

Bezoldweg 41  
91541 Rothenburg ob der Tauber  
Germany  
0049 – (0)173/231 35 24  
john@john-hulsman.com

## EXPERIENCE

- President and Co-founder, John C. Hulsman Enterprises ([WWW.JOHN-HULSMAN.COM](http://WWW.JOHN-HULSMAN.COM)), a successful global political risk consulting firm, advising blue-chip corporate and government sector clients on how to survive and thrive in the new multipolar era, by focusing on possible game changing political risk events that can upend conventional wisdom. In 2013, the firm's clients included Goldman Sachs, Morgan Stanley, NATO, City Wire UK, Open Europe, and the European Parliament. Life Member, US Council on Foreign Relations.
- Create and communicate geopolitical and macroeconomic political risk analysis regarding the rise of the multipolar world, with particular emphasis on the Euro Zone crisis, American politics and foreign policy, the Iran crisis, the demise of the Arab Spring, and the rise of Asia and the Indian Ocean Rim and China, for premier corporate clients, governments, think tanks, and universities.
- More than 1,240 briefings at the invitation of the U.S. Department of State, the Central Intelligence Agency, the National Security Council, and the Congress, as well as governments throughout Europe. In addition, briefings for major corporate clients such as Morgan Stanley, Goldman Sachs, Barclays Wealth, Swiss Re, ICAP, Black Rock, and Bank of America/Merrill Lynch.
- Organizer of 'The Hulsman Commission,' a major Track II effort to coordinate transatlantic relations regarding the Iran crisis.
- Served as an advisor at the request of the House of Representatives International Relations Committee, the Atlantic Council and the Council on Foreign Relations, and other organizations.
- More than 450 speeches sponsored by Morgan Stanley, City Wire UK, The US Securities and Exchange Commission, Swiss Re, Goldman Sachs, Bank of America/Merrill Lynch, Harvard, Yale, Georgetown, Johns Hopkins, Stanford, The Economist, CUNY, the Council on Foreign Relations, the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, CSIS, Chatham House, Open Europe, the German Council on Foreign Relations, the French Army War

College, the Woodrow Wilson Center, the Aspen Institute, the German Marshall Fund, the Army War College, the National Defense University, the European Parliament, the CIA, NATO, the State Department, and the House International Relations Committee.

- World-class university lecturer in International Relations at the Johns Hopkins University.

## MEDIA

- 1,477 interviews with magazines, newspapers, television and radio.

- Television appearances on ABC, CNBC, CBS, CNN, FOX, MSNBC, BBC including Nightline, Wolf Blitzer Reports, The Daily Show, Closing Bell, Buchanan and Press, and The O'Reilly Factor and numerous radio programs.

- Quoted in *The Economist*, *New Republic*, *London Times*, *International Herald Tribune*, *Financial Times*, *Washington Post*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, *Le Monde*, *Il Giornale*, *Newsweek*, *Time* and many other newspapers and magazines.

## PUBLICATIONS

- 330 articles appearing in such publications as *City AM London*, *Real Clear World*, *The Spectator*, *Financial Times*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The International Herald-Tribune*, *Harper's Magazine*, *Foreign Policy*, *The National Interest*, *Policy Review*, *Orbis*, *The Georgetown Public Policy Review*, *The American Conservative*, *Newsweek Europe*, *USA Today*, *Investor's Business Daily*, *The Christian Science Monitor*, *The Times of India*, *The Aspen Institute* and many others.

*Ethical Realism: A Vision for America's Role in the World*, co-authored with Anatol Lieven, published by Random House (Pantheon Press) in September 2006; paperback published by Vintage Press in autumn 2006, was the author's third book.

*The Godfather Doctrine: A Foreign Policy Parable*, co-authored with A. Wess Mitchell, published by Princeton University Press in February 2009, spent its first twelve weeks on the Amazon Top 10 list for diplomatic books. It is the author's fourth book.

*To Begin The World Over Again: Lawrence of Arabia From Damascus To Baghdad*, published by Palgrave Macmillan in September 2009. It is the author's fifth book.

## EDUCATION

- Ph.D. in International Relations, M.A. in Modern History with International Relations, University of St. Andrews, Scotland.

## DR. JOHN C. HULSMAN

Bezoldweg 41  
91541 Rothenburg ob der Tauber

Tel: 0049 – (0)173/231 35 24  
hulsman.john@gmail.com

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### EXPERIENCE

- 1/07-Present **John C. Hulsman Enterprises (john@john-hulsman.com)** Germany/US  
*President and Co-Founder*  
Hulsman is the leader and intellectual driving force behind this successful global political risk consulting firm. The firm offers expertise for both businesses and governments with particular regard to the new age of multipolarity, and the game changing events (ie the Euro crisis and relative decline of the US) that will determine the opportunities and dangers of the new era. Its clients include Morgan Stanley, City Wire UK, Swiss Re, Bank of America/Merrill Lynch, Goldman Sachs, Barclay's Wealth, ICAP Hedge Fund, the German MOD, the German Development Institute (DIE), the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Dutch MOD, NATO, the Aspen Institute, and *Handelsblatt*.
- 3/10-1/12 **The Hague Centre for Strategic Studies** The Hague  
*Senior Research Fellow*  
As part of the deal between his company and the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Hulsman spent time with HCSS, working on issues of importance to the Ministry, dealing with American political analysis, as well as gauging the impact for global geopolitics of the relative decline of Europe and the United States.
- 7/06-1/09 **German Council on Foreign Relations** Berlin  
*The Alfred von Oppenheim Scholar in Residence*  
In his position as scholar in residence, Hulsman was in charge of the Middle East and transatlantic portfolio, serving as the face of the Council on all political and economic aspects of transatlantic relations, as well as the war on terror, Iran, Iraq, and the Arab-Israeli crisis.
- 8/99 – 7/06 **The Heritage Foundation** Washington, D.C.  
*Senior Research Fellow/ Senior Foreign Policy Analyst*  
In his position as Senior Research Fellow, Hulsman examined Middle Eastern Security Issues such as Iraq, al-Qaeda and Iran, European security, politics and economic issues. In addition, Hulsman is a frequent commentator on European and global issues, including with ABC News, CBS News, PBS, CNN, Fox News, MSNBC, CNBC, and the BBC.  
Responsibilities include:
  - Formulating policy positions on Iraq, Iran, Arab-Israeli Peace Issues, al-Qaeda, trade issues and all aspects of the transatlantic relationship.
  - Communicating policy positions and analysis to Congress, the executive branch, foreign officials and the broader public through briefings, papers and the mass media.
- 2003 – present **Council on Foreign Relations**  
*Life Member*  
Participated in Council's task forces on: United States' Post-Conflict Military Capabilities (March-July 2004); Post-conflict Iraq (January-March 2004); Pre-conflict Iraq, (February-March 2003); Examining the transatlantic drift (September-December 2002).
- 2005-2009 **Editorial Board, National Interest**  
*Contributing Editor*  
In recognition of his Washington profile, Hulsman was asked to serve as contributing editor for the prestigious international journal.
- 3/04-1/05 **Opendemocracy.net (London)**  
Columnist, "America and the World."  
Writes a popular bi-monthly column, explaining the domestic political sources of America's foreign policy views to an international audience. Topics include: administration battles between neo-conservatives and

realists; the Bush-Kerry election and what it means for US foreign policy; the Madrid bombing; American attitudes to the EU; Ronald Reagan; foreign policy divisions within the Democratic party.

9/04-12/04 **Adjunct Professor of European Security Studies, School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), The Johns Hopkins University.**

7/97-12/97 **The Center for Strategic and International Studies** Washington, D.C.

*Fellow in U.S.-European Studies*

Responsibilities included: writing articles and papers; giving interviews on US-European affairs; and participating in conferences devoted to analysis of transatlantic relations in the post-Cold War era.

1992-1995 **University of St. Andrews** Fife, Scotland

*Graduate Tutor*

- “American Foreign Policy: Truman to Clinton”

This Senior Honors course specialized in a political, military, economic, ideological, historical, and process-oriented analysis of America’s relationship with its NATO allies and former Warsaw Pact foes. The course’s particular emphasis centered on US Foreign and Defense Policy during the Cold War and its aftermath.

- “Introduction to World Politics: Theory and Practice”

This freshman international relations course specialized in a comparative political study of the major European states, an introduction to major theories of International Relations, British politics, and a politico-economic study of the European Union, focusing on how domestic politics within the member states condition policy outcomes in Brussels.

*Advisory positions*

2000-present **Advisory Board for the premier Italian Foreign Affairs Journal, *Limes***

2006-present **Advisory Board Member, The Center for European Policy Analysis, Washington**

2006 **International Scholar in Residence, Italian Institute for the Study of International Politics, Milan**

May  
Gave a series of lectures on a history of transatlantic relations after the Cold War to the Graduate ‘finishing school’ for the Italian Foreign Ministry.

2006 **House of Representatives International Relations Committee**

March  
Called to testify before the full committee regarding the next steps in the Iranian crisis.

2005 **House of Representatives International Relations Committee**

February  
Called to testify before the European Affairs subcommittee regarding transatlantic relations and the second Bush term

2004-2008 **‘The Hulsman Commission’ on Iran**

Organized and leads a high-level German-American Track II group determined to coordinate transatlantic efforts over the Iran crisis. American members include Jim Dobbins (Rand), Mike Haltzel (Senate Foreign Relations Committee) and David Albright (ISIS). German members include Rolf Mutzenich (SPD MP) and Karl Theodor zu Guttenberg (CSU MP).

2003 **Konrad Adenauer Foundation US-German Strategy Group**

Chaired by General Klaus Naumann and Zbigniew Brzezinski. The Group was established at the behest of the German Christian Democratic Union to formulate common US-German policies to bridge the current US-German diplomatic rift.

2003 **House of Representatives International Relations Committee**

Called to testify before the European Affairs subcommittee regarding the future of the U.S.-European relationship and the transatlantic rift.

- 2002      **Atlantic Council**  
 Member of task force on the NATO Capabilities Gap  
 Responsible for formulating policy responses to the military divide in the alliance, the group formulated the NATO Rapid Reaction Force Initiative that was adopted at Prague.
- 2001      **United States Institute of Peace**  
 Member of task force on the Balkans. Responsible for drawing up policy alternatives for the Bush administration regarding America's military commitment in the Balkans.

EDUCATION      **University of St. Andrews**      Fife, Scotland  
 Doctor of Philosophy, International Relations, 1996  
 Master of Arts with honors, Modern History with International Relations, 1990

PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS

- Author:

*To Begin the World Over Again: Lawrence of Arabia From Damascus to Baghdad*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

*The Godfather Doctrine: A Foreign Policy Parable* (with Wess Mitchell), (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2009).

*Ethical Realism: A Vision for America's Role in the World* (with Anatol Lieven), (New York: Pantheon Press, 2006).

*The World Turned Rightside Up; A New US-UK Trading Agenda for the Age of Globalization*, (London: The Institute of Economic Affairs, 2001).

*A Paradigm for the New World Order: A Schools of Thought Analysis of American Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War Era*, (Hampshire, England: Macmillan Press and St. Martin's Press, 1997).

- Book Contributor:

"Beyond Platitudes: Elbowing the BRIC Concept Out of the Way in Four Easy Steps," in *Beyond BRICS*, Christos Pitelis, Editor, (Cambridge University Press: 2013).

"U.S.-Australia Relations and the Curse of George Harrison," in *The Other Special Relationship: U.S.-Australia Relations At The Start Of The 21st Century*, Jeffrey D. MacCausland and Douglas T. Stuart, eds., (Carlisle, PA: U.S. Army War College, September 2006).

"A Conservative Vision for US Policy Towards Europe," in *US-UK Relations At The Start Of The 21st Century*, Jeffrey D. McCausland and Douglas T. Stuart, editors, (Carlisle, PA: US Army War College, 2006).

"America Should Escape Its Balkans Imperium," in *Exiting The Balkan Thicket*, (Washington: The CATO Institute, 2002).

"The Global Free Trade Association: A Trade Agenda for the New Global Economy," in *2001 Index of Economic Freedom*, (Washington: The Heritage Foundation and The Wall Street Journal, 2001).

ARTICLES

- 330 published articles  
 Highlights include:

“The Miracle of Robben Island: Why Mandela matters internationally,” *City AM London (British Daily)*, December 9, 2013.

“Fog is lifting over China, but its reform efforts may not prove enough,” *City AM London*, December 3, 2013.

“A truly historic Iran deal: lessons in realism from JFK,” *Aspenia Online (Italian daily)*, November 25, 2013.

“Don’t write off India, the untapped Asian Giant,” *City AM London*, November 19, 2013.

“Europe ignores its decline—the UK’s future could be different,” *City AM London*, November 8, 2013.

“US radicals have dealt a serious blow to the struggle for small government,” *City AM London*, October 18, 2013.

“The Janus-Faced Presidency: Barack Obama, Syria, and the Demise of Closet Realism,” *Limes (Italian monthly)*, October 2013; reprinted in *EconoMonitor (Roubini Economics online daily)*, October 9, 2013.

“Obama is risking disaster for the US as his administration abandons Asia,” *City AM London*, October 7, 2013.

“Striking Syria is Folly,” *Sueddeutsche Zeitung (German daily)*, August 31, 2013.

“Things Fall Apart: Turkey’s Decisive Turn Away From the West,” *Limes*, July 2013; reprinted in *EconoMonitor*, July 8, 2013.

“Saving Italy: Remembering the Examples of FDR and Thatcher,” *Limes*, May 2013.

“The Closet Realism of Barack Obama,” *Limes*, April 2013.

“The Indian Ocean Rim and China: Obama’s Historic Challenge,” *Aspenia Online*, February 6, 2013.

“The Demise of the Arab Spring: One of the Five Global Risks Awaiting the White House *Aspenia Online* (Italian online daily), December 19, 2012; reprinted as, “President Obama versus the Arab Spring,” *RealClearWorld* (American online daily), December 19, 2012.

“The Real Two-China Policy: America Must Get Over Its Self-Defeating China Mythos and Instead Focus on the Greatest One-Way Bet in History,” *Limes*, December 2012.

“Obama’s eastern pivot, made in Asia,” *The Hindu* (Indian daily), November 7, 2012.

“Leaving the Hotel: The West Has to Get Over Its Fruitless Search For Common Values and Instead Negotiate Global Governance in a Realist World,” *Limes*, October 2012; reprinted in *Global Policy* (online foreign policy magazine), December 11, 2012.

“A sure-fire place to cut the US defense budget (MEADS),” *The Christian Science Monitor*, September 21, 2012.

“Custer, Monnet, and the triumph of self-delusion (euro crisis),” *Limes*, July 2012.

“A September Surprise on Iran?” *Jane’s Defense Weekly*, June 28, 2012.

“Time to Get Over It: Europe, The Fruitless Search for Universal Values, and the BRICS,” *The Times of India*, May 11, 2012.

“The Missiles of September (Iranian nuclear crisis),” *Limes* (Italian monthly), April 2012.

“The Real Deficit is Democratic: In America We Are Getting the Crisis We Deserve,” *Limes*, March 2012.

“Something’s Gotta Give: The End of the Phony War Over the Iranian Nuclear Crisis,” *Limes*, February 2012.

“The Problem with Romney: We Don’t Live in an American Dominated World Anymore,” *Aspenia Online* (*Italian online journal*), January 24, 2012.

“The US Presidential Race Cannot Ignore the World—And Europe,” *Aspenia Online*, November 8, 2011; reprinted in *RealClearWorld.com*.

“Building a Better Lifeboat: Realism and American Foreign Policy in the Age of Austerity,” *Aspenia (Italian Monthly Journal)*, November 2011.

“The Trouble With Germany, Part Two,” (Germany and the Euro-Zone crisis), *Limes*, September 2011.

“The Haunting of America: The Devastating Geopolitical Legacy of Osama Bin Laden,” *Limes*, June 2011.

“Beside the Point: The Saudi-Iranian Cold War in the Gulf Eclipses America,” *Aspenia*, May 20, 2011.

“The Geopolitics of Being Broke: Western Foreign Policy in an Age of Occidental Penury,” *Limes*, September 2010.

“What is Really Scary About Sarah Palin,” *Sueddeutsche Zeitung (SZ-German daily newspaper)*, July 31, 2010.

“Not So Special (The US-UK Relationship under Obama and Cameron),” *The Spectator (British Weekly)*, May 18, 2010.

“Through the Looking Glass: America in a post-American World,” *Limes*, February 2010.

“Iran is a Ticking Time Bomb,” Memo written for ICAP Hedge Fund, London, December 16, 2009.

“No He Can’t: The Complete Unraveling of Obama’s Middle East Policy,” *Limes*, December 2009.

“Will America’s empire end in Afghanistan?” *The Spectator*, November 11, 2009.

“The Perils of the Prize (Obama’s Nobel),” *Aspenia Online*, October 26, 2009.

“Outlines of a New Era: How the Sino-American Relationship Will Eclipse The Old Transatlantic World,” *Limes*, September 29, 2009.

“Think Again: Lawrence of Arabia and the history of nation building,” *Foreign Policy Online*, September 28, 2009.

“President Obama’s rocky vacation,” *SZ*, September 5, 2009.

“Obama and the Perils of the Domestic In-Tray,” *Aspenia Online*, September 5, 2009.

“Iraq Will Not Have a Happy Ending: The Failure of the Surge and the Death-Knell of Nation Building,” *The Spectator*, September 2, 2009.

“Realism and the Coming Dilemma of the Obama Administration,” *Aspenia Online*, July 31, 2009.

“G8: time for a rethink,” *Aspenia Online*, July 15, 2009.

“Obama and the Limits of Rhetoric: The Cairo Speech Portends Troubles Ahead, With No Israeli-Palestinian Peace In Sight,” *Limes*, June 2009.

“A Dialogue on Obama’s early foreign policy moves,” (with Charles Kupchan), *Aspenia*, May 2009.

“Reforming International Institutions: From Wishful Thinking To Reality,” *Zeit Online* (German daily), April 20, 2009.

“The Limits of Good Vibrations (Obama’s first European trip),” *SZ*, April 7, 2009.

"The Trouble with Germany," *Limes*, April 2009.

"Arab-Israeli Peace: What Can Europe Do?" *International Politics* (German foreign policy monthly), January 2009.

"Memo to Obama: The Middle East Needs You," *Opendemocracy.net* (British online daily), November 12, 2008.

"A Foreign Policy You Can't Refuse," *Harper's Magazine*, July 2008.

"Despite What You May Think, Obama Really Does Not Walk on Water: The View From Berlin," *Limes*, July 2008.

"The Godfather Doctrine," *Los Angeles Times*, May 7, 2008.

"Pax Corleone," *National Interest*, no.94, March/April 2008; reprinted in *National Interest Online*, February 29, 2008.

"Iran: The Day After-An American Perspective," *Limes*, December 28, 2007.

"Michael Gerson and the National Greatness Playbook," *Wall Street Journal*, November 29, 2007.

"The Forgotten Sixty-Eighter: Colin Powell and Forgetting the Lessons of Vietnam," *Stern* (German weekly magazine), November 24, 2007.

"Can Anyone Stop Hillary?" *Washington Briefing*, November 2007.

"Ethical Realism: An American Foreign Policy Alternative," *Welt am Sonntag* (German weekly), September 16, 2007.

"The Politics of Petraeus," *Spiegel Online* (German Online Magazine), September 11, 2007.

"The Petraeus Report Is Much Ado About Nothing," *Stern Online* (German Online Magazine), September 10, 2007.

"Defending The Big Picture (Critique of neoconservatism)," *National Interest Online*, August 9, 2007.

"Facing Up To Iraq Is The Only Way Out (Assessment of the Republican Candidates' Chances)," *SZ*, August 4, 2007.

Briefing memo on transatlantic relations, Giuliani campaign, July 17, 2007.

"Designated Driver Diplomacy," *National Interest*, no.90, July/August 2007.

"Ethical Realism," *Aspenia*, no.35-36, Yr. 12.

"The Politics of the Washington Casino," *International Politics*, no.2, February 2007.

"Republicans must be more like Ike," *Christian Science Monitor*, December 4, 2006.

"Our Lives, Our Fortunes, And Our Sacred Honor: It Is Time For Civil War On The American Right Against The Neoconservatives," *Opendemocracy.net*, September 21, 2006.

"Grasping the Nettle: An Ethical Realist Strategy for Israeli-Palestinian Peace," *National Interest*, no.85, Fall 2006.

"In Praise of Warlords," *National Interest*, no.84, Summer 2006.

"Confounding the Mullahs of Iran: Its Time for Israel to Join NATO," *Heritage Web Memo #966*, January 24, 2006.



“After Schroeder: US-German Relations in the Merkel Era,” *Heritage Backgrounder* #1907, January 11, 2006.

“Transatlantic Relations: The Good News is the New Conventional Wisdom is also Wrong,” *Newsweek Europe* (Poland), November 25, 2005.

“Turkey is too important to leave completely out of the European Union,” *Christian Science Monitor*, October 3, 2005.

“As the Dust Settles, Its Time to Grow Up,” (US-German relations), *Handelsblatt* (German daily), September 22, 2005.

“The European Union is Dead,” *National Interest*, no.81, Fall 2005.

“The Ethics of Realism,” *National Interest*, no.80, Summer 2005.

“The Seven Pillars of State-Building,” *International Politics*, Summer 2005.

“Cataclysm: The Rejection of the European Constitution and What it Means for Transatlantic Relations,” *Heritage Backgrounder* #1862, June 20, 2005.

Forging a Common Transnational Approach to the Iranian Nuclear Problem,” *Heritage Foundation Backgrounder* #1837, March 23, 2005.

“A Conservative Vision for Europe,” *European Affairs*, vol.6 no.1, (Winter/Spring 2005).

“Terrorism and Democracy: Get wise and get real,” *Opendemocracy.net*, January 7, 2005.

“A View From the Truman Balcony: The Second Term of George W. Bush,” *Limes*, January 5, 2005.

“Religion And American Foreign Policy,” *Opendemocracy.net*, December 21, 2004.

“Bush’s home run: neocon victory, realist world,” *Opendemocracy.net*, November 19, 2004.

“Explaining the Bush Surge: An Open Letter to John Kerry,” *Opendemocracy.net*, September 15, 2004.

“A Realist Critique of the Bush Administration,” *Aspenia*, August 13, 2004.

“Free Trade by Any Means: How the Global Free Trade Alliance Enhances America’s Overall Trading Strategy,” *Heritage Backgrounder* #1786, August 5, 2004.

“A Plague on Both Your Houses-Iran and the Transatlantic Malaise,” *Opendemocracy.net*, August 2, 2004.

“The coming foreign policy civil wars: Part II-The Republicans,” *Opendemocracy.net*, July 15, 2004.

“The coming foreign policy civil wars: Part 1-The Democrats,” *Opendemocracy.net*, June 20, 2004.

“Misunderstanding America: The Limits of Neo-Conservatism,” *Limes*, vol.2, 2004.

“The D-Day Commemoration: The President’s Chance to Remind the World of the Importance of the Transatlantic Relationship,” *Heritage Web Memo* #517, June 4, 2004.

“The Special Relationship is bigger than the both of us,” *The Daily Telegraph* (London), April 15, 2004; reprinted in “Blair needs to gain tangible reward,” *The Guardian* (UK), April 16, 2004.

“After Madrid: Preserving the Alliance Against Terrorism,” *Heritage Backgrounder* #1743, April 9, 2004.

“Getting Real: An Unromantic Look at the NATO Alliance,” *National Interest*, No.75, (Spring 2004).

“Iraq: Its Consequences One Year Later,” *The EU Institute for Security Studies* (France), March 1, 2004; reprinted as “The American imperium and Lawrence of Arabia,” *Limes*, vol.1, 2004.

“Neo-Contradictions: Why America Can’t Be the New Rome,” *The American Conservative*, vol.2 no.20. (October 20, 2003).

“Requiem for Neo-Conservatism,” *Aspenia*, (October 2003).

“Le maillon faible d’une Europe peu vaillante,” *Le Monde*, September 29, 2003.

“Waiting for Godot: Why I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the CAP,” *The Sprout* (Brussels), vol.2 no.1. (September 2003)

“Divide & Leave: A blueprint for building the new Iraq,” *The American Conservative*, vol.2 no.17. (September 8, 2003)

“Cherry-Picking: Preventing the Emergence of a Permanent Franco-German-Russian Alliance,” *Heritage Backgrounder #1682* (August 28, 2003).

“A Weak But Gaullist Europe Leads to American Cherry-Picking as the Modus Operandi of the New Era,” *In The National Interest*. (February 24, 2003)

“The Rebirth of Realism and the Lessons of History: The British Example,” *In The National Interest*, Vol.2 No.3. (January 22, 2003)

“Coalitions of the Willing as the Future of the Atlantic Alliance,” *Newsweek Europe*. (December 20, 2002)

“After Prague: NATO’s Future,” *In The National Interest*, Vol.1 Issue 12, (November 27, 2002).

“The Rebirth of Realism: The Kantian Trap-Utopianism in International Affairs,” *In The National Interest*, Vol.1 Issue 10, (November 13, 2002).

“Forging A Durable Post-War Political Settlement In Iraq,” *Heritage Backgrounder #1593*, September 24, 2002; reprinted in *Heartland (Italian Journal)* (Winter 2002); reprinted as “Planning for a postwar Iraq,” *The Washington Times*, October 2, 2002.

“A Global Free Trade Association to Preserve and Expand the US-UK Special Relationship,” *Orbis*, vol.46 no.3, (Summer 2002).

“European Disunion: Continental Anxiety Grows As EU Tries To Punish Success,” *Investor’s Business Daily*, May 10, 2001.

“Stop Short of Intervention (in the Macedonian crisis),” *USA Today*, March 22, 2001.

“A Grand Bargain with Europe: Preserving NATO for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” *The Georgetown Public Policy Review*, Vol.6 No.1, (Fall 2000).

“The Guns Of Brussels: Burden Sharing and Power Sharing with Europe,” *Policy Review*, No.101, (June/July 2000).

“Churchill was Right about the British-American Pact,” *The Daily Telegraph*, April 17, 2000.

“Power-Sharing that Can Strengthen NATO,” *Financial Times* (UK), February 29, 2000.

## SPEECHES

- 453 speeches and papers delivered at conferences worldwide.
- Highlights include:

- December 2013 *"Gaming Britain's Future: Renegotiating Britain's place inside Europe,"* Speeches presented for an Open Europe War Game, London.
- November *"Why has Global Financial Governance Proved So Elusive Following the Great Crash?"* Speech presented for the Observer Research Foundation (ORF) conference, "The Asia Forum on Global Governance," New Delhi.
- May *"Where do we go from here? Where is the euro crisis taking the continent?"* Speech presented for a City Wire UK event, Montreux.
- "No One is Minding the Store: The Iran Crisis War Game,"* Speeches presented at a Morgan Stanley event, Venice.
- April *"The End of the Old World: Decadence and the Decline of the US and Europe,"* Speech presented at a Goldman Sachs event.
- March 2013 *"After the shouting is over: What will Obama's Second Term Foreign Policy look like?"* Speech presented at the ZDF young journalists conference, Berlin.
- "Burden Sharing and Power Sharing: The Key to Global Governance in the Multipolar Era,"* Speech presented for the Observer Research Foundation (ORF) conference on Global Governance, New Delhi.
- "Reading the Tea Leaves: What Obama's Re-Election Means for America and the World,"* Speech presented for an American Embassy Press Conference Event, Berlin.
- November 2012 *"America's Election Night: A Foreign Policy Perspective,"* Speech presented for American Embassy Election Night Party, Berlin.
- "BRICS-Visions for Economic and Geopolitical Cooperation,"* Speech presented for the ORF Young German-Asian Leaders Conference, New Delhi.
- October *"Taking on Water: How the Spanish Example Illustrates the Euro Crisis is Worse than you Think,"* Speech presented for the US Securities and Exchange Commission, Washington.
- July *"Sixty Years of Transatlantic Relations: The Past, The Present, and Especially the Future Depends on Leveling with One Another,"* Speech presented at Atlantik-Bruecke's 60<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Conference, Berlin.
- April *"The Republican Freak Show: The American Party System in Crisis,"* Speech presented for the Western Hemisphere Department, Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Hague.
- "A World That Cannot Be Ignored: The American Presidential Race and US Foreign Policy,"* Speech presented for a US State Department Program, US Embassy, Berlin.
- March *"Why Barack Obama Won Super Tuesday,"* Speech presented at a Young German Media Conference, Berlin.
- January 2012 *"Foreign Policy Shifts in a Multipolar World,"* Speech presented at a German Marshall Fund Conference (for members of Congress and the Bundestag) on transatlantic relations, Miami, Florida.
- October 2011 *"The Center Breaks, Things Fall Apart: The Republican Presidential Race and the Future of American Foreign Policy,"* Speech presented to the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Hague, The Netherlands.
- September *"To Begin the World Over Again: Nation-Building and Learning from Lawrence of Arabia,"* Speech presented at the close of the Lawrence exhibit at the Cologne Museum of Culture, Cologne, Germany.
- "What is Wrong with Germany? Can the Euro Itself Survive the Current Crisis?"* Speech presented at the Italian Mittelfest, Cividale, Italy.
- July *"Beyond Platitudes: Elbowing the BRIC Concept Out of the Way,"* Speech presented at the Cambridge University Business Conference, Cambridge, England.

- May *“Managing Elegant Decline: The West’s Economic Numbers Can No Longer Be Ignored,”* Speech presented to the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Hague, The Netherlands.
- April *“Shifting Paradigms: Why the Indian Ocean Rim is the New Fulcrum of World Politics,”* Speech presented at the World Foresight Forum Conference, The Hague, The Netherlands.
- “Managing Elegant Decline: How the West can still remake the multipolar world,”* Speech presented at the General Command and Staff College, Fort Belvoir, VA.
- March *“Libya, Bahrain, and the threat of contagion for markets in the Middle East,”* Speech presented for a conference call of senior American Bank of America/Merrill Lynch (BAML) analysts, Washington.
- February 2011 *“Egypt, the Middle East, Geopolitics and Markets,”* Speech presented for a conference call of senior European BAML analysts, London.
- December 2010 *“What the new multipolar world will actually look like: opportunities, dangers, and managing risk,”* Speech presented at BAML event for senior analysts, London.
- “Why the Indian Ocean Rim is the future of the world: We are going through a 500 year sea change,”* Speech presented at a BAML event for senior analysts, New York.
- November *“Iran is the Black Swan that can ruin the happy-ever-after story of the Indian Ocean Rim,”* Speech presented at a BAML event for clients, Frankfurt.
- “Obama’s First Two Years: The pivot to foreign policy and the Indian Ocean Rim,”* Speech presented at a Goldman Sachs event, Haarlem, The Netherlands.
- October *“What does the Obama administration think about Europe?”* Speech presented at a European Council on Foreign Relations/French Foreign Ministry event, Paris.
- “Through the Looking Glass: What the Outlines of a multipolar world actually look like; China, the Indian Ocean Rim, and Middle East Peace,”* Speech presented at the Swiss Re Yearly conference, Zurich.
- “Rough Sailing Ahead: Obama, the Middle East, and the dawning of the multipolar world,”* Speech presented at a BAML senior management team meeting, London.
- April *“From a G2 to a G3?: Can Europe Emerge as another pole of power in the new era?”* Speech presented to senior Department Heads, Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), The Hague.
- February 2010 *“A Black Swan Moment?: America’s Debt Peril and the foreign policy of decline,”* Speech presented at a City Forum conference, London.
- December 2009 *“Iran Is a Ticking Time Bomb,”* Speech presented at a meeting of the ICAP Hedge Fund Senior Managers, London.
- “Lawrence of Arabia and the Perils of Nation Building,”* Speech/Debate with Dan Serwer and Chris Preble, The Cato Institute, Washington.
- October *“Why Ukraine Should Not Believe US Promises Regarding Nato Membership,”* Speech presented at an American Institute in Ukraine Conference, Kiev.
- “Think Tanks in an Uncertain World: How can they really influence global governance?”* Speech presented to the German Development Agency (DIE) BRICs conference, Bonn.
- September *“President Obama and the American Schools of Thought Battle,”* Speech presented at a high-level gathering of Dutch foreign policy principals, Dutch MFA, The Hague.
- August *“The Future of Nato and the European Security Architecture of the New Era,”* Speech presented to the Zeit Foundation Bucerius Summer School, Berlin.

- June            *"Why Europe is a museum: the economic facts behind its decline,"* Speech presented at a Draeger Foundation Conference.
- "Bismark, Metternich, Kennan...and Corleone?"* Speech presented at an Amerika Haus Event, Bonn.
- April            *"A Scorecard of Obama's European Tour,"* Speech presented at the Aspen Institute Conference.
- "President Obama and Global Governance: The results of the European Summits,"* Speech presented at the German Development Institute Conference, Bonn.
- March           *"The Geopolitical Effects of the Financial Crisis: Towards a Multipolar System,"* Speech presented at a SWP Conference.
- "Vito Corelone: America as a Declining Hegemon,"* Speech presented at the World Affairs Council of Northern California, San Francisco.
- "Parables have their place: The Godfather analogy and how it illuminates America's choices today,"* Speech presented at the University of California-Berkley.
- February 2009 *"Which of America's three schools of thought will emerge victorious in the new multipolar era?"* Speech presented at Southern Methodist University, Dallas.
- "What the Godfather can tell us about geopolitics,"* Speech presented at Mt. Holyoke University.
- "Don of a new era: How the Godfather epitomizes American decline,"* Speech presented at the American Council on Germany Boston Chapter, Harvard University.
- "Reforming International Institutions: What Works Must Guide Us,"* Speech presented to the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung.
- "Slaughtering a few sacred cows in the Middle East: How conventional wisdom holds back a Middle East Peace Settlement,"* Speech presented at a Zeit Foundation Conference, Cairo.
- November 2008 *"The new President's in-tray: Iraq and Afghanistan,"* Speech presented to the Konrad Adenauer Conference, Paris.
- October        *"The World on the eve of the Obama administration,"* Speech presented to the General Command and Staff College, US Army, Ft. Belvoir, VA.
- "US Foreign Policy after the elections,"* Speech presented to the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs.
- September    *"The American Elections: A Landscape of Risk and Opportunity,"* Speech presented to Barclay's Wealth, London.
- "The US presidential election and the future direction of American foreign policy,"* Speech presented to annual, in-house German Foreign Office Conference.
- June            *"Shuffling the Deck: Leaders, Elections, and the Direction of Transatlantic Relations,"* Speech presented at the Terra Firma Board Meeting, Frankfurt.
- May             *"Do Transatlantic Relations Still Matter?"* Speech presented at the University of Rome.
- "The Obama Thought Experiment: Transatlantic Relations After the American Election,"* Speech presented at the World Affairs Council Conference, Monterrey, CA.
- April            *"Toward November 2008: A Transatlantic Deal for a post-Western Order,"* Speech presented at an Aspen Institute Conference, Paris.
- "The Transatlantic Relationship is irreparably damaged,"* Debate for the *Economist* Magazine, Amsterdam.

- "The European Union as an actor of regional and global governance: A perspective from the US,"* Speech presented to the German Development Institute, Bonn.
- January 2008 *"The Road From New Hampshire: Who are the likely nominees for President, and how will they impact transatlantic relations?"* Speech presented at the Amerika Haus, Cologne, Germany.
- "Facing Up to the Iranian Nuclear Crisis: Can We Avoid Both Bombing and Appeasement?"* Speech presented at the Heinrich Boell Foundation Conference, Tel Aviv, Israel.
- December 2007 *"The American Election and the Future of Transatlantic Relations,"* Speech presented at the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Hague, The Netherlands.
- November *"New Leadership in Europe: Merkel's Germany, Sarkozy's France, Brown's UK, and what this means for transatlantic relations,"* Speech presented to an American Council on Germany forum, Berlin.
- "Power and Interdependence: New Structures of International Relations?"* Speech presented at the BMW Stiftung Herbert Quandt Conference on Transatlantic Relations, Munich.
- October *"The State of the Race: What Hillary's Likely Victory Means For Foreign and Economic Relations,"* Speech presented at the Association of German Banks Reception for the Bundestag Finance Committee, Washington, DC.
- September *"America in the Middle East: Is There Any Cause for Optimism?"* Speech presented at the annual general meeting of Hilton Hotel Owners, San Francisco, CA.
- "The European Three Come Together: France, Germany, and the UK agree on Skeptical Friendship Towards America,"* Speech presented to the Army General Command and Staff College, Fort Belvoir, VA.
- August *"The Surge, Clausewitz and the Iraqi Insurgency,"* Speech presented at the annual Clausewitz Society Conference, Hamburg, Germany.
- June *"Lessons of Lawrence: What the Great War Hero Can Teach Us About Nation Building,"* at a German Council on Foreign Relations Conference, Berlin.
- May *"The US Foreign Policy Challenges of Split Government,"* Debate with Ambassador Nancy Soderberg, at a Center for the United States and Italy Conference, Venice.
- April *"How will the US respond to Iran?"* at the Heinrich Boll Stiftung, Berlin.
- March *"Toward 2008: What to expect from changing leaderships,"* Speech presented at an Aspen Institute Conference, Berlin.
- "Iraq: Should We Stay or Should We Go?"* Speech presented at the Rayburn House Office Building, Capitol Hill.
- "Iran-Afghanistan-Iraq: How to square the dreadful circle,"* Speech presented at the Army Senior Command Staff College, Fort Belvoir, Virginia.
- February *"The Merkel government and the Iran crisis,"* Speech presented to senior CIA analysts, Langley, Virginia.
- "Did the President Convince His Iraq Doubters at the State of the Union?"* Speech presented at the German Council on Foreign Relations, Berlin.
- January 2007 *"Ethical Realism: A Vision for America's Role In The World,"* at an *Ethical Realism* Book Event, sponsored by the German Foreign Ministry, Berlin.
- December 2006 *Does the Baker-Hamilton Commission Report Herald A Sea Change in American Foreign Policy?"* Speech presented at the German Council on Foreign Relations, Berlin.

- "Strange Bedfellows: The European Gaullist-American Neocon Symbiosis,"* at the Open Europe Annual Dinner, London.
- "What do the Election Results mean for Transatlantic Relations?"* at the German Council on Foreign Relations, Berlin.
- "Ethical Realism: Why moral Courage is Necessary to Change the Direction of American Foreign Policy,"* at the State Department/CIA sponsored Meridian House, "Authors' Evening," Washington.
- November *"China and the Middle East: Test Cases of Ethical Realism,"* at the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, Chicago.
- "The Problems of Preventive War,"* at the World Affairs Council, San Francisco, CA.
- "The Policies Flowing From Ethical Realism,"* at the University of Berkeley, Berkeley, CA.
- "The Precepts Behind Ethical Realism,"* at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) conference, 'Mending Fences With America's Allies,' Washington.
- "Ethical Realism and the Great Capitalist Peace,"* at Georgetown University, Washington.
- October *Can Ethical Realism Become A Genuine Alternative to Neoconservatism?"* at the CATO Institute Debate with Lawrence Kaplan of *New Republic*, Washington.
- "Ethical Realism: The Real Alternative To A Failed Foreign Policy,"* at the New America Foundation, Washington.
- September *"Rebuilding Transatlantic Cooperation Towards the Greater Middle East,"* at the Opening of the Alfred von Oppenheim Center for International Relations, German Council on Foreign Relations, Berlin.
- "Who are the real modern heirs of Harry Truman?"* at a Hudson Institute debate (with Peter Beinart of the Council on Foreign Relations) of the same name, Washington.
- July *"Ethical Realism: What a Real Conservative Foreign Policy Looks Like,"* at the Congressional Conservative Fellows Program, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Washington.
- June *"Starting Over: Alliance Management After Iraq,"* at the Army Staff College, Fort Belvoir, VA.
- "Will the Second Bush term be more responsive to Europe than the first?"* at the Center for American Studies conference, "America" Quo Vadis?" Rome.
- "Repairing the Rift: Transatlantic Relations is Just Business,"* at the Institute for the Study of International Politics (ISPI), Milan.
- "What 9/11 did to American Foreign Policy,"* at the Catholic University of Milan.
- May *"Transatlantic Relations and the Presidencies of George H. W. Bush and Bill Clinton: Opportunity Lost?"* at ISPI, Milan.
- April *"What to Expect from the Bush Administration in a Second Term,"* at a Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) conference, "The EU and Transatlantic Relations in the Era of Globalization," Athens.
- "The Other Special Relationship: US-Australian Relations in the New Century,"* at an Army War College conference of the same name.
- March *"Iran and the Tough Choices Ahead,"* at a gathering of senior Hill staffers.
- February *"Europe's flowering, the EU's demise,"* at the Georgetown University Conference, "The transatlantic partnership," Washington.

- "Should the UK tilt toward Europe or the US?"* debate with Philip Stephens of the *Financial Times*, Dickinson College event, London.
- January 2006 *"Foreign Policy Aspects of the Special Relationship,"* Paper presented at the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI), London.
- "Thinking the Untinkable: Should Israel Join NATO?"* at the annual JINSA conference.
- December 2005 *"Should a League of Democracies supercede the UN?"* Debate at an Aspen Institute Event, Berlin.
- November *"Will Europe Emerge as a Superpower in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century?"* Debate with Mark Leonard of the Centre for European Reform, at a German Marshall Fund Event, Washington.
- "The rebirth of realism?"* at the invitation of the National Defense University.
- "World Order 2020: European-American Strategies for Dealing with Emerging Asian Powers,"* at a Friedrich Ebert Foundation conference, "Global Atlanticists," Berlin.
- "The Evolution of Terror: An Update on the War with al-Qaeda,"* at a Heritage Foundation meeting of senior House International Relations Committee staffers.
- October *"Iran: Where the Rubber Hits the Road for the Bush Administration,"* at a State Department sponsored International Visitors Program.
- August *"CFSP/ESDP-How Common? How Effective?"* at a State Department sponsored seminar for the new American Ambassador to the European Union.
- July *"Hans Morgenthau and Ethical Realism: The Future of Conservatism?"* at a New America Foundation event of the same name.
- "Will ESDP ever amount to anything?"* at the invitation of the National Defense University.
- June *"Lessons Learned or More of the Same? Principles of American and European Foreign Policies at the Beginning of the Second Bush Administration,"* at the invitation of Harvard University, Tailloires, France.
- May *"Can Neo-Conservatives and Realists Reach an Intellectual Consensus?"* at the invitation of George Washington University/*National Interest*, Washington.
- "An Upward Turn: Is the Transatlantic Relationship on the Mend?"* Debate with Karl Kaiser of Harvard, at the invitation of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations.
- April *"A Fateful Choice: Will the UK Turn Toward the EU or the US?"* Paper presented at the British Defense Academy Conference, "How Special is the Special Relationship?" Shrivenham, England.
- "Snatching Defeat from the Jaws of Victory: Why the Chinese Arms Embargo Controversy must not end the Transatlantic Thaw,"* at the invitation of the French Army War College, Paris.
- "Lawrence of Arabia and the Perils of Nation-Building,"* Paper presented at the German Council on Foreign Relations Conference, "Unprepared? Germany in a Globalized World," Berlin.
- March *"The Good, The Bad, and the Ugly-A Look at the Results of the President's Recent Trip to Europe,"* at the invitation of the European Parliament, Strasbourg, France.
- January 2005 *"A Look at the Headlines in a Second Bush Term,"* at the invitation of the Newseum/National Press Club.
- "The Agenda for the Second Bush Administration and Implications for Trans-Atlantic Relations,"* at the German Council on Foreign Relations Conference, Berlin.



- December 2004 *"NATO after Prague and the War in Iraq,"* at the invitation of Johns Hopkins (SAIS).
- "Is Europe the Future or Passe?"* at the invitation of the American Council on Germany.
- "Foreign Policy and the Special Relationship,"* at a Dickinson College/Army War College conference, "The Special Relationship in the new era," Carlisle, PA.
- November *"Security and Diplomacy: In search of a new transatlantic deal,"* at the Aspen Institute conference, "After the US Presidential Election: Implications for Europe," Rome.
- "Has Germany really changed strategically?"* at the invitation of Johns Hopkins (SAIS).
- "French strategic realities in the post-September 11<sup>th</sup> era: Is the Gaullist Dream Over?"* at the invitation of Johns Hopkins (SAIS).
- "A Conservative Vision for US Policy Toward Europe,"* at a State Department/CIA sponsored conference, Meridian House.
- "9/11 and the war on terror,"* at the invitation of Johns Hopkins (SAIS).
- "Soft Power and the Perils of Nation-Building,"* at a Middle East Institute Conference, "Iraq and After," Washington.
- October *"Is there a way out of the Iran WMD crisis?"* at the invitation of Johns Hopkins (SAIS).
- "European security and institutional options at the end of the Cold War,"* at the invitation of Johns Hopkins (SAIS).
- "The Security Dimension of Turkey's EU Bid,"* Paper presented at an American Institute of Contemporary German Studies Conference, "Changing Parameters in US-German-Turkish Relations: Future Scenarios," Berlin.
- "Will either a Kerry or a Bush victory bring a new bipartisan consensus in American Foreign Policy?"* at the invitation of the Arizona chapter of the American Foreign Affairs Council, Tucson, AZ.
- "What will happen in terms of foreign policy in a second Bush term?"* at the invitation of the Virginia chapter of the American Foreign Affairs Council, Charlottesville, VA.
- "First-principle differences: What is the root of the transatlantic rift?"* at the invitation of Johns Hopkins University, School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS).
- September *"Next Steps: Five Issues that can help rebuild the transatlantic alliance,"* at the invitation of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Western European Union.
- "How are we doing in fighting al-Qaeda: An Overview,"* at the invitation of Meridian House/The CIA.
- "Is Europe Ready for Turkish Accession Negotiations?"* Paper presented at a Western Policy Center Conference, "Turkey's EU Prospects and Europe's Domestic Politics."
- "Lawrence of Arabia and the perils of state building,"* at the invitation of the Swedish Foreign Ministry, Stockholm.
- June *"How the Keith Richards Doctrine will save the Atlantic alliance,"* at the invitation of the Swedish Atlantic Council, Stockholm.
- "The Keith Richards Doctrine: A realist view of repairing the transatlantic relationship,"* Debate with G. John Ikenberry of Georgetown and Bill Kristol, *The Weekly Standard*, sponsored by the German Marshall Fund/German Bundestag, Berlin.

- May *"Who will win the 2004 election and how will this affect US foreign policy?"* at the invitation of the Norwegian Atlantic Association/Norwegian Embassy
- April *"American Foreign Policy Schools of Thought, Post-9/11,"* at the invitation of Zbigniew Brzezinski's Current Affairs Roundtable, The Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS).  
*"Linkages: How has the war on terror been affected by Iraq?"* Paper presented at the NATO/Spanish Ministry of Defense conference, "NATO-North African ties in an age of terror," Madrid.  
*"Is the US in Trouble In Iraq and Afghanistan?"* Debate with Robert Orr of Harvard, sponsored by La Salle University, Philadelphia.
- March *"September 11<sup>th</sup>: A geopolitical Revolution?"* Paper presented at the Limes/Province of Parma, Italy conference, "The world after September 11<sup>th</sup>," Parma, Italy.
- February *"An Expanding Europe: Prospects and Perceptions,"* Paper presented at Georgetown University.  
*"A fateful choice: Central and Eastern Europe ponders a two-speed solution for the EU,"* at the invitation of the Young Diplomats Club of Hungary, given at the State Department.
- January 2004 *"A bumpy ride: transatlantic relations in an age of terror,"* at the invitation of American University.
- December 2003 *"Iraq after the arrest of Saddam: Where do we go from here?"* Paper presented at the CATO Institute conference, "Iraq: Prospects for the Future."
- November *"US-EU relations: Where do we go from here on defense issues?"* at the invitation of the Atlantic Council of Finland, Helsinki.  
*"Does the EU have a foreign policy?"* at the invitation of the American friends of Wilton Park (debate with Martin Walker, Editor of UPI).  
*"Cherry-picking issues: A Proposal to revive the transatlantic relationship,"* at the invitation of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, Orlando, FL.
- October *"Cherry-picking as the Future of the Transatlantic Relationship,"* at invitation of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Hague, The Netherlands.  
*"Cherry-picking Issues of Commonality: The Way to Revive the Transatlantic Relationship,"* at invitation of the American Consulate, Florence.
- September *"Cherry-picking is the Future of the Transatlantic Relationship,"* Speech given at the European Union Institute, Florence.  
*"Issues that Divide Us: How to Move Forward with the Transatlantic Relationship,"* Paper presented at the Center for American Studies Conference, Rome.  
*"What are the contours of America's post-September 11<sup>th</sup> foreign policy?"* Speech given at American University.  
*"What Does the Transatlantic Rift over Iraq Mean for the Countries of Southeastern Europe?"* Paper presented at the Center for the Study of Democracy during conference on "Addressing the problems of corruption in the Balkans," in Sofia, Bulgaria.
- July *"How neo-conservatives have changed American foreign policy,"* Paper presented at a conference on American foreign policy since 9/11, sponsored by the U.S. Department of State and the Central Intelligence Agency.  
*"Will Eastern Europeans be forced to choose between the EU and NATO?"* Paper presented on the future of Central and Eastern Europe at a conference at Meridian House sponsored by the U.S. Department of State and the Central Intelligence Agency.

- "Is the US Winning the War on Terror?"* Speech given to University of Delaware.
- May *"Are Differing European-American Threat Perceptions the Root Cause of the Current Transatlantic Crisis?"* Paper presented at the Institute of International Relations Studies (IRIS) conference, "The Crisis in Transatlantic Relations," in Paris, France.
- April *"How Should We Repair the Current Transatlantic Rift?"* Paper presented at the European Union Institute for Security Studies Conference, "The EU and the US: Partners in Stability?" in Paris, France.
- "Transatlantic Cooperation in Europe: The Iraqi Test Case,"* Paper presented at the Institute for International Affairs (IAI) conference in Rome, Italy.
- February *"Will NATO Survive?"* Panelist at invitation of the Harvard Club of Washington, DC on the future of transatlantic relations with former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Ronald Asmus and National Security Council Director Kurt Volker.
- "Iraq, North Korea, al-Qaeda: How is America to confront this new, dangerous world?"* Speech delivered at George Mason University.
- "Secretary Powell's Speech: The last nail in Saddam's Coffin?"* Speech presented to the foreign policy committee of the Norwegian Progressive Party.
- January 2003 *"Nation-Building: Which Is The Side of the Angels?"* Paper presented to the Council on Foreign Relations (Debate with former Undersecretary of Defense Walter Slocombe).
- "US relations with multilateral institutions in the post-September 11<sup>th</sup> era,"* Speech presented to the political section of the The Netherlands Embassy.
- December 2002 *"Waiting for Godot: Cherry-Picking and the Rise of European Gaullism,"* Paper presented at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars conference on the future of transatlantic relations.
- November *"Iraq: The Moment of Truth?"* Speech delivered to La Salle University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
- "The nexus of politics and foreign policy within the Republican Party,"* Speech delivered to the Stanford University Washington Semester Program.
- September *"Is there the danger of a far-right resurgence in Europe?"* Paper presented at Georgetown University.
- "Intervention: How Should American Power Be Used Overseas?"* Speech presented at the Donald and Paula Smith Family Foundation with Richard Holbrooke and Michael Ledeen, City University of New York Graduate Center.
- August *"A NATO Reform Agenda for Prague and Beyond,"* Paper presented at the American Council on Germany conference, "US-German relations after 9/11," in Hamburg, Germany.
- May *"How NATO reform is likely to affect civil-military cooperation in peacekeeping operations in Southeast Europe,"* Paper presented at conference on "Stability and Asymmetrical Threats In Southeast Europe," sponsored by the Greek Ministry of Defense and American Embassy in Thessaloniki, Greece.
- April *"NATO accession and the broader case for the reform of the alliance,"* Speech given to the Bulgarian Atlantic Club in Sofia, Bulgaria.
- "Alexander Hamilton and the practical exercise of democracy,"* Paper presented at the Bulgarian School for Politics Conference in Pamporovo, Bulgaria.
- March *"NATO reform for the new era,"* Speech given at the Dimitrie Contenir University in Bucharest, Romania.

*"The war against terror and the new foreign policy world it has ushered in,"* Speech given at the Samford University Convocation in Samford, Alabama.

- December 2001 *"Restructuring the US role in NATO and European Defense,"* Paper presented at ISPI, Milan, Italy.
- "Security Issues and the Transatlantic Relationship,"* Paper given at conference sponsored by U.S. Department of State on "Transatlantic Relations After September 11," in Rome, Italy.
- October *"US-EU trade relations: What's coming down the road?"* Paper presented at the U.S. Department of State and the Central Intelligence Agency Conference on European Union trade policy in Arlington, Virginia.
- September *"An end game in Bosnia,"* Paper presented at the Meridian House/Department of State briefing on Bosnia for Ambassador-designate Clifford Bond.
- "EU-US: Queuing for participation in regional crises,"* Paper presented at the Halki International Seminar, "Patterns of Cooperation in Southeastern Europe and the Black Sea Region," in Halki, Greece.
- June *"The Heritage Index of Economic Freedom: Changing the Argument about Economic Liberalization,"* Paper presented to the Graduate Economics Class, The University of Montenegro in Podgorica, Montenegro.
- "ESDP and Missile Defense: The diplomatic topography in Europe after the Bush visit,"* Paper presented to the Centre des Hautes Etudes Militaires at the Embassy of France in Washington, DC..
- "The Future of the Transatlantic Relationship,"* Paper presented to senior Congressional staff.
- April *"Why Conservatives Should Favor ESDP,"* Paper presented at the US Naval Institute Conference, "What is the Future of NATO?" in Annapolis, Maryland.
- "Political Liberalism, Free Trade and Deregulation in the Global Economy: The end of communism and governments' role in facilitating the process of globalization,"* Paper presented at the Howard University Conference, "The Challenges and Opportunities of Globalization at the Dawn of the Millennium."
- "A criteria-driven approach is the way forward for NATO expansion,"* Paper presented at the Central Intelligence Agency/National Defense University Conference, "NATO Enlargement After 2002," Fort McNair.
- March *"Why closer US-UK trade links make sense from an American point of view,"* Paper presented to the Federalist Society of Yale Law School in New Haven, Connecticut.
- 2000 *"Transatlantic Relations: Is the US still a leader?"* Paper presented at The French Center on the United States (CFE) Conference, "The Next Administration and the new Congress: Whither the US?" in Paris.
- April *"The Prospects for a Free Trade Association,"* Paper presented at The Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House), in London, England.
- "The World Turned Rightside Up: A Free Trade Association for the age of Globalization,"* Paper presented at The International Economics Association in London, England.
- March *"The Future of the EU and US-EU Relations,"* Paper presented at The Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) US-Slovak Foreign Policy Roundtable in Bratislava, Slovakia.
- "NATO Reform in the New Century,"* Paper presented at The National Defense University.
- February *"A new global free trade association: closer economic links between the US and the UK,"* Paper presented at briefing for Senate Finance Committee staff.

INTERVIEWS • 1,477 interviews and appearances in various media outlets.  
Highlights include:

“Playing war games over UK role in EU,” with Darren Thompson, **BBC 2 TV**, December 6, 2013.

“Should the US Talk to the Taliban?” with Brent Goff, ‘Agenda,’ **Deutsche Welle TV**, June 25, 2013.

“Will the euro crisis ever be truly mastered?” **City Wire UK online**, May 23, 2013.

“Who is up and who is down in the new global economic order?” **City Wire online**, May 16, 2013.

“Barack Obama dances the German dance (Obama’s re-election), *Financial Times Deutschland*, November 7, 2012.

“Obama has six weeks to get things done,” with Jannis Bruehl, *Sueddeutsche Zeitung online (German online daily)*, November 7, 2012.

“Is Europe Really on the Brink?” with Robert Marquand, *Christian Science Monitor*, October 29, 2012.

“Pentagon sees no risk in debt to China,” with Wendell Minnick, *Defense News*, September 17, 2012.

“Does the German Court Ruling on ESM Signal the Beginning of the end of the euro crisis?” **Russia Today (RT, Russian TV)**, September 12, 2012.

“Is a Fall Israeli Strike of Iran on the Cards?” *Agence France Press*, August 15, 2012.

“What are the pluses and minuses of Romney’s trip to London, Israel, and Poland?” with David Lightman *McClatchy News Service*, July 11, 2012.

“G20 Mad Hatters tea party won’t end Greek euro tragedy,” **RT**, June 18, 2012.

“Will the Spanish Bank Bailout end the Euro Crisis?” with Kevin Owen, **RT**, June 12, 2012.

“Will the Economic Crisis Lead to the Euro’s Collapse?” **RT**, May 20, 2012.

“The Ticking Clock: What is the Strategy Behind Iran’s Agreement to talk to the West Again?” with Brent Goff, **Deutsche Welle** (German TV), March 28, 2012.

“The Beginnings of an Iranian-Saudi Cold War in the Gulf?” with James Kitfield, **National Journal**, July 20, 2011.

“Afghanistan presents GOP candidates with identity crisis: Can presidential hopefuls turn nation-building against Obama in 2012?” with Tom Curry, **MSNBC online**, June 22, 2011.

“Why Did Secretary Gates Blast NATO on his Farewell Tour?” with Howard La Franchi, *Christian Science Monitor*, June 10, 2011.

“Is the Special Relationship Still Special? Obama’s Trip to London,” **Deutsche Welle Radio**, May 25, 2011.

“The Eisenhower Example: Can America conduct a serious foreign policy and still live within its means?” with Brian Lamb, ‘Q and A,’ **C-SPAN**, March 8, 2011.

“Can Obama regain his mojo at the NATO conference?” with Howard La Franchi, *Christian Science Monitor (CSM)*, November 18, 2010.

“Foreign Policy wisdom and folly (the rise of the sovereigntist BRICs), with Charlemagne, **The Economist**, March 31, 2010.

“Will the dispute about the release of the Lockerbie bomber harm the special relationship?” **BBC Radio 4**, August 24, 2009.

“Why do the German and American governments do things so differently economically?” *Handelsblatt*, June 9, 2009.

“Is the Godfather Doctrine Unfair to Neoconservatives?” with Eli Lake, **Blogging Heads (Foreign Policy Online Journal)**, April 24, 2009.

“Was the Obama trip more about style or substance?” with Howard La Franchi, *CSM*, April 7, 2009.

“Can we live in Obama’s nuclear-free world?” **LBC Radio (London)**, April 6, 2009.

“Can NATO reassure Russia about its intentions?” with Terry Martin, **Deutsche Welle**, March 27, 2009.

“Should the US invest much right now in Middle East Peace?” with Melinda Crane, **Deutsche Welle**, February 13, 2009.

“ Hamas: Can Middle East Peace Happen By Dealing With This Organization?” ‘Thema,’ **ARTE (German TV)**, January 20, 2009.

“What will Obama do first to prove he’s different?” **ARTE**, January 20, 2009.

“Will Obama engage Hamas?” *Jane’s Defense Weekly*, January 9, 2009.

“Is Obama’s pick of Hillary Clinton as Secretary of State genius or calamitous?” **New Republic**, November 25, 2008.

“Can an Obama-Hillary team really work?” with Sylvia Poggoli, **National Public Radio**, November 20, 2008.

“First results: Do We Have A President?” with Elizabeth Boswell Rega, **ZDF (German TV)**, November 4, 2008.

“Preparing for a new president,” with David Rennie, ‘Charlemagne,’ **The Economist**, October 25, 2008.

“Is the Christian Right dangerous for American democracy?” **ZDF (German TV)**, October 4, 2008.

“What should the West do about Georgia?” with Brian Hanrahan, **BBC Radio**, August 11, 2008.

“Obamamania Strikes Europe,” *The Scotsman*, July 22, 2008.

“What will an Obama foreign policy look like?” with Lucio Caracciolo, *L’Espresso (Italian Weekly)*, May 19, 2008.

“Can the China-Tibet Crisis be defused?” **LBC Radio**, March 21, 2008.

“Is there any chance of America talking to Hamas?” with Howard La Franchi, *CSM*, March 20, 2008.

“How will the Olympics affect China’s treatment of its people?” with Carla Hornstein, ‘Global Players with Sabine Christiansen,’ **CNBC Europe**, February 14, 2008.

“Would an Obama Victory Transform American Public Diplomacy?” with Howard La Franchi, *CSM*, January 28, 2008.

“Is German Foreign Policy Relevant?” with Ralf Beste, **Der Spiegel (German Weekly)**, January 17, 2008.

“How does the Bhutto assassination affect U.S. strategy toward Pakistan?” with Howard La Franchi, *CSM*, December 27, 2007.

“Crumbled and Atomized; The Power of the US,” with Stefan Kornelius, *SZ*, November 13, 2007.

“Can a Western Plan be put together to head off the Iranian nuclear crisis?” with Jan Wiechmann, **Stern (German Weekly Magazine)**, November 5, 2007.

“What does Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan want from the US?” with Howard La Franchi, *CSM*, October 30, 2007.

“Should Afghan President Karzai Negotiate with the Taliban?” with Melinda Crane, ‘Quadriga,’ **Deutsche Welle**, October 5, 2007.

“Does the President’s Surge Stand a Chance of Success?” with Meggin Leigh, ‘International Journal,’ **Deutsche Welle (German TV)**, September 14, 2007.

“What lies behind Putin’s new threats to the West?” with Martha Carney, ‘The World at One,’ **BBC Radio 4**, June 4, 2007.

“Has Saudi Arabia’s increased involvement made Middle East Peace more likely?” ‘Quadriga,’ **Deutsche Welle**, April 5, 2007.

“Is the Doha Round another casualty of Iraq?” with Carter Dougherty, *The International Herald-Tribune*, March 5, 2007.

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