F. Gregory Gause III

gregory.gause@tamu.edu

Employment

-Professor Emeritus of International Affairs, Bush School of Government and Public Service, Texas A&M University (January 2025-present)

-Visiting Scholar, Middle East Institute, Washington, D.C. (2025-present)

- Professor of International Affairs and John H. Lindsey ’44 Chair, Bush School of Government and Public Service, Texas A&M University (August 2014-January 2025); Head of the Department of International Affairs, Bush School (August 2014-July 2022)

-Senior Associate, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, D.C. (2023-2024)

-Nonresident Senior Fellow, Brookings Doha Center (2012-2015)

-Professor of Political Science, University of Vermont (2008-2014; Associate Professor 1997-2008; Assistant Professor 1995-1997); Chair, Department of Political Science (2010-2013); Director, Middle East Studies Program (1998-2008)

-Kuwait Foundation Visiting Professor, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University (2009-10)

-Fellow for Arab and Islamic Studies, Council on Foreign Relations (1993-1994)

-Associate Professor of Political Science (without tenure), Columbia University (1992-1995); Assistant Professor of Political Science, Columbia University (1987-1992)

Education

-Harvard University, Department of Government, Ph. D., 1987
-Middlebury College, School of Arabic, intensive summer program, 1984
-American University in Cairo, Arabic Language Unit, 1982-1983
-St. Joseph's University (Philadelphia), A.B. in Politics (summa cum laude), 1980
-The Salesianum School for Boys (Wilmington, DE), secondary education, 1976

List of Publications

a) books

-*The International Relations of the Persian Gulf*, Cambridge University Press, 2010, 258 pages.

-*Oil Monarchies: Domestic and Security Challenges in the Arab Gulf States*, Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1994, 237 pages.

-*Saudi-Yemeni Relations: Domestic Structures and Foreign Influence*, Columbia University Press, 1990, 288 pages. [Arabic translation by Madbuli Bookstore, Cairo, 1993]

b) journal articles

-"Al-Qaeda, Salafi Jihadism and American Policy in the Greater Middle East," *South Central Review*, Vol. 40, Nos. 2-3 (Summer/Fall 2023).

-"The Kingdom and the Power: How to Salvage the U.S.-Saudi Relationship," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 102, No. 1 (January/February 2023).

-"The Price of Order: Settling for Less in the Middle East," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 101, No. 2 (March/April 2022).

-"Should We Stay or Should We Go? The United States and the Middle East," *Survival*, Vol. 61, No. 5 (October-November 2019), DOI: 10.1080/00396338.2019.1662114

-"'Hegemony' Compared: Great Britain and the United States in the Middle East," *Security Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (2019), DOI: 10.1080/09636412.2019.1604987

-"Fresh Prince: The Schemes and Dreams of Saudi Arabia's Next King," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 97, No. 3 (May/June 2018)

-"Ideologies, Alignments and Underbalancing in the New Middle East Cold War," *PS: Political Science and Politics*, Vol. 50, No. 3 (July 2017), DOI: 10.1017/S1049096517000373

-"The Future of U.S.-Saudi Relations," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 95, No. 4 (July/August 2016).

-"Revolution and Threat Perception: The Case of Iran," *International Politics*, Vol. 52, No. 5 (September 2015).

-(co-authored with Sean Yom), "Resilient Royals: How Arab Monarchies Hold On,"

Journal of Democracy, Vol. 23, No. 4 (October 2012) [Reprinted in Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, *Democratization and Authoritarianism in the Arab World*, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014.]

-"Why Middle East Studies Missed the Arab Spring," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 90, No. 4 (July/August 2011).

-"Can Democracy Stop Terrorism?" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 84, No. 5 (September/October 2005). [Reprinted in George McKenna and Stanley Feingold (eds.), *Taking Sides: Clashing Views on Political Issues*, McGraw-Hill Professional, 2006.]

-"Balancing What? Threat Perception and Alliance Choice in the Gulf," *Security Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (Winter 2003/4). [Arabic translation in *al-Majalla al-'Arabiyya lil-Dirasat al-Duwaliyya*, Vol. 10, No. 1, Winter 2006.]

-"Saudi Arabia Challenged," *Current History*, Vol. 103, No. 669 (January 2004).

-"L'anti-americanisme en Arabie saoudite," *Critique Internationale*, No. 18 (Janvier 2003).

-"Be Careful What You Wish For: The Future of U.S.-Saudi Relations," *World Policy Journal*, Vol. 49, No. 1 (Spring 2002).

-"Who Lost Middle Eastern Studies?" [review essay], *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 2, (March/April 2002).

-"Iraq's Decisions to Go to War, 1980 and 1990," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 56, No. 1, (Winter 2002).

-"Saudi Arabia Over a Barrel," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 79, No. 3, (May/June 2000).

-"Systemic Approaches to Middle East International Relations," *International Studies Review*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Spring 1999). [Arabic translation in *al-Majalla al-'Arabiyya lil-Dirasat al-Duwaliyya*, Vol. 7, No. 1, Spring 2003; Turkish translation in *Ortadogu Etutleri*, Vol. 1, No. 1, July 2009.]

-"Getting It Backward on Iraq," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 78, No. 3, (May/June 1999).

-"Arms Supplies and Military Spending in the Gulf," *Middle East Report*, No. 204, (July-September 1997).

-"The Gulf Conundrum: Economic Change, Population Growth and Political Stability in the GCC States," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 20, No. 1, (Winter 1997).

-"The Illogic of Dual Containment," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 73, No. 2, (March/April 1994).

-"Sovereignty, Statecraft and Stability in the Middle East," *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 45, No. 2, (Winter 1992).

-"Revolutionary Fevers and Regional Contagion: Domestic Structures and the 'Export' of Revolution in the Middle East," *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 3, (Spring 1991).

-"Yemeni Unity: Past and Future," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 42, No. 1, (Winter 1988).

-"The Idea of Yemeni Unity," *Journal of Arab Affairs*, Vol. 6, No. 1, (Spring 1987).

-"British and American Policies in the Persian Gulf, 1968-1973," *Review of International Studies* (UK), Vol. 11, No. 4, (October 1985).

c) articles in edited volumes

-"The Trump Administration and the Middle East: Not Much Change, Not Much Success," in Robert Jervis et al., *Chaos Reconsidered: The Liberal Order and the Future of International Politics*, Columbia University Press, 2023.

-originally published as: "The Trump Administration and the Middle East: Not Much Change, Not Much Success," H-Diplo/ISSF Policy Series 2021-27, *America and the World – The Effects of the Trump Presidency,* May 4, 2021, https://issforum.org/roundtables/policy/ps2021-27

-"Identity and Ideology in Middle Eastern International Relations," in Jonathan Leader Maynard and Mark L. Haas (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Ideology and International Relations*, Routledge, 2023.

-"International Relations and Regional (In)Security," (with four co-authors), in Marc Lynch, Jillian Schwedler and Sean Yom, *The Political Science of the Middle East: Theory and Research since the Arab Uprisings*, Oxford University Press, 2022.

-"Saudi Arabia: How Much Change?" in James L. Gelvin (ed.), *The Contemporary Middle East in an Age of Upheaval*, Stanford University Press, 2021

-"Studying the International Relations of the Arabian Peninsula/Persian Gulf: A Personal Account and a Theoretical Overview," in Larbi Sadiki (ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Middle East Politics*, Routledge, 2020.

-"Donald Trump and the Middle East," in Robert Jervis et al., *Chaos in the Liberal Order: The Trump Presidency and International Politics in the Twenty-First Century*, Columbia University Press, 2018.

-originally published as: "The Trump Administration and the Middle East," H-

Diplo/ISSF Policy Series 'The Trump Administration and the Middle East,' August 14, 2017, https://issforum.org/roundtables/policy/1-5AV-MiddleEast

-"Saudi Regime Stability and Challenges," in Madawi Al-Rasheed (ed.), *Salman's Legacy: The Dilemmas of a New Era in Saudi Arabia*, Hurst and Company, 2018.

-"Oil and Political Mobilization in Saudi Arabia," in Bernard Haykel et al. (eds.), *Saudi Arabia in Transition*, Cambridge University Press, 2015.

-"American Policy in the Persian Gulf: From Balance of Power to Failed Hegemony," in Michael Hudson and Mimi Kirk (eds.), *Gulf Politics and Economics in a Changing World*, World Scientific, 2014.

-"Saudi Arabia's Regional Security Strategy," in Mehran Kamrava (ed.), *International Politics of the Persian Gulf*, Syracuse University Press, 2011.

-"The Middle East Academic Community and the 'Winter of Arab Discontent': Why Did We Miss It?" in Ellen Laipson (ed.), *Seismic Shift: Understanding Change in the Middle East*, Stimson Center, 2011.

-"How Damaging are Worst-Case Scenarios in the Persian Gulf?" in Stephen Van Evera and Sidharth Shah (eds.), *The Prudent Use of Power in American National Security Strategy*, The Tobin Project, 2010.

-"The Impact of International Politics," in Michele Penner Angrist (ed.), *Politics and Society in the Contemporary Middle East*, Lynne Rienner, 2010, second edition 2013

-"Democracy Promotion is Problematic as a Counterterrorism Priority," in Stuart Gottlieb (ed.), *Debating Terrorism and Counterterrorism*, Congressional Quarterly Press, 2010

-"The Iraq War and American National Security Interests in the Middle East," in John S. Duffield and Peter J. Dombrowski (eds.), *Balance Sheet: The Iraq War and U.S. National Security*, Stanford University Press, 2009.

-"Official Wahhabism and the Sanctioning of Saudi-US Relations," in Mohammed Ayoob and Hasan Kosebalaban (eds.), *Religion and Politics in Saudi Arabia: Wahhabism and the State*, Lynne Rienner, 2009.

-"Saudi Perceptions of the United States since 9/11," in Tony Judt and Denis Lacorne (eds.), *With US or Against US: Studies in Global Anti-Americanism*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

-"The International Politics of the Gulf," in Louise Fawcett (ed.), *International Relations of the Middle East* – Oxford University Press, 1st edition 2005, 2nd edition 2009, 3rd edition 2013, 4th edition 2016 (co-authored with Matteo Legrenzi).

-“Saudi Arabia and the War on Terrorism,” in Adam Garfinkle (ed.), *A Practical Guide to Winning the War on Terrorism*, Hoover Institution Press, 2004. [reprinted in James F. Hoge, Jr. and Gideon Rose, eds., *Understanding the War on Terror*, Council on Foreign Relations Press, 2005.]

-“Theory and System in Understanding Middle East International Politics: Rereading Paul Noble’s *The Arab System: Pressures, Constraints and Opportunities*,” in Bassel F. Salloukh and Rex Brynen (eds.), *Persistent Permeability? Regionalism, Localism and Globalization in the Middle East*, Ashgate Publishing, 2004.

-“The Arabian Peninsula Monarchies from Camp David I to Camp David II,” in Robert O. Freedman (ed.), *The Middle East Enters the Twenty-First Century*, University Press of Florida, 2002.

-(co-authored with Jill Crystal), “The Arab Gulf: Will Autocracy Define the Social Contract in 2015?” in Judith S. Yaphe (editor), *The Middle East in 2015: The Impact of Regional Trends on U.S. Strategic Planning*, National Defense University Press, 2002.

-“The Gulf War as Arab Civil War,” in Andrew J. Bacevich and Efraim Inbar (eds.), *The Gulf War of 1991 Reconsidered*, Frank Cass, 2002.

-"The Foreign Policy of Saudi Arabia," in Raymond Hinnebusch and Anoushiravan Ehteshami (eds.), *The Foreign Policies of Middle East States*, Lynne Rienner, 2002; updated second edition, Lynne Rienner, 2014.

-"The Kingdom in the Middle: Saudi Arabia's Double Game," in James F. Hoge, Jr. and Gideon Rose, *How Did This Happen? Terrorism and the New War*, PublicAffairs, 2001.

-"The Persistence of Monarchy in the Arabian Peninsula: A Comparative Analysis," in Joseph Kostiner (ed.), *Middle East Monarchies: The Challenge of Modernity*, Lynne Rienner, 2000.

-"The UAE: Between Pax Britannica and Pax Americana," in Joseph A. Kechichian (ed.), *A Century in Thirty Years: Shaykh Zayed and the United Arab Emirates*, Middle East Policy Council, 2000.

-(co-authored with Michael Barnett) "Caravans in Opposite Directions: Society, State and the Development of a Community in the Gulf Cooperation Council," in Emanuel Adler and Michael Barnett (eds.), *Security Communities*, Cambridge University Press, 1998.

-"The Arabian Peninsula," in Robert O. Freedman (ed.), *The Middle East and the Peace Process: The Impact of the Oslo Accords*, University Press of Florida, 1998.

-"The Political Economy of National Security in the GCC States," in Gary Sick and Lawrence Potter (eds.), *The Persian Gulf at the Millennium: Essays in Politics, Economy,*

Security, and Religion, St. Martin's Press, 1997.

-"Sovereignty and its Challengers: War in Middle Eastern Inter-state Politics," in Paul Salem (ed.), *Conflict Resolution in the Arab World: Selected Essays*, American University in Beirut Press, 1997.

-"Saudi Arabia," in Peter Sluglett and Marion Farouk-Sluglett (eds.), *The Times Guide to the Middle East* - 3rd edition, Times Books, 1996.

-"From 'Over the Horizon' to 'Into the Backyard': The Saudi-American Relationship and the Gulf War," in David Lesch (ed.), *The United States and the Middle East: An Historical Reassessment*, Westview Press, 1996.

-"Regional Influences on Experiments in Political Liberalization in the Arab World," in R. Brynen, B. Korany and P. Noble (eds.), *Political Liberalization and Democratization in the Arab World: Theoretical Perspectives*, Lynne Reinner, 1995.

-"Republic of Yemen," in David E. Long and Bernard Reich (eds.), *The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa* - 3rd edition, Westview Press, 1995.

-"Saudi Arabia," in Robert O. Freedman (ed.), *The Middle East Since the Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait*, University Press of Florida, 1993.

-"Gulf Regional Politics: Revolution, War and Rivalry," in Howard Wriggins (ed.), *The Dynamics of Regional Politics: Four Systems on the Indian Ocean Rim*, Columbia University Press, 1992.

-"The Arab World and the Intifada," in Robert O. Freedman (ed.), *Israel and the Intifada After Two Years*, Florida International University Press, 1991.

d) opinion and current events articles

-"The Gulf states in a fluid post-war Middle East," Middle East Institute, August 6, 2025, https://www.mei.edu/publications/gulf-states-fluid-post-war-middle-east

-"Hegemony, Unipolarity and American Failure in the Middle East," in *Debating American Primacy in the Middle East*, POMEPS Studies 54, February 2025, https://pomeps.org/hegemony-unipolarity-and-american-failure-in-the-middle-east

-"A different Middle East: How should Washington respond?" Middle East Institute, January 7, 2025, https://www.mei.edu/publications/different-middle-east-how-should-washington-respond

-"The Limits of a U.S.-Saudi Security Deal," *Foreign Affairs* (on line), August 2, 2024, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/saudi-arabia/limits-us-saudi-security-deal-china-russia

-"What the War in Gaza Means for Saudi Arabia," *Foreign Affairs* (on line), November 7, 2023, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/middle-east/what-war-gaza-israel-means-saudi-arabia

-"Structural impediments to Iranian-Gulf Arab reconciliation," Middle East Institute, September 27, 2022, https://www.mei.edu/publications/structural-impediments-iranian-gulf-arab-reconciliation

-"America's New Realism in the Middle East," *Foreign Affairs*, July 6, 2022, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/2022-07-06/americas-new-realism-middle-east

-"The United States Is the Last Check on MBS's Power," *Foreign Affairs*, March 30, 2021, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/2021-03-30/united-states-last-check-mbss-power

-"Saudi Arabia and Sectarianism in Middle East International Relations," Project on Middle East Political Science (POMEPS) Studies #38, March 2020, https://pomeps.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/POMEPS_Studies_38_Web.pdf

-"Why the U.S. Should Stay Out of Saudi Politics," *Foreign Affairs Snapshot*, December 18, 2018, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/saudi-arabia/2018-12-18/why-us-should-stay-out-saudi-politics

-"Saudi Arabia, the United States and the anti-Iran front in the Middle East," *The Caravan*, Hoover Institution, June 19, 2018, https://www.hoover.org/research/saudi-arabia-united-states-and-anti-iran-front-middle-east

-"'It's the Balance of Power, Stupid!': Sectarianism, State Failure and the Saudi-Iranian Rivalry," H-Diplo/ISSF Policy Roundtable 2-4: The Saudi-Iranian Cold War, February 20, 2018, https://issforum.org/roundtables/policy/2-4-Saudi-Iranian

-"King Salman and the Future of Saudi Arabia," in Joshua Teitelbaum (ed.), *Saudi Arabia, The Gulf and the New Regional Landscape*, Begin-Sadat Center from Strategic Studies, Mideast Security and Policy Studies No. 133, Bar-Ilan University, May 2017

-"Ideologies, alliances and underbalancing in the new Middle East Cold War," Project on Middle East Political Science (POMEPS), August 26, 2015, http://pomeps.org/2015/08/26/ideologies-alliances-and-underbalancing-in-the-new-middle-east-cold-war/

-"Understanding the Gulf States," *Democracy: A Journal of Ideas*, No. 36, Spring 2015, http://www.democracyjournal.org/36/understanding-the-gulf-states.php?page=all

-"Saudi-Iranian Rapprochement? The Incentives and the Obstacles," policy memo prepared for the Visions of Gulf Security workshop held by the Project on Middle East Political Science and the University of Venice, March 17, 2014, http://pomeps.org/2014/03/17/saudi-iranian-rapprochement-the-incentives-and-the-obstacles/

-participant in round-table review of Fawaz Gerges' book *Obama and the Middle East: The End of America's Moment*, H-Diplo Roundtable Review, Vol. 15, No. 13 (November 25, 2013), http://www.h-net.org/~diplo/roundtables/PDF/Roundtable-XV-13.pdf

-(co-authored with Ian Lustick) "America and the Regional Powers in a Transforming Middle East," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (Summer 2012)

-"The U.S.-Israeli-Turkish Strategic Triangle: Cold War Structures and Domestic Political Processes," in William B. Quandt (ed.), *Troubled Triangle: The United States, Turkey and Israel in the New Middle East*, Center for International Studies, University of Virginia, 2011

-"Not So Fast," *Tablet*, June 1, 2010, www.tabletmag.com/news-and-politics/34612/not-so-fast-2/ (review of Geoffrey Wawro's *Quicksand: America's Pursuit of Power in the Middle East*)

-"Political Science and the Middle East," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 42, No. 1 (February 2010)

-"The U.S. and the Persian Gulf," *Great Decisions 2010*, Foreign Policy Association, New York

"Saudi-American Relations," in *The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia: Evolution of a Pivotal State, 1979-2009*, *Viewpoints* essay collection, Middle East Institute, Washington, D.C., 2009, (www.mei.edu/Portals/0/Publications/SaudiArabiaViewpoints.pdf)

-"Islamists and the Grave Bell," *The National Interest*, No. 103, September/October 2009 (www.nationalinterest.org/Article.aspx?id=22036)

-testimony to U.S. Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, Iraq 2012: The Regional Context, April 3, 2008, (www.senate.gov/~foreign/testimony/2008/GauseTestimony080403a.pdf)

-testimony to U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on the Middle East and South Asia, Saudi Arabia and the Proposed Arms Sale, September 18, 2007 (www.internationalrelations.house.gov/110/gau091807.htm)

-participant in "Symposium: The Future of the Middle East," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (Fall 2007)

-"Threats and Threat Perceptions in the Persian Gulf Region," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (Summer 2007)

-"Bahrain Parliamentary Election Results: 25 November and 2 December 2006," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (May 2007) – in the new "Quick Studies – As You Chart It" section of the journal

-"Saudi Arabia: Iraq, Iran, the Regional Power Balance and the Sectarian Question," *Strategic Insights*, Vol. 6, Issue 2 (March 2007) – the on-line publication of the Center for Contemporary Conflict at the Naval Postgraduate School (www.ccc.nps.navy.mil/si/)

-contribution to David Schenker (ed.), *Countering Islamists at the Ballot Box: Alternative Strategies*, Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Policy Focus #61, November 2006, (www.washingtoninstitute.org/pubPDFs/PolicyFocus61.pdf)

-"Beware of What You Wish For," update for *Foreign Affairs* website, February 8, 2006 (www.foreignaffairs.org/20060208faupdate85177/f-gregory-gause-iii/beware-of-what-you-wish-for.html)

-"al-islamiyyun al-sa'udiyyun bayn amirka wa istiqrar al-mamlaka" [Saudi Islamists between America and the Stability of the Kingdom], *Qadaya 'Alamiyya* [Global Issues], Vol. 2, No. 3 (September/October 2005).

-"GCC-U.S. Relations," in *Gulf Yearbook 2004*, (Dubai: Gulf Research Center, 2005).

-"The Gulf and U.S.-EU Relations," in Christian Koch (ed.), *Unfulfilled Potential: Exploring the GCC-EU Relationship*, (Dubai: Gulf Research Center, 2005).

-"The United States and Democratization in the Gulf: An Uncertain Balance," *Journal of Social Affairs* [published by the Sociological Association of the UAE and the American University of Sharjah], Vol. 21, No. 84, Winter 2004.

-"The FP Memo: How to Reform Saudi Arabia Without Handing It to Extremists," *Foreign Policy*, September/October 2004.

-"Gulf Policy," *Transatlantic Dialogue on Middle East Policy*, Netherlands Institute of International Relations – Clingendael (in cooperation with the Council on Foreign Relations), June 2004

-"Saudi Arabia at a Crossroads? Notes from a Recent Visit," *Strategic Insights*, Vol. 3, Issue 2 (February 2004) – the on-line publication of the Center for Contemporary Conflict at the Naval Postgraduate School (www.ccc.nps.navy.mil/si/)

-testimony to U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on International Relations, Subcommittee on the Middle East, on U.S.-Saudi relations (May 22, 2002)

-(co-authored with Richard Murphy), "Democracy and U.S. Policy in the Muslim Middle East," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 5, No. 1, (January 1997).

-"Middle East: Peace and the Changing Order," *Great Decisions 1997*, Foreign Policy Association, New York

-testimony to U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on International Relations, on political situation in Saudi Arabia (September 25, 1996)

-"Islamic Political Opposition in the Arabian Peninsula Monarchies," *Muslim Politics Report*, Council on Foreign Relations, No. 8 (Summer 1996)

-"Instability in the Gulf?" *Newsletter of the Society for Gulf Arab Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (June 1996)

-"Post-War Gulf Security: Hegemony, Balance or Concert," *Al-Nadwah: The Bulletin of the World Affairs Council - Amman, Jordan*, Vol. 3, No. 1, (May 1991).

-"The Post-Gulf Crisis Crisis: The Middle East After the War for Kuwait," *The Beirut Review*, Vol. 1, No. 1, (Spring 1991)

-"Regional Security Arrangements in the Persian Gulf: Post-Cold War and Post-Kuwait Crisis Scenarios," *The Iranian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 3, No. 1, (Spring 1991) [Paper delivered at The Third Seminar on the Persian Gulf, Institute for Political and International Studies, Iranian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, January 1991.]

-"The Vatican, Israel and American Catholics," *The Newman Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 2, (Spring 1988), pp. 29-32.

e) paper series

-"Saudi Arabia and Regional Leadership: The Impossibility of Hegemony," Insight #243, Middle East Centre, National University of Singapore, August 25, 2020, https://mei.nus.edu.sg/publication/insight-243-saudi-arabia-and-regional-leadership/

-"After the Killing of Jamal Khashoggi: Muhammad bin Salman and the Future of Saudi-U.S. Relations," *CSIS Briefs*, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, D.C., December 2018, https://www.csis.org/analysis/after-killing-jamal-khashoggi-muhammad-bin-salman-and-future-saudi-us-relations

-"Domestic Politics and International Relations in the Gulf Area: A Review of the Literature," Qatar University, Center for Humanities and Social Sciences Monograph Series, No. 1, December 2016.

-"Sultans of Swing? The Geopolitics of Falling Oil Prices," Brookings Doha Center Policy Briefing, April 2015, https://www.brookings.edu/research/sultans-of-swing-the-geopolitics-of-falling-oil-prices/

-"Beyond Sectarianism: The New Middle East Cold War," Brookings Doha Center Analysis Paper No. 11, July 2014, https://www.brookings.edu/research/beyond-sectarianism-the-new-middle-east-cold-war/

-"Kings for All Seasons: How the Middle East's Monarchies Survived the Arab Spring," Brookings Doha Center Analysis Paper No. 8, September 2013, https://www.brookings.edu/research/kings-for-all-seasons-how-the-middle-easts-monarchies-survived-the-arab-spring/

-"Saudi Arabia in the New Middle East," Council on Foreign Relations Special Report No. 63, December 2011, http://www.cfr.org/saudi-arabia/saudi-arabia-new-middle-east/p26663.

-"The Approaching Turning Point: The Future of U.S. Relations with the Gulf States," Analysis Paper #2, The Brookings Project on U.S. Policy Towards the Islamic World, The Brookings Institution, May 2003.

-"U.S. Policy Toward Iraq," Emirates Lecture Series No. 39, The Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, 2002. [Arabic translation – "al-siyasa al-'amrikiyya tijah al-'iraq," silsilat muhadarat al-'imarat, No. 63, 2003]

-"Political Opposition in the Gulf Monarchies," European University Institute Working Papers, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, Mediterranean Programme Series, RSC No. 2000/61, 2000.

f) newspaper and shorter publications

-"What Does U.S. 'Withdrawal' from the Middle East Mean?" Arab Gulf States Institute in Washington, December 10, 2021, https://agsiw.org/what-does-u-s-withdrawal-from-the-middle-east-mean/

-"Biden's Iraq and Afghanistan Policies Don't Signal Regional Withdrawal," *The National Interest*, August 18, 2021, https://nationalinterest.org/blog/middle-east-watch/biden%E2%80%99s-iraq-and-afghanistan-policies-don%E2%80%99t-signal-regional-withdrawal-191984

-"The End of Saudi Arabia's Ambitions," *Foreign Affairs* (website), August 4, 2020, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/saudi-arabia/2020-08-04/end-saudi-arabias-ambitions

-"Is the Saudi Crown Prince Too Disruptive Even for Trump?" *New York Times*, October 12, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/12/opinion/khashoggi-saudi-arabia-america-trump-mbs.html

-"What the Qatar crisis shows about the Middle East," *Monkey Cage Blog – Washington Post*, June 27, 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/06/27/what-the-qatar-crisis-shows-about-the-middle-east/?utm_term=.92790538bf6b

-"The Saudis can't rein in Islamic State. They lost control of global Salafism long ago." *Los Angeles Times*, July 19, 2016, http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-gause-saudi-

arabia-extremism-blame-20160719-snap-story.html

-"Understanding the Iran-Saudi Rivalry," Baker Institute for Public Policy, Rice University, April 25, 2016, http://bakerinstitute.org/research/gulf-states-iran-misunderstandings/

-"Why Isn't There an anti-Iran Alliance?" *Monkey Cage Blog – WashingtonPost*, June 3, 2015, http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2015/06/03/why-isnt-there-an-anti-iran-alliance/

-"Saudi Arabia's Game of Thrones," *ForeignAffairs.com*, February 2, 2015, http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/142842/f-gregory-gause-iii/saudi-arabias-game-of-thrones

-"ISIS and the New Middle East Cold War," *Iran@Brookings* blog, August 25, 2014, http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/iran-at-saban/posts/2014/08/25-isis-new-middle-east-cold-war

-"Is this the end of Sykes-Picot?" *The Monkey Cage Blog – Washington Post*, May 20, 2014, http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2014/05/20/is-this-the-end-of-sykes-picot/

-"Tensions in the Saudi-American Relationship," *Lawfare* blog, April 27, 2014, http://www.lawfareblog.com/2014/04/the-foreign-policy-essay-tensions-in-the-saudi-american-relationship/

-"Why the Iran Deal Scares Saudi Arabia," *The New Yorker* News Desk Blog, November 26, 2013, http://www.newyorker.com/online/blogs/newsdesk/2013/11/why-the-iran-deal-scares-saudi-arabia.html

-"Will Nuclear Talks with Iran Provoke a Crisis in U.S.-Saudi Relations?" *Brookings Iran@Saban*, October 14, 2013, http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/iran-at-saban/posts/2013/10/14-saudi-iran-rivalry-nuclear-deal

-"Iran's Incoming President and the New Middle East Cold War," *Brookings Iran@Saban*, July 8, 2013, http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/iran-at-saban/posts/2013/07/08-iran-saudi-middle-east-cold-war

-"Sectarianism and the Politics of the New Middle East," *Brookings Up Front*, June 8, 2013, http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/up-front/posts/2013/06/08-sectarianism-politics-new-middle-east-gause

-"The Year the Arab Spring Went Bad," *ForeignPolicy.com*, December 31, 2012, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/12/31/the_year_the_arab_spring_went_bad

-"Arab Politics Is Not All About Us," *ForeignPolicy.com*, October 22, 2012, http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/10/22/arab_politics_is_not_all_about_us

-"The Gulf Regional System and the Arab Spring," *The Montreal Review*, March 2012, http://www.themontrealreview.com/2009/The-International-Relations-of-the-Persian-Gulf.php

-"Don't Just Do Something, Stand There!" *ForeignPolicy.com*, December 21, 2011, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/12/21/america_arab_spring_do_nothing

-"Is Saudi Arabia Really Counter-Revolutionary?" *ForeignPolicy.com*, August 9, 2011, http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2011/08/09/is_saudi_arabia_really_counter_revolutionary

-"Neocons' Iraq Criticism Rings Hollow," *The National Interest.org*, July 27, 2011, http://nationalinterest.org/commentary/neocons-iraq-criticism-rings-hollow-5665

-"Misdiagnosing the Middle East," *The National Interest.org*, May 26, 2011 http://nationalinterest.org/commentary/misdiagnosing-the-middle-east-5368

-"Rageless in Riyadh: Why the Al Saud Dynasty Will Remain," *Foreign Affairs.com*, March 16, 2011 http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/67660/f-gregory-gause-iii/rageless-in-riyadh

-"Why Reform in the Gulf Monarchies is a Family Feud," *Foreign Policy.com*, March 4, 2011
http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2011/03/04/why_reform_in_the_gulf_monarchies_is_a_family_feud

-"What Saudis Really Think about Iran," *ForeignPolicy.com*, May 6, 2010,
http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2010/05/06/what_saudis_really_think_about_iran

-"Saudi Arabia: The Second Sex and the Third Rail," *ForeignPolicy.com*, April 19, 2010,
http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2010/04/19/saudi_arabia_the_second_sex_and_the_third_rail

-"Nervous System," *The National* (Abu Dhabi), April 9, 2010

-"Strikeout: How Cook Fails to Bring the Neocons Back," *ForeignPolicy.com*, March 17, 2010,
http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2010/03/17/strikeout_how_cook_fails_to_bring_the_neocons_back

-"Outside the Law," *The National* (Abu Dhabi), December 17, 2009

-"Executive Decision," *The National* (Abu Dhabi), September 25, 2009

-"Question Time," *The National* (Abu Dhabi), June 19, 2009
(http://www.thenational.ae/news/world/question-time)

-"Fear Thy Neighbour," *The National* (Abu Dhabi), May 15, 2009

-"Boats Against the Current," *The National* (Abu Dhabi), March 27, 2009

-"Long Division," *The National* (Abu Dhabi), February 20, 2009

-"Nuclear Overreaction," *The National* (Abu Dhabi), November 21, 2008

-"Tragedy or Force," *The National* (Abu Dhabi), September 26, 2008
(http://www.thenational.ae/arts-culture/tragedy-and-force)

-"Twin Peaks," *The National* (Abu Dhabi), August 7, 2008
(http://www.thenational.ae/news/world/twin-peaks)

-"Margins of Error," *The National* (Abu Dhabi), May 29, 2008
(http://www.thenational.ae/thenationalconversation/comment/margins-of-error)

-"A Surge in Spin," *The National* (Abu Dhabi), April 16, 2008

-"Desert Conundrum," *Washington Post Book World*, October 16-22, 2005

-"Democracy alone can't defeat terrorism," *International Herald Tribune*, August 13, 2005

-"Plans Needed Now for Postwar Iraq," *Newsday* (New York), March 20, 2003.

-(co-authored with Michael Barnett), "Trusteeship Should Rule West Bank," *Newsday* (New York), April 17, 2002

-"For Peace, the U.S. Must Talk to Iran," *New York Newsday*, February 13, 1991

-"Bring 'em Home Now," *New York Newsday*, August 19, 1990

-"Keep Our Eyes on Real American Interests," *Los Angeles Times*, August 2, 1989

g) encyclopedia articles

-"Middle East," in Bruce W. Jentleson and Thomas G. Paterson (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of U.S. Foreign Relations*, Oxford University Press, 1997.

-"Political Violence," in Reeva S. Simon, Philip Mattar and Richard W. Bulliet (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of the Modern Middle East*, Macmillan Reference, 1996.

h) academic book reviews in the following journals:

American Political Science Review, *Political Science Quarterly*, *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*, *Middle East Journal*, *Middle Eastern Studies*, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, *International Politics*, *H-Diplo Roundtable Review*

i) collaborative projects

-(with Clifford Chanin), "U.S.-Saudi Relations: A Rocky Road. Report on a Saudi-American Dialogue sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 11, No. 4 (Winter 2004)

-(with Clifford Chanin), "U.S.-Saudi Relations: Bump in the Road or End of the Road? Report on a Saudi-American Dialogue sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (Winter 2003)

-(one of 13 co-authors, Janice Gross Stein as lead author), "Five Scenarios of the Israel-Palestinian Relationship in 2002: Works in Progress," *Security Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (Summer 1998)

j) works in progress

-projected book project on crises in the Saudi state and how the regime successfully dealt with them

<u>Academic Honors and Professional Activities</u>

-Participant, Council on Foreign Relations Advisory Committee on the Case for a New U.S.-Saudi Strategic Compact, 2021-22
-Smith-Richardson Foundation grant for Saudi Arabia project, 2009-10
-Fulbright Scholar, American University of Kuwait, January-June 2009
-Participant, Council on Foreign Relations Task Force on Democracy in the Arab World, 2004-5
-Project Director (with Richard Murphy), Council on Foreign Relations Study Group on the Gulf Monarchies, 1999
-Project Director (with Richard Murphy), Council on Foreign Relations Seminar Series on Democratization and American Foreign Policy in the Arab World, 1995
-Pew Summer Fellowship in Case Teaching in International Relations, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 1989
-American Professors for Peace in the Middle East traveling fellowship (Israel), summer 1988

-Charles Sumner dissertation award, Harvard University, 1987

-Research Fellow, Foreign Policy Studies, Brookings Institution, 1986-87

-Foreign Language and Area Studies grants, 1982-83, summer 1984, 1984-85, 1985-86

-Intern, RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, CA, summer 1981

-Harry S. Truman Memorial Scholar (a four-year scholarship given annually by the Federal government to 50 students interested in the study and practice of politics), Delaware, 1978

Professional Service

-Editorial Board, *Middle East Journal*, 2015-present

-Board of Directors, Arab Gulf States Institute in Washington, 2014-2022, 2024-present

-Board of Directors, Amideast, 2025-present

-Vice-President, Association of Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Studies, 2013-2015

-Editorial Board, *Political Science Quarterly*, 2011-present

-Editorial Board, *Journal of Arabian Studies*, 2010-present

-Editorial Board, Cambridge Middle East Studies, Cambridge University Press, 2008-present

-Editorial Board, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 2005-2009

-Editorial Board, *Polity* (journal of the Northeast section of the American Political Science Association), 1997-2009

- Middle Eastern Studies Association of North America: Chair, Program Committee, 2018 Annual Meeting; Member, Committee on Academic Freedom in the Middle East and North Africa, 2000-05

-Nominating Committee, Arthur Ross Book Award, Council on Foreign Relations, 2010, 2002-05

-Associate Editor, *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*, 1997-2002

-Social Science Research Council: Member, Graduate Fellowship Screening Committee, Joint Committee on the Near and Middle East, 1995

-Society for Gulf Arab Studies: President, 1994-96; Vice-President, 1998-2000; Board of Directors, 1993, 1996-98; Nominating Committee, 1992; Dissertation Prize Committee, 1991, 1997

-American Institute for Yemeni Studies: Nominating Committee, 1997; Fellowship Committee, 1996-7, 1995-6, 1994-95

-Editorial Board, *Encyclopedia of the Modern Middle East* [a joint project of Columbia's Middle East Institute and Macmillan], published in 1996

-Nominated Memberships: Council on Foreign Relations, International Institute for Strategic Studies, Foreign Policy Association

-Manuscript reviewer: Cornell University Press, Princeton University Press, Columbia University Press, Cambridge University Press, Harvard University Press, State University of New York Press, University Press of Florida, Oxford University Press, I.B. Tauris, Lynne Rienner, W. H. Freedman, Westview Press, Stanford University Press, Polity Press, University of Pennsylvania Press, *International Organization*, *Middle East Journal*, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *Comparative Politics*, *Studies in*

Comparative International Development, *International Affairs* (Canada), *World Politics*, *Security Studies*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, *International Security*, *Journal of Military History*, *Theory and Society, Journal of Politics, Middle East Law and Governance; Journal of Cold War Studies*; *Diplomacy & Statecraft*

Languages: reading and speaking proficiency in Arabic. Academic and research experience in Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Yemen, Oman, Qatar, Kuwait, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, Israel, Palestinian Territories, Morocco.