

Andrew C. Winner
Curriculum Vitae
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Education: Ph.D., Government and Politics
University of Maryland, College Park, August 2002

M.A., Government and Politics
University of Maryland, College Park, 1993

M.A., International Affairs/International Economics
School of Advanced International Studies
The Johns Hopkins University, 1986
Bologna Center, 1985

A.B., Government (Government Major, Economics minor)
Hamilton College, 1984

Middlebury Language School
French, 1983

Work Experience:

Current Position: Professor, Strategic and Operational Research Department, Center for Naval Warfare Studies, Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island, 2019-present.

Adjunct Professor, SAIS Europe, Johns Hopkins University, Bologna, Italy, Fall 2020.

Previous Work Experience:

Associate Fellow, Bologna Institute for Policy Research, 2019-2020 academic year (September-December 2019 in residence).

Distinguished Lecturer in American Public Policy and Practice, Government Department, Hamilton College (January-May 2020).

Chair, Strategic and Operational Research Department, Center for Naval Warfare Studies, Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island, 2016-2019.

Chair, Strategic Research Department, Center for Naval Warfare Studies, Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island, 2013-2016.

Professor of Strategic Studies, Strategic Research Department, Center for Naval Warfare Studies, Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island, 2008-2013.

Director, Indian Ocean Studies Group, Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island, April 2009-present.

Associate Professor of Strategic Studies, Strategic Research Department, Center for Naval Warfare Studies, Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island, 2003-2008.

Senior Staff Member, Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1997-2003.

Executive Assistant to the Assistant Secretary, Bureau of Political-Military Affairs, U.S. Department of State, 1996-1997.

Senior Analyst, Office of Security, Resources, and Policy, Bureau of Political-Military Affairs, U.S. Department of State, September 1995-July 1996.

Special Assistant to the Under Secretary for Arms Control and International Security Affairs, U.S. Department of State, July 1994-September 1995.

Deputy Director, Office of Policy Analysis, Bureau of Political-Military Affairs, U.S. Department of State, January 1990-June 1994.

Foreign Affairs Officer, Office of Security Analysis, Bureau of Political-Military Affairs, U.S. Department of State, October 1986-December 1989.

Foreign Affairs Officer, Office of the Secretary of Defense, International Security Policy, Negotiations Policy, U.S. Department of Defense, September 1987-February 1988.

Presidential Management Intern (now Fellow), 1986-1988.

Publications:

“La stratégie de la marine américaine à l’ère de la compétition entre les grandes puissances,” *Études Maritimes*, No 17 – Janvier 2020, Centre d’études stratégiques de la Marine.

“The Unexpected Evolution of a WMD Interdiction Regime,” International Studies Association Annual Conference, Toronto, March 2019 (planned as journal submission, spring 2020).

“The U.S. Response: Naval architecture and plans,” chapter in *Security Dilemma at Sea: The India-China Maritime Competition*, Rajesh Basrur, Anit Mukherjee, and T.V. Paul, eds. (Routledge CASS, 2019).

“How North Korea Skirts Sanctions With Its Illicit Arms Trade,” Interview with The Editors, *World Politics Review*, November 27, 2017.

“America’s Indian Ocean Strategy,” *Strategic Comments*, 35, International Institute for Strategic Studies, October 11, 2017.

“Interdicting North Korea Vessels: Another False Hope,” 38 North, <http://www.38north.org/2017/10/awinner100417/>, October 4, 2017.

“Rip currents: The dangers of nuclear-armed submarine proliferation,” *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, co-author with Ryan W. French, 2016.

Maritime Terrorism and Piracy in the Indian Ocean Region, co-editor with Awet T. Weldemichael and Patricia Schneider, Routledge, 2015.

“Missile Defense in South Asia,” in *Missile Defense from a Global Perspective*, Peter Dombrowski and Catherine Kelleher, eds., Stanford University Press, 2015.

The Indian Ocean and US Grand Strategy Ensuring Access and Promoting Security, co-editor with Peter Dombrowski, Georgetown University Press, 2014.

“The Myth of Petroleum Independence and Foreign Policy Isolation,” *The Washington Quarterly*, co-author with Sarah A. Emerson, Spring 2014.

“The United States and Maritime Security Challenges,” in *Maritime Security in the Indo-Pacific: Perspectives from China, India, and the United States*, Mohan Malik, ed., Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2014.

“India: Dominance, Balance, or Predominance in the Indian Ocean?” in *Deep Currents and Rising Tides: The Indian Ocean and International Security*, John Garofano and Andrea Dew, eds., Georgetown University Press, 2013.

Journal of the Indian Ocean Region, Special Issue on Maritime Terrorism and Piracy in the Indian Ocean Region, guest co-editor, Vol. 8, No. 2, December 2012.

“The Future of India’s Undersea Nuclear Deterrent,” in *Strategy in the Second Nuclear Age: Power, Ambition, and the Ultimate Weapon*, James Holmes and Toshi Yoshihara, eds., Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2012.

“Transnational Maritime Security in the Indian Ocean,” in *Indo-Pacific Maritime Security in the 21st Century*, Andrew Shearer, ed., Sydney: Lowy Institute for International Policy, forthcoming.

“The United States, India, the Indian Ocean, and Maritime Elements of Security Cooperation,” in *India’s Contemporary Security Challenges*, Michael Kugelman ed. Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2011.

“Thinking about the Rimland: Responses to Chinese Power,” *Force, The Complete Magazine on National Security*, co-author with Timothy D. Hoyt, December 2010.

Indian Naval Strategy in the 21st Century, Routledge, co-author with James Holmes and Toshi Yoshihara, 2009.

“The United States Maritime Strategy and Implications for the Indo-Pacific Region,” co-authored chapter with Peter Dombrowski in *Australia and its Maritime Interests: At Home and in the Region*, Andrew Forbes, ed., Australia: Sea Power Centre, 2009.

“The Proliferation Security Initiative,” co-authored chapter with James R. Holmes in *Combating Weapons of Mass Destruction: The Future of International Nonproliferation Policy*, Nathan E. Busch and Daniel H. Joyner, eds., Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2009.

“A Cooperative Strategy for 21st Century Seapower – Thinking about the new U.S. Maritime Strategy,” *Maritime Affairs: Journal of the National Maritime Foundation*, co-author with Timothy D. Hoyt, Vol. 3, No 2, Winter 2007.

“India as a Maritime Power?” chapter in *Asia Looks Seaward: Power and Maritime Strategy*, James Holmes and Toshi Yoshihara, eds., Praeger Security International, 2007.

“The Proliferation Security Initiative: A Global Prohibition Regime in the Making?,” *Defense and Security Analysis*, 23, no. 4, September 2007, co-author with James Holmes.

“A New Naval Diplomacy,” *Proceedings* (Naval Institute Press) co-author with James R. Holmes, July 2007.

“Maritime Counter-proliferation with Chinese Characteristics,” *Defense and Security Analysis*, March 2006, 22, no. 1, co-author with James Holmes and Toshi Yoshihara.

“The Proliferation Security Initiative: The New Face of Interdiction,” *The Washington Quarterly*, Spring 2005.

“WMD, Interdicting the Gravest Danger,” *Proceedings* (Naval Institute Press) co-author with James R. Holmes, February 2005.

“India and the Indian Ocean: Implications for U.S. Strategy and Interests,” *Indian Ocean Survey*, January –June 2005.

“The PSI as Strategy,” *The Monitor* (Center for International Trade and Security, University of Georgia), Spring 2004.

“New Interdiction Effort Scores Libyan Success,” *Defense News* co-author with James Holmes, January 12, 2004.

“Walking the Tightrope: U.S. Security Relations with India and Pakistan,” *The Monitor* (Center for International Trade and Security, University of Georgia), co-author with Toshi Yoshihara, Summer 2003.

“Toward a Regional Security Architecture,” *The Washington Quarterly*, co-author with Joseph McMillan and Richard Sokolsky, Summer 2003.

“India and Pakistan at the Edge,” *Survival*, co-author with Toshi Yoshihara, Autumn 2002.

Nuclear Stability in South Asia, co-author with Toshi Yoshihara, Cambridge, MA: Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, 2002.

“The Baltic States: Heading West,” *The Washington Quarterly*, Winter, 2001.

“The U.S. Balancing Act in South Asia,” *IPRI Journal* Volume I, Number 1, Summer 2001, Islamabad Policy Research Institute.

Security Issues in the Middle East. Editor, Cambridge, MA: Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Quarterly since 1998.

Weekly Intelligence Update, Wakefield, MA: Energy Security Analysis, Inc., since September 11, 2001.

“NATO Enlargement and Cost and Burdensharing Issues,” co-author with Charles M. Perry, Laurence E. Rothenberg, and Maggie Forster Schmitz, in Bram Boxhoorn, Niklaas Hoekstra, and Rob de Wijk, eds., *NATO After Kosovo*, Tilburg University Press, 2000.

Strategic Dynamics in the Nordic-Baltic Region: Implications for U.S. Policy. Co-author with Charles M. Perry and Michael J. Sweeney, Brassey’s, 2000.

“Nineteen Hands on the Wheel,” co-author with Richard Sokolsky and Matthew Waxman, *Defense News*, August 2, 1999.

“Time for a Reality Check in South Asia,” co-author with Richard Sokolsky, *The Washington Times*, December 29, 1998.

“Bombing Saddam is easy, removing him is a long shot,” *The Star Ledger*, (Newark) December 27, 1998.

“The Stumbling Blocks to Baltic Membership in NATO,” co-author with Charles M. Perry, *The Boston Globe*, Wednesday, January 14, 1998, p. A-15.

“The Looming Alliance Debate over Nuclear Weapons,” co-author with Jacquelyn K. Davis and Charles M. Perry, *Joint Forces Quarterly*, Summer 1997, Volume 15.

“Turning Points: The Link Between Politics and Arms Control,” co-author with Michael McNerny, in Catherine Kelleher, Laurence Freedman, and Jane Sharp, eds., *The Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe: The Politics of Post-Wall Arms Control*, Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1996.

Teaching:

“Strategy and Policy,” SAIS Europe, Fall 2020.

“Security Issues in South Asia,” Hamilton College, junior/senior seminar, Spring 2020.

“Counterproliferation and Nonproliferation Regimes and Policies,” Naval War College, Spring 2006-2013.

“Security Issues in South Asia,” Naval War College, Winter 2004-2016.

Selected Tabletop**Exercises/Wargames:**

Europe Maritime-focused Crisis TTX, Designed, US and European Navy flag officers as part of the Combined Forces Maritime Component Commanders’ Course, 6th Fleet, Naples, November, 2019.

Baltics/Europe Crisis TTX, Designed and Led, SAIS Europe MA students, November 2019.

Europe Crisis TTX, Designed and Led, Senior US and European government and Navy officials/officers, Bremerhaven, Germany, May 2019.

Baltic Crisis TTX, Designed and Led, Senior US and European government and Navy officials/officers, Copenhagen, Denmark October 2018.

South Asia Crisis TTXs focused on strategic stability, deterrence, and escalation; Designed and Led, Track II, retired flag/general officers, ambassadors/senior government officials from India and Pakistan, Bangkok, Thailand (2018), Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia (2017), Dubai, UAE (2016), Istanbul, Turkey (2015), Colombo, Sri Lanka (2014).

Proliferation Security Initiative Games, Designed and Led, Nineteen countries, senior interagency teams, Newport, RI (2014, 2007, 2004), Abu Dhabi and Doha, Qatar (2013, 2015), Bergen, Norway (2005).

Selected**Presentations:**

“Maritime Security in Europe,” Dickinson College, Bologna, December 2019.

“Great Power Competition and U.S. National Security,” St. John’s University, Rome, October 2019.

“Evolving Strategic Stability in the Indian Ocean Region,” Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, November 2017.

“U.S. Maritime Strategy in the Indian Ocean Region,” Naval Postgraduate School, November 2017.

“The U.S. response to a rising China and India - operational architecture and naval plans,” RSIS, Singapore, January 2017.

“India,” presentation for JCLASS seminar, U.S. Naval War College, 2015, 2014, 2012, 2011, 2010, 2009.

“India and the India Ocean,” Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington DC, March 2010.

“The Indian Ocean as a Strategic Theater,” Near East and South Asia Center, National Defense University, July 2010.

“The Future of India's Undersea Nuclear Deterrent: Strategy, Doctrine, and Capabilities,” International Studies Association, New York, February 2009.

“South Asian Nuclear Learning and Delivery Vehicle Force Structures,” Naval Post Graduate School Conference, Honolulu, Hawaii, February 2009.

“U.S.-Indian Maritime Cooperation,” National Maritime Foundation, New Delhi, October 2008.

“Counterproliferation in the Indian Ocean,” Indian Naval War College, Mumbai, October 2008.

“The US maritime strategy and implications for the Indo-Pacific Region,” International Studies Association, San Francisco, March 2008.

“The US maritime strategy and implications for the Indo-Pacific Region,” Royal Australian Navy Seapower Conference, Sydney, January 2008.

“WMD Interdiction,” U.S.-Indian Maritime Relations Conference, New Delhi, September 2007

“Indian Strategic Thinking: From Regional to Global Challenges,” International Studies Association Annual Conference, Chicago, Illinois, March 2007.

“India as a Maritime Power?” International Studies Association Annual Conference, San Diego, California, March 2006.

“A Regime by Any Other Name: The Proliferation Security Initiative,” International Studies Association Annual Conference, Honolulu, Hawaii, March 2005.

“The Proliferation Security Initiative,” Presentation to SVI Amaldi Conference on Problems of Global Security, ICTP, Trieste, November 2004. Published by Accademia Nazionale Dei Lincei, Roma 2007 Bardi Editore, as part of the conference proceedings.

“9/11 and the War on Terrorism: Implications for U.S. Foreign Policy,” Isodarco Winter Course, Andalo, Italy, January 2004.

“Stability and Security in Iraq” The Johns Hopkins University-SAIS/ESAI Executive Seminar on Energy Security, November 2003.

“Middle East Security Issues” Providence College, Providence, Rhode Island, October 2003.

“India and the Indian Ocean: Implications for U.S. Policy in the Region,” Presented at “India and the Emerging Geopolitics of the Indian Ocean Region,” a conference sponsored by the Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies, Honolulu, Hawaii, August 2003.

“U.S. Policy Towards South Asia,” Presentation to Boston chapter of the Council on Emerging National Security Affairs, May 2002.

“Critical Infrastructure Effects of September 11 Attacks,” Presentation to joint Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis/Japan Institute for International Affairs conference, Tokyo, Japan, April 2002.

“India and U.S. Foreign Policy,” and “Pakistan and U.S. Foreign Policy,” Papers presented to workshop on future grant making on South Asia. Sponsored by the Smith Richardson Foundation, June 2001.

“Prospects for NATO Enlargement,” Presentation to Slovenia Ministry of Defense and Faculty of Social Sciences students, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia, April 2001.

“U.S. Foreign Policy Process,” Presentation to Faculty of Social Sciences students, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia, March 2000.

“Regime Formation After the Cold War: The United States and Conventional Arms Transfers,” co-author with Vincent Auger, paper presented at the 1997 American Political Science Association Annual Meeting.

“U.S. Policy Toward the Baltic States,” presentation at conference co-sponsored by the Latvian Institute for International Affairs and the Foreign Ministry of Latvia, Riga, Latvia, September 1997.

Roundtable Co-Chair, “Foreign Policy Making Process,” Student Conference on United States Affairs, United States Military Academy, November 1995.

Regular guest lecturer on the U.S. foreign policy decision-making, United States Armed Forces Staff College, Norfolk, Virginia, 1991-1996.

Regular guest lecturer on U.S. arms control policy and U.S. foreign policy towards Europe, Foreign Service Institute, U.S. Department of State, Arlington, Virginia, 1989-1996.

**Professional
Honors:**

Navy Meritorious Civilian Service Medal, September 2019
Navy Meritorious Civilian Service Medal, June 2007
Teaching Award, Naval War College, Winter 2005
Teaching Award, Naval War College, Spring 2004
State Department Foreign Affairs Leadership Seminar, 1996
State Department Long Term Training Fellowship, 1991-92
State Department Superior Honor Award - Desert Storm, 1991
State Department Meritorious Honor Award - CFE, 1990
Presidential Management Intern, 1986
Judge John Wells Fellowship, 1984-5

Languages:

Italian, proficient (but in need of practice)
French, basic