

PHILIP ZELIKOW

Work

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA (1998-date)

White Burkett Miller Professor of History and Wilson Newman Professor of Governance at the Miller Center of Public Affairs – Charlottesville, Virginia

Associate Dean for Graduate Programs, leading the University's Graduate School of Arts and Sciences (2011-14)

Also **Distinguished Visiting Fellow**, Hoover Institution, Stanford University (2019-date)

Other part-time public service:

- Member, Defense Policy Board (2015-17)
- Member, President's Intelligence Advisory Board (2001-03, 2011-13)
- Consultant, Office of the Secretary of Defense (2010-14)
- Member, Advisory Panel for Global Development, Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation (2007-12)
- Directed the University of Virginia's Miller Center of Public Affairs (1998-2005)
- Directed the National Commission on Federal Election Reform (also known as the Carter-Ford Commission) (2001)
- Directed the Markle Foundation Task Force on National Security in the Information Age (2002)

MARKLE FOUNDATION (2014-15)

Visiting Managing Director – New York City and Palo Alto, California

- Helped lead "Rework America," an initiative on America's economic future, while on leave from the University of Virginia
- Also, a visiting research fellow at Stanford University, February – August 2015

DEPARTMENT OF STATE (2005-07)

Counselor of the Department – Washington, D.C.

- A deputy to Secretary Rice, represented the Department of State at the subcabinet level on intelligence and terrorism issues, also with policy responsibility for problems of war and peace in the Middle East, Northeast Asia, and South Asia

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON TERRORIST ATTACKS UPON THE UNITED STATES (also known as the "9/11 Commission") (2003-04)

Executive Director – Washington, D.C.

- chief executive officer of federal agency charged with investigating and reporting to the country on the attacks

HARVARD UNIVERSITY (1991-98)

Associate Professor of Public Policy - Cambridge, Massachusetts

Other part-time public service:

- Elected member, Acton School Committee and Acton-Boxborough Regional School Committee (local school boards) (1996-98)

- Consultant, Office of the Secretary of Defense (1993)

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL (1989-91)

Executive Office of the President (White House of George H.W. Bush)

Director for European Security Affairs - Washington, D.C.

- Career diplomat, detailed to White House, working on European security, German unification, coalition management in the Gulf war, NATO, and other political and security topics, including relations with Great Britain

DEPARTMENT OF STATE (1985-89, 1991)

Career foreign service officer with assignments at:

Secretariat Staff - Washington, DC

Negotiations on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) - Vienna, Austria

Negotiations on Mutual Reduction of Armed Forces and Conventional Armaments in Central Europe (MBFR) - Vienna, Austria

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY (1984-85)

Adjunct Professor of National Security Affairs, Naval Postgraduate School - Monterey, California

DAVID BERG & ASSOCIATES, P.C. (1980-83, *Of Counsel*, 1983-1985, 1991-1998)

Trial and Appellate Attorney - Houston, Texas

- Specialized in constitutional, civil rights, and criminal litigation in federal and state courts

TEXAS COURT OF CRIMINAL APPEALS (1979-80)

Briefing Attorney - Austin, Texas

Education

FLETCHER SCHOOL OF LAW AND DIPLOMACY

Medford, Massachusetts

TUFTS UNIVERSITY in cooperation with Harvard University

Ph.D., doctoral thesis on the diplomacy of German unification

M.A. in Law and Diplomacy

Master's thesis on law and policy in the British suppression of the Arab revolt in Palestine, 1936-39.

UNIVERSITY OF HOUSTON

Houston, Texas

J.D.

Associate Editor, Law Review

National winner, ABA moot court competition (1978); top speaker at Texas state moot court competition (1979)

UNIVERSITY OF REDLANDS

Redlands, California

B.A. in History and Political Science, with Distinction

Also attended the **University of Houston** (1972-75)

Scholarship

Books

The Road Less Traveled: The Secret Battle to End the Great War, 1916-1917 (New York: PublicAffairs, forthcoming in March 2021)

To Build a Better World: Choices to End the Cold War and Create a Global Commonwealth (New York: Twelve, 2019), 510 pp. (with Condoleezza Rice)

Suez Deconstructed: An Interactive Study in Crisis, War, and Peacemaking (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2018), 420 pp. (lead author for the Harvard Suez Team, wrote nine of the 23 essays and edited the rest)

Presidential Recordings: John F. Kennedy -- The Winds of Change, October 1962-January 1963, Volumes Four, Five, and Six (New York: W.W. Norton, 2016) (General Editor for all three volumes with Timothy Naftali)

America's Moment: Creating Opportunity in the Connected Age (New York: W.W. Norton, 2015), 331 pp. (drafter and principal researcher of the book, prepared on behalf of the group, Rework America)

Dealing with Dictators: Dilemmas of U.S. Diplomacy and Intelligence Analysis, 1945-1990 (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2006), 227 pp. (co-edited with Ernest May)

The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office and New York: W.W. Norton, 2004), 567 pp. (executive director of Commission); also prepared abridged and updated edition, The 9/11 Commission Report: The Attack from Planning to Aftermath (New York: W.W. Norton, 2011), 640 pp.

Protecting America's Freedom in the Information Age: A Report of the Markle Foundation Task Force, October 2002, 173 pp. (principal drafter of the Task Force report)

Presidential Recordings: John F. Kennedy -- The Great Crises, July-October 1962, Volumes One, Two, and Three (New York: W.W. Norton, 2001)) (General Editor for all three volumes with Ernest May; also principal editor for Volume Two with Timothy Naftali, and principal editor for Volume Three with Ernest May)

American Military Strategy: Memos to a President, An Aspen Policy Book (New York: W.W. Norton, 2001), 206 pp. (editor)

To Assure Pride and Confidence in the Electoral Process: The Report of the National Commission on Federal Election Reform, (also known as the Carter-Ford Commission)

August 2001, 106 pp. (principal drafter of the Commission report), also published in a complete edition that includes the task force studies (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2002).

America and the Balkans: Memos to a President, An Aspen Policy Book (New York: W.W. Norton, 2000), 134 pp. (edited with Robert Zoellick)

America and Russia: Memos to a President, An Aspen Policy Book (New York: W.W. Norton, 2000), 187 pp. (edited with Robert Zoellick)

America and the East Asian Crisis: Memos to a President, An Aspen Policy Book (New York: W.W. Norton, 2000), 171 pp. (edited with Robert Zoellick)

Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis, Second Edition (New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 1999), 405 pp (with Graham Allison)

America and the Muslim Middle East: Memos to a President, An Aspen Policy Book (Washington, DC: Aspen Institute, 1998), 194 pp (edited with Robert Zoellick)

The Kennedy Tapes: Inside the White House During the Cuban Missile Crisis (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 724 pp, and a revised Concise Edition (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2002), 512 pp. (both with Ernest May)

Why People Don't Trust Government (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 320 pp (edited with Joseph Nye & David King)

"American Intelligence and the World Economy," monograph for In From the Cold: Report of the Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on the Future of U.S. Intelligence (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1996), pp. 134-262 (also a co-author of the task force report)

Germany Unified and Europe Transformed: A Study in Statecraft (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 528 pp (with Condoleezza Rice), also published in German as Sternstunde der Diplomatie (Berlin: Propyläen/Ullstein, 1997)

Cooperative Denuclearization: From Pledges to Deeds, CSIA Studies in International Security No. 2 (Cambridge: Center for Science and International Affairs, 1993), 293 pp (edited with Graham Allison, Ashton Carter, and Steven Miller)

Articles, Chapters, Case Studies

"Lessons from the Second World War: A Reply to President Putin," The American Interest, 31 July 2020, at <https://www.the-american-interest.com/2020/07/31/a-reply-to-president-putin/>

"The Rise of Strategic Corruption: How States Weaponize Graft," Foreign Affairs, vol. 99 no. 4

- (July/August 2020): 107-20 (with Eric Edelman, Kristofer Harrison, & Celeste Ward Gventer)
- “Superpowers Walking a Tightrope: The Choices of April and May 1990,” in Daniel Hamilton & Kristina Spohr, eds., Exiting the Cold War, Entering a New World (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 2019), pp. 45-74 (with Condoleezza Rice)
- “To Regain Policy Competence: The Software of American Public Problem Solving,” Texas National Security Review, vol. 2 no. 4 (August 2019): 110-27
- “Why Did America Cross the Pacific? Reconstructing the U.S. Decision to Take the Philippines, 1898-99,” Texas National Security Review, Vol. 1 no. 1 (December 2017): 36-67
- “Is the World Slouching Toward a Grave Systemic Crisis?” The Atlantic, 11 August 2017, at <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/08/zelikow-systemic-crisis/536205/>, also published as “The Idealism of What Works,” in The World Turned Upside Down: Maintaining American Leadership in a Dangerous Age, ed. Nicholas Burns, Leah Bitounis & Jonathon Price (Washington: Aspen Institute, 2017), pp. 17-31
- “The Art of the Global Deal,” The American Interest, March/April 2017, pp. 48-61
- “The Nature of History’s Lessons,” in The Power of the Past: History and Statecraft ed. Hal Brands & Jeremi Suri (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 2016), pp. 281-309
- “U.S. and Coalition Strategy Against ISIS,” in Blindspot: America’s Response to Radicalism in the Middle East, ed. Nicholas Burns & Jonathon Price (Washington, DC: Aspen Institute, 2015), pp. 191-208
- “US Strategic Planning in 1989-90,” in The Revolutions of 1989, ed. Wolfgang Mueller & Michael Gehler (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2015), pp. 30-52
- “Defense Entropy,” The American Interest, March/April 2014, pp. 39-48
- “Defense Entropy and Future Readiness, Fast and Slow,” in The Future of American Defense, ed. Nicholas Burns & Jonathon Price (Washington, DC: Aspen Institute, 2014), pp. 49-72
- “The Evolution of Intelligence Reform, 2002-2004,” Studies in Intelligence, Vol. 56, no. 3 (September 2012), pp. 1-20
- “Codes of Conduct for a Twilight War,” Houston Law Review, Vol. 49, no. 1 (Symposium 2012), pp. 1-52
- “Afterword: The Twilight War,” in The 9/11 Commission Report: The Attack from Planning to Aftermath (New York: W.W. Norton, 2011), pp. 499-548
- “U.S. Strategic Planning in 2001-2002,” in In Uncertain Times: American Foreign Policy After

the Berlin Wall and 9/11, ed. Melvyn Leffler & Jeffrey Legro (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), pp. 96-116

“The Politics of Troop Withdrawal” (review essay on article by Robert Jervis for a special forum in Diplomatic History on the politics of troop withdrawal), H-Diplo Article Reviews, 21 June 2010, at <http://www.h-net.org/%7Ediplo/reviews/PDF/AR265d.pdf>

“The Suicide of the East? 1989 and the Fall of Communism,” Foreign Affairs, Vol. 88, no. 6 (November/December 2009), pp. 130-140

“The Intelligence Establishment: Memorandum for the President,” in The Instruments and Institutions of American Purpose, ed. Kurt Campbell & Jonathon Price (Washington, DC: Aspen Institute, 2009), pp. 47-60

Prepared statement, in What Went Wrong: Torture and the Office of Legal Counsel in the Bush Administration, Hearing before the Subcommittee on Administrative Oversight and the Courts of the Senate Judiciary Committee, 111th Cong., 1st sess., Serial no. J-111-22, 13 May 2009, pp. 662-689

“An Open, Civilized World,” The American Interest, September/October 2008, pp. 16-31 (with Ernest May)

“Turning Points in the Cold War: German Unification,” in Turning Points in Ending the Cold War, ed. Kiron K. Skinner (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2008), pp. 229-254 (with Condoleezza Rice)

“Legal Policy for a Twilight War,” Houston Journal of International Law, Vol. 30, no. 1 (Fall 2007), pp. 89-109

“The United States, the End of the Cold War, and After,” in American Foreign Relations since 1600: A Guide to the Literature, ed. Robert L. Beisner & Kurt Hanson, Vol. 2 (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2d ed., 2003), pp. 1861-1880

“Biological Security & Public Health: In Search of a Global Treatment,” A Report from the Aspen Strategy Group (Queenstown, MD: Aspen Institute, 2003), 64 pp. (edited with Kurt Campbell)

“The Transformation of National Security,” The National Interest, No. 71 (Spring 2003), pp. 17-28; also published as “Les fondements de la nouvelle politique américaine de sécurité,” Commentaire, Vol. 26, No. 102 (2003), pp. 261-272

“The United States, the Cold War, and the Post-Cold War Order,” in From War to Peace: Altered Strategic Landscapes in the Twentieth Century, ed. Paul Kennedy & William Hitchcock (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 159-84

“The Kennedy Tapes: Past and Future,” Presidential Studies Quarterly, Vol. 30, no. 4 (December

- 2000), pp. 791-796 (with Ernest May)
- “American Engagement in Asia,” in America’s Asian Alliances, ed. Robert D. Blackwill & Paul Dibb (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000), pp. 19-30
- “American Policy and Cuba, 1961-1963,” Diplomatic History, Vol. 24, no. 2 (Spring 2000), pp. 317-334
- “History and Theory in the Work of Ernest R. May,” in Rethinking International Relations: Ernest R. May and the Study of World Affairs, ed. Akira Iriye (Chicago: Imprint Publications, 1999), pp. 366-370
- “American Policy and the War for Kosovo,” Miller Center Report, Vol. 15 no. 2 (Summer 1999), pp. 6-13
- “Großes kleinmütiges Europa?: Eine amerikanische Sichtweise,” Internationale Politik, Vol. 54, no. 5 (May 1999), pp. 68-74
- “The Statesman in Winter: Kissinger on the Ford Years,” (essay on Henry Kissinger, “Years of Renewal”), Foreign Affairs, Vol. 78 no. 3 (May-June 1999), pp. 123-128
- “Catastrophic Terrorism,” Foreign Affairs, Vol. 77 no. 6 (November-December 1998), pp. 80-94 (with Ashton Carter and John Deutch)
- “Camelot Confidential,” Diplomatic History, Vol. 22, no. 4 (Fall 1998), pp. 642-653 (with Ernest May)
- “Treasury and the Mexican Shock,” Case C15-98-1422.0, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University (1998) (with Kirsten Lundberg)
- “George C. Marshall and the Moscow CFM Meeting of 1947,” Diplomacy and Statecraft, Vol. 8, no. 2 (July 1997), pp. 97-124
- “American Economic Intelligence: Past Practice and Future Principles,” Intelligence and National Security, Vol. 12, no. 1 (January 1997), pp. 164-177, also published in Eternal Vigilance?: 50 Years of the CIA, ed. Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones & Christopher Andrew (London: Frank Cass, 1997), pp. 164-177
- "Virtual Visions, Past and Future," in Nuclear Weapons In A Transformed World: The Challenge of Virtual Nuclear Arsenals, ed. Michael J. Mazarr (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), pp. 359-68
- "Die USA zwischen Deutschland und der Sowjetunion: 1947 und 1989," in Deutschland in Europa: Nationale Interessen und internationale Ordnung im 20. Jahrhundert, ed. Gottfried Niedhart, Detlef Junker & Michael W. Richter (Mannheim: Palatium Verlag, 1997), pp. 285-316

- "The Masque of Institutions," Survival: The IISS Quarterly, Vol. 38, no. 1 (Spring 1996), pp. 6-18; also published in NATO's Transformation: The Changing Shape of the Atlantic Alliance, ed. Philip H. Gordon (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1997), pp. 77-89
- "Persuading a President: Jimmy Carter and American Troops in Korea," Case CR1-96-1319.0, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University (1996) (with Joe Wood)
- "American Security Policy: Toward a New Entente with Russia," in Aspen Strategy Group, Securing Peace in the New Era: Politics in the Former Soviet Union and the Challenge to American Security (Queenstown, Md.: Aspen Institute, 1994), pp. 37-70
- "The United States and Russia," in Damage Limitation or Crisis? Russia and the Outside World, ed. Robert D. Blackwill & Sergei A. Karaganov, CSIA Studies in International Security No. 5 (Washington, DC: Brassey's, 1994), pp. 307-28
- "Foreign Policy Engineering: From Theory to Practice and Back Again," International Security, Vol. 18, no. 4 (Spring 1994), pp. 143-71
- "Prelude to War: U.S. Policy Toward Iraq, 1988-1990," Case C16-94-1245.0, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University (1994) (with Zachary Karabell)
- "Beyond Boris Yeltsin," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 73, no. 1 (America and the World issue, January/February 1994), pp. 44-55
- "Offensive Military Options," in New Nuclear Nations: Consequences for U.S. Policy, ed. Robert Blackwill & Albert Carnesale (New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1993), pp. 162-95
- "Policing Northern Ireland (A): A Question of Primacy," Case C16-93-1229.0, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University (1993)
- "Policing Northern Ireland (B): A Question of Balance," Case C16-93-1230.0, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University (1993)
- "Policing Northern Ireland: Teaching Note," Case C16-93-1230.2, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University (1993)
- "Preventing nuclear proliferation in the former Soviet Union," in United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs, Disarmament Topical Papers 10: Non-Proliferation and Confidence-building Measures in Asia and the Pacific (New York: United Nations, 1992), pp. 59-65
- "The new Concert of Europe," Survival: The IISS Quarterly, Vol. 34, no. 2 (Summer 1992): pp. 12-30; longer version also published in Strategic Stability In A Rapidly Changing World, ed. David Holloway (Stanford University: Center for International Security and

Arms Control, 1992)

"The Future of Non-Strategic Nuclear Forces and Opportunities for Cooperative Understandings with the New Governments in the Soviet Union," *Strengthening Democratic Institutions Project Occasional Paper*, Harvard University, August 1991

"The United States Role in European Security," in *The Helsinki Process and the Future of Europe*, ed. Samuel Wells, Jr. (Washington, DC: Wilson Center Press, 1990), pp. 107-118

"The United States and the Use of Force: A Historical Summary," in *Democracy, Strategy, and Vietnam: Implications for American Policymaking*, ed. George Osborn, Asa Clark, Daniel Kaufman & Douglas Lute (Lexington: D.C. Heath, 1987), pp. 31-81

"Force Without War, 1975-82," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 7, no. 1 (March 1984): pp. 29-54

"Visions of the Future War in Europe," *Fletcher Forum*, Vol. 7, no. 2 (Winter 1983): pp. 313-321

"The RICO Statute: The Business Client as Racketeer," *Texas Bar Journal*, Vol. 45 (1982): pp.159-165 (with David Berg)

"The Constitutionality of Imposing the Death Penalty for Felony Murder," *Houston Law Review*, Vol. 15, no. 2 (1978), pp. 356-379 (cited by Justice O'Connor in Supreme Court case which later decided this issue)

"Texas Redefines the Intent to Kill," *National Journal of Criminal Defense*, Vol. 3 (1977), pp. 317-326

Reviews and Commentary

"Not What I Had Planned," essay for series on "Learning the Scholar's Craft: Reflections of Historians and International Relations Scholars," *H-Diplo* Essay 251, 30 June 2020, at <https://issforum.org/essays/PDF/E251.pdf>

"The Rest is History – Creating History: Finding Perspective in Times of Crisis," *The Verse*, 28 June 2020, at <https://www.theversemedia.com/articles/creating-history-finding-perspective-in-times-of-crisis>

"Self-Dealing in Ukraine: The Core of the Impeachment Inquiry," *Lawfare*, 21 October 2019, at <https://www.lawfareblog.com/self-dealing-ukraine-core-impeachment-inquiry>

"Author Response: Lessons Learned," in "Book Review Roundtable: What to Make of the Suez

- Canal Crisis,” *Texas National Security Review*, 23 April 2019, at <https://tnsr.org/roundtable/book-review-roundtable-what-to-make-of-the-suez-canal-crisis/>
- “Decline or Renewal?” essay on Paul MacDonald & Joseph Parent, *Twilight of the Titans: Great Power Decline and Retrenchment*, *H-Diplo* Review Essay 47, 1 February 2019, pp. 1-7, at <https://issforum.org/ISSF/PDF/RE47.pdf>
- “Policy Engineering, Not Policy Guesswork,” in Michael Nelson, Jeffrey Chidester & Stefanie Georgakis Abbott, eds., *Crucible: The President’s First Year* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2018), pp. 135-40
- “What Robert Mueller and William Barr Need to Tell Us,” *Washington Post*, 28 January 2019, https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/what-robert-mueller-and-william-barr-need-to-tell-us/2019/01/27/d477f2c2-201b-11e9-8b59-0a28f2191131_story.html
- “‘Documentary Evidence’ and Llewellyn Thompson’s Berlin/Cuba Assessment of Soviet Motives in the October 1962 Missile Crisis,” *H-Diplo* Commentary 2, 10 December 2018, pp. 1-7, at <https://issforum.org/essays/PDF/CR2.pdf>
- “Peace in Korea: Next Steps,” *Global Asia*, vol. 13 no. 3 (September 2018): 108-11, https://www.globalasia.org/v13no3/focus/peace-in-korea-next-steps_philip-zelikow
- “There’s No Such Thing as ‘Traditional’ Republican Foreign Policy,” *Foreign Policy*, 24 July 2018, at <https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/07/24/theres-no-such-thing-as-traditional-republican-foreign-policy/>
- “How Diplomacy with North Korea Can Work,” *Foreign Affairs*, 9 July 2018, at https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/north-korea/2018-07-09/how-diplomacy-north-korea-can-work?cid=%3Fcid%3Dauthor_guestpass_07092018
- Newsmaker interview about Trump’s first year, printed in full in Frauke Steffens, “Trump is eher ein nationaler Sozialist,” *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 29 January 2018, at http://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/trumps-praesidentschaft/donald-trump-als-nationaler-sozialist-historiker-im-interview-15416457.html?printPagedArticle=true#pageIndex_0
- “Trump’s National Security Strategy Is Nothing Like the British Empire’s ‘Blue Water’ Policy,” *Foreign Policy*, 26 December 2017, at <https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/12/26/trumps-national-security-strategy-is-nothing-like-the-british-empires-blue-water-policy/>
- “The Magic Mirror Maze,” review essay on two new books by Robert Jervis, in *H-Diplo/ISSF Roundtable*, vol. 10 no. 4 (2017), pp. 16-20, at <https://issforum.org/ISSF/PDF/ISSF-Roundtable-10-4.pdf>
- “9/11 Commission Director: No Evidence that CIA Sought to Recruit Hijackers,” *The Cipher Brief*, 3 November 2017, at <https://www.thecipherbrief.com/column/strategic-view/911->

[commission-director-no-evidence-cia-sought-recruit-future-911-hijackers?utm_source=Join+the+Community+Subscribers&utm_campaign=0e0f67be2c-TCB+November+3+2017&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_02cbee778d-0e0f67be2c-122486157](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/story/cms/story/2017/09/20/commission-director-no-evidence-cia-sought-recruit-future-911-hijackers?utm_source=Join+the+Community+Subscribers&utm_campaign=0e0f67be2c-TCB+November+3+2017&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_02cbee778d-0e0f67be2c-122486157)

“The Logic Hole at the Center of Trump’s UN Speech,” *Foreign Policy*, 20 September 2017, at <http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/09/20/trumps-u-n-address-was-self-defeating/>

“The Domestic Terrorism Danger: Focus on Unauthorized Private Military Groups,” *Lawfare*, 15 August 2017, at <https://www.lawfareblog.com/domestic-terrorism-danger-focus-unauthorized-private-military-groups>

“The law says transgender policy is for Congress to decide, not the president,” *Foreign Policy*, 28 July 2017, at <http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/07/28/the-law-says-transgender-policy-is-for-congress-to-decide-not-the-president/>

“The Dangers of Back Channels: A Note on Back-Channel Diplomacy and the Cuban Missile Crisis,” *The American Interest*, 7 June 2017, at <https://www.the-american-interest.com/2017/06/07/the-dangers-of-back-channels/>

“Kissinger: The American Castlereagh,” review of Niall Ferguson, “Kissinger, Volume 1, 1923-1968: The Idealist,” *H-Diplo*, *Roundtable Review*, vol. 18 no. 3 (2016), pp. 19-23, at <http://www.tiny.cc/Roundtable-XVIII-3>

“Capitalism 2.0,” *The American Interest*, 27 June 2016, at <http://www.the-american-interest.com/2016/06/27/capitalism-2-0/> (with Sen. Mark Warner, moderated by Douglas Blackmon)

“To balance the nuclear deal, defeat ISIS and confront Iran,” *Financial Times*, 23 July 2015, p. 9

“Ukraine Should Not Become the Next Greece,” *Real Clear Politics*, 14 July 2015, at http://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2015/07/14/ukraine_should_not_become_the_next_greece_127372.html

“Quarantine the Middle East,” *New York Times*, 4 July 2014, at <http://nyti.ms/1xqIFjC>

“Foreword,” to *41: Inside the Presidency of George H.W. Bush*, ed. Michael Nelson & Barbara Perry (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014), pp. vii-xi

“We require a strategy not just a reaction to Russia,” *Financial Times*, 24 March 2014, p. 7 and at <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/6a773136-b0ee-11e3-9f6f-00144feab7de.html>

“Historians Respond to MOOCs: A Worthwhile Experiment,” *Perspectives on History: The Newsletter of the American Historical Association*, February 2014, at <http://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/february-2014/historians-respond-to-moocs-a-worthwhile-experiment>

Presentation and commentary in panel on “Historical Memories,” in conference on Diplomacy, Alliances and War: Anglo-American Perspectives on History and Strategy in the September 11th Era, organized by the University of Texas-Austin and King’s College-London, November 2013, pp. 7-10, 19-20, 23, 29-31 of the panel 1 session, available at http://www.clementscenter.org/images/Transcript_Diplomacy_Alliances_and_War_Panel_1.pdf

"America and Germany need to share more secrets," Financial Times, 8 November 2013, p. 7

"History shows why we must take action in Syria," Financial Times, 4 September 2013, at <http://blogs.ft.com/the-a-list/2013/09/04/history-shows-why-we-must-take-action-in-syria/>

Review of Francis Gavin, “Nuclear Statecraft: History and Strategy in America’s Atomic Age,” H-Diplo, Roundtable Review, vol. 15 no. 1 (2013), pp. 27-29, at <http://www.h-net.org/~diplo/roundtables/PDF/Roundtable-XV-1.pdf>

“Steven Spielberg, Historian,” New York Times, 29 November 2012, at <http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/11/29/steven-spielberg-historian/>

"Learn the Cuba lesson and seize the initiative," Financial Times, 19 October 2012, p. 9

“Now Obama must act on his foreign policy plan,” Financial Times, 10 January 2012, p. 10

“Strategic Perspectives,” in William Quandt, ed., Troubled Triangle: The United States, Turkey, and Israel in the New Middle East (Charlottesville: Just World Publishing, 2011), pp. 67-70

“Now we need to confront the post-9/11 paradox,” Financial Times, 10-11 September 2011, p. 7

“The twilight war,” Prospect, September 2011, pp. 38-42

“Stop thinking only of Jacobins or tyrants,” Financial Times, 23 August 2011, p. 7

“The global era and the end of foreign policy,” Financial Times, 17 August 2011, p. 9

“Bin Laden killing buries the trauma of 9/11,” Financial Times, 4 May 2011, p. 9

“America must regain the initiative abroad,” Financial Times, 27 April 2011, p. 9

“Only a no-drive zone can stop Gaddafi’s forces now,” Financial Times, 16 March 2011, p. 11

“This is not a revolution made in America,” Financial Times, 3 February 2011, p. 11

“Germany’s international role is smaller, says reunification expert,” (interview) Deutsche Welle,

30 September 2010, at <http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,,6056154,00.html>

“Protecting America: Are We Doing Enough?,” (interview) Georgetown Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 11 no. 2 (Summer/Fall 2010), pp. 149-156

Review of Frédéric Bozo, “Mitterrand, the End of the Cold War, and German Unification,” H-Diplo Roundtable, 26 April 2010, at <http://www.hnet.org/~diplo/roundtables/PDF/Roundtable-XI-23.pdf>

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