

MICHAEL CHAPMAN KIMMAGE

Director, The Kennan Institute

PRESENT POSITIONS

Founding Director, The Kennan Institute

- Appointed May 2025

Director, Kennan Institute, Wilson Center

- Appointed January 2025

Professor, Department of History, The Catholic University of America

- Full Professor of History (2015-present); Associate Professor (2010-2015); Assistant Professor (2005-2010)

GOVERNMENT SERVICE

Member, Office of Policy Planning, U.S. Department of State Washington, DC (2014-2017)

- held the Russia/Ukraine portfolio; policy analysis and recommendations regarding Russia, Ukraine and Europe; briefed office director; outreach to the expert community

THINK-TANK POSITIONS

- Non-Resident Senior Associate, Center for Strategic and International Studies; Washington, DC (2022 to 2025)
- Member, Advisory Board, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Berlin, Germany (2020-2024)
- Chair, Advisory Council, Kennan Institute, Wilson Center Washington, DC (2020-present); appointed member of Advisory Council in 2017
- Bosch Fellow, Transatlantic Academy, German Marshall Fund; Washington, DC (2017-2018); German Marhsall Fund fellow (2018-2022)

EDUCATION

Harvard University:

- Ph.D. in American Studies, 2004
- A.M. in history, 2000

Oxford University, University College

- B.A. with first-class honors in modern history, 1997

Oberlin College

- B.A. with highest honors in history, 1995

MAJOR PUBLICATIONS

Books and Edited Volumes:

- *Collisions: The War in Ukraine and the Origins of the New Global Instability* (Oxford University Press, 2024)
- *The Abandonment of the West: The History of an Idea in American Foreign Policy* (Basic Books, 2020): reviewed in the *Wall Street Journal*, *Economist*, *Financial Times*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Neuer Züricher Zeitung*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *National Interest*
- *A Kennan for Our Times: Revisiting America's Greatest Twentieth-Century Diplomat in the 21st-Century* (Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2019): co-edited volume on George Kennan's career, on Cold War history and on policy planning
- *The Transatlantic Reconsidered: The Atlantic World in Crisis* (University of Manchester Press, 2018; paperback, 2020): co-edited volume on transatlantic relations
- *Journey through America* (Berghahn Books, 2012): translation of a 1959 book by the German writer, Wolfgang Koeppen, about his travels through the United States
- *In History's Grip: Philip Roth's Newark Trilogy* (Stanford University Press, 2012)
- *The Conservative Turn: Lionel Trilling, Whittaker Chambers and the Lessons of Anti-Communism* (Harvard University Press, 2009)

FELLOWSHIPS AND HONORS

- Richard C. Holbrooke Fellow, American Academy of Berlin (fall 2024)
- Franklin Fellow, U.S. Department of State; Washington, DC (2014-2015)
- Senior Fellow, Center for Advanced Studies, Ludwig Maximilian University; Munich, Germany (2010, 2011, 2012, 2013; summer 2021)
- Fellow, Transatlantic Academy, German Marshall Fund; Washington, DC (2012-2013)
- Senior Specialist, Fulbright Foundation; teaching at Ludwig Maximilian University; Munich, Germany (summer 2012)
- German Chancellor Scholar, Humboldt Foundation; teaching at Ludwig Maximilian University; Munich, Germany (2004-2005)
- British Marshall Scholar; Oxford University, United Kingdom (1995-1997)

MEDIA APPEARANCES

Television: CNN, BBC, Deutsche Welle, CNBC Asia, France 24, AP, Lithuanian Television, Al-Jazeera, i24, C-SPAN, C-SPAN Book TV, N1 (Bosnia/Herzegovina)

Radio: Deutschlandfunk Kultur, ARD, BBC, Deutschland Radio, Bavarian Radio, Berlin-Brandenburg Radio, Voice of America, WHYY, KQED, YLE (Finnish Broadcasting Company)

Podcasts: *Fresh Air* (NPR); *President's Inbox* (Council on Foreign Relations); *Foreign Affairs Interview* (Council on Foreign Relations); *This Is Democracy*; *Russian Roulette* (CSIS); *History As It Happens*

Newspaper interviews and citations: *New York Times*, *Bloomberg*, *Neuer Zuricher Zeitung*; *Die Zeit Online*; *Il Foglio*; *Kyodo News* (leading Japanese newspaper); *Weekendavisen* (leading Danish magazine); *Lietuvos Rytas* (leading Lithuanian daily newspaper); *Delfi* (leading Baltic internet news portal); *15 Minutes* (leading Lithuanian internet news portal); *Respekt* (leading Czech newspaper)

INVITED LECTURES:

- “Ukraine War,” Charlottesville Council on Foreign Relations (2025)
- “Ukraine War,” Vanderbilt University (2025)
- “Ukraine War,” Charlottesville Council on Foreign Relations (2025)
- “Learning from the Cold War” [keynote] University of Texas at Austin (2025)
- “Ukraine War,” Coastal Carolina University (2025)
- “Ukraine War,” Temple University (2025)
- “Ukraine War,” Columbia University (2025)
- “Ukraine War,” University of Cologne (2024)
- “Ukraine War,” Sciences Po, Paris (2024)
- “Ukraine War,” Barenboim/Said Academy, Berlin (2024)
- “Ukraine War,” American Academy of Berlin (2024)
- “Ukraine War,” University of Frankfurt (2024)
- “Ukraine War,” Staatsbibliothek Berlin (2024)
- “*Collisions*” [book talk] Stanford University (2024)
- “*Collisions*” [book talk] Center for Security Policy, Geneva (2024)
- “*Collisions*” [book talk] Institut fuer die Wissenschaft vom Menschen, Vienna (2024)
- “*Collisions*” [book talk] Vaclav Havel Library, Prague (2024)
- “*Collisions*” [book talk] Center for East European and International Studies, Berlin (2024)
- “*Collisions*” [book talk] Center for Advanced Studies, Ludwig Maximilian University, Munich (2024)
- “*Collisions*” [book talk] King’s College London (2024)
- “*Collisions*” [book talk] Oxford University (2024)
- “*Collisions*” [book talk] Oberlin College (2024)
- “*Collisions*” [book talk] University of Texas at Austin (2024)
- “*Collisions*” [book talk] Columbia University (2024)
- “*Collisions*” [book talk] George Washington University (2024)
- “*Collisions*” [book talk] Yale Law School (2024)
- “*Collisions*” [book talk] Harvard Book Store, Cambridge, MA (2024)
- “*Collisions*” [book talk] Politics and Prose, Washington, DC (2024)
- “*Collisions*” [book talk] New York University (2024)
- “Discovering Kafka at Foggy Bottom,” University of Pittsburgh (2023)
- “The Four Origins of the War in Ukraine,” Princeton University (2023)
- “The War in Ukraine and U.S. Policy,” Claremont McKenna College (2023)
- “Countering Russian Aggression in Ukraine?” Carleton College (2022)
- “On NATO Expansion,” King’s College London (2022)
- “War in Ukraine?” Carleton College (2022)
- “The Four Origins of the War in Ukraine,” Miami University of Ohio (2022)
- “Why Do We Get Russia Wrong?” Oberlin College (2018)
- “U.S.-Russian Relations,” Youngstown State University (2018)

- "The Idea of the West," University of Zurich (Zurich, Switzerland; 2017)
- "Partners of Last Resort: U.S.-Russian Relations since the End of the Cold War," University of Warsaw (Warsaw, Poland; 2017)
- "U.S.-Russian Relations: Crises without End," University of California at Santa Barbara (2017)
- "The Rise of the West circa 1963: John F. Kennedy in Berlin, William Hardy McNeill in Chicago," University of California at Santa Barbara (2017)
- "U.S.-Russia-Germany: Diplomatic Triangle," Studienstiftung des Deutschen Volkes (Neubeuern, Germany; 2017)
- "The Current State of Transatlantic Relations: Germany, the United States and Russia," University of Heidelberg (Heidelberg, Germany; 2017)
- "The Plots against America: America's Literature of Political Pessimism," Ludwig Maximilian University (Munich, Germany; 2017)
- "The Decline of the West," Mount Saint Mary's College (2017)
- "Historians in the Making of Foreign Policy," The Catholic University of America (2016)
- "Jewish Intellectuals and Western Civilization," University of Indiana at Bloomington (2016)
- "Academics in Policy Land: Conversations across the University-Policy Divide," University of Indiana at Bloomington (2016)
- "Russia for Policy Makers," Middlebury Institute of International Studies (2016)
- "Patterns in the U.S.-Russian Relationship," U.S. Department of State (2015)
- "The Ethics of Choice: The United States in Iraq," The Catholic University of America (2014)
- "The Decline of the West: An American Story," Duke University (2014)
- "Is the U.S. a Western Country," Smithsonian Air and Space Museum (Washington, DC; 2014)
- "The Decline of the West," University of Freiburg (Freiburg, Germany; 2014)
- "Monumental America," Eichstaett University (Eichstaett, Germany; 2014)
- "The Decline of the West: An American Story," Stanford University (2014)
- "In Search of American Conservatism," The Catholic University of America (2014)
- "The Decline of the West: An American Story," University of Texas at Austin (2013)
- "End of the Cold War: Triumph of the Nation State?" Studienstiftung des Deutschen Volkes (Krakow, Poland; 2013)
- "Ronald Reagan and Perestroika," Technical University of Braunschweig (Braunschweig, Germany; 2013)
- "Wolfgang Koeppen's *Journey through America*," German History Institute (Washington, DC; 2013)
- "Philip Roth," George Washington University (2013)
- "Philip Roth and the Perils of History," George Washington University (2012)
- "Toward a Definition of American Conservatism," University of Bremen (Bremen, Germany; 2012)
- "Philip Roth's Newark Trilogy," Columbia University (2011)

- "The Strange Disappearance of September 11," Vytautas Magnus University (Kaunas, Lithuania; 2009)
- "The Conservative Turn: Lionel Trilling and Whittaker Chambers," Harvard University (2009)
- "School Ties: Lionel Trilling, Whittaker Chambers and Columbia University," Columbia University (2009)
- "Conservatism after George W. Bush," Ludwig Maximilian University (Munich, Germany; 2008)
- "The Conservative Turn: Lionel Trilling, Whittaker Chambers and the Lessons of Anti-Stalinism," German Historical Institute (Washington, DC; 2008)
- "Jewish Vilnius," Lithuanian Institute of History (Vilnius, Lithuania; 2007)
- "Early Neoconservatism," Institute for Contemporary History (Munich, Germany; 2007)
- "Philip Roth," Johann Wolfgang Goethe-University (Frankfurt, Germany; 2005)
- "Neoconservatism," Amerika Haus (Munich, Germany; 2005)
- "In History's Grip: Philip Roth's Newark Trilogy," Ludwig Maximilian University (Munich, Germany; 2004)

CONFERENCES:

Conferences Organized:

- "Germany and the United States Contend with War in Europe," Richard C. Holbrooke Workshop (Berlin, Germany; 2024)
- "A Kennan for Our Times," Kennan Institute, Wilson Center (Washington, DC; 2018)
- "A Great Divide: Transatlantic Relations," Center for Advanced Studies (Munich, Germany; 2015)
- "American Music and the Cold War," Center for Advanced Studies (Munich, Germany; 2012)
- "The Enlightenment between Europe and America," Center for Advanced Studies (Munich, Germany; 2010)
- "The Idea of the West," Ludwig Maximilian University (Munich, Germany; 2008)
- "Globalization and (Anti)-Americanism, Harvard University (2001)

Academic Conference Papers and Presentations:

- Speaker, "Thomas Mann's *Mario and the Magician*," University of St. Gallen (St. Gallen, Switzerland; 2023)
- Speaker, "Is Europe a Joke?" University of Amsterdam (Amsterdam, 2023)
- Speaker, "The Liberal Aesthetic and Postliberal Trends," Modern Language Association (2021, Toronto, Canada)
- Speaker, "Philip Roth," University of Amsterdam (Amsterdam, 2021)
- Speaker, "Bridging the Policy Divide," American Association of Eastern European and Eurasian Studies Conference (2017, Chicago)
- Speaker, "How the West Was Won: Ronald Reagan and the Ideal of Western Civilization," University of Göttingen (Göttingen, Germany; 2017)
- Speaker, "Rethinking the West in a Post-Cold War World," University of Maryland, College Park (2015)
- Speaker, "The History of Communism," Southern Labor Studies Association Conference; (Washington, DC; 2015)
- Speaker, "The Enemy by Any Other Name: George Kennan, the Soviet Union and the Russians," Institute of Contemporary History (Munich, 2015)
- Speaker, "Philip Roth and Thomas Mann," University of St. Gallen (St. Gallen, Switzerland; 2015)
- Speaker, "Philip Roth," University of Venice Ca' Foscari (Venice, 2014)
- Speaker, "In Search of Western Civilization," German Historical Institute (Washington, DC; 2013)
- Speaker, "Roth and Newark," Roth@80 Conference (Newark, New Jersey; 2013)
- Speaker, "In Search of American Conservatism," Center for Advanced Studies (Munich, 2012)
- Speaker, "Tom Lehrer and the Power of Cold War (Musical) Comedy," Center for Advanced Studies (Munich, 2012)
- Speaker, "Cold War: Order, Subversion and Conservative Turns," Konstanz University (Konstanz, Germany; 2011)
- Speaker, "Global Citizens or Rootless Cosmopolitans: Rethinking Jewish Internationalism," Association for Jewish Studies Conference (Washington, DC; 2011)
- Speaker, "America and the idea of Eastern European Literature," Summer Literary Seminar (Vilnius, Lithuania; 2011)
- Commentator, "Age of Fracture by Daniel Rodgers," Woodrow Wilson Center (Washington, DC; 2011)
- "Rethinking Anti-Communism," Organization of American Historians Conference (Houston, Texas; 2011)
- Speaker, "Cold War Politics," Lasky Center for Transatlantic Studies (Munich, 2010)
- Speaker, "The American Idea of the West, from Edward Said to Samuel Huntington," Center for Advanced Studies (Munich, 2010)
- Speaker, "America Present and America Anticipated in Wolfgang Koeppen's *Tauben im*

- Gras*,” Center for Advanced Studies (Munich, 2010)
- Speaker, “An Evening Wasted with Tom Lehrer,” Amerika Haus (Munich, 2010)
 - Speaker, “The Author’s America,” Koeppenhaus (Greifswald, Germany; 2010)
 - Speaker, “Alexander Solzhenitsyn and the Emptiness of American Conservatism,” U.S. Intellectual History Conference (New York City, 2010)
 - Speaker, “Cold War Modern,” National Art Gallery (Vilnius, Lithuania; 2009)
 - Speaker, “Jewish Intellectuals and the Cold War,” Hebrew University (Jerusalem, 2009)
 - Speaker, “The Idea of the West, 1920s to 1980s,” Heidelberg University (Heidelberg, Germany; 2009)
 - Speaker, “Allan Bloom and the Decline of the West,” Ludwig Maximilian University (Munich, 2008)
 - Speaker, “The Politics of the American Dream,” The Catholic University of America (Washington, DC, 2007)
 - Speaker, “The Contemporary Political Situation,” Higher School of Economics (Moscow, 2006)
 - Speaker, “Old America, New Europe: A Reversal of Roles,” Technical University of Dresden, (Dresden, 2005)
 - Speaker, “Lionel Trilling the Communist,” University of Louisiana at Lafayette (2005)
 - Speaker, “The Conservative Turn,” American Historical Association Conference (Chicago, 2003)
 - Speaker, “Lionel Trilling, Whittaker Chambers and the Politics of Civilization,” University of Frankfurt (Frankfurt, 2003)
 - Speaker, “Wolfgang Koeppen’s *Amerikafahrt*: The Marvel and Melancholy of the American Example,” Harvard University (2003)

Policy-Related Conferences and Events:

- Speaker, Indiana University at Bloomington (2025)
- Speaker, U.S. Consulate Leipzig (2025)
- Speaker, European Council on Foreign Relations (Vienna, Austria; 2025)
- Speaker, Munk School University of Toronto (2025)
- Speaker, Heidelberg University (2025)
- Speaker, Neuer Zuericher Zeitung (Zurich, Switzerland; 2025)
- Speaker, Viadrina University (Frankfurt an der Oder, Germany; 2024)
- Speaker, Council on Foreign Relations (Washington, DC; 2024)
- Speaker, Quincy Institute (Washington, DC; 2024)
- Speaker, Institute for Peace and Diplomacy (Geneva, Switzerland; 2024)
- Speaker, U.S.-Japan Dialogue on Russia-China Relations (Tokyo, Japan; 2024)
- Speaker, National Endowment for Democracy (2023)
- Speaker, Geneva Centre for Security Policy Conference on European Security (Geneva, Switzerland; 2023)

- Speaker, European Council on Foreign Relations/Center for a New American Century Conference on Russia (Stockholm, Sweden; 2023)
- Speaker, Salzburg Global Seminar on Russia, (Salzburg, Austria; 2023)
- Keynote speaker, University Consortium Conference on Russia, (Berlin, Germany; 2023)
- Expert participant and speaker, Aspen Institute Congressional Retreat (Cartagena, Colombia; 2023)
- Expert participant and speaker, Monterey Summer Symposium on U.S.-Russian Relations, (Armenia and Georgia; 2023)
- Expert participant, University Consortium Seminar on Russia, (Athens, Greece; 2023)
- Witness, “Containing Russia,” to U.S. Helsinki Commission, U.S. Congress (2022)
- Speaker, World Bank Europe Division (Washington, DC; 2022)
- Speaker, “NATO and U.S. Foreign Policy,” to Republican Party Chiefs of Staff, U.S. Senate (2022)
- Speaker, “NATO and U.S. Foreign Policy,” Aspen Institute Congressional Program, U.S. Congress (2022)
- Speaker, “U.S. Russia Policy,” to Congressional Staffers (Washington, DC; 2019)
- Participant, “Countering Russian Disinformation: Workshop,” Rand Corporation, (Washington, DC; 2018)
- Participant, “Enhanced Forward Presence: Tabletop Exercise,” Rand Corporation, (Washington, DC; 2018)
- Participant and speaker, “Policy Priorities in U.S.-Russia Relationship,” Russian International Affairs Council/Center for Strategic and International Studies, (Moscow, Russia; 2017)
- Participant and speaker, “The Future of European Security: Track 2,” OSCE Security Days Forum (Prague, Czechoslovakia; 2017)
- Participant, “U.S.-Russian Relations,” Dartmouth Security Conference Task Force, Wye River, Maryland (2016)
- Participant, Austin Forum on Diplomacy and Statecraft, University of Texas at Austin (2016)
- Participant, Roundtable Discussion on Europe and Russia, Lithuanian Television (Vilnius, Lithuania; 2014)

THINK-TANK WORK AND PROJECTS

- Conceptualized, organized and fund-raised for a project on containment for the Federal Foreign Office (in Germany); run through the Center for Strategic and International Studies (2024)
- Conceptualized and organized a two-day seminar on the origins of the war in Ukraine for U.S. European Command (Stuttgart, Germany; 2024)
- Conceptualized, organized and hosted discussion series on major publications in the field

of U.S.-Russian Relations, "The Long View," Kennan Institute, Wilson Center (2021-present)

- Conceptualized, organized and hosted discussion series on major publications in the field of U.S.-Russian Relations, "Monterey Conversations," Middlebury Institute of International Studies (2021-2023)
- Conceptualized, organized and led an ongoing discussion series on U.S.-Russian relations, "Strategic Priorities"; German Marshall Fund (2020-2022)
- Helped to organize, conduct and lead year-long project on the legacy of George Kennan's thinking; Kennan Institute, Wilson Center (2017-2018)
- Participated in and was lead writer for 2-year project on the role of Russia in the Middle East; Kennan Institute, Wilson Center (2019-2021)
- Participated in and contributed to year-long project, "Suspicious Minds: U.S.-German Relations in the Trump Era"; Transatlantic Academy, German Marshall Fund (2016-2017)

SHORTER PUBLICATIONS

Peer-Reviewed Articles:

- "Seven Aspects in Search of a Narrative: A Review of the *The West: A New History* by Anthony Grafton and David Bell," *boundary2* (2022)
- "Historiographical Essay on American Conservatism," *Oxford Bibliographies in Political Science* (2014)
- "Manhattan/Munich Transfer: America in Wolfgang Koeppen's *Tauben im Gras*," *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der Deutschen Literatur* (2010)
- "Politics in the American Novel," *The Princeton Encyclopedia of United States Political History* (2009)
- "The Modern Hero as Schlemiel," in *Arguing the Modern Jewish Canon: Essays on Literature and Culture in Honor of Ruth R. Wisse* (Harvard University Press, 2009)
- "The Plight of Conservative Literature in America," in *A New Literary History of America* (Harvard University Press, 2009)

Other Academic Publications:

- "The Failure to Deter: US Policy toward Ukraine and Russia from the End of the Cold War until February 24, 2022" in *War in Ukraine: Conflict, Strategy, and the Return of a Fractured World* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2024)
- "A Republic If You Can Keep It: Washington, DC's Memorial to Ulysses S. Grant" *CAS Blog*

- (2021)
- “On Democracy and Digression: Chapter 30 of Herman Melville’s *Moby-Dick*,” *Amerikastudien/American Studies* (2020)
 - “Civil War in Brunswick Maine” *CAS Blog* (2020)
 - “The Radical Election of 2016,” *Amerikanski Yezhegodnik/American Yearbook* (2018)
 - Philip Roth and Thomas Mann,” *Philip Roth Journal* (2015)
 - “Goin’ to Dallas: The Art of Lightnin’ Hopkins,” *Five Points: A Journal of Literature and Art* (2014)
 - “Entry on William F. Buckley, Jr.,” *Dictionary of American National Biography* (2014)
 - “Preface” to *Passage to America* (Tauris Press, 2013)
 - “The Mechanics of History in Philip Roth’s American Trilogy,” *Critical Insights: Philip Roth* (2013)
 - “Fathers and Writers,” *Philip Roth Journal* (2013)
 - “Cultural Studies,” *Reviews in American History*; review of *The Leading Man* by Burton Perretti and *Hip Figures* by Michael Szalay (2013)
 - “Review: *In Spies We Trust* by Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones,” *The American Historical Review* (2014)
 - *Business History Review*; review of *Masters of the Universe* by Daniel Stedman Jones (2013)
 - “Journey through America: An Excerpt” *Raritan* (2012)
 - “The Politics of the American Dream, 1980-2008,” in *The American Dream in the Twenty-First Century* (Temple University Press, 2011)
 - *Journal of American History*; review of *Neoconservatism* by Justin Vaisse (2010)
 - *American Historical Review*; review of *The Historiography of Communism* by Michael Brown (2010)
 - “America’s Germany and Germany’s America in Wolfgang Koeppen’s *Tauben im Gras*” *CAS E Publication* (2010)
 - “Atomic Historiography,” *Reviews in American History*; review of *The Atomic Bomb and American Society* by Rosemary B. Mariner and G. Kurt Piehler (2010)
 - “Ark of the Liberties,” *Reviews in American History*; review of *Ark of the Liberties* by Ted Widmer (2009)
 - “*The Middle of the Journey* and the Crisis of Liberalism” *The New England Review* (2009)
 - “Melvin Lasky und die Gedanke der Revolution,” in *Melvin Lasky: New York – Berlin – London: A Tale of Three Cities* (Lasky Center for Transatlantic Studies, 2010)
 - “Lionel Trilling’s *The Middle of the Journey* and the Complicated Origins of the Neoconservative Movement” in *The New York Intellectuals and Beyond* (Purdue University Press, 2008)

Policy Writing:

- “The War in Ukraine Changed the World in Ways We’re Only Starting to Comprehend” *New York Times* (2026)
- “Trump’s Power Paradox” *Foreign Affairs* (2025)

- “The Pernicious Spectacle of Trump’s Russia-Ukraine Diplomacy” *Foreign Affairs* (2025)
- “Europe Is Willing Itself to Power,” co-authored with Linas Kojala *Foreign Policy* (2025)
- “The Limits of Putin’s Balancing Act,” co-authored with Maria Lipman *Foreign Affairs* (2025)
- “What If America Abandons Ukraine?” co-authored with Liana Fix *Foreign Affairs* (2025)
- “The Zeitenwende Is Real This Time,” co-authored with Sudha David-Wilp *Foreign Affairs* (2025)
- “Russia Is Starting to Lose the War in Ukraine” *Foreign Policy* (2025)
- “Ukraine Needs a Peace of Inches, Not of Miles,” co-authored with Maxim Trudolubov *Foreign Policy* (2025)
- “The World Trump Wants” *Foreign Affairs* (2025)
- “Ignore the Defeatists” *Wall Street Journal* (2024)
- “Deutschlands Amerikanisches Dilemma” *Die Zeit* (2024)
- “How Ukraine Became a World War,” co-authored with Hanna Notte *Foreign Affairs* (2024)
- “Exiles Cannot Save Russia”, co-authored with Maria Lipman *Foreign Affairs* (2024)
- “Trump Is Unlikely to Abandon Ukraine,” *Wall Street Journal* (2024)
- “Kennan’s X Marks the Spot,” *Wilson Quarterly* (2024)
- “Der Krieg in Ukraine Wird Beenden” *Sueddeutsche Zeitung* (2024)
- “Wladimir Putin facht die Flammen an, wo es geht,” co-authored with Hanna Notte *Die Zeit* (2024)
- “Trump’s Threat to Europe,” co-authored with Liana Fix *Foreign Affairs* (2024)
- “America’s New Twilight Struggle with Russia,” co-authored with Max Bergmann, Maria Snegovaya and Jeffrey Mankoff *Foreign Affairs* (2024)
- “Containing Global Russia,” co-authored with Hanna Notte *War on the Rocks* (2024)
- “Forever Putinism,” co-authored with Maria Lipman *Foreign Affairs* (2024)
- “A Containment Strategy for Ukraine,” co-authored with Liana Fix, *Foreign Affairs* (2023)
- “Putin the Ideologue,” co-authored with Maria Snegovaya and Jade McGlynn, *Foreign Affairs* (2023)
- “The Age of Great-Power Distraction,” co-authored with Hanna Notte, *Foreign Affairs* (2023)
- “Besessen von Amerika,” co-authored with Hanna Notte, *Die Zeit* (2023)
- “Will the West Abandon Ukraine?” co-authored with Liana Fix, *Foreign Affairs* (2023)
- “How Russia Globalized the War in Ukraine,” co-authored with Hanna Notte, *Foreign Affairs* (2023)
- “Born in the Bloodlands: Ukraine and the Future of the European Project,” *Foreign Affairs* (2023)
- “Vladimir Putin: The Godfather in the Kremlin,” *Wall Street Journal* (2023)
- “Turkey’s Double Dealing in the Ukraine War,” co-authored with Hanna Notte, *Wall Street Journal* (2023)
- “The Beginning of the End for Putin?” co-authored with Liana Fix, *Foreign Affairs* (2023)
- “Will Russia’s Break with the West Be Permanent?” co-authored with Maria Lipman,

- Foreign Affairs* (2023)
- “How China Could Save Putin’s War in Ukraine,” co-authored with Liana Fix, *Foreign Affairs* (2023)
 - “Putin’s Rogue State,” *Wall Street Journal* (2023)
 - “The Perils of Premature Negotiation over Ukraine,” co-authored with Hanna Notte, *Foreign Affairs* (2023)
 - “Wartime Putinism,” co-authored with Maria Lipman, *Foreign Affairs* (2023)
 - “Putin’s Last Stand,” co-authored with Liana Fix, *Foreign Affairs* (2023)
 - “Go Slow on Crimea,” co-authored with Liana Fix, *Foreign Affairs* (2022)
 - “What Mobilization Means for Russia,” co-authored with Maria Lipman, *Foreign Affairs* (2022)
 - “Putin’s Next Move in Ukraine,” co-authored with Liana Fix, *Foreign Affairs* (2022)
 - “Can We Ever Build a Common European Home?” co-authored with Zachary Paikin, *Center for European Policy Studies Publication* (2022)
 - “The Gorbachev Vacuum,” *Foreign Affairs* (2022)
 - “What If the War in Ukraine Spins out of Control?” co-authored with Liana Fix, *Foreign Affairs* (2022)
 - “What If Ukraine Wins?” co-authored with Liana Fix, *Foreign Affairs* (2022)
 - “Putin’s Hard Choices” co-authored with Maria Lipman, *Foreign Affairs* (2022)
 - “What If the War in Ukraine Doesn’t End?” co-authored with Liana Fix, *Foreign Affairs* (2022)
 - “What If Russia Makes a Deal?” co-authored with Liana Fix, *Foreign Affairs* (2022)
 - “What If Russia Loses?” co-authored with Liana Fix, *Foreign Affairs* (2022)
 - “What If Russia Wins?” co-authored with Liana Fix, *Foreign Affairs* (2022)
 - “This Will Not Be a Cold War,” *Politico* (2022)
 - “A New Europe Will Rise from the War in Ukraine. Is Biden Prepared?” *The New Republic* (2022)
 - “Putin’s Possible Endgames in Ukraine,” *CNN* (2022)
 - “What Created the New, More Aggressive Putin,” *CNN* (2022)
 - “Biden’s Dangerous Diplomatic High-Wire Act with Putin,” *The New Republic* (2022)
 - “Why Russia Will Not Let Ukraine Go without a Fight,” co-authored with Michael Kofman, *Foreign Affairs* (2021)
 - “Make Vladimir Putin Boring Again,” co-authored with Matt Rojansky, *The New Republic* (2021)
 - “When Biden Meets Putin,” *Foreign Affairs* (2021)
 - “Belarus and the Ukraine Trap,” *War on the Rocks* (2021)
 - “How Biden Can Achieve a Russian Restoration,” *The New Republic* (2021)
 - “The Wily Country” *Foreign Affairs* (2020)
 - “A Post-Cold War ‘War and Peace,’” *Foreign Affairs* (2019)
 - “The People’s Authoritarian: How Russian Society Created Vladimir Putin,” *Foreign Affairs* (2018)

- “Russian Elegies: Candide Goes to Moscow,” *War on the Rocks* (2018)
- “Who’s Really Afraid of Nationalism,” *The National Interest* (2018)
- “What Happened to the European Union?” *The New Republic* (2018)
- “Trump and the (Liberal) International Order,” co-authored with Erik Brattberg, *The National Interest* (2018)
- “Minsk Is Dead! Long Live Minsk?” *War on the Rocks* (2017)
- “The Liberal International Order’s Popularity Problem,” *Medium* (2017)
- “How Ukraine Got Caught between East and West,” *The New Republic* (2017)
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- “Suspicious Minds: U.S.-German Relations in the Trump Era,” multiple authors, *German Marshall Fund* (2017)
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- “The Decline of the West: An American Story,” *Transatlantic Paper Series: German Marshall Fund* (2013)
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- “Abschied vom Iraq,” *Internationale Politik* (2005)
- “Wer Denkt für Bush?” *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (2004)

Essays, Reviews and Op-Eds

- “Putin Has Lost Something Worse than a War” *New York Times* (2025)
- “Can the United States Still Be Europe’s Peacemaker?” *Wall Street Journal* (2025)
- “Fitzgerlad’s Follies” *Liberties* (2025)
- “We Must Save the Books,” *Liberties* (2025)
- “The New York Intellectuals Battle of the Sexes,” *The New Republic*, review of *Write Like a Man* by Ronnie Grinberg (2024)
- “Learning from Lincoln,” *American Purpose*; review of *Our Ancient Faith* by Allen Guelzo (2024)
- “The Unlikely Showman,” *American Purpose*; review of *The Showman* by Simon Shuster (2024)
- “Our Enemies Will Vanish,” *American Purpose*; review of *Our Enemies Will Vanish* by Yaroslav Trofimov (2023)
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- “It’s Time to Take the Idea of the West back from the Populists,” *Washington Post* (2017)
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- “Do the Roots of the Cold War Alliance Lie in Weimar Germany?” *The New Republic*; review of *The Weimar Century* by Udi Greenberg (2014)
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- “George Marshall,” *The New Republic*; review of *George Marshall: A Biography* by Urwin Unger and Stanley Hirshson (2014)
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- “Deng Xiaoping and Margaret Thatcher: Kindred Spirits” *The New Republic*; review of *Strange Rebels* by Christian Caryl (2013)
- “East Is East and West Is West: Al Afghani, Tagore, and Qichao,” *The New Republic*; review of *From the Ruins of Empire* by Pankaj Mishra (2012)
- “With (and Without) God on Our Side,” *The New Republic*; review of *Sword of the Spirit, Shield of Faith* by Andrew Preston (2012)
- “A Consequential Man,” *The New Republic*; review of *William F. Buckley, Jr. and the Rise of American Conservatism* by Carl Bogus (2012)
- “Purity and Danger,” *The New Republic*; review of *The Spiritual-Industrial Complex* by Jonathan Herzog (2011)
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- “Guilty of Innocence,” *The New Republic*; review of *God-Fearing and Free* by Jason Stevens (2011)
- “Lionel Trilling’s Life of the Mind” *New York Times Book Review*; review of *Why Trilling*

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- "Communism, Rising and Falling: Review Essay on the History of Communism," *Dissent* (2010)
- *Washington Post*; review of *American Radical: The Life and Times of I.F. Stone* by D.D. Guttenplan (2009)
- "Protocols," *New York Times Book Review*; review of *The Conservative Ascendancy* by Donald Critchlow (2007)
- "Scared Stiff," *New York Times Book Review*; review of *Fear* by Corey Robin (2004)
- *Partisan Review*; review of *A Life in the Twentieth Century* by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. (2002)

LANGUAGES

- fluent Russian; fluent German; reading knowledge of French