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Author *Libya and the Global Enduring Disorder* (Hurst/Oxford University Press, 2021); Senior Analyst NATO Defense College Foundation; Associate Fellow Henry Jackson Society; Founder and President Libya-Analysis LLC; Founder/Emeritus Director EyeOnISIS 501(c)3; Founder/Director NATO & the Global Enduring Disorder; Guest on 17 podcasts including *Power Corrupts, Doomsday Watch, Lenard Lopate, KeenOn*, and *The Bunker*

RECENT PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCES

NATO & the Global Enduring Disorder

London, UK

Founder, Director

April 2022 – Present

- The <u>NATO & the Global Enduring Disorder</u> project examines the changing world order through a regular podcast
 and a series of other publications dynamically collated on the project's website
- The project has a range of fellows (including Brian Klaas, Arthur Snell and David Patrikarakos) working on the 8 project areas: The Enduring Disorder, NATO & its Adversaries, Kleptocracy & Tax Havens, Neo-Populism, Climate Change & Problems of the Commons, Game Theory & Stakeholder Psychology, Unregulated Cyberspace, The Struggle for Global Leadership

NATO Defense College Foundation

Rome, Italy

Senior Analyst for Emerging Challenges

January 2022 – Present

• Produce articles, events and content on emerging challenges facing NATO and the Transatlantic alliances

Henry Jackson Society

London, UK

Associate Fellow

January 2022 – Present

Produce articles, events and content on the global enduring disorder and contemporary geopolitics

Middle East Institute

Washington DC, USA

Senior Non-Resident Scholar

August 2019 – September 2021

- Conduct research and publish papers on the political, military, humanitarian and economic situation in Libya
- Host program on Libya's semi-sovereign economic institutions
- Write academic book exploring what Libya's dysfunctional economic structures and its ongoing civil war tells us more broadly about globalization and the geopolitics of the 21st century. Published as Libya and the Global Enduring Disorder (Hurst/Oxford University Press, 2021)

Libya-Analysis ® LLC

Metuchen, NJ, USA & London, UK

President, Founder

February 2011– Present

- Produce relationship mapping and stakeholder analysis of Libya's militias, media outlets, civil society groups and powerbrokers
- Oversee team of 5-10 researchers, consultants and academics on four continents
- Help connect Western companies to relevant Libyan businessmen, policymakers, commercial lawyers, oil and gas experts and other professionals
- Offer bespoke and off-the-peg subscription Libya Monitoring products which comprise daily updates and weekly analytical reports with threat assessments and detailed forecasting
- Maintain Libya-Analysis.com website as a leading aggregator of academic analysis on the situation in Libya
- Help clients in the maritime, hydrocarbons, legal, due diligence and development sectors assess political, economic, security and payment risks affecting their business interests via targeted risk management consulting

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American Chamber of Commerce in Libya (AmCham Libya)

Tripoli, Libya

Board Member

December 2018- Present

- AmCham Libya facilitates business between the U.S. and Libya, by providing a forum in which American and Libyan businesspeople can identify and address common areas of commercial interest.
- Personally, organized and co-hosted first official American Trade Mission to Libya in 9 years
- Conceived, organized and hosted a series of monthly high-level discussions between major Fortune 500 member companies and senior Libyan officials such as the Chairman of the National Oil Corporation and the Central Bank Governor

US-Libya Business Association (USLBA)

Washington DC, USA

Executive Director

December 2016 - April 2018

- Main interlocutor connecting the American private sector, US/Allied Governments and senior Libyan officials
- Conceived, organized and hosted "State Dinner-style" gatherings in honor of Libyan Prime Minister Fayez al-Serraj on the margins of the 2017 UN General Assembly and Ambassador Wafa Bugaighis for International Women's Day 2018
- Organized and chaired lunch briefings and networking coffees for Mustafa Sanalla (Head of NOC), Sadiq al-Kabir (Governor of the Central Bank), Dr. Ali Mahmoud (Head of the Sovereign Wealth Fund, the LIA), Deputy Prime Minister Ahmed Maiteg, Foreign Minister Mohamed Taher Siyal and Minister of Planning, Taher Juhaimi
- Advocated on behalf of American businesses with US and Libyan Governmental entities on issues including back payments, letters of credit, tenders, development projects and counterterror assistance
- Supported 11 Fortune 500 US Businesses (including GE, Pepsi, Hess, GardaWorld, Motorola) in every aspect of their Libyan operations including security, briefing CEOs, making contingency plans, conducting market analyses and more
- My team catalogued, condensed and summarized over a thousand English and Arabic documents detailing the inner workings and money flows connecting Libya's semi-sovereign economic institutions with various governmental, municipal and militia entities
- · Conducted weekly meetings with Ambassador Bugaighis, supporting her diplomatic efforts
- Solved interagency problems with DoC, USAID and CSO/ENR/NEA Bureaus at DoS
- Planned Trade Mission to Tunisia and worked closely with Maltese, Egyptian, Tunisian, Italian and British governments

Program Manager

December 2009 – September 2010

- Authored monthly USLBA Insights and Analysis reports. These confidential briefs probed a specific aspect of the Libyan power structure or economy for a business audience.
- Managed the day-to-day affairs of the USLBA -- including finances -- meetings with U.S. diplomats, receptions for visiting Libyan dignitaries, communications with USLBA member companies
- Pioneered the first archiving and cataloguing system of the vast institutional knowledge of the organization
- Managed USLBA interns; recruited and trained my successor and my successor's successor; and continued to participate as an outside expert and paid consultant for USLBA events and reporting

Eye on ISIS in Libya

Metuchen, NJ, USA

Founder and Emeritus Director

November 2015 - Present

• To monitor the threat posed by the Islamic State's Libyan branch, I founded Eye On ISIS in Libya (EOIL) as a monitoring service detailing the group's history, interactions with other jihadi actors and Western responses. Information comes from open and local sources and is vetted by a network of academics, consultants and Western security experts

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- My team catalogued and condensed over 20,000 pages of primary source material in English and Arabic documenting the group's rise, expansion, attacks and degradation -- creating the definitive repository of information about ISIS in Libya and its interactions with other groups in Tunisia, Syria, Iraq and the Sahel
- EOIL achieved 501(c)3 status as a New Jersey-based non-profit.
- The EOIL team published the definitive works on jihadism in post-Qadhafi Libya, The Origins and Evolution of ISIS in Libya, with the Atlantic Council and The Islamic State's Revitalization in Libya and its Post-2016 War of Attrition with CTC Sentinel. We have also produced, Who Pays for ISIS in Libya? and Al-Qaida's Strategy in Libya: Keep it Local, Stupid for Norwegian Government funded think tanks

CRCM North Africa Frankfurt, Germany

Senior Analyst

November 2016 - Present

- Advise clients on security, payment and contractual risks relating to business in North Africa. Produce weekly monitoring reports
- High level due diligence, advisory and forecasting services for German-speaking firms in North Africa

WESTERN GOVERNMENT, IGO, NGO AND POLITICAL ADVISORY WORK

- Frequently brief EU, US, UN, and UK Head of Mission-level officials on the situation in Libya
- Addressed military and intelligence audiences at Shrivenham, PJHQ, RAF Molesworth and Catterick
- Counseled Ambassadors and Special Envoys to Libya about the UN-mediated negotiations process
- Testified before various House of Commons committees and submitted formal written evidence geared at shaping British policy towards Libya
- Briefed the first six post-Qadhafi British Ambassadors to Libya prior to their departure to post
- Keynote speaker at the British Army's Defence Specialist Cultural Unit dinner addressing role of Libyan culture in post-Qadhafi politics
- Advised U.S. State Department, USAID, Department of Commerce and Department of Defense on issues of development and implementation of American policy and programming. Briefed on issues confronting U.S. businesses in the electricity, infrastructure, energy and healthcare sectors leading to DAS-level engagement with Libyan counterparts
- Prepared policy points for DoS, DoC and USAID prior to their Secretary-level meetings with the Libyan delegation on the margins of Prime Minister Fayez al-Serraj's December 2017 White House visit
- Presented training session for entire DIA/Pentagon Libya Analyst team
- Informed the UN's Al-Qaida/Taliban Monitoring Team's policy proscriptions to the UN Sanctions Committee

PAUSED EDUCATION

St. Catherine's College, Cambridge University

Cambridge, UK

October 2011 - May 2014 PhD Candidate in Middle Eastern History (ABD), Withdrawn from Register of Students

Former Supervisor: Professor Sir Christopher Bayly (Deceased) **Supervisor**: Dr Saul Kelly

Dissertation Title: The British Military Administration of Libya (1942-51) and the Anglo-Sanussi Relationship

- Withdrew from register of students in 2014 after having authored more than half of the dissertation
- July 2015 Fellow at the International Seminar on Decolonization hosted by Wm. Roger Louis, the Library of Congress and the Kluge Center

PREVIOUS EDUCATION

St. Antony's College, Oxford University

Oxford, UK

September 2010 – June 2011

M.St. in Global and Imperial History **Graduation:** July 2011

Conveners: John Darwin and Jan-Georg Deutsch

Examiner: Judith Brown

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Thesis Title: British State-Building in Cyrenaica during the War Years (1941-5)

Coursework Included: Empires in History 1750-2000; Concepts and Methods of Imperial History

Fulbright Fellow Damascus, Syria

February 2003 – July 2005

• Researched the impact of instability in the French Third Republic and the ideology of the Parti Colonial on France's Syria policy (1900-1945)

American University in Cairo

Cairo, Egypt

September – December 2003

Williams College Williamstown, MA, USA

BA *Magna Cum Laude* Graduation: June 2002 September 2010 – June 2011

Major: Biology Concentration: African and Middle East Studies

Honors: Phi Beta Kappa; Goldwater Scholar, Top 5% of Graduating Class

LANGUAGE SKILLS

Modern Standard Arabic - Professional reading proficiency (4+ years of intensive study)

Levantine Colloquial Arabic - Highly advanced comprehension and proficient speaking

French - Highly proficient in reading and research, Advanced Intermediate speaking

PEER-REVIEWED BOOKS, JOURNAL ARTICLES, THINK-TANK REPORTS AND BOOK CHAPTERS

- Libya and the Global Enduring Disorder (Hurst/Oxford University Press, 2021)
- "Terrorist and Armed Groups in the Fezzan-Sahel Region: Recruitment and Communication Tactics," coauthored with Stefano Marcuzzi in NATO Strategic Communications Centre of Excellence, 6 January 2021
- "<u>Turning the Tide: How Turkey Won the War for Tripoli</u>" coauthored with Wolfgang Pusztai in *Middle East Institute*, Policy Paper, November 2020
- "An International Financial Commission is Libya's Last Hope," Middle East Institute, Policy Paper, January 2020
- "It's the Economy Stupid: How Libya's Civil War Is Rooted in Its Economic Structures," IAI (Rome), IAI Papers 19, 17 September 19
- "Kingdom of Militias: Libya's Second War of Post-Qadhafi Succession," ISPI (Milan), March 2019
- "The Islamic State's Revitalization in Libya and its Post-2016 War of Attrition," coauthored with Lachlan Wilson, CTC Sentinel (West Point), March 2019
- "Al-Qaida's Strategy in Libya: Keep it Local, Stupid" coauthored with Rhiannon Smith in *Perspectives on Terrorism*, Vol 11, No 6 (2017).
- "Libya's Liquidity Crunch and the Dinar's Demise: Psychological and Macroeconomic Dimensions of the Current Crisis", Libya Herald, Special Report, April 2017 the first comprehensive peer-reviewed general audience report about the implications of Libya's post-Qadhafi subsidies, currency black market, smuggling, public sector salaries and larger macroeconomic implications.
- The Origins and Evolution of ISIS in Libya, Atlantic Council, coauthored with Rhiannon Smith and Karim Mezran, June 2017.
- "Who Pays for ISIS in Libya?," Hate Speech International, coauthored with James Roslington, 24 August 2016
- "The Antecedents and Implications of the so-called Anglo-Sanussi War (1915-17)," in *The First World War and its Aftermath: The Shaping of the Middle East*, edited by T.G. Fraser, Ginkgo Library, September 2015
- "The July 2012 Libyan Election and the Origin of Post-Qadhafi Appeasement" coauthored with Haley Cook, *The Middle East Journal*, Volume 69, Number 2, Spring 2015, pp. 171-198 (28)

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- Foreword for *Operation Idris: Inside the British Administration of Cyrenaica and Libya, 1942-52,* Silphium Press, 2015.
- "Libya: Situation Report," Tony Blair Faith Foundation, 9 November 2014
- Haley Cook and Jason Pack, "Mu'ammur Qadhafi: Power, Personality, and Ideology," in Frank Jacob, ed. Dictatorships without Violence? How Dictators Assert Their Power, Comparative Studies from a Global Perspective, Vol. 2, Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2014.
- Jason Pack, Karim Mezran and Mohamed Eljarh, *Libya's Faustian Bargains: Breaking the Appeasement Cycle*, Atlantic Council Report, April 2014
- "Libyan Constitutionality and Sovereignty Post-Qadhafi: the Islamist, Regionalist, and Amazigh Challenges," coauthored with Youssef Sawani, *Journal of North African Studies*, Fall 2013, Volume 18, Issue 4, pp. 523-543.
- The 2011 Libyan Uprisings and the Struggle for the Post-Qadhafi Future (eds), (Palgrave Macmillan, June 2013), including book chapter co-authored with former HM Ambassador to Libya Richard Northern, "The Role of Outside Actors"
- "Rebels with a Pen: Observations on the Newly Emerging Media Landscape in Libya," coauthored with Anja Wollenberg, *Journal of North African Studies*, Spring 2013, Volume 18, Issue 2, pp. 191-210.
- "In War's Wake: The Struggle for Post-Qadhafi Libya," with Barak Barfi, Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Policy Focus #118, February 2012
- Peer Reviewer for *The Journal of North African Studies, International Affairs* (Chatham House), *Millennium Journal of International Studies* (LSE), *The British Association of Libyan Studies* (Silphium Press), *The International Spectator* (Italy's Foremost Journal of International Affairs)

SELECTED SCHOLARLY LECTURES, BOOK REVIEWS AND POLICY BRIEFINGS FROM 2011-PRESENT

- Organized and chaired discussion on "Ukraine, Libya, the Global Enduring Disorder and the Need for Western Hegemonic Ordering" at the Henry Jason Society, featuring Alessandro Politi, Alan Mendoza and Verity Hubbard, 18 July 2022, London, UK
- Discussant in online panel on "Global Disorder after 'Liberal' Hegemony" for LSE Ideas, featuring Trine Flockhard, Daniel Nexon, Inderjeet Parmar and Aaron Mckeil, 28 April 2022
- "Sympathy for the Devil: Stalin in his Own Words," book review of Martin Van Creveld's *I, Stalin, International Policy Digest*, 19 April 2022
- "Ukraine, Libya, and the Global Enduring Disorder w/ Jason Pack and Jonathan Winer," organized by Hurst Publications and the *Middle East Institute* at The National Press Club, 11 April 2022, Washington DC, USA
- A Discussion about "Libya and the Global Enduring Disorder" with Ambassador Jonathan Winer for the American Chamber of Commerce in Libya, 22 March 2022
- "Of Tyrants, Petty Bureaucrats, Psychopaths, and Saints A Review of 'Corruptible: Who Gets Power and How it Changes Us'," *InsideArabia*, 26 December 2021
- United States Army Africa (USARAF), Senior Leader Strategy Session (SLSS 2020) 21-23 January 2020, Vicenza, Italy
- 2020 Model Arab League honorary lecture to over a thousand students entitled, "From Qadhafi to Chaos: Libya's Centrality in Western Geostrategy"
- "Is an International Financial Commission Libya's Last Hope?," Organized conference at the *Middle East Institute* featuring the UN SRSG to Libya
- Conservative Middle East Council (CMEC) Lecture in the House of Commons, entitled "Libya's Elections as an International Political Football: How the UK can mediate" on 5 Sep 2018
- Lead speaker on Libya at "Al-Qaeda at Thirty" Conference co-organized by the Norwegian Defence Research
 Establishment (FFI) and the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. My lecture resulted in a co-authored
 publication, "Al-Qaida's Strategy in Libya: Keep it Local, Stupid" in *Perspectives on Terrorism*, Vol 11, No 6 (2017)
- Briefed Joint Operations Symposium at PJHQ Northwood on the LPA and inter-militia politics in Libya, 25 August 2016

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- Organized and chaired launch of "Who Pays for ISIS in Libya?," hosted by Hate Speech International at RUSI, featuring Mary Fitzgerald, James Roslington and Abdul-Rahman Al-Ageli, 5 September 2016
- Annual Lecture for the Society of Libyan Studies hosted at the British Academy, entitled, "The Anglo-Senussi 'War' of 1915 17 and the Emergence of Modern Cyrenaica," 7 May 2015
- "Libya: Too Important to be Allowed to Fail," a written policy briefing coauthored with Rhiannon Smith, published by The Royal United Services Institute (RUSI) in *Turning Back on Intervention: Newsbrief*, March 2015
- Organized and chaired briefing "Libya: An Escalating Crisis on Europe's Doorstep," at RUSI featuring Mary Fitzgerald, Abdul-Rahman Al-Ageli and Ambassador Richard Northern, 9 February 2015
- Book review of *A Concise Guide to Wine and Blind Tasting* by Neel Burton and James Flewellen for *The Time Literary Supplement*, 31 October 2014
- Expert at UK MoD/FCO Libya Study in July 2014 informing British policy in the ongoing Libya conflict
- Briefing at Nato Intelligence Fusion Centre at RAF Molesworth on challenges of intelligence work in Libya, March 2014
- Briefing of over 600 officers at UK Staff College at Shrivenham entitled "Libya's Post-Qadhafi Fissures: Federalists, Islamists, Berbers & the Militias," 30 January 2014
- "Libya: Will Failure Lead to Partition?," lecture to the *Gulf Cultural Club* of London, 22 October 2013
- "Islamists, Militias, and the Role of Britain in Today's Libya" a panel presentation in the UK's House of Commons co-organized by Jason Pack and the Council for Arab and British Understanding, 10 September 2013
- "The Struggle for the Post-Qadhafi Future: Islamists, Militias, And Foreign Powers" a book launch conference featuring Jason Pack, Noman Benotman, and Ambassador Richard Northern, chaired by Professor Sir Christopher Bayly at St. Catharine's College Cambridge, 27 June 2013
- "Plato: Slave-Owning Aristocrat or Homosexual Mystic?," a book review of *Plato: Letters to My Son* by Neel Burton's for *The Spectator Magazine*, 31 July 2013
- "Britain Should Take the Lead in Libya" a written briefing for the Conservative Middle East Council, 3 May 2013.
- Review of Exit Gaddafi: The Hidden History of the Libyan Revolution, by Ethan Chorin. London: Saqi Books, 2012.
- Review of Fawaz Gerges's *Obama and the Middle East: The End of America's Moment for The Journal of North African Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 2, Spring 2013
- "Engagement in Libya Was and Remains the Right Answer," a book review of Exit Gaddafi: The Hidden History of the Libyan Revolution by Ethan Chorin for The Spectator Magazine, 31 January 2013
- Review of *Power and Politics in the Maghreb: Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco from Independence to the Arab Spring,* by Michael J. Willis in *Middle East Journal* Vol. 67, No. 1, Winter 2013
- "The 2011 Libyan Uprisings, their Aftereffects, and Western Policy Responses," Keynote address at 10-year Williams College Reunion, 9 June 2012
- "The Anglo-Sanussi Relationship and the British Administration of Cyrenaica (1941-49)," presentation to the Cambridge Middle Eastern History Group, 29 May 2012
- Review of *Mohamed Fekini and the Fight to Free Libya* by Angelo Del Boca (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010) in *Middle East Journal* 66.2, May 2012
- "The 2011 Libyan Uprisings, their Aftereffects, and Western Policy Responses," delivered lecture, Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Washington, DC, 20 March 2012
- "Comparative No-Fly Zones: An investigation of the cases of Iraqi Kurdistan (1991-2003) and Libya (2011)," lecture to graduate students from the University of Kurdistan and American consular officials, Erbil, Iraq, 24 December 2011
- Review of Origins of the Libyan Nation by Anna Baldinetti (Routledge, 2010) in Middle East Report, Winter 2011
- Academic lecture presented on BBC World Service on the British Military Administration of Libya (1942-51), 1
 September 2011
- Organized and chaired panel "Contemplating the Trajectory of the 2011 Libya Uprising," with guest speakers
 Oliver Miles and Ashur Shamis, co-sponsored by the Royal African Society and St. Antony's College, Oxford
 University, 3 May 2011

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• Review of *Libya Since 1969: Qadhafi's Revolution Revisited edited by* Dirk Vandewalle (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), co-authored with Dana Moss, *Journal of North African Studies* 16.2 (June 2011)

SELECTED OP-EDS, NON-PEER REVIEW PUBLICATIONS AND MEDIA SINCE 2011

- "AUKUS Represents the Future of Collective Deterrence," The National Interest, 5 September 2022
- "Is Libya on the brink of another civil war?," Al Jazeera English, 28 August 2022
- "No More Neutrality: NATO and the Twilight of Swedish Exceptionalism," The National Interest, 15 August 2022
- "The west must work with Russia to save the Arctic," The Financial Times, 29 June 2022
- "Is Negotiating with Putin even possible at this point?," The Cipher Brief, coauthored with Kenneth Dekleva, 18 April 2022
- "It's Time to Beat Putin at Poker and Call His Bluff," Foreign Policy, 9 April 2022
- "Why Putin Is Playing Poker, Not Chess," New Lines Magazine, 7 March 2022
- "When the US shrinks from the stage, things fall apart," The Boston Globe, 16 February 2022
- "Jason Pack speaks on cancelled Libyan elections," BBC World, 29 December 2022
- "Libya's Chaos Is a Warning to the World," Foreign Policy, 21 October 2021
- "Power struggle over oil threatens Libya's fragile transition process," Al-Monitor, 10 September 2021
- "Will Oil Spill Conspiracy Theories Help Netanyahu Win?," Foreign Policy, 10 March 2021
- "Will agreement in Libya hold this time?," Al Jazeera English, 24 October 2020
- "The Israel-UAE Deal Won't Bring Peace, but It Will Prolong the War in Libya," Foreign Policy, 21 August 2020
- "How to Avoid the Second American Civil War," The National Interest, 21 June 2020
- "Tribute to Ian Taylor's legacy on Libya's oil sector," *Inside Arabia*, 19 June 2020
- "Should Khalifa Haftar's foreign backers rethink their support?," Al Jazeera English, 27 June 2020
- "The face of the Libyan Arab Spring, Mahmoud Jibril, felled by COVID-19," *Middle East Institute* with Sami Zaptia, April 9, 2020
- "Could coronavirus lead to an Arab Spring 2.0?," *Middle East Institute,* coauthored with Nate Mason, 25 March 2020
- "When It Comes to Ukraine Trump's Alleged Misdeeds Go Beyond Quid Pro Quos," Washington Post, November 25, 2019
- "Johnson and Trump are trying to create sovereign executives," Al Jazeera Opinion, 11 October 2019
- "Libya's House of Cards: Elections Without Institutions," *Brookings Lawfare*, coauthored with Rhiannon Smith, 19 August 2018
- "Fight over oil offers opportunity to protect Libya's wealth," Al Monitor, 29 June 2018
- "The West is Letting Libya Tear Itself Apart," Foreign Policy, 22 June 2018
- "Serendipity in the Caucasus: An examination of the major Georgian Qvevri wine varieties," WineSofa, October 2017
- "A Trumpian Peace Deal in Libya?," Foreign Affairs, January 10, 2017
- "Defeating the Islamic State? Lessons from Libya," *Hate Speech International*, coauthored with Rhiannon Smith, 4 November 2016
- "How Libya Could save the European economy," Politico, coauthored with Rhiannon Smith, 13 October 2016
- "Controlling Libya's Wealth: Hifter's Long Game," Al Monitor, 29 September 2016
- "Can Libya find unity through oil?," Al Monitor, 14 September 2016
- "Donald Trump's Gaddafi problem," Al Jazeera English, 9 August 2016
- "Libya's bungled oil deal," Al Monitor, 29 July 2016
- "Fighting Islamic State in Libya", *The Economist*, 17 June 2016: my non-profit NGO Eye on ISIS in Libya was featured
- "ISIS Fuels Discord in Libya," Foreign Affairs, coauthored with Lydia Sizer, 17 May 2016
- "Don't Believe Libya's 'Race to Sirte' Rhetoric," Middle East Eye, 10 May 2016 (Featured in The Economist)
- "Britain in Europe: To Stay or Not to Stay?," *The Diplomatist*, April 2016

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- "What Does Brexit Mean for European and British Security?," Parallax, 3 May 2016
- "Is It Ethical To Trade With Iran?," Newsweek, coauthored with Moojan Momen, 15 April 2016
- "Does the American Electorate Want Protectionism?," Parallax, 18 March 2016
- "To beat ISIS in Libya, the West Must Help Build Unity from the Bottom Up", Newsweek, 24 Nov 2015
- "Liberate Libya from the UN," Middle East Eye, 16 Nov 2015
- "Libya at a Terrifying Precipice," El Pais (in Spanish), 21 October 2015
- "The Hungary Model: Resurgent Nationalism in Response to the Influx of Migrants", National Interest, 8 Oct 2015
- "Libya's Leadership Vacuum and its Impact" Atlantic Council, 7 October 2015
- "Sheltering Tunisia's Democratic Experiment from the Region's Storms," Atlantic Council, 29 July 2015
- "Talking with the Wrong Libyans," The New York Times, coauthored with Brian Klaas, 14 June 2015
- "A Plan B for Libya," Foreign Affairs, 29 May 2015
- "Miliband's position on Libya is deeply hypocritical," The Spectator, 26 April 2015
- "Why Picking Sides in Libya Won't Work," Foreign Policy, coauthored with Mattia Toaldo, 6 March 2015
- "Islamic State Will Flourish if the West Picks Sides in Libya," *The Spectator*, coauthored with Lydia Sizer, 18 February 2015
- "How To End Libya's War," *The New York Times,* 21 January 2015
- "Libya Back on the Brink," The Hill, coauthored with Karim Mezran, 9 October 2014
- "The Strategic Case against Scottish Independence," LA TIMES, coauthored with Brendan Simms, 11 September 2014
- "Los conservadores árabes intervienen," El Pais, coauthored with Mohamed Maher, 6 September 2014
- "Libya on the Brink: How to Stop the Fighting," Foreign Affairs, 28 July 2014
- "Not Too Late To Save Libya," Atlantic Council, coauthored with Ambassador Richard Northern, 1 August 2014
- "Game Theory, Kidnappings and the Pitfalls of Appeasement in Libya," Middle East Eye, 17 May 2014
- "A Weak E.U. Cannot Stop Putin," The New York Times, coauthored with Brendan Simms, 28 March 2014
- "Libyans Need Help Standing Up to Extremists," *Bloomberg,* coauthored with Richard Northern, 24 December 2013
- "Morocco's Growing Cannabis Debate," Foreign Policy, coauthored with James Roslington, 6 November 2013
- "Talk About Political Dysfunction," The New York Times, coauthored with Mohamed Eljarh, 18 October 2013
- "Why Libya Is So Hard to Govern," a travelogue about the Berbers of Jabal Nafusa for *The Atlantic Monthly* coauthored with Will Raynolds, 8 October 2013
- "Libya's Lessons on Syria," Foreign Policy, coauthored with Karim Mezran and Haley Cook, 6 September 2013
- "Libya: Two Years Later," *Huffington Post,* coauthored with Mustafa AbuShagur former PM of Libya, 20 March 2013
- "Libya Needs International Assistance, Not Drone Attacks," *The Hill,* coauthored with Noman Benotman, 15 February 2013
- "The Importance of Stabilizing Libya," Politico, coauthored with Karim Mezran, 15 February 2013
- "Another Missed Opportunity on Benghazi," The Hill, 4 January 2013
- "Finally an elected Libyan cabinet, but is it fearsome enough to govern?," Al Jazeera English, 7 November 2012
- Featured Guest on Al-Jazeera's "Inside Story" assessing the Libyan economy and security situation, 23 October 2012
- "Democracy is Messy Especially in Libya," *The Guardian*, 9 October 2012
- "Amid Chants of 'Free Libya, Terrorists Out,' a Nation at a Crossroads" op-ed in the USA print edition of the *Wall Street Journal*, 17 September 2012
- "Honoring Chris Stevens" an obituary for the slain Ambassador in Foreign Policy, 14 September 2012.
- "The Problem with Removing Dictators," Al Jazeera English Opinion Page, 7 August 2012
- Article-length interview of Jason Pack published in the *Der Standard* (Austria) concerning the July 2012 Libyan Elections, 9 July 2012
- "Libya's Election: Uncertainty Before and After," Al Jazeera English, 6 July 2012
- "ICC Captive Is Pawn in Struggle between Militias and the NTC," Al Jazeera English, 26 June 2012

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- "Look to Yemen as model for Syria's transition after Bashar al-Assad," co-authored with Fred Pack, *Christian Science Monitor*, 14 June 2012
- "Libya's Missteps Threaten Descent into Federalism," co-authored with Ronald Bruce St. John, *Al Jazeera English*, 4 June 2012
- "Megrahi's Death—An End to a Century of Mistrust?," Al Jazeera English, 23 May 2012
- "Federalism in Libya: Tried and Failed," Al Jazeera English, 20 April 2012
- "Solve Syria, Leave Iran Alone," Al Jazeera English, 20 March 2012
- "China-Bashing Hides Lack of an American Plan," co-authored with Brant Moscovitch, *The Australian*, 7 February 2012
- "In the Arab Spring, Watch Turkey," co-authored with Martin Van Creveld, New York Times, 5 January 2012
- "Kurds Look to Old Enemies for Survival," *The Australian*, 27 December 2011
- "Capturing the Qadhafis," Foreign Policy, 21 November 2011
- <u>"Post-Gaddafi -- Libya should think local," *The Guardian*, 23 October 2011</u>
- "The Libyan Peace Dividend," Christian Science Monitor, 20 October 2011
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