightrope Act in Syria,” *Foreign Policy*, August 25, 2016.

“The Russian-Turkish Fling: Off Again on Again,” *American Interest*, August 18, 2016.

“The Gang That Couldn’t Shoot Straight,” *American Interest*, July 18, 2016.

“After Brexit, the U.K. will want what Turkey already has,” *Newsweek*, July 7, 2016.

“Who is behind Istanbul attack?” *CNN*, June 28, 2016.

“The Raqqa Imperative,” *American Interest*, April 8, 2016.

“Kurds are now key to a Middle East solution,” *Financial Times*, February 25, 2016.

“Erdogan’s Foreign Policy is in Ruins,” *Foreign Policy*, February 4, 2016.

“A U.S. Blueprint for Syria,” *American Interest*, January 27, 2016.

"The Longest War," *Los Angeles Times*, January 3, 2016.

"An Unnecessary Crisis," *American Interest*, November 28, 2015.

"Assad only winner after Russian jet downed," *CNN*, November 24, 2015 (with William Pomeranz).

"From Sinjar to Paris and Back," *American Interest*, November 19, 2015.

"Turkey's Elections, the Syrian Crisis, and the US," *American Interest*, November 4, 2015.

"No-Fly Zone No Answer for Syria," *American Interest*, October 20, 2015.

"Turkey's Turmoil: Why Erdogan and the Kurds are Both to Blame," *National Interest*, September 25, 2015.

"Erdogan's Great Losing Gamble," *American Interest*, September 11, 2015.

"Are there any reasons for hope in the Middle East? Maybe." *Reuters*, August 27, 2015 (with David Gordon).

"What's Behind Turkey's U-Turn on the Islamic State?" *Foreign Policy*, July 29, 2015.

"Can the Kurds Stop Erdogan's Bid for Total Power?" *Foreign Policy*, May 28, 2015.

"The Middle East's chaotic Future," *Washington Post*, April 21, 2015.

"Making the Best of Our Bad Options in Syria," *American Interest* November 21, 2014.

"The Meaning of Kobani," *American Interest* October 18, 2014.

"The Obama Administration, Turkey, and Syria's Kurds," *American Interest* October 7, 2014 (with Eric Edelman) "How the Islamic State Took Turkey Hostage," *Foreignpolicy.com*, September 22, 2014.

"Is Syria on the Verge of a Tipping Point?" *American Interest*, September 8, 2014.

"On-Again. Off-Again Alliance: The History of Washington and the Kurds," *Foreign Affairs.com*, August 21, 2014

"Turkey after Erdogan's Non-Victory," Woodrow Wilson Center Viewpoints #59, August 2014.

"Kurdish Independence: One Day. Certainly not Now," *American Interest*, August 8, 2014<.

"If Erdogan wins presidency, what next?" *al-Monitor*; July 28, 2014

"Kurdistan, Scotland and Catalonia: They just want to be free, or do they?" *Los Angeles Times*, July 16, 2014.

"Turkey-How to Manage the Endless Syrian War," *Lawfare Blog-Brookings*, June 15, 2014.

"Turkey hostage to crisis in Iraq," *al-Monitor*, June 12, 2014<.

"Clapper's gag order could hurt intelligence analysts more than journalists," *The Washington Post*, May 7, 2014.

"Erdogan's Armenian Outreach," *American Interest*, May 2, 2014.

"Erdogan Jumps out of the Frying Pan, into the Fire," *American Interest*, April 1, 2014<.

"When Fahrenheit 451 came to Turkey," *al-Monitor*) March 28, 2014.

"The End of Erdogan," *American Interest*, March 13, 2014.

"Obama's Ambassador Nominees are a Disservice to Diplomacy," *The Washington Post*, February 7, 2014.

"Obama's New Problem: Turkey," *al-Monitor*, January 23, 2014.

"The Trouble with Political Dynasties," *Los Angeles Times*, January 9, 2014.

"Icarus and Erdogan's Corruption Scandal," *Foreignpolicy.com*, December 27, 2013

"Gul may be winner in Turkey's 'mother of all battles,'" *al-Monitor*, December 18, 2013.

"Cameron's Syria Failure Parallels 2005 Turkey Iraq Vote," *The National Interest*, September 4, 2013.

"Erdogan has sown seeds of opposition," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 21, 2013.

"Obama Flails on Syria," *The National Interest*, June 19, 2013

"Turkey must lead the way on creating safe havens in Syria," *The National*, May 13, 2013.

"Iraq's great divider," *Los Angeles Times*, March 26, 2013.



## **Grants and Awards**

Smith Richardson Foundation, "The Future of the Kurds," March 2017-March 2018, \$248,000.  
Woodrow Wilson Center, Public Policy Scholar, February-July 2007  
Hillman Award for Excellence in Undergraduate Student Advising, Lehigh University, 2004  
Libsch Award for Excellence in Research, Lehigh University, 2003  
Smith Richardson Foundation, "Managing Cyprus's Accession to the European Union: Averting a Crisis with Turkey," with Philip Gordon of the Brookings Institution to January 31, 2002-December 31, 2003.  
U.S. Department of Defense, "The Evolution of the Kurdish Insurrection in Turkey," May 1996-May 1997  
Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, "Turkey's Kurds" Summer-Fall 1995, with Graham Fuller  
National Council for Soviet and East European Research, "The Transformation of Central Asia," Fall 1993, with Rajan Menon  
United States Institute for Peace, "Bringing Turkey back into the Middle East," 1992-1993  
U.S. Department of Education Fulbright Award for Argentina, Summer 1990  
Lehigh University, Summer Research Award, 1988, 1990

## **Other Professional Activities**

Chairman, Academic Committee, Board of Trustees, American University Iraq, Sulaimani, 2012-  
Human Rights Watch/ Europe and Central Asia Steering Committee member till 4/2020  
Board Member, CSIS Self-Determination and Success project. 2017-2018.  
Bi-Partisan Policy Center, Turkey Task Force Member 2013-2018.  
Bi-Partisan Policy Center, Middle East Task Force member 2013-2018.  
Council on Foreign Relations member  
International Institute for Strategic Studies, member.  
Wilson Center Southeastern Europe Advisory Board, 2006-2010