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Alexander A. Cooley

(212) 854-9544

acooley@barnard.edu; ac210@columbia.edu
<https://www.alexanderacooley.com>

Work Address

420 W. 118th St. #1214
The Harriman Institute
New York, NY 10027

Home Address

212 W. 85th Apt. 4E
New York, NY 10024

Academic Appointments

Director, The Harriman Institute for the Study of Russia, Eurasia and East Europe,
Columbia University, 2015-2021.
Claire Tow Professor of Political Science, Barnard College, 2016-.
Professor, Department of Political Science, Barnard College, 2011-.
Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Barnard College, 2008-2011.
PhD Dissertation Sponsor, Department of Political Science, Graduate School of Arts and
Sciences, Columbia University, 2008-.
Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Barnard College, 2001-2008.
Visiting Assistant Professor, Political Science, The Johns Hopkins University, 1999-2001.

Education

Ph.D. Columbia University, Political Science, 1999.
M.Phil. Columbia University, Political Science, 1998.
M.A. Columbia University, Political Science, 1995.
B.A. Swarthmore College, 1994 (Honors).

Professional Governance and Advisory Positions

Academic Governance (Barnard and Columbia)

- Tenure Review Advisory Committee, Office of the Provost, Columbia University, 2017-2020.
- Real Estate and Finance Advisory Committee, Barnard College, 2019-.
- Co-Chair, Athena Center for Leadership Search and Transition Cabinet, Barnard College, 2018-.
- Presidential Search Committee, Barnard College, 2016-17.
- Presidential Task Force on Diversity and Inclusion, Barnard College, 2015-17.
- Steering Committee and Senior Experience Subcommittee Chair, Curriculum Review, Barnard College, 2013-15.
- Deputy Director for Social Science Programing, Harriman Institute, Columbia University, 2013-15.
- Chair, Department of Political Science, Barnard College, 2012-2015
- Faculty Representative to Board of Trustees, Barnard College. 2013-2016.
- Executive Committee, Harriman Institute for the Study of the Former Soviet Union, Columbia University. Since 2008
- Institutional Review Board, Barnard College, 2010-2012.

External Academic Advisory Positions

- Board of Directors, American University of Central Asia Foundation. 2017-.
- Advisory Board, Davis Center, Harvard University. 2016-.
- Advisory Board, University of Central Asia Curriculum Development. 2015-2017.

External and International Advisory Positions (Standing)

- Chairman of the Board of Advisors, *Open Society Foundations*, Eurasia Program. 2018-.
- Board of Advisors, *Open Society Foundations*, Eurasia Program. 2015-2018.
- Board of Governors, *EurasiaNet*, 2016-.
- Working Group on the Future of US-Russia Relations, *Harvard University and Valdai*, 2016-.
- International Forum for Democratic Studies Research Council, *National Endowment for Democracy*, 2012-.
- Advisory Committee, *Human Rights Watch*, Division of Europe and Central Asia, 2012-.
- Board of Advisors, *Open Society Foundations*, Central Eurasia Project, 2011-13.

Selected Term and Project Appointments

- TRACE Anti-Bribery Matrix Advisory Group. 2018-.
- Advisory Council, Kleptocracy Initiative, Hudson Institute. 2017-19.
- Uzbek Asset Recovery Working Group. 2017-.
- Advisory Group Member, "Reconnecting Asia," Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2016-.
- Program Chair, 2014 Central Eurasian Studies Society Annual Conference.
- Saferworld and Economic and Social Research Council, "[Rising Powers and Conflict Management in Central Asia](#)." Advisory Committee. 2012-2015.
- U.S.-Kazakhstan Expert Council, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace & [Al Farabi Carnegie Program on Central Asia](#). 2012-13
- Executive Committee, Program on New Approaches to Research and Security (PONARS). 2007-2010
- National Committee on American Foreign Policy, [Central Asia/Caspian Sea Basin Project](#), Special Advisor. 2010-2012.
- National Security Network, Russia Policy Working Group, 2008.

Awards, Fellowships and Grants

Major External Grants (Institutional and Individual)

Carnegie Corporation of New York, *Enriching the Study of Russia in the Social Sciences at Columbia University*, Principal Investigator; G-18-56364. October 2019-September 2021 [\$700,000].

Carnegie Corporation of New York, *Strengthening the Study of Russia in the Social Sciences*, Principal Investigator; G-16-53812; October 2016-September 2019 [\$1,000,000].

US-Russia Foundation, *Shaping an Early Career in Russia and Eurasia: Supporting Harriman's 5-year BA-MA Program*, Principle Investigator; July 2018-June 2020 [\$193,000]

Norwegian Research Council, *Undermining Hegemony: The Politics of Asset Substitution*,

Co-Investigator with the Norwegian Institute for International Affairs; project no. 240647. 2015-2018.

Smith Richardson Foundation, Co-Investigator (with Lincoln Mitchell). *Reassessing US-Georgia Relations 2009-2010* [\$125,000].

Open Society Institute, *The Rise of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization: Implications for Global Governance and Norms 2009-2010* [\$87,000].

Smith Richardson Foundation, Junior International Security Fellowship. *The Politics of the Global Defense Posture Review: Will New Bases Create Old Political Dilemmas?* 2007 [\$60,000]

US German Marshall Fund Research Fellowship, *Democratization and United States Overseas Basing Agreements*, 2004-05 [\$39,200].

Carnegie Corporation Project Grant, Co-investigator, (with Kimberly Marten, Page Fortna and Tanisha Fazal. *The New United States Imperialism? Intervention and Self-Determination* (Grant No. B 7142R01), 2003-05 [\$40,000].

Academic Honors & Prizes

Central Asian Studies Society, 2018 Book Award Shortlist- *Dictators without Borders*.

Central Asian Studies Society, 2013 Book Award Shortlist- *Great Games, Local Rules*.

Tow Professor for Distinguished Scholars and Practitioners, Barnard College, 2011-2013

Inaugural Global Fellow, Open Society Foundations. 2009-2011

Barnard College, *Gladys Brooks Excellence in Teaching Award*. 2006-2007.

2006 Marshall Shuman Book Prize Recipient (co-winner) awarded by ASEES for *Logics of Hierarchy: the Organization of Empires, States and Military Occupations* (Cornell 2005) as outstanding monograph dealing with the international relations, foreign policy, or foreign-policy decision-making of any of the states of the former Soviet Union or Eastern Europe.

US German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Fellow, Residence Fellowship for the Transatlantic Center, Brussels, Belgium. March-July 2005.

Harriman Institute National Post-Doctoral Fellow, 1999-2000 (declined).

Harriman Institute Mosley-Backer Fellow, 1998-1999.

Social Science Research Council Dissertation Fellow, 1997-1998.

Selected Publications

Books (university press monographs)

Alexander Cooley and Daniel Nexon, *Exit from Hegemony: The Unraveling of the American Global Order*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2020, forthcoming (March 2020).

Alexander Cooley and John Heathershaw, *Dictators Beyond Borders: Power and Money in Central Asia*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017.

Alexander Cooley, *Great Games, Local Rules: The New Great Power Contest in Central Asia*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Alexander Cooley and Hendrik Spruyt, *Contracting States: Sovereign Transfers in International Relations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.

Alexander Cooley, *Base Politics: Democratic Change and the U.S. Military Overseas*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008.

Alexander Cooley, *Logics of Hierarchy: The Organization of Empires, States and Military Occupations*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005.

Peer-Reviewed Edited Volumes

Morten Andersen, Alexander Cooley and Daniel Nexon, eds. *Undermining Hegemony: Global Politics of Asset Substitution*. New York: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming 2020.
Alexander Cooley and Jack Snyder, eds. *Ranking the World: Grading States as a Tool of Global Governance*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Peer Reviewed Journal Articles

- Alexander Cooley, "Ordering Eurasia: The Rise and Decline of the Liberal Internationalism in the Post-Communist Space." *Security Studies* Vol. 29, no. 3 (2019): 588-613.
- Alexander Cooley, Daniel Nexon, and Steven Ward. "Revising Order or Challenging the Balance of Military Power? An alternative typology of revisionist and status-quo states." *Review of International Studies* Vol. 45, no. 4 (October 2019): 689-708.
- John Heathershaw, Catherine Owen, and Alexander Cooley. "Centred Discourse, Decentred Practice: the relational production of Russian and Chinese 'rising' power in Central Asia." *Third World Quarterly* Vol. 40, no. 8 (2019): 1440-1458.
- Alexander Cooley and J.C. Sharman, "Transnational Corruption and the Globalized Individual," *Perspectives on Politics*. Vol. 15. No. 3 (September 2017), pp. 732-753.
- Alexander Cooley and J.C. Sharman, "Blurring the Line between Licit and Illicit: Transnational Corruption Networks in Central Asia and Beyond." *Central Asian Survey* Vol. 34, No.1 (March 2015), pp. 11-28.
- John Heathershaw and Alexander Cooley, "Offshore Central Asia: An Introduction." *Central Asian Survey* Vol. 34, No.1 (March 2015), pp. 1-10.
- Alexander Cooley and Daniel Nexon, "The Empire will Compensate You: The Structural Dynamics of the US Basing Network," *Perspectives on Politics*. Vol. 11. No. 4 (December 2013), pp. 1034-50.
- Alexander Cooley and Jonathan Hopkin, "Base Closings: The Rise and Decline of the US Military Bases Issue in Spain, 1975-2000," *International Political Science Review*. Vol. 31. No. 4 (September 2010), pp. 494-513. (Co-authored with Jonathan Hopkin).
- Alexander Cooley, "Principles in the Pipeline: Managing Transatlantic Values and Interests in Central Asia," *International Affairs*. Vol. 84, No. 6 (November 2008), pp. 1174-1188.
- Alexander Cooley and Kimberly Marten, "Base Motives: The Political Economy of Okinawa's Antimilitarism," *Armed Forces & Society*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (July 2006), pp. 566-583.
- Alexander Cooley, "Thinking Rationally about Hierarchy and Global Governance," *Review of International Political Economy* [10th Anniversary Special Issue]. Vol. 10, No. 4 (November 2003), pp. 672-684.
- Alexander Cooley and James Ron, "The NGO Scramble: Organizational Insecurity and the Political Economy of Transnational Action," *International Security*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (Summer 2002), pp. 5-39. Reprinted in Michael Brown, et. al, eds. *New Global Dangers: Changing Dimensions of International Security*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2004.
- Alexander Cooley, "Imperial Wreckage: Property Rights, Sovereignty, and Security in the Post-Soviet Space," *International Security*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (Winter 2000/01), pp. 100-127.
- Alexander Cooley, "International Aid to the Former Soviet States: Agent of Change or Guardian of the Status Quo?" *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol. 47, No. 4 (July/August 2000), pp. 34-44.
- Alexander Cooley and Deepa Ollapally, "Identity Politics and the International System," *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (Winter 1996), pp. 479-499.

Invited Journal Articles

- Alexander Cooley and John Heathershaw, "A Response: The Transnational 'High Politics' of Central Asia's Elites and Opposition," *Post-Communist Economies* Vol. 31 (January, 11, 2019).
- Alexander Cooley, John Heathershaw and J.C. Sharman "Laundering Cash, Whitewashing Reputations," *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 29, No. 1 (January 2018), pp. 39-53.

- Alexander Cooley and Jack Snyder, "Rank has its Privileges: how International Ratings Dumb Down Global Governance" *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 94, No. 6 (November-December 2015), pp. 79-92.
- Alexander Cooley, "Countering Democratic Norms," *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 26, No. 3 (June 2015), pp. 49-63.
- Alexander Cooley, Marlene Laruelle, James Sherr, Mamuka Tsereteli, Kathryn Stoner, Andrew Kuchins, Erica Marat and Enders Wimbush. "Book Review Roundtable: Alexander Cooley's *Great Games Local Rules*." *Asia Policy* No. 16 (July 2013), pp. 161-191.
- Alexander Cooley, "Great Games, Local Rules," *Cairo Review of Global Affairs* Vol. 1, No. 2 (Summer 2011).
- Alexander Cooley and Lincoln Mitchell, "Engagement without Recognition: A New Strategy toward Abkhazia and Eurasia's Unrecognized States," *Washington Quarterly*. Vol. 33, No. 4 (October 2010), pp. 59-73.
- Alexander Cooley, "Kyrgyzstan on the Brink," *Current History*. Vol. 109, No. 730 (October 2010), 301-307.
- Alexander Cooley and Lincoln Mitchell, "Abkhazia on Three Wheels," *World Policy Journal*. Vol. 27, No. 2 (July 2010), pp. 73-81).
- Alexander Cooley, "Behind the Central Asian Curtain: The Limits of Russia's Resurgence," *Current History*. Vol. 108, No. 720 (October 2009), pp. 325-332.
- Alexander Cooley, "Western Values as Power Politics: The Struggle for Mastery in Eurasia," *Global Dialogue*. Vol. 11, No. 1 (Winter/Spring 2009), pp. 82-91.
- Alexander Cooley, "Critical Dialogue: Review of Daniel Aldrich's *Site Fights* and Response to Daniel Aldrich's Review of *Base Politics*. *Perspectives on Politics*. Vol. 7, No. 1 (March 2009).
- Alexander Cooley and Lincoln Mitchell, "No Way to Treat Our Friends: Recasting Recent U.S.-Georgia Relations," *Washington Quarterly*. Vol. 32, No. 1 (January 2008-09), pp. 21-35.
- Alexander Cooley, "U.S. Bases and Democratization in Central Asia," *Orbis* Vol. 52, No. 1 (Winter 2008), pp. 65-90.
- Alexander Cooley, "Base Politics" *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 84, No. 6 (November-December 2005), pp. 79-92.
- Translated and reprinted in *Foreign Affairs Japan* (December 2005), pp. 288-299.
 - Reprinted in Glenn Hastedt, ed. *Annual Editions: American Foreign Policy 2007-08*. New York: McGraw Hill 2007.
- Alexander Cooley, "Democratization and the Contested Politics of U.S. Military Bases in Korea: Towards a Comparative Understanding," *IRI Review* Vol. 10, No. 2 (Autumn 2005), pp. 201-232.
- Alexander Cooley, "Booms and Busts: Theorizing Institutional Formation and Change in Oil States," *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Spring 2001), pp. 163-180.
- Alexander Cooley, "Transitioning Backwards: Concepts and Comparison in the Study of Central Asia's Political Economy," *The Harriman Review*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (Fall 1998), pp. 1-11.

Chapters in Edited Volumes (Peer Reviewed)

- Alexander Cooley, "Command and Control? Hierarchy and the International Politics of Foreign Military Bases." In Ayse Zarakol, ed. *Hierarchies in International Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Alexander Cooley and Matthew Schaaf, "Grounding the Backlash: Regional Security Treaties, Counternorms and Human Rights in Eurasia." In Stephen Hopgood, Jack Snyder and Leslie Vinjamuri, eds. *Human Rights Futures*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017.
- Alexander Cooley and Daniel Nexon, "Interpersonal Networks and International Security: US-Georgia Relations During the Bush Administration." In Deborah Avant and Oliver Westerwinter, eds. *The New Power Politics: Networks and Transnational Security Governance*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.

- Alexander Cooley, "Ranking the World: A Framework for Analysis," *Ranking the World: Grading States as a Tool of Global Governance*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Alexander Cooley, "Foreign Military Bases, Sovereignty and Nation-building After Empire: The United States in Comparative Perspective." In Ronen Palan and Sandra Halpern, eds. *Legacies of Empire*. Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Alexander Cooley, "Outsourcing Authority: How Project Contracts Transform Global Governance Networks." In Deborah Avant, Martha Finnemore and Susan Sell, eds. *Who Governs the Globe?* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 238-265
- Alexander Cooley, "Contested Contracts: Rationalist Theories of Institutions in American IPE," in Mark Blyth, ed. *The Routledge Handbook of International Political Economy (IPE): IPE as a Global Conversation*. London and New York: Routledge, 2009.
- Alexander Cooley, "Globalization and National Security After Empire: The Former Soviet Space," in Jonathan Kirshner, ed. *Globalization and National Security*. New York: Routledge, 2006.

Chapters in Edited Volumes (Invited)

- Alexander Cooley, "Tending the Eurasian Garden: Russia, China, and the Dynamics of Regional Integration and Order." In Jo Inge Bekkvold and Bobo Lo, eds. *Sino-Russian Relations in the 21st Century*. Palgrave Macmillan: 2019.
- Alexander Cooley, "How International Rankings Constitute and Limit Our Understanding of Global Governance Challenges: The Case of Corruption." In *The Palgrave Handbook of Indicators in Global Governance*, pp. 49-67. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2018.
- Alexander Cooley and Matthew Schaaf "The Rise of Authoritarian Regionalism: Russia and China's Challenge to international human rights norms and law." In Douthett Lettinga and Lars von Troost, eds. *Shifting Power and Human Rights Diplomacy: Russia*. Amnesty International Netherlands: 2017.
- Alexander Cooley, "Central Asia's Inside-Out Foreign Economic Relations: External Agendas Meet Local Politics," in Rosemary Foot, John Ravenhill and Saadia Pekkanen, eds. *Oxford Handbook of the International Relations of Asia*. London and New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Alexander Cooley, "Central Asia and Security Governance." In James Sperling, ed. *Handbook of Governance and Security*. London: Edward Elgar, 2014.
- Alexander Cooley, "US Bases and Domestic Politics in Central Asia." In Carnes Lorde and Andrew Erickson, eds. *Rebalancing the Force: Basing and Forward Presence in Asia-Pacific*. Annapolis: US Naval Institute Press, 2014.
- Alexander Cooley, "Russia and the Recent Evolution of the SCO: Issues and Challenges for U.S. policy." Forthcoming in Timothy Colton, Timothy Frye, and Robert Legvold, eds., *The Policy World Meets Academia: Designing U.S. Policy toward Russia*. Cambridge, Mass.: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2010, chapter 1.
- Alexander Cooley, "New Bases, Old Politics: The Rise and Decline of the US Military Presence in Central Asia." In Luís Rodrigues and Sergiy Glebov, eds. *Military Bases: Historical Perspectives, Contemporary Challenges*. NATO Science for Peace and Security Studies, Vol. 51. Amsterdam: IOS Press, 2009.
- Alexander Cooley, "Western Conditions and Domestic Choices: The Influence of External Actors on the Post-Communist Transition" in *Nations in Transit 2003: Democratization in East Central Europe and Eurasia*. New York: FreedomHouse, 2003.
- Demetrios James Caraley and Alexander Cooley, "September 11: An Overview," in *September 11, Terrorist Attacks, and U.S. Foreign Policy*, edited by Demetrios James Caraley. New York: The Academy of Political Science, 2002.
- Alexander Cooley, "Turkmenistan: The Faltering Oil State," in *Holding the Course: Annual Survey of Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union, 1998*, edited by Peter Rutland. Armonk, New

York: The East-West Institute and M.E. Sharpe, 1999.

Policy Reports

- Alexander Cooley, "Whose Rules, Whose Sphere? Russian Governance and Influence in the Post-Soviet Space." *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*. Washington DC; June 30, 2017.
- Alexander Cooley, "The Emerging Political Economy of OBOR: The Challenges of Promoting Connectivity in Central Asia and Beyond: Center for Strategic and International Studies. Washington DC October 2016.
- Alexander Cooley, "Scripts of Sovereignty: The Freezing of the Russia-Ukraine Crisis and Dilemmas of Governance in Eurasia." Center for Global interests Report. Washington DC. January 2015.
- Alexander Cooley and Lincoln Mitchell, *After the August War: A New Strategy for US-Georgia Engagement* New York: Harriman Institute, Columbia University. May 2010.
- Also released as double-issue of *Harriman Review* Vol. 17, No. 3-4.

Public Testimony

- Prepared Testimony for Helsinki Commission, Hearing on "Tools of Transnational Repression." *September 12, 2019*. <https://www.csce.gov/international-impact/events/tools-transnational-repression>
- Prepared Testimony for US-China Economic and Security Commission, Hearing on "Looking West: China and Central Asia." *March 18, 2015*.
<http://www.uscc.gov/Hearings/hearing-looking-west-china-and-central-asia>
- Prepared Testimony for U.S. Congressional Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Subcommittee on National Security and Foreign Affairs, Hearing on "Crisis in Kyrgyzstan: Fuel, Contracts and Revolution along the Afghan Supply Chain." *April 22, 2010*.
http://oversight.house.gov/images/stories/subcommittees/NS_Subcommittee/4.22.2010_Crisis_in_Kyrgyzstan/Cooley_Testimony.pdf

Opinion-Editorials, On-line Commentaries and Policy Briefs

- "The Cold War, Post-Cold War, and the Academy: Policy Recommendations from an Oral History of Russian and Eurasian Studies." PONARS Memo no. 544, October 2018. [with George Gavrilis]
- "What's Next for the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation?" *The Diplomat*. Issue 43, July 2018.
- "The Struggle to Expose Kleptocracy's Enablers." *Power3.0* February 6, 2018.
- "How Today's Despots and Kleptocrats Hide their Stolen Wealth." *MonkeyCage Washington Post* November 14, 2017. [with JC Sharman]
- "How the Democratic Tide Rolled Back." *Real Clear World* January 17, 2017.
- "Globalization only Enriched and Empowered Autocrats," *Foreign Policy online*. December 22, 2016.
- "For Karimov, the Personal was Always Political," *Financial Times* September 2, 2016. [with John Heathershaw]
- "Putin's Potemkin Intervention." *Foreign Affairs online* October 18, 2015. [with Daniel Nexon]
- "Okinawa: A Crack in the Pivot to the Pacific," *The National Interest* June 27, 2014.
- "Learning from Crimea," *Foreign Policy online* June 16, 2014. [with Lincoln Mitchell]
- "Dictators without Borders," *Open Democracy* April 24, 2014. [with John Heathershaw]

- “Russia’s Rule-Breaking as Power Politics,” *Opinio Juris* March 7, 2014.
- “Putin on the Couch.” *Politico* March 13, 2014.
- “Vote of the Living Dead [Azerbaijan’s Fake Election Monitors],” *Foreign Policy* October 31, 2013. [with Christopher Walker]
- “The League of Authoritarian Gentleman,” *Foreign Policy online* January 30, 2013.
- “After Afghanistan, A New Great Game,” *New York Times* August 22, 2012.
- “The New Great Game in Central Asia: Geopolitics in a Post-Western World,” *Foreign Affairs online* August 7, 2012.
- “In Central Asia, Public Cooperation and Private Rivalry.” *New York Times* June 8, 2012.
- “Afghanistan’s Other Regional Casualty,” Oxford University Press blog post. May 23, 2012 Republished on *Eurasianet.org* May 23, 2012.
- “US Military Involvement and its Impact on US-Central Asian Relations.” *Central Asia Policy Forum*. Washington DC: George Washington university. April 2012.
- “Roadblocks on the Silk Road: the Challenges of Externally Promoting Economic Cooperation in Central Asia.” *EUCAM Watch No. 11*. February 2012.
- “A Counterproductive Disdain [Abkhazia’s Elections]” *New York Times*. September 1, 2011. (co-authored with Lincoln Mitchell).
- “Bahrain’s Base Politics: The Arab Spring and America’s Military Bases.” *Foreign Affairs online*. April 5, 2011. [with Daniel Nexon]
- “The Kyrgyz Crisis and the Logic of Central Asia’s Weak Security Organizations.” PONARS Memo no. 140, March 2011.
http://www.gwu.edu/~ieresgwu/assets/docs/ponars/pepm_140.pdf
- “Manas Hysteria: Why the United States can’t keep buying off Kyrgyz leaders to keep its vital air base open.” *Foreign Policy* April 12, 2010. Available on-line at:
http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/04/12/manas_hysteria
- “Georgia’s Territorial Integrity.” *The American Interest*. May-June 2010, pp. 69-72 (co-authored with Lincoln Mitchell).
- “Georgia: the Interconnections between Democracy and Security.” *Caucasus Analytical Digest*. No. 17 (May 2010), pp. 2-7. (co-authored with Lincoln Mitchell).
- “Think Strategic: Its Too Early for a High Level Meeting between Europe and the SCO,” *Global Europe*, March 11, 2010.
- “These Colors May Run: The Backlash against the U.S.-Backed ‘Democratic Revolutions’ in Eurasia,” Eurasia Policy Memo Series. No. 92, March 2010. Available on-line at:
http://www.gwu.edu/~ieresgwu/assets/docs/pepm_092.pdf
- “Cooperation Gets Shanghaied: China, Russia and the SCO,” *Foreign Affairs* December 14, 2009. Available on-line at:
<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/65724/alexander-cooley/cooperation-gets-shanghaied>
- “The Afghanization of Central Asia,” *Eurasianet Commentary*. December 11, 2009. Available on-line at: <http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/insight/articles/eav121109a.shtml>
- “The Stagnation of the SCO: Competing Agendas and Interests in Central Asia,” Eurasia Policy Memo Series. No. 85, September 2009. Available on-line at:
<http://ceres.georgetown.edu/esp/ponarsmemos/page/79067.html>
- “The Price of Access: How the US Lost its Kyrgyzstan Air Base,” *New York Times* February 11, 2009.
- “The Five Lessons of the Great American Air Base Debate,” *Eurasianet Commentary*. February 12, 2009. Available on-line at:
<http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/insightb/articles/eav021209.shtml>

- “Will Sevastopol Survive? The Triangular Politics of Russia’s Naval Base in Crimea.” Program on New Approaches to Russian Security (PONARS), Eurasia Policy Memo Series. No. 47, December 2008. Available on-line at:
<http://ceres.georgetown.edu/esp/ponarsmemos/page/63386.html>
- “A Way Out in the Caucasus,” *Wall Street Journal*. November 17, 2008. (with Borut Grgic)
- “How the West Failed Georgia,” *Current History*. Vol. 107, No. 711 (October 2008), pp. 342-344.
- “Georgia: Examining Possible Sovereign Futures and the Internationalization Option,” *Eurasianet Commentary*. September 12, 2008. Available on-line at:
<http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/insight/articles/eav091208.shtml>
- “Kosovo’s Precedents: The Politics of Sovereign Emergence and its Alternatives,” Program on New Approaches to Russian Security (PONARS), Eurasia Policy Memo Series. No. 7, March 2008. Available on-line at:
https://gushare.georgetown.edu/eurasianstrategy/Memos/pepm_007.pdf
- “Manas Matters: The Changing Politics of the U.S. Military Base in Kyrgyzstan,” PONARS Policy Memo Series. No. 423, December 2006. Available on-line at:
http://www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/pm_0423.pdf
- “Difficult Engagements: Political Lessons from the K2 Experience,” PONARS Policy Memo Series. No. 400, November 11, 2005. Available on-line at:
http://www.csis.org/ruseura/ponars/policymemos/pm_0400.pdf
- “Where was the West All that Time? [Kyrgyzstan’s Revolution],” *International Herald Tribune* March 30, 2005.
- “Depoliticizing Manas: The Domestic Consequences of the U.S. Military Presence in Kyrgyzstan,” PONARS Policy Memo Series. No. 362, February 15, 2005. Available on-line at:
www.csis.org/ruseura/ponars/policymemos/pm_0362.pdf
- “Permanent Military Bases Won’t Work,” *International Herald Tribune* February 3, 2005. (with Kimberly Marten).
- “Lessons of Okinawa,” *New York Times* July 30, 2003. (with Kimberly Marten). Reprinted in *International Herald Tribune* July 31, 2003.
- “Coming to the Aid of the Afghan People,” *Toronto Star* October 29, 2001. (with James Ron). Reprinted in *Baltimore Sun*, Monday October 15, 2001, p. 11a.
- “Suppose Israel Leased the Jordan Valley From the Palestinians,” *International Herald Tribune*, Sat/Sun July 8-9, 2000, p. 6. (with James Ron). Reprinted in *Baltimore Sun*, July 9, 2000. Reprinted in *Boston Globe*, July 7, 2000.

Works in Progress

Undermining Hegemony

[co-edited book project with Morten Andersen and Daniel Nexon]

- Accepted at Cambridge University Press. Formal contract pending.

Selected Invited Presentations and Lectures

Keynote Addresses and Named Lectures

“Post-Soviet Regional Studies After the Cold War.” Keynote Lecture. Shanghai International Studies University. 70th Anniversary, Global-Home Dialogue, Eurasian Studies. *December 7, 2019*.

“Transnational Corruption and the Globalized Individual.” Keynote Lecture. Transparency

International and CiFAR, "How can the EU Fight Corruption?" *March 6, 2019.*

"Will We Ever Understand Each Other?: How to Move (and Not) Forward in US-Russia Relations." Spaso House, Moscow, US Embassy Speakers Program. *December 12, 2018.*

"Russia's Resurgence and the End of the Post-Cold War Era." Dr. Edwin Fedder Annual Lecture In Foreign and International Affairs, University of Missouri-Saint Louis. *September 27, 2017.*

"Locating Central Asia's Geopolitics." Keynote Address. 15th Annual Central Eurasian Studies Association Conference. George Washington University. *October 15, 2015.*

"Great Games, Old and New." Keynote Address. "The New Great Game: Cultural and Historical Perspectives." American University in Central Asia. Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan. *May 15, 2015.*

"Pivoting Away from Politics? Okinawa's Triangular Base Politics Revisited." Suntory Foundation's "Reexamining Japan in Global Context" 6th Annual Seminar. Naha, Okinawa. *June 5, 2014.*

"Central Asia's Changing Regional Security Dynamics: 2014 and Beyond." *February 27, 2014* 2014 CSEES Student Choice Speaker. Ohio State University.

Invited Presentations and Seminars

"At the Crossroads of the World: Assessing U.S. Policy in Central Asia." National Committee on American Foreign Policy. *September 17, 2019.*

"The Mueller Report and its Impact on US-Russia Relations". NUPI, Oslo. *May 6, 2019.*

"End of the Silk Road? How US-China Strategic Competition Might Impact US Central Asian Policy." George Washington University. *March 18, 2019.*

"Putin's Playbook." Panel at the Council on Foreign Relations, New York. *March 7, 2019.*

"China Engages in Central Asia: Issues for Civil Society." American University in Central Asia, *October 15, 2018.*

"The Mueller Investigation and its Impact on US-Russia Relations". Chatham House, London. *June 2, 2018.*

"Central Asian Security: The End of Multivectorism." Air Force War College, Maxwell AF Base, Montgomery Alabama. *April 17, 2018*

"Central Asia in a Greater Eurasia." George Washington University. *March 5, 2018.*

"Corruption in Eurasia: The Role of Western Enablers." Swedish Institute for International Affairs and Transparency International Stockholm Sweden. *February 6, 2018.*

"Central Asia in the Post-Cold War World." Three-Part Invited Lecture Series Delivered at Saint Anthony's College, University of Oxford. *December 5-7, 2017.*

"The Emerging Politics of Russiagate and US-Russia Relations". IFRI, Paris. *October 25, 2017.*

"Everyday Kleptocracy: Laundering Cash and Reputations." National Endowment for Democracy. Washington DCC, *September 19, 2017.*

"Dictators without Borders" Book lectures

- European Endowment for Democracy, Brussels. *May 15, 2017.*
- Chatham House, London. *April 26, 2017.*
- Open Societies Foundations, New York. *April 3, 2017.*
- National Endowment for Democracy, Washington DC. *March 28, 2017.*

"Central Asia in 2017: Opportunities and Challenges." Georgetown University. *April 20, 2017.*

"One Belt One Road: The Challenges of China's Engagement with Central Asia". Fung Global Fellows Program, Princeton University. *March 7, 2017.*

"Central Asia Turns 25." Davis Center, Harvard University. *February 28, 2017.*

"Central Asia's Global Authoritarian Spaces: Politics and Contestation Outside of a Closed Region". Bologna Institute for Policy Research. *January 27, 2017.*

"Democracy at a Crossroads: Education, Policy and Change." Bard College. *October 28, 2016.*

"25th Anniversary of the Kyrgyz Republic's Independence Day." George Washington University. *September 9, 2016.*

- "Anti-Corruption and the Globalized Individual." International Studies Association, Atlanta. *March 18, 2016.*
- "Credibility and Regional integration: the Case of the Eurasian Economic Union." Georgetown University. *February 5, 2016.*
- "Offshore Central Asia." University of Glasgow. *December 15, 2015.*
- "Great Powers and Security in Central Asia Post-2014." National Defense University. *November 17, 2015*
- "The Global Backlash Against Democracy." Plenary of the World Movement for Democracy, Seoul, Korea. *November 3, 2015.*
- "The Emerging Politics of International Rankings." Watson Center, Brown University. *October 29, 2015.*
- "Offshore Central Asia." Davis Center, Harvard University. *October 28, 2015.*
- "The Emerging Politics of International Rankings." *May 13, 2015.*
OSCE Academy, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan.
- "China in Global Governance: New Roles and Challenges." *May 7, 2015.*
NUPI Political Risk Forum. Oslo, Norway.
- "Central Asian Security and Order Beyond 2014." *April 2, 2015.*
Air Force War College, Maxwell AF Base, Montgomery Alabama.
- "Central Asia's Lessons for a Post-Western World." *April 16, 2015.*
Lindenwood University, CIGS External Speaker Series.
- "Russia-China Relations after Ukraine." *February 27, 2015.*
EPIIC Annual Symposium, Tufts University.
- "Scripts of Sovereignty: The Freezing of the Russia-Ukraine Crisis." *January 29, 2015.*
Report Launch, Center for Global Interests, Washington DC.
- "Toward the Discipline of Ranking and the Merging Politics of Rating." *November 12, 2014.*
Keynote lecture. Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies. European University Institute, Florence, Italy.
- "Tending the Eurasian Garden: Russia, China and Regional Integration." *September 22, 2014.*
Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies, Oslo, Norway.
- "The Eagle has Landed: Geopolitics and Securitization in Central Asian Studies" *August 4, 2014.*
Knowledge Production and Transfer In and On Central Asia. Ulaanbaatar University, Mongolia.
- "Region out of Balance? Central Asian Security and Order post-2014." *July 18, 2014.*
Royal United Services Institute, London.
- "Behind the Curtain of the Corruption Norm: Transnational Corruption Networks in Central Asia and Beyond." *May 30, 2014.* PONARS Eurasia IPE Conference, Washington DC.
- "Post-2014: Afghanistan and Central Asia." *April 17, 2014.* University of St. Andrews.
- "Central Asian Security and Order Beyond 2014." *April 11, 2014*
Air Force War College, Maxwell AF Base, Montgomery Alabama.
- "US/NATO Withdrawal from Afghanistan: the Central Asian Dimension." *April 3, 2014.* Boston College.
- "Post-American Central Asia." *March 13, 2014.* AUCA-Bard Graduate Center. New York.
- "The Emerging Politics of International Rankings." *February 24, 2014.*
Intl Law & Intl Relations Seminar. Cornell University.
- "Afghanistan: A Regional Way Forward." *December 6, 2013.* University of Pittsburgh, GSPIA.
- "Great Games and Local Rules; the Politics of a Multipolar World." *October 24, 2013.*
Koc University, Distinguished Speaker Series. Istanbul, Turkey.
- "Central Asia's New Multipolar Politics." *October 23, 2013.* Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey.
- "Central Asia's Lessons for a Multipolar World." *October 3, 2013.*
Reischauer Center, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. Washington DC.
- "The Rising Powers in Central Asia." *September 10, 2013.*
SaferWorld and Chatham House Conference. London.

"Central Asia and the Problems of Cooperation in a Multipolar Order." *June 6, 2013*.
Davis Center and Kennan Institute Conference on Islam and Eurasia. Washington DC.

"[American and European Policies in Central Asia: Similarities and Divergence](#)." *April 16, 2013*.
George Washington University. Washington DC.

"A King in Every Corner: Negotiating Regional Collective Security," *April 10, 2013*. 51st Annual
Lewis and Clark College International Affairs Symposium. Portland.

"Autocrats Beyond Borders: Central Asia's New Authoritarian Networks." *March 23, 2013*.
Keynote Address for the 2013 Annual Soyuz Symposium, New York.

"The Emerging Politics of International Rankings and Ratings." *February 28, 2013*. Columbia
University International Politics Seminar (CUIPS), New York.

"Great Games, Local Rules: Central Asia's New Multipolar Politics." *February 16, 2013*.
KIMEP, Almaty, Kazakhstan.

"The Influence of Russian and Chinese Patronage on Eurasian Democratization." *December 17, 2012*. Roundtable at the National Endowment for Democracy, Washington DC.

"[The Price of Access: Transnational Corruption Networks and Central Asia](#)" *December 5, 2012*.
Watson Institute's Colloquium on Comparative Research, Brown University.

"[NATO's Withdrawal from Afghanistan and Central Asian Regional Dynamics](#)" *November 29, 2012*. EUCAM conference on "Security, Supply Lines and Sustainable Development: Afghanistan and Central Asia towards 2014 and beyond." Berlin.

"[Afghanistan and NATO's Drawdown of Forces: Regional Dynamics and their impact on security](#)." *November 11, 2012*. NATO Parliamentary Assembly Annual Meeting, Defense and Security Committee, Prague.

Book presentation: *Great Games, Local Rules* for "In Print," with James Hoge. New York
University's Center for Global Affairs. *October 22, 2012*.

"The Price of Access: Geopolitics and Human Rights in Central Asia" *October 19, 2012*. Center
for International Peace and Security Studies, McGill University. Montreal.

Book presentation: [Great Games, Local Rules](#). Sciences-Po-CERI. Paris. *September 27, 2012*.
European Book Launch: *Great Games, Local Rules*. Brussels: Residence Palace. Sponsored by
EUCAM and Open Society Institute- Europe. *September 26, 2012*.

Book Talk: *Great Games, Local Rules: The New Great Power Contest for Central Asia*. New
York: Mid-Manhattan Library of the New York Public Library. *August 29, 2012*.

Book Launch: *Great Games, Local Rules: The New Great Power Contest for Central
Asia*." Washington DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies. *June 28, 2012*.

Book Launch: *Great Games, Local Rules: The New Great Power Contest for Central Asia*." New
York: Open Society Foundations (6:00pm-8pm), with Gideon Rose, *Foreign Affairs*
(Moderator) and Stephen Kotkin, Princeton University (Discussant).

"Great Power Relations in Central Asia." Washington DC: Kennan Institute." *May 9, 2012*.

"The Price of Influence: Geopolitics and Human Rights in Central Asia." *May 2, 2012*. *School of
Oriental and African Studies, University of London*.

"China's Rise in Central Asia: Implications for Western Policy." *May 2, 2012*. *UK Foreign and
Commonwealth Office, Division of Eurasia*.

"We are All Georgians Now: Symbolic Capital and Authority Under Hierarchy." *April 1, 2012*.
San Diego: International Studies Association Annual Meeting. Co-authored with Daniel
Nixon,

"The Bases of Sovereignty: Decolonization and Basing Rights in Comparative Perspective." *March 31, 2012*. San Diego: International Studies annual meeting.

"[The Price of Access: Central Asia's Transnational Corruption Networks](#)." *December 2011*. Prepared for Presentation to PONARS Eurasia's "20 Years of Post-Soviet Independence and the EU." Washington DC: Kennan Institute and George Washington University.

"Externally-Sponsored Security Service Reform in Central Asia: Lessons Learned for EU
Engagement." *November 16, 2011*. Presented to "Europe's Human Security Concerns in
Central Asia." Berlin: Fride and Central Eurasia Project conference.

“Counterterrorism and Human Rights: United States, Russia and China Compared.” *September 9, 2011.*
New York: 10 Years Later: 9/11, the U.S. and the World, Columbia University.

“We are All Georgians Now: Trust and Symbolic Capital in U.S.-Georgia Relations.” *September 4, 2011.*
Seattle: 107th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

“Western Cooperative Security Arrangements in Central Asia.” *July 11, 2011.*
Shanghai: 10th Anniversary SCO Conference, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences.

“The Shanghai Cooperation Organization at 10 Years: Future Prospects.” *May 4, 2011.*
Washington DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies.

“Geopolitical Competition and Political Stability: The Case of Kyrgyzstan.” *April 14, 2011.*
New York: Association for the Study of Nationalities Annual Conference.

“Resetting the Reset: The Next Steps.” *April 13, 2011.*
New York: National Committee on American Foreign Policy, The Union Club.

“The Kyrgyz Crisis and the Logic of Central Asia’s Weak Security Organizations.” *March 22, 2011*
Moscow: PONARS Eurasia Moscow Workshop.

“Western Views of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization.” *March 23, 2011.*
Moscow: Carnegie Moscow.

“Strategic Regionalism and the Competition for Central Asia.” *February 8, 2011.*
Cambridge, Mass: MIT Central Asian Studies Speaker Series.

“Non-Recognition and Engagement with Georgia’s Breakaway Territories.” *December 1, 2010.*
Brussels: European Union Special Representative for the Southern Caucasus Workshop.

“US Military Engagement with Central Asia, 1999-2009.” *October 14, 2010.*
Washington DC: Open Society Institute.

“Contracting States: Sovereign Transfers and Basing Agreements.” *September 17, 2010.*
Toronto: University of Toronto Political Science External Lecture Series.

“Great Games, Local Rules: Strategic Regionalism in Central Asia.” *September 16, 2010.*
Toronto: University of Toronto, Munk School of Global Affairs.

“After the August War: A New Strategy for US-Georgia Engagement.”

- Brussels, European Policy Centre. *June 9, 2010.*
- Washington DC, Carnegie Endowment for Peace. *June 23, 2010.*
- Open Society Institute, New York. *September 27, 2010.*

“Great Games, Local Rules: The US-Russia-China Strategic Triangle in Central Asia.” *May 12, 2010.*
Dushanbe, Tajikistan: Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe Public Speaker Series.

“Decoding the US-Georgia Charter on Strategic Partnership.” *April 14, 2010*
Tbilisi, Georgia: Georgian Foundation for International and Strategic Studies.

“The Backlash Against Democracy in Eurasia.” *March 10, 2010*
United States Military Academy at Westpoint, Comparative Politics Speaker Series.

“The Future of Russia’s Naval Base in Sevastopol.” *March 6, 2010*
New York: Association of the Bar of the City of New York, European Affairs Committee.

“Problems of the Northern Distribution Network.” *March 3, 2010*
Washington DC: “Political and Economic Implications of the NDN,” Open Society Institute.

“The SCO’s Great Stumble Forward: Understanding Non-Western Regional Integration in Central Asia.”
February 24, 2010. New Haven: Yale University, International Relations External Speakers Series.

“These Colors May Run: The Backlash Against US Democracy in Eurasia.” *February 18, 2010*
Washington DC; PONARS Eurasia Strategy Conference, George Washington University.

“Great Power Competition in Central Asia.” *February 9, 2010*
New York: New York University, Asia Policy Seminar.

“Russia and the Recent Evolution of the SCO: Issues and Challenges for US Policymakers.” *January 29, 2010.*

- Cambridge, Mass: American Academy of Arts and Sciences Conference, "Policy Meets Academia: Designing US Policy towards Russia."
- "Russia-China Competition for Influence in Central Asia," *October 29, 2009*
Beijing: Columbia Global Centre Beijing Alumni Relations Evening, China.
- "Western Views of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization." *October 24, 2009*
Shanghai: Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, China.
- "Rise of the SCO: Understanding Non-Western Regional Integration in Central Asia." *October 14, 2009*
London: Centre for International Studies and Diplomacy Speakers Series, School of Oriental and African Studies, London.
- "China-Russia Competition and the Changing Politics of Influence in Central Asia." *October 12, 2009*
Brussels: Brussels Institute for Contemporary China Studies and OSI-Europe.
- "Stagnation of the SCO: Competing Agendas and Interests in Central Asia," *September 19, 2009*
Washington DC: Eurasia Strategy Project Policy Conference, George Washington University.
- "Competing Sources of Regional Influence in Central Asia." *April 30, 2009*
Istanbul: "Changing Politics of Energy and Security in Eurasia," Koc University, Turkey.
- "EU, NATO and the SCO: Towards Rules of Engagement?" *April 2, 2009*
Brussels: German Marshall Fund and OSI-Europe Public Debate.
- "Future Cooperation between Russia and the West," *March 29, 2009*
Berlin: German Council on Foreign Relations and American Council on Germany.
- "Alternative Solutions to the Abkhazia Conflict." *November 24, 2008*
Brussels: European Policy Centre.
- "Turkmenistan and the Importance of International Rankings," *March 18, 2009*
Ashgabat: President's State Academy for Civil Service, Turkmenistan.
- "The Emerging Base Politics of Pyeongtaek: Analysis and Recommendations." *November 18, 2008*
Seoul: "Towards Korea-U.S. Complex Alliance," East Asia Institute. Republic of Korea.
- "The United States, Europe and Russia: The Future." *October 21, 2008*
New York: Association of the Bar of the City of New York, European Affairs Committee.
- "The Price of Access: Foreign Military Bases and Authoritarianism." *September 27, 2008*
Ithaca: Workshop on Competitive Political Economy of Authoritarianism, Cornell University.
- "EU-Caspian Energy Corridor after Recent Events in Georgia." *August 30, 2008*
Slovenia: Bled Strategic Forum, Lake Bled.
- "Pipelines and Principles: The Transatlantic Struggle to Manage its Democratic Values and Strategic Interests in Central Asia" *August 28, 2008*
Boston: American Political Science Association 104th Annual Meeting.
- "The Western Military Presence in Central Asia and its Domestic Political Consequences." *June 9, 2008*
New York: NATO Parliamentary Assembly Subcommittee on Transatlantic Relations. United Nations.
- "Globalization and the Politics of US Overseas Basing." *March 21, 2008*
San Francisco: International Studies Association Annual Conference.
- "Kosovo's Precedents: The Politics of Sovereign Emergence and its Alternatives." *February 21, 2008*
"A Kosovo Precedent? Sovereignty, Alliances and Conflict in Eurasia" Georgetown University.
- "The Rise of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization: Western Perspectives." *January 16, 2008*
Bishkek: Social Research Center, American University in Kyrgyzstan.
- "The Rise and Decline of the U.S. Military Presence in Central Asia." *December 15, 2007*
Lisbon: "Political and Social Impact of Military Bases: Historical Perspectives, Contemporary Challenges," NATO Advanced Research Workshop. Joint War College, Portugal.
- "Host Country Democratization and the Politics of U.S. Basing Agreements: Recent Lessons from Central Asia." *November 28, 2007*
Austin: "America and the World: Rethinking America's Global Role," University of Texas.
- "Trading Off Values and Interests in Central Asia? Transatlantic Policy, Dilemmas and Mechanisms." *October 5, 2007*
Brussels: Young Transatlantic Network Speaker Series, GMF Transatlantic Centre.

- "Is the Shanghai Cooperation Organization a Threat to EU-US Interests in Central Asia?" *October 4, 2007*. German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Centre, Brussels, Belgium.
- "Outsourcing Nation-Building: The Political Economy of Iraq's Reconstruction." *October 2, 2007*. Amiens, France: Institute of Economics and Institutions, Amiens University.
- "Contracting as a Form of Global Governance: Its Effects on Inter-Organizational Relations, Strategy and Trust." *October 1, 2007*. Paris, France: ECOPOL External Seminar on Political Economy, Sciences-Po.
- "Island Politics and the U.S. Basing Presence: Azores and Okinawa Compared." *July 20, 2007*. Vila do Porto, Portugal: "American Bases in Europe: A Comparative Perspective," Santa Maria Island, Azores-Portugal.
- "Access or Values? The Rise and Decline of the U.S. Basing Presence in Uzbekistan." *February 10, 2007*. Greenville, NC: Great Decisions Speaker Series, East Carolina University.
- "The Changing Politics of the U.S. Military Basing Presence in Central Asia." *February 5, 2007*. Princeton: Near East Department Speaker Series, Princeton University.
- "Contracting as a Form of Global Governance: its Effects on Organizational Strategy, Structure and Trust." *January 26, 2007*. Washington D.C.: "Who are the Global Governors?" George Washington University.
- "Manas Matters: The Changing Politics of the U.S. Military Base in Kyrgyzstan." *December 8, 2006*. Washington D.C.: Center for International and Strategic Studies, PONARS Policy Conference.
- "The Politics of U.S. Overseas Basing Agreements: Domestic Political Change and the Contestation of Security Contracts." *November 16, 2006*. Philadelphia: Browne Center External Speaker Series, University of Pennsylvania.
- "Great Game or Regime Survival? Explaining The Political Evolution of the U.S. Basing Presence in Central Asia." *November 10, 2006*. London: "Governance, Market Reforms, and Security in Central Asia and the Caucasus." School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
- "Contracts and Conditions: Forms of Global Governance and Political Consequences." *May 11, 2006*. Washington DC: "Who are the Global Governors?" workshop. George Washington University.
- "Democratization and the Contested Politics of U.S. Military Presence in Korea." *April 6, 2006*. New York: Weatherhead East Asia Center, Columbia University.
- "A Rationalist Approach to Empire: Organization, Identity and Institutional Change." *March 3, 2006*. Calgary: Department of Political Science, University of Calgary.
- "Democratization and the Politicization of U.S. Bases Abroad." *February 22, 2006*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Security Studies Program.
- "U.S. Overseas Military Bases and Democratization: The Limits of Engagement." *February 16, 2006*. Providence: Watson Institute Global Security Seminar Series, Brown University.
- "Logics of Hierarchy." *February 10, 2006*. New York: "Rationalist Approaches to Empire." Harriman Institute, Columbia University.
- "Difficult Engagements: Political Lessons from the K2 Experience." *December 5, 2005*. Washington D.C.: Center for International and Strategic Studies Annual PONARS Policy Conference.
- "The Politics of United States Overseas Military Bases." *November 17, 2005*. Washington D.C.: The German Marshall Fund of the United States (with discussant Romanian Ambassador Sorin Ducaru).
- "Base Politics: The United States and Uzbekistan in Comparative Perspective." *November 10, 2005*. New York: Columbia University, Harriman Institute Faculty Research Presentation.
- "The Contested Politics of U.S. Bases in Korea: A Comparative Framework," *September 4-5, 2005*. Seoul [in absentia] "The Evolving Korea-U.S. Relationship: Whither Security and Trade?" Korea University Graduate School of International Studies.
- "Contracting for Sovereignty: Integration and Disintegration in International Politics." *September 2, 2005*. Washington D.C.: 101st Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.
- "U.S. Military Bases and Democratization: Can the U.S. Manage the Balance?" *July 14, 2005*

- Brussels: The German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Center Speaker Series,
 “Logics of Hierarchy: The Organization of Empires and States.” *March 16, 2005*
 London: London School of Economics and Political Science, Department of Government
 External Seminar Series.
- “The Domestic Politics of US Overseas Basing Agreements: Comparative Lessons.” *February 10, 2005*
 London: City University of London, School of Public Policy External Speaker Series.
- “The Marketplace of Humanitarian Action: A Political Economy Perspective.” *November 9, 2004*
 New York: Social Science Research Council’s “The Transformations of Humanitarian Action”
 Seminar Series.
- “The Role of Institutions, Stability and Democratization in the Caspian Region.” *September 6, 2004*
 Berlin: “Economic Development, Stability and European Interests in the Caspian Region,”
 Humboldt Institution on Transatlantic Issues.
- “Domestic Politics and Basing Politics: Lessons from Korea.” *June 9, 2004*
 Seoul: “The United States Forces in Korea: Bases, Force Realignment, Modernization and their
 Changing Role and Mission,” Korea University Graduate School of International Studies.
- “Korea’s Basing Politics in Comparative Perspective.” *May 28, 2004*
 Seoul: Korean National Defense University Special Seminar.
- “Bases and Bargains: Incomplete Contracting and United States Basing Agreements.” *April 8, 2004*
 Evanston, IL: Department of Political Science External Lecture Series, Northwestern University.
- “Globalization and National Security after Empire: The Post-Soviet Case.” *November 14-16, 2003*
 Cambridge, MA: Author’s workshop “Globalization and National Security,” at the Olin Institute,
 Harvard University.
- “Base Bargains: The Political Economy of Okinawa’s Antimilitarism.” *August 30, 2003*
 Philadelphia: 99th meeting of the American Political Science Association.
 [with Kimberly Marten]
- “The Political Economy of U.S. Overseas Basing Arrangements: Incomplete Contracts, Specific
 Assets and Renegotiation.” *August 30, 2003*
 Philadelphia: 99th meeting of the American Political Science Association.
- “Reconstructing Iraq: US Strategies and Potential Pitfalls.” *June 5, 2003*
 Yokosuka, Japan: Presented to the National Defense Academy of Japan, External Speaker Series.
- “The New Political Economy of NGOs: From Human Rights to Reconstruction.” *February 21, 2003*
 Columbus, OH: Mershon Center at the Ohio State University, National Security Speaker Series.
- “The United States, Russia and Central Asia After September 11th.” November 1, 2002.
 New York: Ninth Annual Associated Press/Harriman Institute Conference, “Russia’s Regions and
 Neighbors: Changing Relationships After September 11th.”
- “The Political Economy of Transnationalism.” *October 25, 2002*
 Washington D.C.: George Washington University. Department of Political Science External
 Lecture Series,
- “The NGO Scramble: Organizational Insecurity and Transnational Action.” *March 24, 2002*
 New Orleans: 43rd Annual Convention of the International Studies Association.
- “Imperialism and Central Asia: From the Great Game to the U.S. Basing Presence.”
 Presented to the Asia Society, New York, February 25, 2002.
- “Sustained Political & Economic Stability in Central Asia.” *December 10, 2001*
 New York: Eurasia Group Forum Breakfast Roundtable involving Kyrgyz Prime Minister
 Kurmanbek Bakiev, New York.
- “Central Asia’s Failing Democracies.” *November 9, 2001*
 Washington D.C.: Soros Civic Education Project 10th Anniversary Meeting, “The State of
 Democracy in East Europe and the Former Soviet Union: One Step Up or Two Steps Back?”
- “The New Political Economy of Foreign Assistance.” *December 2000*
 Job candidacy lecture to the Department of Political Science, Williams College; Department of
 Government, Georgetown University; and Department of Political Science, Barnard College.
- “Organizing Empires and States: A Neoinstitutional Approach.” *November 2000*

- Department of Political Science, Northwestern University.
- Birmingham, UK: Department of Politics External Lecture Series, University of Birmingham.
- “Territorial Leasing, Sovereignty, and Security After Empire.” *October 13, 2000*
Washington D.C. Presented to the Smith-Richardson Project on Systemic Change and International Security in Russia and the New States of Eurasia, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS).
- “Governing the Nascent Market in Azerbaijan: Oil and the Predatory State.” *May 15-16, 1999*
Baku, Azerbaijan: “Managing the Oil Windfall in Azerbaijan: Problems and Prospects,” co-sponsored by the American Council of Teachers of Russian (ACTR) and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).
- “The International Economy and Post-Imperial State Formation: The Post-Soviet Case.” *March 23, 1999*
Baltimore: Department of Political Science, The Johns Hopkins University.
- “Explaining Imperial Persistence and Decline: Contemporary Dependencies, Asset Specificity, and Global Economic Change.” *September 2, 1998*
Boston: 94th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.
- “Foreign Aid and its Discontents: Problems of Technical Assistance in Central Asia.” *October 1, 1998*
New York: Middle East Institute of Columbia University.
- “External Economic Actors and Post-Soviet Debt Politics in Comparative Perspective.” *April 1998*
Bishkek: International University of Kyrgyzstan and the American University in Kyrgyzstan.
- “Democratization, Kyrgyz-Style and the Failure of Western NGO Assistance.” *June 1998*
Carnegie Project on Evaluating NGO Strategies for Promoting Democracy in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union. The Harriman Institute, Columbia University.
- “Institution-Building and Decay in Post-Soviet Turkmenistan.” *December 12, 1997*
New York: “Caspian Infrastructures: Roads, Rail and Pipelines.” Sponsored by Unocal and the Caspian Project, Columbia University.

Courses Taught

Introductory Undergraduate

- “International Politics”.
- “Politics of the Third World”.

Intermediate and Advanced Undergraduate

- “Globalization and International Politics”
- “International Political Economy”
- “International Organization
- “Empires”
- “The International Relations of the Post-Soviet Space”

Graduate-Level

- “Legacies of the Soviet Union and Russian Empire: Dilemmas of Area Studies”
- “International Relations of the Post-Western World”
- “Challenging Sovereignty in the Post-Communist States”
- “Making Markets: The Political Economy of Post-Communist Transition”
- “International Political Economy: Theories and Methods”

Columbia University Dissertation Committees

- Hiroake Abe, Department of Political Science, June 14, 2017.
- Emily Holland, Department of Political Science, May 9, 2017.
- Raisa Belyavina, Teachers College, March 10, 2017.

- Andrew Cheon, Department of Political Science, April 21, 2015.
- Elham Seyedsayamdost, Department of Political Science, April 21, 2015.
- Erica Boghard, Department of Political Science, May 8, 2014.
- Dessie Zagorchova, Department of Political Science, December 4, 2012.
- Stefan Recchia, Department of Political Science, September 28, 2011.
- Amy Widsten, Department of Political Science, October 10, 2010.
- Ryan Griffiths, Department of Political Science, June 3, 2010.
- Leila Kazemi, Department of Political Science, March 2, 2010.
- Holger Schmidt, Department of Political Science, December 8, 2008.
- Jesse Wilkins, Department of Political Science, September 25, 2008.
- Anastasia Xenia, Department of Political Science, April 26, 2007.
- David Meyer, Department of Political Science, March 30, 2007.
- Paul MacDonald, Department of Political Science, May 30, 2006.
- Joe Parent, Department of Political Science, April 11, 2006.
- George Gavrilis, Department of Political Science, September 12, 2003.
- Joan Lofgren, Department of Political Science, May 16, 2003.
- Daniel Nexon, Department of Political Science, May 15, 2003.
- Allison Ford, Department of Political Science, May 4, 2003.
- Charles Miller, Department of Political Science, May 1, 2002.
- Paulo Nascimiento, Department of Political Science, March 28, 2002.
- Julian Schofield, Department of Political Science, November 29, 2001.

External Dissertation Committees

- Christopher Hsiung, University of Oslo, Department of Political Science, May 5, 2019.
- Mendee Jajalsai Khan, University of British Columbia, Department of Political Science, April 4, 2019.

Related Academic Memberships and Service

Peer Review and Academic Publishing

- International Advisory Board, *Central Asian Survey*, 2011-
- International Advisory Board, *Europe-Asia Studies*, 2019-
- Review Editor: *Review of International Political Economy*, 2004-2006.
- Peer Review:
 - Journals: *American Political Science Review*, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, *Central Asian Survey*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Europe-Asia Studies*, *Global Governance*, *Governance*, *International Organization*, *International Security*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *Journal of Politics*, *Journal of Peace Research*, *Journal of Transatlantic Relations*, *Review of International Political Economy*, *Problems of Post-Communism*, *Review of International Studies*, *Studies in Comparative Political Development*, *Political Studies*, *Slavic Review*, *World Politics*.
 - Book Publishers: Cambridge University Press, Cornell University Press, Johns Hopkins University Press, Oxford University Press, Routledge, Stanford University Press, University of California Press, University of Pennsylvania Press, Yale University Press.

Selected Professional Service

- Grant and Fellowship Committees: Harriman Institute, Columbia University; National

Science Foundation; American Councils for International Education, United States Dept. of State Freedom Support Educational Partnerships Program with Eurasia; Social Science Research Council.

- 2007 APSA Meeting Division Organizer, “Communism and Post-Communism” division.

Current Research Interests

- The politics of US hegemonic decline, international order and the Post-Western world.
- The study and practice of values advocacy in a multipolar world.
- The politics of indicators, rankings and ratings and their role in global governance.
- U.S., Russian and Chinese overseas military basing arrangements and their political reception in host countries.
- Politics and genealogy of Russian Studies and Area Studies as fields of knowledge across global academia.

References Available on Request