

# DR. NIKOLAS K. GVOSDEV

CURRENTLY **PROFESSOR**, NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS  
**DIRECTOR**, POLICY ANALYSIS SUB-COURSE (DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS)  
CAPTAIN JEROME E. LEVY CHAIR OF ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY AND NATIONAL SECURITY  
U.S. NAVAL WAR COLLEGE, NEWPORT, RI

---

## EDUCATION

*Rhodes Scholar*, OXFORD UNIVERSITY, ST. ANTHONY'S COLLEGE

**D. Phil. in Modern European History, 1996**

Dissertation published as *Imperial Policies and Perspectives Towards Georgia, 1760-1819* (Macmillan/St. Martin Press, 2000).

**M. Phil. in Russian and East European Studies, 1994**

A portion of the thesis published as "Imperial Conditioning: The Georgian Church in the First Decades of Imperial Rule" in *Central Asian Survey*, no. 3, 1995.

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY, EDMUND A. WALSH SCHOOL OF FOREIGN SERVICE

**M.S. in Foreign Service, *summa cum laude*, 1992**

Concentration: Soviet Studies and International Relations. Thesis published as "The Formulation of an American Response to Lithuanian Independence, 1990," *East European Quarterly*, Mar. 1995.

**B.S. in Foreign Service, *summa cum laude*, 1992**

Concentration: International Relations, Law, and Organization. Undergraduate honors thesis published as "Their Sound Has Gone Out Into All the Earth: Soviet Messianism and the International System, 1917-1923," *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, Dec. 1990.

## PREVIOUS (OR CONTEMPORANEOUS) POSITIONS AND WORK EXPERIENCE

**Visiting Professor**, *Harvard Extension School*, 2017--

- Teach History of the Cold War
- Advise students on research projects

**Visiting Professor**, *Brown University (The Watson Institute)*, 2014.

- Taught Russian Foreign Policy, a survey course on contemporary Russian international relations covering both geographic and functional areas.
- Advised students in career and internship opportunities.

**Editor**, *The National Interest* (previously **Executive Editor**), 2001—2008 (continuing as non-residential senior editor at *National Interest* 2008--

- Ensured the intellectual quality and content of each issue by commissioning articles that will contribute meaningfully to the ongoing debate over U.S. foreign policy and alert readers to important trends in scholarship; liaised with authors and assist in editing articles for clarity and effectiveness; wrote editorials and vision pieces on timely issues;

- Launched weekly online publication in September 2002 to bring to the Internet the same caliber of foreign policy discussion and allow for real-time response to events; commission short articles and commentary including from leading foreign figures; wrote a weekly column;
- Managed all aspects of quarterly production cycle; supervise junior editors in preparation of layout and design and in promotion of the magazine (both advertising and publicity);
- Consulted with magazine's board of directors and publishers about strategic direction of the magazine and other issues; represented magazine at public events and social gatherings.

**Senior Fellow for Strategic Studies**, THE NIXON CENTER, a non-partisan foreign policy think tank established by President Nixon, 2001—2008

- Researched and published articles on foreign policy including European security, the transatlantic relationship, and the importance of Russia for U.S. foreign policy;
- Hosted policy meetings and seminars for Washington based analysts, government officials, and journalists to provide ideas and perspectives to enhance policy development;
- Participated in international conferences and meetings with U.S. and foreign officials to exchange views and foster improved relations between the U.S. and other states.

**Adjunct Associate Professor**, *Department of Government*, GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY, 2004—2007

- Taught Russian Foreign Policy, an upper-level undergraduate seminar tracing the development of Russian foreign policy from the Soviet period to the present, including Russia's relations with its neighbors and the Great Powers; as well as courses in the political economy of communism and national identity.
- Advised students in the field of Russian and Eurasian studies.

**Adjunct Associate Professor**, *Institute of European, Russian and Eurasian Studies*, GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY, 2007—2008

- Taught Eurasian and Russian Foreign Policy in both undergraduate and graduate versions; as well as a nationalism seminar.
- Advised students in the field of Russian and Eurasian studies.

**Assistant Professor and Associate Director**, *J. M. Dawson Institute of Church-State Studies*, BAYLOR UNIVERSITY, 1999-2001

- Taught one to two undergraduate and one to two graduate seminars per semester in church-state studies, history of religion, and political philosophy; offered tutorial and independent study courses; supervised doctoral dissertations, and masters' and undergraduate honors theses;
- Served as **Associate Director** of University Scholars Program, which advises honors students, and served as **Associate Editor** of *The Journal of Church and State* (1999-2002) with responsibility for editing articles and preparing book reviews;
- Administered Religion and Politics minor; counseled students on career and fellowship opportunities; handled publicity for the Institute and its programs; organized Institute events including academic conferences and brown bag series;
- Engaged in research and scholarship on religion and politics and on democratization in transition countries; published two books and dozens of articles; prepared reports and briefing papers for the U.S. State Department, the Constitutional Court of Azerbaijan, the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, and other institutions; presented research at conferences and symposia.

**Director**, THE JUSTINIAN CENTRE, 1995-1999

- Founded think tank on historical and current events in Eastern Europe and the Northern Middle East; presented research and opinion on direction of U.S. foreign policy to members of Congress and State Department officials; prepared articles and quarterly newsletter;
- Served as expert witness and provided oral testimony in immigration cases of ethnic Russian women from Central Asian states seeking asylum in the United States.

**Instructor** in History, CHAMINADE-MADONNA COLLEGE PREPARATORY, and **Adjunct Faculty Member** (Special) for History, ST. THOMAS UNIVERSITY, 1997-1999

- Taught college-accredited Advanced Placement U.S. and European History courses to 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> graders; designed curriculum and taught World History course to 10<sup>th</sup> graders.

**Executive Assistant**, SECURITIES AMERICA, 1995-1997

- Worked for independent broker handling equity investments; conducted research on business and economic climate, prepared analysis of stocks and mutual funds; handled client support.

**Research Director**, Washington Office, CONGRESS OF RUSSIAN-AMERICANS, 1990-1992

- Edited monthly newsletter, *Focus on Russia*, reporting on political and economic trends in the USSR; prepared reports on human rights; wrote press releases and pamphlets.

### **AWARDS, HONORS, AND AFFILIATIONS**

**Senior Fellow**, PROGRAM ON U.S. GLOBAL ENGAGEMENT, CARNEGIE COUNCIL ON ETHICS AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 2018--

**Senior Fellow**, EURASIA PROGRAM, FOREIGN POLICY RESEARCH INSTITUTE, 2016--

**Member**, THE LOISACH GROUP (U.S.-GERMAN DIALOGUE CO-HOSTED BY THE MARSHALL CENTER AND THE MUNICH SECURITY CONFERENCE), 2016--

**Contributor**, ETHICS AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS BLOG, CARNEGIE COUNCIL ON ETHICS AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 2014--

**Member**, PROJECT ON DEMOCRATIC TRANSITIONS, FOREIGN POLICY RESEARCH INSTITUTE, 2014--

**Member**, SCENARIOS FOR THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION WORKING GROUP, WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM, 2012

**Member**, DARTMOUTH DIALOGUE ON U.S.-RUSSIA RELATIONS, 2010--2015

**Weekly Columnist**, WORLD POLITICS REVIEW, 2009--2015

**Contributing Editor**, NEW ATLANTICIST BLOG – ATLANTIC COUNCIL, 2009—2012

**Contributor**, SITREP BLOG – GLOBAL SECURITY, 2009—2012

**Member**, CONFLICT PREVENTION IN EURASIA WORKING GROUP (U.S. INSTITUTE OF PEACE/CENTER FOR AMERICAN PROGRESS), 2009—2010

**Member**, WORKING GROUP ON U.S. POLICY TOWARD RUSSIA (INSTITUTE FOR NATIONAL STRATEGIC STUDIES, NDU, AND CENTER FOR EURASIAN, RUSSIAN AND EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES, GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY, 2008-2009

**Term Member**, COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, 2003—2008

**Editorial Board**, *Journal of Church and State*, 2002—2008

**Senior Fellow**, INSTITUTE ON RELIGION AND PUBLIC POLICY (nonresidential), 2001—2006

**Contributing Editor**, *Analysis of Current Events*, 2000—2002

**Rhodes Scholar**, OXFORD UNIVERSITY, 1992-1995

**Junior Fellow**, *Institute for the Study of Diplomacy*, GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY, 1991-1992

### **BOOKS AND MONOGRAPHS**

- DECISION MAKING IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY: TRANSLATING THEORY INTO PRACTICE. Cambridge University Press, 2019. Co-authored with David Cooper and Jessica Blankshain. A foreign policy analysis textbook written for aspiring practitioners.
- THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF US NATIONAL SECURITY. Oxford University Press, 2018. Co-editor with Derek Reveron and John Cloud. Within the handbook, two co-authored chapters, "Introduction: Shape and Scope of U.S. National Security," and "National Interests and Grand Strategy"
- NAVIGATING THE THEATER SECURITY ENTERPRISE. Naval War College, 2017. Edited e-textbook with a number of contributions, on the legal basis and authorities of the U.S. national security system; how theater security issues are situated within the interagency process; and the role of the Presidency in theater security, as well as extensive editing to case studies of the 9/11 attacks and the U.S. deployment of Marines to Lebanon in 1982.
- COMMUNITARIAN FOREIGN POLICY: THE VISION OF AMITAI ETZIONI. Transaction Press, 2016. An exploration of the foreign policy thought of Amitai Etzioni and a situation of his approach as a blend of the realist and liberal internationalist schools.
- US FOREIGN POLICY AND DEFENSE STRATEGY: THE EVOLUTION OF AN INCIDENTAL SUPERPOWER. Co-authored with Derek Reveron and Mackubin Owens. Georgetown University Press, 2015. Focuses on the United States as an "incidental" (rather than accidental or deliberate) superpower and provides an analysis of the American experience as a great power as a guide to the challenges faced in the future as the United States must navigate a relative decline in its own power while seeking to maintain intact as far as possible the current international system.
- RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY: INTERESTS, VECTORS AND SECTORS. Co-authored with Christopher Marsh. Sage/Congressional Quarterly, 2013. An examination of contemporary Russian foreign policy with a focus on different geographic vectors and how competing and clashing interests are handled through the Russian foreign policy process.
- CASE STUDIES IN POLICY MAKING (12<sup>TH</sup> EDITION). Co-edited with Hayat Alvi. Naval War College, 2010. Policy case studies for use in teaching national security decision-making. A number of cases authored individually or co-authored, including on continuity and change in U.S. administrations; policy toward Colombia; sanctions policy; the influence of religion on politics in post-Saddam Iraq, and U.S.-Russia relations.
- PARTING WITH ILLUSIONS: DEVELOPING A REALISTIC APPROACH TO RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA. Cato Institute, 2008. An examination of the trajectory of U.S.-Russia relations and suggestions for future policy.
- THE STRANGE DEATH OF SOVIET COMMUNISM (editor). Transaction Press, 2008. Edited collection of essays on the fall of communism and the revival of its ideology. With a new introduction by the editor.
- THE RECEDING SHADOW OF THE PROPHET (with Ray Takeyh). Doubleday/Praeger, 2004. Charts rise and fall of radical political Islam using case studies of Egypt, Iran, Algeria, the Balkans, and former USSR.

Argues that Islamism is a utopian movement akin to communism, unable to deliver concrete action on promises of improving life, and is losing ground to more moderate movements despite terrorist flare-ups.

- **RUSSIA IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST** (editor). Transaction Press, 2003. Edited collection of essays published in *The National Interest* dealing with developments in Russia over the past decade. The editor contends that Russia remains a deeply conflicted society with a developed pro-Western side and an economically-backward anti-Western side, and also contribute several chapters to the work.
- **CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE SEARCH FOR JUSTICE IN RUSSIA** (with Chris Marsh). Lexington Press, 2002. Edited collection with two direct contributions, examines how post-Soviet Russia is developing concepts of public justice and civil society drawing both on Western precedents and historical experience.
- **CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS IN THE BYZANTINE AND RUSSIAN EMPIRES**. Edwin Mellen Press, 2001. Textbook developed for the Institute of Church-State Studies at Baylor; introduction to religion and politics in the Christian East with emphasis on development of model of symphonia (harmony) between church and state; case studies of Bulgaria, Romania, Georgia, and Russia.
- **EMPERORS AND ELECTIONS: RECONCILING THE ORTHODOX TRADITION WITH MODERN POLITICS**. Nova/Troitsa, 2000. Argues that the religious and political culture of the Orthodox world (Russia, Greece, etc.) can provide a basis for democracy and civil society.
- **IMPERIAL POLICIES AND PERSPECTIVES TOWARDS GEORGIA, 1760-1819**. Macmillan/St. Martin's, 2000. Profiles patterns of Russian imperial expansion and center-periphery relations. Argues that Russian imperial expansion is ad hoc rather than thought-out policy from the center.

## **BOOK CHAPTERS**

- “An American Community,” in *Our American Story: The Search for a Shared National Narrative*, ed. Joshua A. Claybourn (Lincoln, NE: Potomac Books, 2019).
- “Russian Strategic Goals in the Middle East,” *Russia’s Policy in Syria and the Middle East*, Central Asia Program paper 212, January 2019 (George Washington University Institute for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies)
- "Realist Counsel on Democracy Promotion," in *Does Democracy Matter: The United States and Global Democracy Support*, eds. Adrian A. Basora, Agnieszka Marczyk and Maia Otorashvili (Rowman and Littlefield, 2017)
- “Syria: First Test of a U.S.-Russia Partnership?” in *A New Direction in U.S.-Russia Relations? America’s Challenges and Opportunities in Dealing with Russia*, ed. Paul J. Saunders (Washington, DC: Center for the National Interest, 2017)
- “A Divided Alliance,” in *The United States and Russia After the Ukraine Crisis: Three Scenarios*, ed. Paul J. Saunders (Washington, DC: Center for the National Interest, 2015).
- “The Bear Goes Digital: Russia and Its Cyber-Capabilities,” in *Cyberspace and National Security*, ed. Derek S. Reveron (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2012).
- “The New Emperors? Post-Soviet Presidents and Church-State Relations in Ukraine and Russia,” *Power and Authority in the Eastern Christian Experience: Papers of the Sophia Institute Academic Conference, New York, December 2010*, ed. Fevronia Soumakis (New York: Theotokos Press, 2010).
- “Managed Pluralism: The Emerging Church-State Model in the United States?” *The Oxford Handbook of Church and State in the United States*, ed. Derek H. Davis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
- “A Stake in the System: Redefining American Leadership: A Reaction”, in *Powers and Principles: International Leadership in a Shrinking World*, ed. Michael Schiffer (Latham, MD: Lexington Press, 2009).
- “Withdrawing the Military from Iraq Would Damage U.S. Credibility,” (with Paul Saunders), in *America’s Global Influence*, eds. David Haugen and Susan Musser (Detroit: Greenhaven Press, 2007).
- “Re-imagining the Orthodox Tradition: Nurturing Democratic Values in Orthodox Christian Civilization,” in *Developing Cultures: Essays on Cultural Change*, eds. Lawrence Harrison and Jerome Kagan (New York: Routledge, 2006).
- “Unity in Diversity: Civil Society, Democracy and Orthodoxy in Contemporary Russia,” in *Burden or Blessing: Russian Orthodoxy and the Construction of Civil Society and Democracy*, ed. Chris Marsh (Boston, MA: Institute on Culture, Religion and World Affairs, 2004).

## ARTICLES

More than 50 articles and essays published on the following topics: democratization and human rights; general foreign policy; energy policy; foreign policy of Russia and the Eurasian states; U.S. foreign policy and the Middle East; politics and culture of the Eurasian states; and religion and politics—in outlets such as *Foreign Affairs*, *The Financial Times*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *National Review*, *Religion State and Society*, *The National Interest*, *Orbis*, *The Washington Quarterly*, *Problems of Post-Communism*, and *World Policy Journal*. A partial list follows.

### SOME RELEVANT PUBLICATIONS (selected), 2001-2019

- “NATO Has a Future,” *The National Interest* 161 (May/June 2019)
- “Selective Engagement: A Bipartisan U.S. Foreign Policy Approach,” *Foreign Policy Research Institute*, January 24, 2019.
- “Russia’s Strategy in the Black Sea Basin,” *War on the Rocks*, August 2, 2018.
- “Permanent Divergence - The Evolution of U.S.-Russia Relations in the Trump Era,” *Horizons* 12 (Summer 2018)
- “Deconstructing the “Deep State”: Subordinate Bureaucratic Politics in U.S. National Security,” (with David A. Cooper and Jessica D. Blankshain) *Orbis* 62:4 (2018)
- “Fated to Fail? Four Roadblocks in U.S.-Russia Relations,” *Fletcher Forum of World Affairs* 42:2 (Summer 2018)
- “An Emerging Trump Doctrine?” (with Derek Reveron) *Horizons* 9 (Autumn 2017).
- “Trump and the National Security Council,” *The National Interest* 147 (January/February 2017).
- “How U.S. National Security Decisions are Made,” *Orbis* 61:1 (Winter 2017)
- “Russia: Neither Friend nor Foe,” *National Interest*, December 12, 2016.
- “Eight Foreign Policy Questions Trump Needs to Ask,” (with Derek Reveron), *Foreign Policy Research Institute*, November 18, 2016.
- “Searching for a Trump Grand Strategy,” (with Derek Reveron) *Foreign Policy Research Institute*, November 15, 2016.
- “Drifting to 2016,” *The National Interest*, 142 (March-April 2016).
- “Putin versus Putin,” *World Politics Review*, February 23, 2016.
- “Keystone States: A New Category of Power,” *Horizons* 5 (Autumn 2015).

- “Dividing Lines: Ukraine and the Future Shape of Europe,” *World Politics Review*, July 21, 2015.
- “(Re)discovering the National Interest,” (with Derek Reveron), *Orbis* 59:3 (Summer 2015).
- “Should Military Officers Study Policy Analysis?” *Joint Forces Quarterly* 76 (January/February 2015).
- “The Communitarian Foreign Policy of Amitai Etzioni,” *Society* 51:4 (2014).
- “Ukraine’s Ancient Hatreds,” *National Interest*, 132, July/August 2014.
- Contributor to the special issue, “The Paths of the Arab Spring,” *World Politics*, June 4, 2013.
- “Kosovo and Serbia Make a Deal,” *Foreign Affairs* (online), April 25, 2013.
- Contributor to the special issue, “Chavez’s Legacy in Venezuela and Beyond,” *World Politics Review*, April 9, 2013.
- Contributor to the special issue, “Syria Falls Apart,” *World Politics Review*, July 31, 2012.
- “Triumph of the New Wilsonism,” (with Ray Takeyh), *National Interest*, January/February 2012.
  - “Response,” *National Interest*, March/April 2012.
- Contributor to the special issue, “Russia: Between Ambition and Reality,” *World Politics Review*, December 2011.
- “Weber’s Stepchild,” *Orbis*, 55:4 (Fall 2011).
- Contributor to the special issue, “U.S. Military Doctrine after the Long War,” *World Politics Review*, November 1, 2011.
- Contributor to the special issue, “Afghanistan,” *World Politics Review*, October 4, 2011.
- “R2P: The Limits of Fear,” *World Politics Review*, June 28, 2011.
- Contributor to the special issue, “Libya: The Accidental War,” *World Politics Review*, May 2011.
- Contributor to the special issue, “The Arab Tipping Point,” *World Politics Review*, February 2011.
- “Making the G-20 a True Global Security Forum,” *World Politics Review*, January 11, 2011.
- “Waging War, Building States,” (with Derek Reveron), *Policy Review*, 163 (October 2010).
- Contributor to the special issue, “Through the Looking Glass: Iraq 2006-2010,” *World Politics Review*, September 2010.
- “Finding a New Model of American Global Leadership,” *World Politics Review*, July 13, 2010.
- “Partnerships are Made by Bureaucracies,” *Pragati* 40 (July 2010).
- “Unfreezing Kosovo,” *Foreign Affairs* (online), April 26, 2010.



- “Finding Religion: A Guide for the Perplexed (Policy-maker),” *Journal of Church and State*, 51:3 (2009)
- “The Soviet Victory That Never Was,” *Foreign Affairs* (online), December 10, 2009
- “Descent Into Chaos,” *Orbis* (Fall 2009)
- “Stalin’s Paradigm,” (Review of Vladislav M. Zubok. *A Failed Empire: The Soviet Union in the Cold War from Stalin to Gorbachev*) *H-Diplo*, October 2009.
- “Russia’s Future,” *Orbis* (Spring 2009)
- “Diplomatic Games,” *American Conservative*, June 2, 2008.
- “Great Powers in Wonderland: A Symposium” (contribution on Russia), *The National Interest* (March-April 2008)
- “9/11: Five Years On: A Symposium,” *The National Interest* (Fall 2006).
- “China’s Yugoslav Nightmare,” (with Christopher Marsh), *The National Interest*, (Summer 2006).
- “Achieving a Global Community, Realistically,” *The Good Society*, 14:3 (2005).
- “Communitarian Realism,” Special Issue of the *American Behavioral Scientist* on international relations, 48:12 (August 2005).
- “On Liberty,” (with Paul Saunders), *The National Interest*, (Spring 2005).
- “The Value(s) of Realism,” *SAIS Review* 25:1 (Winter-Spring 2005).
- “Pragmatism in the Midst of Iranian Turmoil,” *The Washington Quarterly*, 27:4 (Autumn 2004).
- “Questions from a Communitarian: Thinking About the International System,” *In the National Interest*, May 5, 2004.
- “The Sources of Russian Conduct,” *The National Interest*, Spring 2004.
- “The Shareholder Model,” *The National Interest* (Winter 2003/04). [This article discussed a variant of the Zoellick “responsible stakeholder” formulation for other major powers in the international system.]
- “NATO’s “Eastern Question”: The View from Washington,” *The Polish Foreign Affairs Digest*, 2:7 (2003).
- “Do Terrorist Networks Need a Home?” (with Ray Takeyh), *The Washington Quarterly*, 25:3 (Summer 2002).
- “Managing Pluralism: The Human Rights Challenge of the New Century,” *World Policy Journal*, XVIII:4 (Winter 2001/02).

**Gramercy Rounds:** These were assembled in New York under the chairmanship of Fareed Zakaria to discuss critical issues facing the international system. The first round, “China Goes Global,” was published in the September/October 2006 issue of *The National Interest*. The second round, “Revisiting Iran,” was published in the March/April 2007 issue of the magazine.

## SELECTED CONFERENCES, PRESENTATIONS AND MEDIA ENGAGEMENTS, 2008-2017

- “U.S. Sanctions on Russia: Objectives, Impacts and Options,” Center for the National Interest, Washington, DC, May 25, 2017. (Video available at: <https://cftni.org/videos/u-s-sanctions-on-russia-objectives-impacts-and-options/>)
- “Russia's Gambit: Assessing Moscow's Plans in the First Months of the Trump Administration,” Institute of World Politics, Washington, DC, April 11, 2017 (with video at: <http://www.iwp.edu/events/detail/russias-gambit-assessing-moscows-plans-in-the-first-months-of-the-trump-administration>)
- “A New Direction in U.S.-Russia Relations?” Center for the National Interest, Washington, DC, March 7, 2017 (with video available at: <https://cftni.org/recent-events/a-new-direction-in-u-s-russia-relations/>)
- “U.S. Elections and BREXIT: Can Liberalism Survive,” Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs, New York, September 8, 2016. (Video and transcript at: <https://www.carnegiecouncil.org/studio/multimedia/20160908b-u-s-elections-brexit-can-liberalism-survive>)
- “Assessment of Russia’s Military: A Response,” Center for Global Interests, Washington, DC, June 25, 2016 (with video at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uAuX8QldA90>)
- Ginsburg Lecture, “Russia and the West: A New Cold War?” Foreign Policy Research Institute, Philadelphia, PA, November 23, 2015 (with video at: <http://www.fpri.org/multimedia/2015/11/new-cold-war-west-and-russia>)
- “The BRICS, the SCO and the Global Order,” panel discussion as part of the “U.S.-Russia Dialogue: The United States, Russia, China and the International System,” Center for the National Interest, Washington, DC, July 27, 2015.
- Book Talk, “US Foreign Policy and Defense Strategy: Rise of an Incidental Superpower,” Wilson Center, Washington, DC, January 30, 2015.
- Panelist, “Avoiding Disaster in an Era of Superpower Conflict,” Project for the Study of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, Washington, DC, January 29, 2015 (video at: <http://projects21.com/2015/02/01/dc-superpower-discussion-key-takeaways-video/>)
- Panelist, “Promoting Democracy/Democracy Building Abroad,” Foreign Policy Research Institute and the Wilson Center, Washington, DC, October 20, 2014 (C-SPAN coverage: <http://www.c-span.org/video/?322200-1/discussion-democracy-building-abroad>)

- “Russian Policy in Ukraine,” presentation to the Center for the National Interest, Washington, DC, August 15, 2015 (C-SPAN coverage: <http://www.c-span.org/video/?321021-1/russian-intervention-ukraine>)
- Presentation to the Center for the National Interest on Russian foreign policy, Washington, DC, April 16, 2014
  - Panelist, “Ukraine, Armenia and Russia,” Center for the National Interest, Washington, DC, December 13, 2013
  - Speaker, “The Russian Orthodox Church and Russia’s Foreign Policy Vectors,” The Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington, DC, October 15, 2013
  - “The Reset that Wasn’t,” (with Matt Rojansky), *International Herald Tribune/Global New York Times*, July 5, 2013.
  - Panelist, “The Values Gap and the U.S.-Russia relationship,” U.S.-Russia Dialogue, Center for the National Interest, Washington, DC, February 15, 2013.
  - Panel participant, “Interests and Values: Can Pragmatism Prevail,” Carnegie Endowment conference on The Future of U.S.-Russia Relations: Beyond 2012, Washington, DC, November 28, 2012.
  - “The U.S. Should Still Talk to Russia,” (with Matt Rojansky), *International Herald Tribune/Global New York Times*, August 31, 2012.
  - Panelist, “Opposition to Russian State and Church,” Center for the National Interest, August 29, 2012.
  - Participant, Dartmouth Dialogue on U.S. –Russia Relations, Valdai, Russia, July 1-4, 2012.
  - Presenter, panel, “Russian Leadership: Change or Continuity,” Asan Plenum, Seoul, South Korea, April 26, 2012.
  - “Keep the Reset Moving,” (with Matt Rojansky), *International Herald Tribune/Global New York Times*, December 15, 2011
  - Participant, Dartmouth Dialogue on U.S. –Russia Relations, Warrenton, VA, December 7-9, 2011
  - Panel moderator, “Economics and Security: Challenges and Opportunities in a Resource-Constrained World,” Ruger Conference, Naval War College, November 3, 2011.
  - Panelist, U.S. Elections and Foreign Policy, Tokyo Foundation panel, October 18, 2011

- Participant, US-Korea-Japan Security Dialogue on Extended Deterrence, Center for the National Interest/Tokyo Foundation, October 17, 2011
- Panelist, “NATO after Libya,” The Europe-Russia Studies Group, Naval War College, Newport RI, October 3, 2011.
- “Defining War in an Ill-Defined World,” (with Andrew Stigler), *International Herald Tribune/Global New York Times*, June 29, 2011.
- Moderator, “Seapower, Energy and Adapting to Future Constraints,” Current Strategy Forum, Naval War College, June 8, 2011.
- Panelist, “Critical Regions in Crisis,” Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs, June 1, 2011.
- “NATO in Libya” panel discussion, the Atlantic Council, April 28, 2011.
- “U.S.-Russia Relations Under Obama,” George Mason University Foreign Policy Speaker Series, April 27, 2011.
- “No Easy Solution to Somali Piracy,” *NPR-Talk of the Nation*, February 24, 2011.
- “The New Emperors? Post-Soviet Presidents and Church-State Relations in Russia and Ukraine.” Keynote address, Power and Authority in Eastern Christian Experience conference, Sophia Institute, Union Theological Seminary, December 3, 2010.
- “The Influence of Religion on Policymaking in Russia, Ukraine and Georgia.” Conference paper, Society for the Scientific Study of Religion annual meeting, October 30, 2010.
- “NATO in Crisis? Strategy in Afghanistan.” Presentation at the Global Leadership Forum 2010, Royal United Services Institute/Princeton Project, September 17, 2010.
- “Regional Challenges: Europe and Eurasia.” Presentation at the U.S. Institute of Peace conference, Preventing Violent Conflict: Principles, Policies, and Practice, July 1, 2010.
- “Big Government in Russia,” BBC/Public Radio International’s *The World*, April 20, 2010.
- “Rise of the Rest III: Climate Change, Energy, and Global Governance after the Financial Crisis,” symposium held at the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs, March 9, 2010.
- “Ukrainian Presidential Elections,” Nixon Center, February 16, 2010.
- “The Transatlantic Alliance,” panel discussion, The Atlantic Council, July 22, 2009.
- “What the Russians Want,” *International Herald Tribune/Global New York Times*, July 6, 2009.
- “Piracy,” *The Agenda with Steve Paikin* (CBC), June 23, 2009.
- “Will U.S. Navy Operation Deter Pirates?” Morning Edition, National Public Radio, April 13, 2009.
- “A New Cold War?” (symposium), *National Review online*, December 8, 2008.
- “Pirates Commander Busy Shipping Lane,” Morning Edition, National Public Radio, November 19, 2008
- “Pirates of the Gulf,” (with Dennis Sampson), *International Herald Tribune*, November 19, 2008

- “Explaining Piracy,” The Rachel Maddow Show, MSNBC, November 18, 2008
- “Russia and the West,” discussion at the United States Institute of Peace, September 26, 2008
- “Russia’s role in the Iran crisis,” (with Ray Takeyh), *Boston Globe*, September 6, 2008
- “Foreign Policy and the Next Administration,” discussion at the United States Institute of Peace, June 24, 2008
- Russia Discussion Group, panelists, 13<sup>th</sup> National Conference, Council on Foreign Relations, June 6, 2008.

### TESTIMONY

“Russia’s Duma Elections,” UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE (HELSINKI COMMISSION), December 6, 2007.

“Human Rights and U.S. –Russian Relations: Implications for the Future,” HEARING OF THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE (HELSINKI COMMISSION), July 27, 2006.

“U.S.-Russia Relations in Putin’s Second Term”, HEARING OF THE COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, March 18, 2004.

### MEDIA ENGAGEMENTS

**Television and radio** appearances including *CNN*, the *PBS Newshour*, *Fox News*, *MSNBC*, *National Public Radio*, *BBC*, *C-SPAN’s Washington Journal*, *CBC*, and *Voice of America*.

**Print citations** including *The Los Angeles Times*, *The Washington Times*, *The Washington Post*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *The Boston Globe*, *United Press International*, *Wall Street Journal Europe*, *Business Week*, *Newsday*, *National Post* (Canada), *Vedomosti* (Russia), and *El Mercurio* (Chile).

### COURSES TAUGHT AT THE U.S. NAVAL WAR COLLEGE

**In the core:**

**Policy Analysis, National Security Decision-Making.** A survey course for the senior students (pursuing the MA in national security studies) which examines the U.S. national security policy process, key domestic and international influences, and introduces different foreign policy analysis theories of decision-making.

**Security Strategies, National Security Decision-Making.** A survey course for the senior students which provides an introduction to international relations theory, the principal school of thought about international affairs, a survey of U.S. interests in key regions of the world, and an examination of the principal strategic documents of the U.S. government.

**Policy Analysis, Theater Security Decision-Making.** A survey course for the intermediate students (pursuing an MA in strategy) which examines how the U.S. government subdivides responsibility for theater security issues to organizations within the national security apparatus, both in Washington and in the “field”, and examines how policy is supervised both by the Executive and Legislative branches.

**Electives:**

**Geopolitics of Eurasia.** A course examining the security dilemmas of Russia and other states in Eurasia, and the interactions of the Eurasian states with the major powers and regional groupings of the world. An especial focus of the course was to compare and contrast the Ukrainian and Kazakh approaches to geopolitics.

**Geo-economics.** A course providing a general overview to the concept of geo-economics and the major economic tools available to states to shape their geopolitical environment. The course also provided an introduction to the working of sovereign wealth funds and focused on different projects related to the “New Silk Road” and “One Belt/One Road” initiatives.

**COURSES DEVELOPED:**

**Russian Foreign Policy.** An upperclass undergraduate/graduate course designed to give an overview of the major trends and developments in contemporary Russian foreign policy, including Russia’s interaction with its neighbors, the major powers, and the international system. Versions taught at Brown University, Georgetown University and George Washington University.

**History of the Cold War.** An upperclass undergraduate/graduate course that provides an introduction to the Cold War, the origins of the struggle, the impact on the national security establishment of the United States, and the major developments from 1945-1991.

**Religion, Identity and Empire.** A small-group interdisciplinary seminar designed to examine the interplay between religious, ethnic and national identities in Eastern Europe and Eurasia in both historical and contemporary settings, with an eye to assessing how fixed or fluid such markers for individual and group identity. Taught at Georgetown University; a version was also adapted for George Washington University.

**Paradox of Power and Justice.** A course designed for upperclass honors undergraduates, to probe the relationships—actual and normative—between the requirements of “justice” (as often laid down by “the church”) and the role and responsibilities conveyed by the exercise of “power” (often epitomized by “the state”), in both theory and practice. Competing assertions of social responsibility and individual liberty, and the historical conflicts arising from them, are also examined, in a variety of cultural contexts. Taught at Baylor University.

**Eastern Perspectives on Church and State.** A graduate interdisciplinary seminar to examine the theory and practice of “church-state” relations from the “Eastern” perspective, both Christian and non-Christian, as manifested in the policies and practices of Japan, the Chinese Empire, India, the Muslim world, the Byzantine (East Roman) Empire, the Mongol Empire, and medieval Russia, and their implications for modern times. Taught at Baylor University.

**International Human Rights.** An upperclass undergraduate course to examine both the various philosophical theories of human rights as well as the definitions and types of rights (social, political, civil, economic, and collective) as codified by major international treaties, and to examine how they are implemented in the contemporary global system. Taught at Baylor University.

Directed readings courses developed include:

- **Church as an Actor in World Affairs**

- **Church-State Relations in Communist Countries**
- **Religion, State, Society, and Identity**
- **Church and State In Public Administration**
- **The Nuremberg Trials**

**(American) Civil Religion.** A graduate interdisciplinary seminar to examine the theory, history, development, organization, and rituals of civil religion, primarily as practiced in the United States.

**History of Church and State in the West.** A graduate interdisciplinary seminar to examine the history of church-state relations in Western societies from the Roman Empire to the Enlightenment.

### **COURSE RANGE**

Instruction offered in general history (world civilization, European History 1450-present, Russian history, U.S. History), specialized aspects of Russian and Eurasian history and culture, politics, international relations and security studies and in general politics (international relations, international human rights, East European politics and society). Experience in developing interdisciplinary courses drawing upon history, politics, philosophy, and religion.