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PRESENT POSITIONS

Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations (1994-2014, 2017-present).

Professor of International Affairs, School of Foreign Service and Department of Government, Georgetown University (1994-present).

PREVIOUS POSITIONS

Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs and Senior Director for European Affairs, National Security Council, The White House (2014-2017).

Director, Mortara Center for International Studies, Georgetown University (2004-2005).

Director for European Affairs, National Security Council, The White House (1993-1994).

Assistant Professor of Politics, Princeton University (1986-1993).

Member, Policy Planning Staff, U.S. Department of State (1992).

EDUCATION

Oxford University (1981-1985).

Doctorate in Politics (1985). Dissertation: "The Evolution and Defense of Western Interests in the Persian Gulf, 1973-1982."

Master of Philosophy in Politics (1983). Focus on strategic studies, international relations and political theory. Thesis title: "The Evolution of the Carter Doctrine and U.S. Security Policy in the Persian Gulf, 1979-1981."

Harvard University (1976-1981).

B.A. Magna Cum Laude in East Asian Studies. Thesis title: "Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Ahad Ha'am: Cultural Nationalism – A Response to a Changing World."

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Georgetown University.

Graduate courses on: International Relations Theory and Practice, The Sources of Nationalism, and Contemporary Debates in International Security. Undergraduate courses on: The Foundations of Grand Strategy, Introduction to International Relations.

Princeton University.

Two undergraduate lecture courses: Introduction to International Relations, and Great Powers in the International System; a graduate course on Theories of International Relations; and undergraduate seminars on International Relations Theory, Strategic Studies, and U.S. Foreign Policy.

Harvard University (1984-1986).

Instructor: Supervised undergraduate independent work.

Tutor in East Asian Studies, Lowell House: Supervised students in Asian studies.

Oxford University (1983-1984).

Instructor, University College: Taught international relations, political theory, and comparative government.

PUBLICATIONS

Books

Isolationism: A History of America's Effort to Shield Itself from the World (in progress).

No One's World: The West, the Rising Rest, and the Coming Global Turn (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012). Translated editions in Arabic, Chinese, Italian, and Japanese.

How Enemies Become Friends: The Sources of Stable Peace (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010). Translated editions in Chinese, Italian, and Japanese. Honorable Mention, Arthur Ross Book Award; Finalist, Estoril Global Issues Distinguished Book Prize.

The End of the American Era: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Geopolitics of the Twenty-first Century (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002). Revised paperback edition (New York: Vintage, 2003). Translated editions in Bulgarian, Chinese, Dutch, French, German, Greek, Italian, Japanese, Korean, and Russian.

The Vulnerability of Empire (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994).

The Persian Gulf and the West: The Dilemmas of Security (Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1987).

Power in Transition: The Peaceful Change of International Order (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2001), co-author with Emanuel Adler, Jean-Marc Coicaud, and Yuen Foong Khong.

Civic Engagement in the Atlantic Community (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1999), co-editor and contributor with Josef Janning and Dirk Rumberg.

Atlantic Security: Contending Visions (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1998), editor and contributor.

Nationalism and Nationalities in the New Europe (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), editor and contributor.

Scholarly Articles

“The Clash of Exceptionalisms: A New Fight Over an Old Idea,” Foreign Affairs, vol. 97, no. 2, March/April 2018.

“The Normative Foundations of Hegemony and the Coming Challenge to Pax Americana,” Security Studies, vol. 23, no. 2 (June 2014).

“Europe’s Make Or Break Moment,” with Robert Kahn, Survival, vol. 55, no. 6 (December 2013–January 2014).

“From Enmity to Amity: Trust’s Part in US Foreign Policy,” Global Asia, vol. 8, no. 3 (Fall 2013).

“Un mundo sin hegemonías” (A World without Hegemony), Política Exterior, (November/December 2012).

“A Still-Strong Alliance,” Policy Review, no. 172 (April/May 2012).

“Centrifugal Europe,” Survival vol. 54, no. 1 (February/March 2012).

“The Democratic Malaise: Globalization and the Threat to the West,” Foreign Affairs, vol. 91, no. 1 (January/February 2012).

“Grand Strategy: The Four Pillars of the Future,” Democracy: A Journal of Ideas, no. 23 (Winter 2012).

“Diversity Wins,” Russia in Global Affairs, vol. 9, no. 4 (October-December 2011).

“The False Promise of Unipolarity: Constraints on the Exercise of American Power,” Cambridge Review of International Affairs, vol. 24, no. 2 (June 2011).

“Enmity into Amity,” Freidrich Ebert Stiftung, International Policy Analysis Series, April 2011.

“The Illusion of Liberal Internationalism’s Revival,” with Peter L. Trubowitz, International Security, vol. 35, no. 1 (Summer 2010).

“NATO’s Final Frontier: Why Russia Should Join the Atlantic Alliance,” Foreign Affairs, vol. 89, no. 3 (May/June 2010).

“Enemies into Friends: How the United States Can Engage Its Adversaries,” Foreign Affairs, vol. 89, no. 2 (March/April 2010).

“The Geopolitics of Transatlantic Relations,” Politique Étrangère, vol. 1 (2009).

“The Autonomy Rule,” with Adam Mount, Democracy: A Journal of Ideas, no. 12 (Spring 2009).

“Transatlantic Geopolitics: Discord and Repair,” Politique Étrangère, vol. 1 (2009).

“Minor League, Major Problems: The Case Against A League of Democracies,” Foreign Affairs, vol. 87, no. 6 (November/December 2008).

“Atlantic Orders: The Fundamentals of Change,” in Geir Lundestad, ed., Just another Major Crisis? The United States and Europe since 2000 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

“Of Polarity and Polarization,” with Peter L. Trubowitz, International Security, vol. 33, no. 1 (Summer 2008.)

“The Transatlantic Turnaround,” Current History, vol. 107, no. 707 (March 2008).

“The Atlantic Order in Transition,” in Jeffrey J. Anderson, G. John Ikenberry, and Thomas Risse, eds., The End of the West? Crisis and Change in the Atlantic Order (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008).

“Dead Center: The Decline of Liberal Internationalism in the United States,” with Peter L. Trubowitz, International Security, vol. 32, no. 2 (Fall 2007).

“After Iraq: Strengthen Regional Cooperation,” Democracy: A Journal of Ideas, no. 6 (Fall 2007).

“Grand Strategy for A Divided America,” with Peter L. Trubowitz, Foreign Affairs, vol. 86, no. 4 (July/August 2007).

“The Next Cold War,” Azure, No. 29 (Summer 5767 / 2007).

“The Roots of Liberal Internationalism: Lessons from the Past,” with Peter L. Trubowitz, in Morton H. Halperin, Jeffrey Laurenti, Peter Rundlet, and Spencer P. Boyer, eds., Power and Superpower: Global Leadership and Exceptionalism in the 21st Century (New York: The Century Foundation Press, 2007).

“Europe and America in the Middle East,” Current History, vol. 106, no. 698 (March 2007).

“On Iran, Europeans Decide to Work in Concert,” European Affairs, vol. 7, no. 3 (Fall/Winter 2006).

“The Fourth Age: The Next Era in Transatlantic Relations,” The National Interest, no. 85 (September/October 2006).

“Independence for Kosovo: Yielding to Balkan Reality,” Foreign Affairs, vol. 84, no. 6 (November/December 2005).

“The Travails of Union: The American Experience and its Implications for Europe,” Survival, vol. 46, no. 4 (Winter 2004-05). Reprinted as “Stati Uniti d’Europa? No, but,” in Aspenia, No. 28 (2005).

“Liberal Realism: The Foundations of a Democratic Foreign Policy,” with G. John Ikenberry, The National Interest, vol. 77 (Fall 2004).

“New Research Agenda? Yes. New Paradigm? No.” Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen, vol. 11, no. 1 (2004).

“La Légitimité de la Puissance Américaine en Question,” in Guillaume Parmentier, ed., Les États-Unis aujourd’hui: Choc et Changement (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2004).

“Renewing the Atlantic Partnership,” Report of an Independent Task Force, Henry A. Kissinger and Lawrence H. Summers, co-chairs, (New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 2004).

“The Rise of Europe, America’s Changing Internationalism, and the End of U.S. Primacy,” Political Science Quarterly, vol. 118, no. 2 (Summer 2003).

“Recasting the Atlantic Bargain,” in Bernhard May and Michaela Hönicke Moore, eds., The Uncertain Superpower: Domestic Dimensions of U.S. Foreign Policy after the Cold War (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 2003).

“The Waning Days of the Atlantic Alliance,” in Bertel Heurlin and Mikkel Vedby Rasmussen, eds., Challenges and Capabilities: NATO in the 21st Century (Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies, 2003).

“Misreading September 11th,” The National Interest, no. 69 (Fall 2002). Reprinted in Read, (a Chinese-language magazine of news and commentary published in Guangzhou) (November/December 2002).

“Hollow Hegemony or Stable Multipolarity?” in G. John Ikenberry, ed., America Unrivaled: The Future of the Balance of Power (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002).

“Empires and Geopolitical Competition: Gone for Good?” in Chester Crocker, Fen Hampson, and Pamela Aall, eds., Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict (Washington: United States Institute of Peace, 2001).

“Kosovo and the Future of U.S. Engagement in Europe: Continued Hegemony or Impending Retrenchment?” in Pierre Martin and Mark Brawley, eds., Alliance Politics, Kosovo, and NATO’s War: Allied Force or Forced Allies? (New York: Palgrave, 2001).

“The Origins and Future of NATO Enlargement,” Contemporary Security Policy, vol. 21, no. 2 (August 2000).

“In Defence of European Defense: An American Perspective,” Survival, vol. 42, no. 2 (Summer 2000).

“Concerts, Collective Security, and the Future of Europe: A Retrospective,” with Clifford Kupchan, in Michael Brown, et al., eds., America’s Strategic Choices, revised edition, (Cambridge, MA: The M.I.T. Press, 2000).

“Life After Pax Americana,” World Policy Journal, vol. 16, no. 3 (Fall 1999). Reprinted in America and the World: Debating the New Shape of International Politics (New York: W.W. Norton for the Council on Foreign Relations, 2002).

“Rethinking Europe,” The National Interest, no. 56 (Summer 1999).

“Turning Adversity Into Advantage: Russia In NATO,” in Mathias Jopp and Hanna Ojanen, European Security Integration: Implications for Non-Alignment and Alliances (Helsinki: The Finnish Institute of International Affairs, 1999).

“After Pax Americana: Benign Power, Regional Integration, and the Sources of a Stable Multipolarity,” International Security, vol. 23, no. 2 (Fall 1998).

“Vom Friedensstifter zum Partner. Amerika, Europa und die atlantische Sicherheit (From Pacifier to Partner: America, Europe, and Atlantic Security),” Internationale Politik, No. 7, 1998.

“Illiberal Illusions: Democracy First,” Foreign Affairs, vol. 77, no. 3 (May/June 1998).

“From the European Union to the Atlantic Union,” in Jan Zielonka, ed., Paradoxes of European Foreign Policy (Dordrecht: Kluwer Law International, 1998).

“Arresting the Decline of Europe,” with Roger Altman, World Policy Journal, vol. 14, no. 4 (Winter 1997/98).

“Regionalizing Europe’s Security: The Case for a New Mitteleuropa,” in Edward Mansfield and Helen Milner, eds., The Political Economy of Regionalism (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997).

“Regionalizing Europe’s Security: Building a Zone of Stability in Central Europe,” Pew Papers on Central Eastern European Reform and Regionalism, no. 6, Center of International Studies, Princeton University, 1996.

"Reviving the West," Foreign Affairs, vol. 75, no. 3 (May/June 1996). Translated and published in German, Japanese, Hungarian, and Polish journals.

"Europe's Balancing Act," Survival, vol. 38, no. 1 (Spring 1996).

"The Promise of Collective Security," with Clifford Kupchan, International Security, vol. 20, no. 1 (Summer 1995).

"Should NATO Expand?" Report of an Independent Task Force (New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1995).

"Strategic Visions," World Policy Journal, vol. 11, no. 3 (Fall 1994).

"The Case for Collective Security," in Collective Security Beyond the Cold War, George Downs, ed. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994).

"El Debate sobre la Declinacion en Retrospectiva (The Declinist Debate: A Retrospective)," in Mito y Realidad de la Declinacion de Estados Unidos, Rosa Cusminsky, ed. (Mexico City: National University of Mexico, 1992).

"Legitimacy and Power: The Waning of U.S. and Soviet Hegemony," with John Ikenberry, in Power, Economics, and Security, Henry Bienen, ed. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992).

"Concerts, Collective Security, and the Future of Europe," with Clifford Kupchan, International Security, vol. 16, no. 1 (Summer 1991). Reprinted in America's Strategy in a Changing World, Steven Miller and Sean Lynn-Jones, eds. (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1992).

"A New Concert for Europe," with Clifford Kupchan, in Rethinking America's Strategy, Graham Allison and Gregory Treverton, eds. (New York: W.W. Norton for the Council on Foreign Relations and The American Assembly, 1991).

"Conventional Force Reductions: Assessment, Uncertainty, and the Search for Stability," in Emerging Dimensions of European Security Policy, Wolfgang Danspeckgruber, ed. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991).

"Getting In: The Initial Stage of Military Intervention," in Foreign Military Intervention: The Dynamics of Protracted Conflict, Ariel Levite, Bruce Jentleson, and Larry Berman, eds. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991).

"Socialization and Hegemonic Power," with John Ikenberry, International Organization, vol. 44, no. 3 (Summer 1990).

"The Legitimation of Hegemonic Power," with John Ikenberry, in World Leadership and Hegemony, David Rapkin, ed., vol. 5 of the International Political Economy Yearbook (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1990).

"Defense Spending and Economic Performance," Survival, vol. 31, no. 5 (Sept./Oct. 1989).

"Setting Conventional Force Requirements: Roughly Right or Precisely Wrong?" World Politics, vol. 41, no. 4 (July 1989).

"Empire, Military Power, and Economic Decline," International Security, vol. 13, no. 4 (Spring 1989).

"American Globalism in the Middle East: The Roots of Regional Security Policy," Political Science Quarterly, vol. 103, no. 4 (Winter 1988-89).

"NATO and the Persian Gulf: Examining Intra-Alliance Behavior," International Organization, vol. 42, no. 2 (Spring 1988).

"Regional Security and the Out of Area Problem," in Securing Europe's Future, in Stephen Flanagan and Fen Hampson, eds. (London: Croom Helm, 1986).

"Avoiding Nuclear War," Negotiation Journal, vol. 2, no. 1 (January 1986).

Editorials, Book Reviews, and Other Articles

"The US Is Still Needed in Syria," with Sinan Ulgen, Project Syndicate, July 2, 2019.

"NATO Is Thriving Despite Trump," Foreign Affairs, March 20, 2019.

"Trump's Nineteenth-Century Grand Strategy: The Themes of His UN General Assembly Speech Have Deep Roots in U.S. History," Foreign Affairs, September 2018.

"An Offensive Plan for the Balkans That the U.S. Should Get Behind," New York Times, September 13, 2018.

"After Winning the War, the West Now Retreats," Inside Sources, August 12, 2018.

"Trump Is Poised to Do Irreparable Harm to World Trade," with Edward Alden, Foreign Policy, July 24, 2018. Also published in La Stampa, Le Monde, and Suddeutsche Zeitung.

"America and Turkey Need to Step Back from the Brink," Foreign Policy, March 15, 2018. Also published in La Stampa.

"What Counterterrorism Can Teach Us about Thwarting Russian Disinformation," with Joshua Geltzer, Washington Post, February 22, 2018.

"Rules of Engagement for Trump World," The Security Times, February 14, 2018.

"The Dangers (and Opportunities) of 2018: Views from the Democratic Sideline," Foreign Policy, February 5, 2018.

"The Battle for the West Runs through Poland," New York Times, January 10, 2018.

L'Europa e il destino dell'Occidente," Aspenia, no. 79 (December 2017).

"Why Cozying Up To Trump Works," Foreign Policy, November 16, 2017. Also published in La Stampa, Le Monde, and Suddeutsche Zeitung.

"Why Giving Ukraine Lethal Weapons Would be a Massive Mistake," Washington Post, August 7, 2012.

"The West Will Have to Go It Alone, Without the United States," Foreign Policy, June 13, 2017. Also published in La Stampa, Le Monde, and Suddeutsche Zeitung.

"Is NATO Getting Too Big to Succeed?" New York Times, May 26, 2017

"Trump's EU Visit Offers Chance for Ukraine Deal," Financial Times, May 23, 2017.

"Dark Democratic Dysfunction," U.S. News and World Report, March 29, 2017. Also published in La Stampa.

"Trump and Merkel Need to Find a Way to Work Together," Foreign Policy, March 13, 2017. Also published in La Stampa, Le Monde, and Suddeutsche Zeitung

"Europe's is the West's Last Defense Against Populism," Foreign Policy, February 15, 2017. Also published in La Stampa and Suddeutsche Zeitung.

"Legacy and Lessons of the Crisis," with Robert Kahn," The German Times, December 2013.

"Is Europe Losing Its Geopolitical Relevance?" The Security Times, November 2013.

"Une Liberté d'Action Très Limitée," La Croix, October 17, 2013.

"One-Two Punch," with Brian Katulis, Foreign Policy, October 11, 2013.

"Putin's Anti-U.S. Measures More Spiteful than Strategic," Global Times, August 19, 2013.

"Democracy in Egypt Can Wait," New York Times, August 17, 2013.

"Pivot to a Transatlantic Market," with Marta Dassu, International Herald Tribune, June 13, 2013.

"Thatcher's Legacy in Europe," CNN.com, April 8, 2013.

"A Turkey-Israel Opening," with Soli Ozel, International Herald Tribune, April 1, 2013.

"No Dilemma Between Europe and Asia for Washington Strategists," Global Times, March 28, 2013.

“Albion at the E.U. Exit Door,” International Herald Tribune, November 20, 2012.

“Il dopo Bush comincia solo adesso” (The Post-Bush Era is just Beginning), Corriere della Sera, November 1, 2012

“Sind wir noch wer?” (Yet Who are We?), Neue Zürcher Zeitung Folio, November 2012.

“Effective Statecraft from Obama,” with Bruce Jentleson, Charlotte News and Observer, October 24, 2012.

“Next Century Will See No Single Global Power,” Global Times, October 23, 2012.

“Principled Pragmatism Beats Bush-style Bluster,” with Bruce Jentleson, The World Today, October 2012.

“Russia and China Can Drop Cold-War Attitude to Missile Defense,” Global Times, September 20, 2012.

“A Man with a Plan,” with Bruce Jentleson, ForeignPolicy.com, September 6, 2012.

“Managing No One’s World,” Think, No. 2 (August 2012).

“A Dangerous Mind,” with Bruce Jentleson, ForeignPolicy.com, August 30, 2012.

“Russia Joins the WTO Amid Continuing Tensions With the U.S.,” Handelsblatt, August 21, 2012.

“The Euro Can Be Saved. What about the E.U.?” Washington Post, June 2, 2012.

“Why Nobody Will Dominate the 21st Century,” Huffington Post, April 14, 2012.

“America’s Place in the New World,” New York Times, April 8, 2012. Also published in International Herald Tribune, April 9, 2012

“Second Mates,” National Journal, March 17, 2012. Also published as “The Decline of the West: Why America Must Prepare for the End of Dominance,” theatlantic.com, March 20, 2012.

“The West Will Not Strengthen by Expanding,” La Stampa, February 14, 2012.

“Sorry Mitt: It Won’t be an American Century,” ForeignPolicy.com, February 6, 2012.

“Refounding Good Governance,” International Herald Tribune, December 20, 2011.

“Ten Years On: The West Is in Crisis, but Globalization, Not bin Laden, Is the Culprit,” Corriere della Sera, September 5, 2011.

“Coming in from the Cold War,” International Herald Tribune, June 8, 2011.

“The West and Russia: Real Rapprochement on the Horizon,” Center for European Policy Analysis, March 1, 2011.

“Be Careful What You Wish For,” International Herald Tribune, February 25, 2011.

“The Potential Twilight of the European Union,” IIGG Working Paper, Council on Foreign Relations, September 2010.

“Palestinians Should Just Say Yes,” International Herald Tribune, September 15, 2010. Also published in Il Sole 24 Ore.

“As Nationalism Rises, Will the European Union Fall?” Washington Post, August 29, 2010. Reprinted in Il Sole 24 Ore, NRC Handelsblad, and Le Monde.

“Russia and NATO: A Marriage of Convenience,” Il Sole 24 Ore, July 15, 2010.

“Why Talk to Iran?” Project Syndicate, June 2, 2010.

“Britain Is No Longer America’s Bridge to Europe,” Financial Times, June 2, 2010.

“Soothing U.S.-China Tension,” International Herald Tribune, March 31, 2010.

“Balancing Means and Ends: Obama’s Strategy for Afghanistan,” The Atlantic Times, February 10, 2010.

“New Japan, New Asia,” with G. John Ikenberry, International Herald Tribune, January 21, 2010.

“Pull the Plug on the Afghan Surge,” with Steven Simon, Financial Times, November 4, 2009.

“Obama Should Take a Lesson from Woodrow Wilson,” Newsday, June 12, 2009. Also published in Corriere della Sera and Der Standard.

“Decision Time: NATO’s Hard Choices for the Future,” NATO Review, March 2009.

“NATO’s Hard Choices,” International Herald Tribune, March 31, 2009. Also published in Corriere della Sera.

“The United States Needs a Strong Europe,” with Federiga Bindi and Justin Vaisse, International Herald Tribune, January 15, 2009.

“Europe Must Avoid the Trap of a New Cold War,” Corriere della Sera, August 25, 2008.

“Rushing to Judgment on Russia,” The Washington Independent, August 20, 2008.

“Obama: A Dream Even for Europe,” Corriere della Sera, July 30, 2008.

“Bush and Appeasement: It’s Also Called Diplomacy,” with Ray Takeyh, International Herald Tribune, May 21, 2008. Also published in Corriere della Sera.

“NATO Divided,” International Herald Tribune, April 10, 2008. Also published in Corriere della Sera.

“Serbia’s Final Frontier?” ForeignAffairs.com, March 12, 2008.

“Independent Kosovo: In the End It’s Worth It,” Corriere della Sera, March 11, 2008.

“Iran Just Won’t Stay Isolated,” with Ray Takeyh, Los Angeles Times, March 4, 2008.

“What Will Come after Bush and NATO? More Responsibility to the European Union,” Corriere della Sera, February 16, 2008.

“Alternative Strategies of Taming Tehran,” with Ray Takeyh, Corriere della Sera, January 25, 2007.

“The Controversy over Tariq Ramadan,” Huffingtonpost.com, November 28, 2007. Also published in Corriere della Sera.

Review of Daniel Deudney, Bounding Power: Republican Security Theory from the Polis to the Global Village, in Perspectives on Politics, vol. 5, no. 4 (December 2007).

“Making Peace with Americans: For the U.S., the Next Great Foreign Policy Challenge is Building Consensus at Home,” with Peter Trubowitz, Los Angeles Times, October 21, 2007. Also published in Corriere della Sera.

Review of Christopher Layne, The Piece of Illusions: American Grand Strategy from 1940 to the Present, in International History Review, vol. 24, no. 3 (September 2007).

“A Lasting Mark on Foreign Policy,” Huffingtonpost.com, August 21, 2007. Also published in Corriere della Sera.

“The Battle on the Home Front,” with Peter Trubowitz, International Herald Tribune, July 30, 2007. Also published in Corriere della Sera.

“France Votes: Watching From Across the Divide,” with Philip Gordon, International Herald Tribune, April 18, 2007. Also published in Corriere della Sera.

“Can France’s Next Leader Lead?” Los Angeles Times, April 15, 2007.

“The 50th Anniversary of the EU: Re-launch Immediately To Counter the Risk of Disaggregation,” in Corriere della Sera, March 23, 2007.

“Libby, Lies and Another Bad War,” with Ray Takeyh, Los Angeles Times, March 7, 2008.

“America Hopes that the Left Helps Prodi,” Corriere della Sera, February 25, 2007

“Containing Disaster: A New Strategy for Iraq,” with Suzanne Nossel, The American Prospect Online, February 12, 2007.

“America’s Last Play is to Leave Baghdad,” Corriere della Sera, December 21, 2006.

“For Two Years, Not Much Will Change,” Corriere della Sera, November 10, 2006. Also published in Liberation, El Pais, and Handelsblatt.

“Bush is Still the ‘Decider,’ with Peter Trubowitz, Los Angeles Times, November 9, 2006.

“The Future of NATO: No to a Global Mission.” Corriere della Sera, October 17, 2006. (Also published in Delos.)

“The World Is Changing, But Not Its Institutions,” Il Sole 24 Ore, October 8, 2006.

“How To Keep NATO Relevant,” International Herald Tribune, October 6, 2006.

“Religious Violence between Shia and Sunni adds to tensions already tearing apart the political fabric of the Middle East,” with Ray Takeyh, New York Newsday, September 18, 2006.

“Europe: A Construction Site,” Handelsblatt, August 22, 2006.

“Reaping What Bush Sowed,” with Ray Takeyh, International Herald Tribune, July 20, 2006.

“Europe Turns Back the Clock: The Dream of a European Union is Imperiled by a Surge in Nationalism,” Los Angeles Times, May 30, 2006. Also published in Corriere della Sera and El Pais.

“Dealing with Tehran: The Key Lies in Iran’s History” with Ray Takeyh, International Herald Tribune, March 29, 2006. Also published in Corriere della Sera.

“The Wrong Way to Fix Iran,” with Ray Takeyh, Los Angeles Times, February 26, 2006. Also published in Corriere della Sera.

“Sukhumi Dispatch: Wilted Rose,” The New Republic, February 6, 2006. Also published in Corriere della Sera.

“Iranian and American Interests Meet in Iraq,” with Ray Takeyh, International Herald Tribune, January 31, 2006. Also published in Corriere della Sera.

“Indépendance Immédiate pour le Kosovo,” (“Immediate Independence for Kosovo”), Le Monde, October 21, 2005. Also published in El Pais, NRC Handelsblad, Corriere della Sera, and Folha de Sao Paulo.

“Europe’s Baby Bust,” Los Angeles Times, October 4, 2005. Also published in Corriere della Sera.

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“Dubya Does Europe,” with Ivo Daalder, Los Angeles Times, February 20, 2005. Also published in Corriere della Sera, Die Welt, and NRC Handelsblad.

"It's time for Europe to Flex Its Muscles," Corriere della Sera, January 27, 2005.

“Rethinking the Western Alliance,” salon.com, November 13, 2004.

“The Transatlantic Link in Question,” Le Figaro, November 6-7, 2004.

"Summoning History as a Weapon Against the Iraq War," review of War and the American Presidency, by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and The Folly of Empire: What George W. Bush Could Learn from Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, by John B. Judis, The New York Times, September 24, 2004.

“Resent, Resist, Compete,” The World Today, vol. 60, no. 7 (July 2004).

“The Fragile Alliance,” Handelsblatt (Germany), June 3, 2004.

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“Saudi and American Elites Find Friends in High Places,” review of House of Bush, House of Saud, by Craig Unger, The New York Times, April 12, 2004.

“Immigrants Change Face of Old Europe,” Los Angeles Times, March 3, 2004.

“America Searches for its Centre,” Financial Times, February 10, 2004. Also published in The Straits Times, March 16, 2004.

“Responses to the letter from Europe,” Mouvements, no. 20 (November-December 2003).

“A Double-Barreled Attack on American War Policy,” Review of Imperial America: The Bush Assault on the World Order, by John Newhouse, The New York Times, October 22, 2003.

“Calmly Accepting ‘The End of the American Era’,” Foresight (Japan), October 2003. Also published in Reforma (Mexico) and Vita e Pensiero (Italy).

Review of The Tragedy of Great Power Politics, by John J. Mearsheimer, International History Review, vol. 25, no. 3 (September 2003).

“Not Only One Will Win: Europe Sets the Limits of the United States),” Die Zeit, May 22, 2003.

“Continental Rift,” Newark Star-Ledger, April 27, 2003.

“A Parting of Ways: Europe and America are Not Coming Back Together,” Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung, April 13, 2003. Also published in Sociétal (France).

“The Atlantic Alliance Lies in the Rubble,” Financial Times, April 10, 2003. Also published in NRC Handelsblad, El Pais, and Forum (Poland).

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“Uneasy Alliances,” Los Angeles Times, February 17, 2003.

“Barriers to Nation-building in Iraq,” The San Diego Union-Tribune, December 30, 2002.

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“It is Up to the EU to Check U.S. Hubris,” Los Angeles Times, November 10, 2002.

“A Budding Partnership,” with Clifford Kupchan, Los Angeles Times, May 19, 2002.

“Macedonia’s Last Chance to Survive,” with Denko Maleski, Los Angeles Times, July 29, 2001.

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FELLOWSHIPS, GRANTS, AND AWARDS

Honorary Doctorate in Political Science, University of St. Gallen (2019)

Senior Leadership Award, National Security Council, The White House (2016).

Senior Fellowship from the Transatlantic Academy (2013-2014).

"Europe and Global Challenges" grant from Compagnia di San Paolo (Italy), Riksbankens Jubileumsfond (Sweden), and VolkswagenStiftung (Germany) (2011-2014).

Honorable Mention, Arthur Ross Book Award, for How Enemies Become Friends.

Finalist, Estoril Global Issues Distinguished Book Prize, for How Enemies Become Friends.

European Union Commission Grant (2008-2009).

Henry A. Kissinger Scholarship, Library of Congress (2006).

Fellowship from Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (2006).

Japan Society Fellowship (2001).

Whitney Shepardson Fellowship, Council on Foreign Relations (2000-2002; 2012-2014).

United States Institute of Peace Research Grant (1999).

United Nations University Research Grant, Program on Peace and Governance (1998).

Bertelsmann Foundation Research Grant on Transatlantic Relations (1994).

Pew Research Grant in Program on Reform in Eastern Europe (1993).

Council on Foreign Relations International Affairs Fellowship (1989).

German Marshall Fund / Princeton Dulles Program Fellowship (1989).

Pew Research Grant in Program on Economics and Security (1987).

NATO Research Fellowship (1985).

Ford Fellowship in European Society and Western Security (1985).

Olin Fellowship in National Security Affairs (1984).

Overseas Research Scholarship for advanced study in the United Kingdom (1983).

Keasbey Memorial Scholarship for graduate study at Oxford University (1981).

RELATED PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Boards and Membership

Co-Founder and co-Director, Academic Exchange (2008-2014, 2017-present).

Member, Advisory Board, National Security Network (2007-2014).

Member, Advisory Council, Center for European Policy Analysis (2007-2014).

Member, Board of Directors, Aspen Italia (2005-2014, 2017-present).

Member, Board of Trustees, Alfred Herrhausen Society of Deutsche Bank (2004-2014).

Member, International Advisory Board, International Politics (2004-).

Member, Council on Foreign Relations (1988-).

Visiting Positions

Senior Fellow, Transatlantic Academy (2013-2014).

Henry A. Kissinger Scholar, Library of Congress (2006).

Fellow, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (2006).

Visiting Scholar, Institute for International Policy Studies, Tokyo (2003).

Visiting Scholar, Institute of War and Peace Studies, Columbia University (1989-1990).

Visiting Fellow, Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales, Paris (1988).

Visiting Fellow, International Institute for Strategic Studies, London (1987).

Research Affiliate, Center for Science and International Affairs, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University (1985-1986).

Postdoctoral Fellow, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University (1984-1986).