

HALL GARDNER

E-mail: hgardner@aup.edu
 E-mail: hallgardner@hotmail.com
 Tel.: +33-1-4062-0691
 Website: www.hallgardner.com

American University of Paris
 147 Rue du Grenelle
 75007 Paris, France
 U.S. Citizen.

WORK EXPERIENCE:

Fall 1990-to-Present: **Full Professor** in International & Comparative Politics (since September 1998); **Chair & Co-Chair**, Department of International and Comparative Politics (Fall 2009-August 2019) & **Chair**, Department of International Affairs (Spring 1992-Spring 2007) at *American University of Paris*, France.

- Responsible for curricular innovation; faculty-student-administration relations; organized and fundraised for international conferences. Manage 7-9 member department under tight budgetary constraints.
- Led student Study-Tours: Brussels (NATO and European Commission); Doha, Qatar; Bangkok, Thailand; Kuwait; Istanbul, Turkey; Muscat, Oman; Belgrade, Serbia; Moscow and Saint Petersburg, Russia; Bastia, Corsica, France; Belfast, Northern Ireland; T'bilisi, Georgia.
- Undergraduate Courses (since Fall 1990): World Politics; European Security; Global Hotspots and Conflict Resolution; War and Peace; Theories of International Relations (Senior Seminar); Political Philosophy.
- Graduate Courses: Spring 2006-2010 at *AUP-Institut Catholique de Paris*, Joint M.A. Program in International Affairs, Conflict Resolution and Civil Society Development. Taught Spring 2011-to-Present at AUP M.A. in International Affairs: 1) Theories of International Relations; 2) Advanced Theories and Practice of Conflict Management, Prevention and Resolution; 3) War and Diplomacy.
- Graduate Courses: Springs 2001-2005. Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris (Science Po), M.A. Level: Taught Political Philosophy Course; "Enjeux Politiques" (AUP then introduced its own M.A. Program in 2005).
- Graduate Teaching: Fall 1988-Spring 1990. *Visiting Assistant-Professor* at both Johns Hopkins University-Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Washington, D.C. (1989-1990) and at Johns Hopkins-Nanjing Center for Chinese and American Studies, Nanjing, China (1988-1989). M.A. Programs. Taught: IR Theory; Security Studies; Comparative Politics; American Government and Foreign Policy.

EDUCATION:

Ph.D., 1987. Johns Hopkins Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Washington D.C. Field: International Relations-Global Theory and History. Area Studies: Theories of Empire, European Politics and Economy, Soviet Foreign & Domestic Policy (Ph.D. Thesis Advisor: George Liska). SAIS Work-Study Scholarship. Honors: European History Ph.D. Comprehensive Exam.

M.A. 1982. Johns Hopkins Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Washington, D.C. Field: International Relations-Global Theory and History.

BOOK PUBLICATIONS:

IR Theory, Historical Analogy and Major Power War (New York: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2019).

World War Trump: The Risks of America's New Nationalism (New York: Prometheus Books, 2018).

Crimea, Global Rivalry and the Vengeance of History (New York: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2015).

The Failure to Prevent World War I: The Unexpected Armageddon (London: Ashgate, 2015).

NATO Expansion and the U.S. Strategy in Asia: Surmounting the Global Crisis (New York: Palgrave/Macmillan 2013).

The Ashgate Research Companion to War: Origins and Prevention, primary editor with Oleg Kobtzeff (London: Ashgate, February 2012). Contributed chapters: “General Introduction”; “Alienation and the Causes and Prevention of War”; “The Failure to Prevent World War I”; “Reflections on *Polemology*: Breaking the Long Cycles of Wars of Initial Challenge and Wars of *Revanche*.”
http://www.ashgate.com/default.aspx?page=637&edition_id=12388&title_id=9029&calctitle=1
 “General Introduction: *Polemology*”
http://www.ashgate.com/pdf/SamplePages/Ashgate_Research_Companion_to_War_Intro.pdf

Averting Global War: Regional Challenges, Overextension and Options for American Strategy (New York: Palgrave, 2007). Paperback version April 2010

American Global Strategy and the War on Terrorism (London: Ashgate, 2005; revised and updated, 2007).

NATO and the European Union: New World New Europe New Threats (London: Ashgate, 2004), Editor and Contributor: “Preface”; “Introduction”; Chapter 2: “From Balance to Imbalance of Terror,” Chapter 8: “Toward New Euro-Atlantic, Euro-Mediterranean Security Communities”; Chapter 16: “Preclusive War with Iraq: Regional and Global Ramifications.”

The New Transatlantic Agenda: Facing the Challenges of Global Governance (London: Ashgate, 2001), by Hall Gardner and Radoslava Stefanova, eds. Contributor: Chapter 9, “Russia and China: The Risks of Uncoordinated Transatlantic Strategies” and “Conclusion.” Reprinted 2019

Central and Southeastern Europe in Transition: Perspectives on Success and Failure since 1989 (Westport, CT: Praeger, March 1999), General Editor and Contributor, “Chapter 10: The Genesis of NATO Enlargement and of War ‘over’ Kosovo” (March 2000).

Dangerous Crossroads: Europe, Russia, and the Future of NATO (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1997).

Surviving the Millennium: American Global Strategy, the Collapse of the Soviet Empire and the Question of Peace (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994). *Obtained Lounsbery Grant.*

Reviews of my books:

IR Theory, Historical Analogy and Major Power War: <https://networks.h-net.org/node/28443/reviews/4705504/shidore-gardner-ir-theory-historical-analogy-and-major-power-war>

World War Trump: <https://www.nyjournalofbooks.com/book-review/world-war-trump>

Crimea, Global Rivalry, and the Vengeance of History:

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/319857818_Book_Review_Hall_Gardner_Crimea_Global_Rivalry_and_the_Vengeance_of_History_Crimea_Global_Rivalry_and_the_Vengeance_of_History_by_GardnerHall_Basingstoke_Palgrave_Macmillan_2015_184pp_6500_hb_ISBN_978

Averting Global War: Book review: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/16161262.2017.1404759>; *Politique Américaine*, No 10 (Spring 2008).

American Global Strategy and the War on Terrorism: Reviewed: “Strategic Horizons” *The National Interest* (Spring 2006).

[http://www.jmu.edu/nelsoninstitute/Strategic%20Horizons%20\(Pham-TNI%202006\)1.pdf](http://www.jmu.edu/nelsoninstitute/Strategic%20Horizons%20(Pham-TNI%202006)1.pdf); *The International Spectator*, n.4 (October-December 2005); *Choice*. *The New Transatlantic Agenda*: Reviewed in *Études internationales*. *Central and Southeastern Europe in Transition*: “Chapter 10: The Genesis of NATO Enlargement and of War ‘over’ Kosovo” (March 2000) was selected as “one of the best books or articles on NATO enlargement” (out of 16 selected) by Questia Librarians. <http://www.questia.com/library/politics-and-government/nato-enlargement.jsp> *Dangerous Crossroads*: reviewed in *Choice*, *Russian Review* and the *Slavic Review*. Chapter 9 “Critique of Three Approaches to NATO Enlargement” was selected as one of the “best books or articles on NATO enlargement” (out of 16 selected) by Questia Libraries. <http://www.questia.com/library/politics-and-government/nato-enlargement.jsp> *Surviving the Millennium*: reviewed in *Foreign Affairs* (April 1995) by Francis Fukuyama and in *Slavic Review* by Richard Ned Lebow.

For book publications, see Hall Gardner, *Amazon.com*: <http://www.amazon.com/Hall-Gardner/e/B001HPAN6S>

Political Essays and Poetry: *Wall Street International Magazine*: <https://wsimag.com/authors/701-hall-gardner>

MANUSCRIPTS/BOOKS IN PROGRESS:

The Digital and Artificial Intelligence Revolutions: Tools of Terror, War, and Eyes of Big Brother

Global Legitimacy Crisis

Alienation and the Roots of Revolution, Terrorism and War.

World Order and the Historical Quest for Global Hegemony.

RECENT ARTICLES/CHAPTERS (SELECTED):

“Pandemic Pressure: The Coronavirus Is Antagonizing America’s Relationships” *The National Interest* (June 1, 2020), <https://nationalinterest.org/feature/pandemic-pressure-coronavirus-antagonizing-america%E2%80%99s-relationships-159431>

“The G-7 Summit: Sovereignism vs. Internationalism” in *Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Diplomatism*, Vol. 7, N. 9 (September 2019), see: <https://view.joomag.com/extraordinary-and-plenipotentiary-diplomatist-diplomatist-vol-7-issue-9-sep-2019/0262666001568704075?short>

“The Geopolitical Convolutions of Fighting the Global War on Terror (GWOT)” in *A New Global Agenda: Priorities, Practices, and Pathways of the International Community*, edited by Diana Ayton-Shenker (Rowman & Littlefield, 2018).

“Ukraine: A New Plan” *American Affairs*, Volume I, Number 2 (Summer 2017), see: <https://americanaffairsjournal.org/issue/summer-2017/>; Translation: “Point de vue. Ukraine: un nouveau plan» Variations américaines *Politique américaine*, V.1, N.30 (2018).

“From the Origins of World War I to Global Conflict Today: World War I, World War II, World War III???” *Florida Political Chronicle*, v.25, n.1 (2016-2017): p.12-32, see: <http://www.fpsanet.org/uploads/8/8/7/3/8873825/8-florida-political-chronicle-fpsa-issue-v.25-n.1-2016-2017-revised-2018.pdf>

“The Russian Annexation of Crimea: Regional and Global Ramifications,” *European Politics and Society*, edited by Nicolai Petro (2016), see: DOI: 10.1080/23745118.2016.1154190

«A Critical Response to NATO Rethink, Realign, React», *La Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique (FRS)* (13 June 2016), see: <https://www.frstrategie.org/publications/notes/a-critical-response-to-nato-rethink-realign-react-15-2016>

«Hybrid Warfare: Iranian and Russian Versions of "Little Green Men" and Contemporary Conflict» (Rome: NATO Defense College, 2015), see: <http://www.ndc.nato.int/news/news.php?icode=885> Listed, Transatlantic Must-Reads (January 11, 2016) Hybrid Warfare article in Book: «NATO’s Response to Hybrid Threats» eds. Guillaume Lasconjarias, Jeffrey A Larsen. Introduction: General Philip M. Breedlove (Rome: NATO Defense College, 2015), see:

- <http://www.ndc.nato.int/download/downloads.php?icode=471>
- “The Impact of U.S. ‘Re-balancing’ to Asia on French Strategic Thinking” in *Assessing Maritime Power in the Asia-Pacific: Impact of American Strategic Re-Balance*, editor, Greg Kennedy (London: Ashgate, 2015).
- “From World War I to the Present: Comparative Hegemonic Rivalries and the Disintegration of World Order” *World Association of International Studies* (October 2015), see: http://waisworld.org/modules/cms/files/wais/FromWorldWarItoTodayFINAL3_375972_6936.pdf
- “The ‘Reset’ that was Never ‘Reset’ in NATO Watch Briefing Paper No. 49 (3 April 2014), see: http://www.natowatch.org/sites/default/files/briefing_paper_no_49_-_ukraine_russia_crimea.pdf
- “Crimea: If and when, the Dust Settles: Beyond Kissinger's Principles” *Russian International Affairs Council (RIAC)*, see: http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id_4=3507&active_id_11=66#top
- “Breaking the Cycle of Mutual Imprecations: the Magnitsky Act and Dima Yakovlev Law” (in English and Russian), in *Russian International Affairs Council (RIAC)* (8 April 2013), see: http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id_4=1671#top; <http://russiancouncil.ru/en/>
- “Resetting the Reset Button with Russia: Toward a Euro-Atlantic Confederation” *Shadow NATO Conference III* (14-15 May 2012), see: <http://www.basicint.org/sites/default/files/gardnerhallmay2012.pdf>
<http://www.basicint.org/news/events/2012/shadow-nato-summit-iii-washington-dc>
- “Toward a Resolution of the Cyprus Dispute and the Euro Crisis: A Geo-economic Perspective” *Cicero Foundation Great Debate Paper* No. 12/01 (January 2012), see: http://www.cicerofoundation.org/lectures/Hall_Gardner_Cyprus_Dispute_and_Euro_Crisis.pdf
- “Toward a Geo-Economic Resolution of the Euro Crisis,” G8 Research Group at the University of Toronto (G8RG), see: <http://www.g20.utoronto.ca/events/111216-gardner.pdf>
- “Toward a Euro-Atlantic Confederation: Practical Steps for the U.S., Russia and Europe to Coordinate Security, Defense and Peacekeeping” in *Russia in Global Affairs* (March 2011), see: <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/Towards-a-Euro-Atlantic-Confederation-15147>
- “International Relations and Terrorism” in *Sage Encyclopedia of Terrorism* (2011).
- “Toward a New Strategic Vision for the Euro-Atlantic” in *NATO Watch Briefing Paper*, No. 15 (13 December 2010), see: http://www.natowatch.org/sites/default/files/NATO_Watch_Briefing_Paper_No.15.pdf
- “Geopolitics and Geostrategy” in *Oxford Bibliographies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), see: <http://oxfordbibliographiesonline.com/view/document/obo-9780199743292/obo-9780199743292-0056.xml?rsk=HFkZME&result=12&q=>
- “International Negotiation and Conflict Resolution” in *Oxford Bibliographies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), see: <http://oxfordbibliographiesonline.com/view/document/obo-9780199743292/obo-9780199743292-0006.xml?rsk=UTIMKK&result=5&q=conflict#firstMatch>
- “Terrorism” in *Oxford Bibliographies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), see: <http://oxfordbibliographiesonline.com/view/document/obo-9780199743292/obo-9780199743292-0055.xml?rsk=XbiKFb&result=11&q=Hall%20Gardner#firstMatch>
- “Global War on Terrorism” in *A Companion to American Military History*, editor James C. Bradford (Wiley-Blackwell, 2009).
- “Toward a Euro-Atlantic Confederation (A Proposal for Kant, Hugo and Tolstoy to Shake Hands in Kaliningrad, Paris and Sevastopol)” *EastWest Institute* (Brussels: 23 June 2009), see: http://www.ewi.info/system/files/Gardner_Speech.pdf
- «Vers un Conseil stratégique russo-atlantique?» *Politique Américaine*, No. 13 (Spring 2009).
- “Toward a Transatlantic Security Council” *Cicero Foundation Great Debates Lecture* (March 2009), see: http://www.cicerofoundation.org/lectures/Hall_Gardner_Transatlantic_Security_Council.pdf
http://docs.ewi.info/Publications/Hall_Gardner_Transatlantic_Security_Council.pdf
- “War and the New Media Paradox” a critique of Marshall McLuhan, in *Cyber-Conflict and Global Politics*, editor Athina Karatzogianni (New York: Routledge, 2008).
- “L’action militaire en 2008: bras de fer au Congrès,” *Politique Américaine*, No. 10 (Spring 2008).
- “Toward Regional Security Communities: NATO U.N. and the 1948 Vandenberg Resolution” in *Civitas Paper*.
- “Iran: pourquoi une diplomatie de négociations sans conditions” in *Géostratégiques*, No. 18 (January 2008), see: <http://www.strategicsinternational.com> Extract published in *Milieus des Empires* (January 2008).
- “Beyond Backdoor Multilateralism: the Case for Direct U.S. Engagement with North Korea” *Cicero Foundation* (Summer 2006), see: http://www.cicerofoundation.org/pdf/lecture_Gardner_US_NorthKorea.pdf
Selected by PolicyPointers.org: http://www.policypointers.org/page_3982.html
- “La question des ventes d’armes à Taiwan” *Géostratégiques* No.17 (Septembre, 2007).
- “Révolution dans l’arrière-cour d’Amérique: vision bolivarienne du Venezuela” *Géostratégiques*, No.11 (Janvier 2006).
- “Redefining the Transatlantic Relationship for the Twenty-First Century--Why the U.S. and Europe Need Each Other” in *Cicero Foundation*, see: http://www.cicerofoundation.org/pdf/lecture_gardner_dec05.pdf
- “Thèse sur l’Iran et l’Electronucléaire” in *Geostrategiques*, No. 10 (December 2005).

- “From the Egyptian Crisis of 1882 to Iraq of 2003: Alliance Ramifications of British and American Bids for ‘World Hegemony’” and “World Hegemony and its Aftermath” published in *Sens Public*, No. 3 (March 2005), see: http://www.sens-public.org/article_paru3.php3?id_article=114; http://www.sens-public.org/article_paru3.php3?id_article=119
- “Le retrait de Gaza: Vers la réconciliation Israélo-palestinienne, la troisième Intifada, ou des différends Intra-palestiniens,” Institut International d’Études Stratégiques, *Geostratégiques*, No 9 (September 2005), see: http://www.strategicsinternational.com/9_Gardner.pdf
- “Embrouille et prévoyance en Irak” in *Geostratégiques*, No. 7 (April 2005).
- “Transcending the New World Disequilibrium” in *World Political Forum*, WPF 2003 documents area, <http://www.theworldpoliticalforum.org/b1.php?id=9>
- “Labors of the New American Hercules” in *Connections*, Vol.II, 3 (September 2003).
- “The Iraq Crisis and its Impact on the Future of E.U.-U.S. Relations” in *The Cicero Foundation*, see: www.cicerofoundation.org (Listed in Policy Library: <http://www.policylibrary.com/defence>)
- “Aligning for the Future” in *Harvard International Review* (Winter 2003) (Listed on U.S. Embassy American Reference Center -- Article Alert 2003-05).
- “History Suggests U.S. and Europe Need a More Equal Partnership” in *European Affairs*, vol.III, n.3 (2002).
- “NATO Enlargement and Geohistory” in “NATO for a New Century: Enlargement and Intervention in the Atlantic Alliance” editor Carl Hodge (Westport, CN: Praeger, 2002).
- “L’après 11 Septembre: la Russie et l’élargissement de l’OTAN” in *Puissances et Influences Annuaire*. Editions Charles Léopold Mayer (2002-03).
- “Scenarios for NATO Enlargement,” *Revista Euro-Atlantike*, Kosova Institute for Euro-Atlantic Integrations Vol. 1, No. 1 (2002) (in English, Albanian and Serbian).
- “China: From World Revolution to Raw Pan-National Interest” in *Geostratégiques*, No.3 (April 2001) (English and French).
- “A Geostrategy for World Peace” in *Geostratégiques*, No. 2 (March 2001) (English and French).
- “NATO and the European Union: The Risks of the ‘Double Enlargement’” in *Géostratégiques* No. 1, January 2001 (French and English).
- “NATO and the U.N.: The Contemporary Relevance of the North Atlantic Treaty” in *NATO: The First Fifty Years*, editor Gustav Schmidt (London: Palgrave, 2001) (Discussed in *Book Review: Impossible Survivor, NATO Review*, see: http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2002/issue3/english/book_pr.html)
- “China and the World in the New Millennium” in *Journal of the Institute of Asian Studies*, special issue, vol. XVII, No. 2 (Institute of Asian Studies, India: March 2000). Also published by Centre de Recherches sur les Études Asiatiques, Editor T. Wignesan, http://members.aol.com/wignesh/4_china_and_international.htm
- “Toward a Separate Euro-Atlantic Command,” published by Committee on Eastern Europe and Russia in NATO” (1999), see: <http://www.fas.org/man/nato/analysis.htm>
- “NATO, Russia and Eastern European Security: Beyond the Interwar Analogy,” in *NATO Looks East*, eds. Piotr Dutkiewicz and Robert J. Jackson (Westport, CN: Praeger, 1998).
- “The Military Integration of Eastern Europe,” in *Defense: the Next Step in European Integration, Cicero Paper*, No. 1 (Maastricht, Netherlands: Cicero Foundation, 1996).
- “Past, Present, Future Dilemmas of European Security and Identity” in *Journal, History of European Ideas*, Vol. 15, No 1-3 (August 1992).
- “China’s Reaction to Western Liberalism and Democratic Values” in *Le Canard Laque*, Association Asie Extreme, Institut d’Études Politiques, No. 5 (Spring 1991).
- “China and the World after Tiananmen” in *SAIS Review* (Winter/Spring 1990) (Summarized in *International Political Science Abstracts*, Paris: Vol. 40, No. 4-5, Abstract No. 40.4614).

REVIEW ESSAYS AND BOOK REVIEWS:

- Gardner on Jervis and Gavin and Rovner and Labrosse, ‘*Chaos in the Liberal Order: the Trump Presidency and International Politics in Twenty-First Century*, see: <https://networks.h-net.org/node/28443/reviews/4153436/gardner-jervis-and-gavin-and-rovner-and-labrosse-chaos-liberal-order>
- “BOOK-REVIEW: World War I Centennial: Search for the Origins” in *Florida Political Chronical*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (2013-14).
- “Terrorism: The New World Disorder” in *The European Legacy*, No 4 (2009).
- “War in Human Civilization” in *The European Legacy*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (2009).
- “The Concept of ‘Interest’”; “Making Globalization Good” in *The European Legacy* v. 1, n.4 (July 2006).
- “The Russian Military: Power and Policy,” *Slavic Review* Vol. 5, No.1 (Spring 2005).
- “The Virilio Reader,” *The European Legacy*, v.9, n.6 (2004).
- “Spies Without Cloaks: The KGB’s Successors,” *The European Legacy*, v.5, n.2 (February 1998).
- “A History of International Relations Theory,” *The European Legacy*, v.3, n.1 (February 1998).
- “A Reader in International Relations & Political Theory,” *History of European Ideas*, v.18, n.3 (1994).
- “Rousseau on International Relations,” *History of European Ideas*, v.14, n.4 (July 1992).

INTERVIEWS/CONFERENCES:

Session 5: the impact of the Covid-19 crisis on American power and transatlantic relations Geneva Center for Security Policy June 10, 2020 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DD7CxlhSgQ>

[Débat | « NATO 70 Years On: What Future Lies Ahead ? »](https://www.irsem.fr/agenda-enhancer/agenda/debat-nato-70-years-on-what-future-lies-ahead.html) Nov 28, 2019 *École militaire* .

<https://www.irsem.fr/agenda-enhancer/agenda/debat-nato-70-years-on-what-future-lies-ahead.html>

Speaker, “Critical Components of International Peace Building – New Challenges in the Age of Unpredictability” Lecture College of Lake County <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zsd-nKMNOxk> (July 2019)

Interview: “The G-7 Summit in Biarritz” *France 24*, see: <https://www.msn.com/en-gb/news/world/g7-summit-in-biarritz-lateral-disputes-likely-to-thwart-unity-at-global-meeting/vi-AAGjq4E>

Discussant, Barry Buzan’s presentation, “The Emerging Structure of International Politics” sponsored by *Institut de Recherche Stratégique de l’École Militaire*. <https://www.irsem.fr/agenda-enhancer/agenda/conference-the-emerging-structure-of-international-politics.html>

Interview on book “Crimea, Global Rivalry and the Vengeance of History, Paris, France (7 February 2017), see: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j2o2KWe63zo>

Interview, “Trump Administration and NATO,” Radio France International (15 February 2017).

Interviewed by *Japanese Public Television NHK*: Global Debate Wisdom: “Is this the Start of a New Cold War?”; *Associated Press (AP)*, *FRANCE 24*, *Deutsche Welle*, *Al Jazeera*, *Reuters*, *Radio France International (RFI)*, *Bloomberg News*, *RFO* “*Toutes les France*,” *Voice of Russia*, *Russia Today*, *VOA-China*, *VOA-Iran*, *C-NBC TV News*, *BBC World News (radio)*, *MacClean’s (Canada)*, *Izvestia*, *O Globo (Brazil)*, *Agence France Press*, *Metro (Guatemala)*, *Puerto Rico*, *Nicaragua*, *Columbia* and other media, 2001-2019.

Interview with *La Croix* (in French) (July 2016), see: <http://www.la-croix.com/Monde/L-Otan-devrait-suspendre-son-elargissement-2016-07-08-1200774494>

“Les relations entre l’Arabie Saoudite et les USA” par Hall Gardner, directeur de département politique comparée internationale à l’Université américaine de Paris, National Assemblée (16 March 2016), see: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8TcHxMAB8n8>

Interviews with William Kern: AUDIO: Ramifications of the Paris Attacks with Dr. Hall Gardner of The American University in Paris: *The World Meets America Report*, Episode 21, see: <http://worldmeets.us/the-world-meets-america-report-000003.shtml#.VpPvdhGDHFI#ixzz3wxc8kRLJ>

PODCAST: ‘Super Blowback’: The Dark Horizon after San Bernardino with Dr. Hall Gardner, Ep. 32 - See more at: <http://www.worldmeetsamerica.com/2015/12/06/super-blowback-the-dark-horizon-after-san-bernardino-with-dr-hall-gardner-ep-32/#sthash.UTfatxbJ.dpuf>

PODCAST: Dr. Hall Gardner on Fear of Trump Abroad; Saudis vs. Iranians and the China-Russia Axis, Ep. 46 - See more at: <http://www.worldmeetsamerica.com/2016/01/11/dr-hall-gardner-on-fear-of-trump-abroad-saudis-vs-iranians-and-the-china-russia-axis-ep-46/#sthash.buoS0Ybv.dpuf>

“Les relations entre l’Arabie Saoudite et les USA” (Paris, National Assembly, 16 March 2016), see: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8TcHxMAB8n8>

Interview on U.S. policy toward Nasser and Sadat (February 2016) by Khaled Saad Zaghoul for *Al Jazeera*.

Interview on Russian Annexation of the Crimea, *NHK Japanese National Broadcasting* (April 2014).

Interview on U.S. policy toward Nasser and Sadat (February 2016) by Khaled Saad Zaghoul for *Al Jazeera*.

Interview on Algerian nuclear weapons program (March 2014) by Khaled Saad Zaghoul for *Al Jazeera*.

Interview on Israeli nuclear weapons program (June 2012) by Khaled Saad Zaghoul for *Al Jazeera*.

Fourth “To Be Secure” Conference Panel, Atlantic Council, Montenegro (16 June 2014), “Ukrainian Crisis and International Responses”, see: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3IMSdh5UrrY>

Interview AUP Politics Association (October 2009), http://auppa.org/newspaper/2009/10/The_Political_October_2009.pdf

Interviewed by Jean Louis Molho, *DOC Story* for Planète on the Chinese Democracy movement and First Gulf War (1990-91).

Interviews, *Digital Gulan*, one of the major newspapers in Iraqi Kurdistan (December 2007; September 2011)

“Interview: Hall Gardner” IN *International Affairs Forum*, *Center for International Affairs* (May 2005), <http://www.ia-forum.org/Files/hallgardner.pdf>.

“Lo Stratega Gardner: Baghdad. É la nuova Beirut” in *Il Secolo XIX* (29 October 2003).

Interviewed for Documentary Film, “Technologie contre Terrorisme”, *ARTE TV* (November 2001).

LECTURES AND SEMINARS (SELECTED):

Speaker, Trump and the Geopolitics of New Arms Race“ *Escuela de Ciencias Sociales y Gobierno*

- Tecnológico de Monterrey, Campus Monterrey (February 20, 2020)
- Speaker, “Critical Components of International Peace Building – New Challenges in the Age of Unpredictability” Lecture College of Lake County <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zsd-nKMNOxk> (July 2019)
- Speaker, “NATO, Russia, Ukraine and the New Arms Race” University of Notre Dame, International Security Center (March 2019).
- Speaker, “Global Order in Disarray – A Quest for Global Governance” German-Southeast Asian Center of Excellence for Public Policy and Good Governance Bangkok, Thailand (8–9 December 2018).
- Panel Discussion on the Iran Nuclear Accord, AUP (November 2018).
- Public Discussion, World War Trump, Yakety-Yak (November 2018), see: <https://www.meetup.com/fr-FR/levaketyyak/>
- Speaker, “Political Warfare” Beyond the Horizon Conference, “New Horizons Symposium” Brussels (22 October 2018). https://www.behorizon.org/events/symposium-2018/?mc_cid=b2f71f4e97&mc_eid=f5b9d72ffa
- Speaker, World War Trump, Democrats Abroad (17 September 2018), <https://www.democratsabroad.org/107807/world-war-trump-the-risks-of-america-s-new-nationalism>
- Public Lecture on World War Trump, Seminary Co-Op Books, Chicago (9 July 2018): <https://www.semcoop.com/event/hall-gardner-world-war-trump>
- Panel Discussion on Trump Presidency, Democrats Abroad (22 January 2018). https://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/4642c7_cdd5b17f681944c38c3f8bf690656272.pdf
- “Russia’s Foreign and Defense Policy in the Indo-Pacific and the Sino-Russian Proto-Alliance” Conference on Asian Security, German-Southeast Asian Center of Excellence for Public Policy and Good Governance (CPG) Faculty of Law, Thammasat University and Taiwan ASEAN Studies Center (Bangkok, December 2016).
- New Policy Forum Conference: Common European Security after the Cold War: What are the Solutions to New Challenges? (Prague, 16-17 September 2016) under auspices of the Czech Presidency
- Conference on Asian Security, German-Southeast Asian Center of Excellence for Public Policy and Good Governance (CPG) Faculty of Law, Thammasat University and Taiwan ASEAN Studies Center (Bangkok) December 2015: http://www.cpg-online.de/uploads/file/Agenda2015/XXFnAgenda%20Asia%20Security%20Conf_%2017181215.pdf
- «Origins of the Russian Backlash and Annexation of Crimea» *Bahcesehir University*, Istanbul (20 November 2015).
- «Crimea, Global Rivalry and the Vengeance of History» Eisenhower Institute (13 November 2015) «NATO and E.U. Expansion: The Risks of Cornering the Russian Bear» The Implications of Russian Interventions for the Security of Europe and NATO’s Responsibilities CIOR Seminar Konigswinter (17 February 2015).
- “China and Asia” Geneva Center for Security Policy, Geneva and Glion, Track II Diplomacy (September 2014), see: <http://www.gcsp.ch/content/search?stage=search&SearchText=hall+gardner>
- “French Strategy in Asia” UK Defense Academy and King’s College, Conference: Deliberating the Impact of The U.S. ‘Re-Balancing’ Strategy and Air-Sea Battle Concept (8-9 July 2014).
- “Crisis in Ukraine” *Atlantic Council* 2BS (To Be Secure) Forum in Budva, Montenegro “NATO in the 21st Century: New threats and the new theatres” (29–31 May 2014).
- “China and Security Competition in the 21st Century: Perspectives from China, Europe and the U.S.” Geneva Centre for Security Policy (15 May 2014).
- “The New US Strategic Doctrine and Its Implications for Europe” CIOR Conference (NATO Reservists): Security through Crisis Management, Schloss Eichholz, Wesseling, Germany (2-5 February 2014).
- “NATO’s Strategic Challenges: Peace, Perdurance and Transatlantic Unity” College of Europe, Bruges (31 January 2014).
- “Alliance of Democracies or Euro-Atlantic Confederation? Toward an Alternative System of Global and Inter-Regional Governance” *American University of Sharjah* (4 March 2013). Short listed for Khalaf Ahmed Habtoor Chair of International Relations “Reshaping the West - What Values and What Architectures for a Secure World” Ambassadors to the Court of St. James’s, *Civitatis International*, “Reshaping the West Policy” Seminar (5 February 2013). See video: <http://www.civitatis.eu/>
- “The American Pivot toward the Asia-Pacific” 24th annual CIOR (NATO Reservists) Seminar “NATO’s Challenges Following the Chicago Summit” Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS), Schloss Eichholz, Wesseling, Germany (29 January 2013). <http://www.cior.net/Events/2013/CIOR-Seminar-2013.aspx>
- “Beyond the Crisis in NATO-Russian relations” Shadow NATO Summit sponsored by BASIC; Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists; NATO Watch; and Strategy International at The Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University, Washington, D.C. (14-15 May 2012).
- “The Future of American Foreign Policy: Neo-Conservatism or Neo-Isolationism?” invited by the Munich Foreign Affairs Association in cooperation with Bavarian-American Center, Amerika Haus, Munich (23 April 2012).
- “Resetting NATO-Russian Relations” Keynote Address, NATO’S Partnerships–Oberammergau Symposium” NATO School (19-20 January 2011), Oberammergau, Germany, invited by NATO Assistant-Secretary-General Dirk Brengelmann.
- “Toward a New Strategic Vision for the Euro-Atlantic” NATO Shadow Summit, “Civil Society Perspectives on the Lisbon Summit and NATO’s New Strategic Concept”, Brussels (16 November 2010).
- “International Perspectives on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Post-Apartheid South Africa” at the conference *History, Memory and Rapprochement of Cultures*, UNESCO Paris (26-27 May 2010).

- “Obama's Foreign Policy: Surmounting Nightmarish Scenarios?” Heidelberg Center for American Studies, University of Mannheim (22 April 2010).
- “France’s Return to NATO’s Command- With Vital Interests in the Gulf,” with the French Ambassador to Kuwait, Mr. Jean-René Gehan, Kuwait University (1 March 2010).
- “NATO: Toward a New Strategic Vision” Conference: NATO in an Unbalanced World: an Evaluation of NATO’s Readjustments and Transformation, Schloss Eichholz, Wesseling, Germany (3 February 2010).
- «La Politique Étrangère Américaine, Actualité et Avenir Démocraties» Palais du Luxembourg (10 Octobre 2009).
- “NATO, the EU and the Struggle Against Violent Extremism” NATO School, Oberammergau (9 February 2010).
- Keynote address, “Regional Security Communities and the Insecurity-Security Dialectic”, Conflict Research Society and Conflict Analysis Research Centre, Kent University, Canterbury, U.K. (September 2009).
- “Obama’s Security Policy” *Institut des hautes études de défense nationale*, École Militaire (June 2009).
- “Toward a Euro-Atlantic Confederation (A Proposal for Kant, Hugo and Tolstoy to shake hands in Kaliningrad, Paris and Sebastopol), *EastWest Institute*, Brussels (23 June 2009), see: <http://www.ewi.info/euro-atlantic-security-seminar-brussels-0>
- “Obama’s Foreign Policy Options,” *Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique* (November 2008).
- “From Clash to Concert of Civilizations,” *Aspen Institute*, Paris Conference (November 2008).
- “Strategic Dilemmas of Human Rights Policy,” *World Political Forum* (November 2008).

EDITORIALS:

- “Trump, Dragon Slayer” in *The Hill* (Jan 8, 2018) see <https://thehill.com/opinion/national-security/477422-trump-the-dragon-slayer>
- “Donald Trump, President for Life? We need term limits now” in *The Hill*, see: <https://thehill.com/opinion/campaign/444394-donald-trump-president-for-life-we-need-term-limits-now>
- “Toward a New Euro-Atlantic Framework” at European Union Institute for Security Studies <http://www.iss.europa.eu/fr/publications/detail-page/article/toward-a-new-euro-atlantic-security-framework/>
- “Dangerous Transition in the ‘Greater Middle East’” (based on Speech for New Policy Forum (Mikhail Gorbachëv) Montpellier France (November 2011) in “Other News” and “Open Democracy” <http://www.opendemocracy.net/hall-gardner/dangerous-transition-in-greater-middle-east>; <http://www.other-news.info/2011/11/a-dangerous-transition-in-the-%E2%80%9Cgreater-middle-east%E2%80%9D/>
- “Precondition for Abolition (of nuclear weaponry): Five Factors for Consensus Building” in [http://www.atlanticcommunity.org/index/articles/view/Precondition for Abolition%3A Five Factors for Consensus Building](http://www.atlanticcommunity.org/index/articles/view/Precondition_for_Abolition%3A_Five_Factors_for_Consensus_Building)
- “Regional Cooperation Better Than NATO European Union Enlargement Atlantic Community Open Website” (1 June 2008): http://www.atlantic-community.org/index/Open_Think_Tank_Article/Regional_Cooperation_Better_Than_NATO--EU_Enlargement
- “Averting Secessionism in Eastern Europe and the Caucasus” (1 July 2008), see: http://www.atlantic-community.org/index/Open_Think_Tank_Article/Averting_Secessionism_in_Eastern_Europe_and_the_Caucasus
- “Commentary on E.U.-Ukrainian Relations”, see: http://www.atlantic-community.org/index/articles/view/Ukraine's_Western_Integration:_A_Slow_Process
- “The United States and the [E.U.] Constitution,” *Lettre de l'Association des auditeurs des sessions européennes de l'Institut des hautes études de défense nationale*, no. 7 (Janvier 2006).
- “Is it worth declaring war on all forms of “militant Islam”?” *American-Russian Net Face in the News* (11 December 2005), see: <http://www.america-russia.net/eng/geopolitics/104798013>; http://mideast.ru/eng_2975.html
- “From the Balkans to the Baltics” *Moscow News* (in Russian) (16-22 May 2000).
- “Toward a Euro-Atlantic Compromise” *Focus*, Center for Political and Strategic Studies, Washington, D.C. (November 1997), see: <http://www.cpss.org>
- “Stealthy Mission of Appeasement-for Naught” in Op. Ed. *L.A. Times* (20 December 1989): p.B7.
- “Far From Beijing, the Students Stand Up” in Op. Ed., *L.A. Times* (18 May 1989), Section II: p.7.
- “A Troubled China Needs Democracy” in Op Ed., *L.A. Times* (23 April 1989), Section V: p. 5.
- “Those Stumbling Blocks to Recognizing Vietnam Don't Have to Trip U.S. Now,” Op. Ed., *L.A. Times* (14 March 1989), Section II: p.7 (written after interviews in Ho Chi Minh City and Hanoi).

MISCELLANEOUS:

- Track II Diplomacy*: Geneva Center for Security Policy, Geneva and Glion, (September 2014), see: <http://www.gcsp.ch/content/search?stage=search&SearchText=hall+gardner>
- Member of Expert Study Group *EastWest Institute* to produce report, “Bridging the Fault Lines: Collective Security in Southwest Asia” (EWI: February 2012).
- Member of the Russia, Europe and the US Policy Expert Study Group, Track II diplomacy, *EastWest Institute* after the Georgia-Russia conflict in August 2008 to produce report, “Euro-Atlantic Security: One Vision, Three Paths” for OSCE Summit June 2009, <http://www.ewi.info/euro-atlantic-security>
- Invited by Mikhail Gorbachëv to speak at the World Political Forum, October 2003 (spoke. U.S intervention in Iraq on same panel with Nobel Peace Prize winner, Oscar Arias); October 2006, November 2008 (spoke

on U.S. policy and human rights on panel with Danielle Mitterrand and Stephane Hessel and at New Policy Forum in November 2010 and November 2011).

"The Wake-UP Blast" A collection of over three decades of poetry (Rhinebeck, N.Y.: Global Momenta, 2008).

Lecturer, NATO School, Oberammergau on 'NATO-EU relations and the War on Terrorism' (February, 2010; September 2009; September 2008).

Lectured on differing topics ranging from NATO enlargement to the war in Syria for *Democrats Abroad* in conferences held at the American University of Paris: 1991-2013

Participated in [Institut français des relations internationales](#) (IFRI) discussions on formulation of NATO's New Strategic Concept, October 2010

Participated in Doha Forum on Democracy and Free Trade, invited by then Ambassador of Qatar to Paris, Mohamed Al-Kuwari and Qatari Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA): 2004, 2005, 2006, 2008, 2010.

Narration (voice of Solzhenitsyn), English version of documentary, "Secret Story: The Gulag Archipelago," written by Jean Crépu and Nicolas Miletitch, on secret history of the publication of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago*, which shows Solzhenitsyn's last interview in 2007 before his death.

Biography selected for Marquis' *Who's Who in the World*, edition (2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019).

Peer Reviewer, Books and Articles, Palgrave Macmillan, Ashgate; Routledge; Slavic Studies; Problems of Post-Communism; Oxford Online Bibliography, Oxford University Press.

Introduced Speaker, US Supreme Court Justice Stephen Breyer, American University of Paris (30 June 2008).

Invited by former Prime Minister, Edouard Balladur to speak on "US policy toward Iraq and Iran," Commission des affaires étrangères, Assemblée Nationale France (7 February 2007), ee; <http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/12/cr-cafe/06-07/c0607026.asp>

American University of Paris, Second Annual Presidential Conference Commencement Address for graduating Seniors: "Class of Civilizations." Paris, May 2005. Published in *Scripta Politica* (AUP: Spring 2006).

Invited EU Parliament Member Michel Rocard to speak at American University of Paris, October 2004.

Interviewed French Foreign Minister, Dominique de Villepin (with Simon Oli, European Research University), May 2003.

Served on international screening committee for post-Doctoral fellowships on conflict, peace and social transformations, *Social Science Research Council, Program on Global Security and Cooperation*, 2002.

Organizer, Fundraiser, Participant: International Conference, "New World, New Europe, New Threats: NATO and the E.U. in the New Millennium," French Senate, 7-8 December 2001. Speakers included then U.S. Ambassador to NATO, Nicholas Burns, David Calleo, Lord David Owen, among many others.

Invited to speak at NATO 50th Anniversary Academic Conference, Royal Belgian Higher Institute of Defense (initially to be held at NATO headquarters), Brussels (19-22 May 1999).

Consulting on NATO Enlargement, Clinton Administration National Security Council (1997).

MEMBER OF ADVISORY BOARDS:

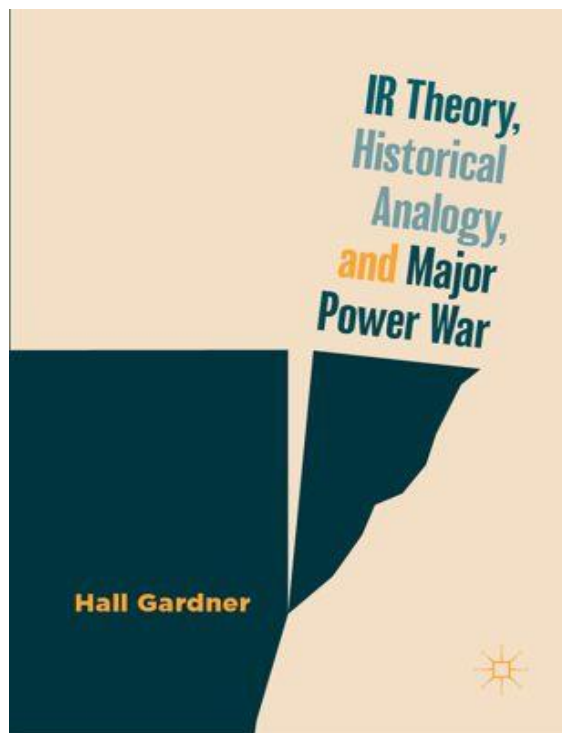
Advisory Board: New Policy Forum (Mikhail Gorbachëv); Cicero Foundation (Maastricht; Paris); Geostratégiques (French Journal of International Politics); Institute for Euro-Atlantic Integration, Kosovo; Oxford University Press, Online Bibliography; Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies; Other News: Voices Against the Tide.

MEMBER OF PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS:

World Association of International Studies (WAIS), founded at Stanford University.

PERSONAL:

U.S. Citizen; E.U. resident of France; Married with two children; Website: www.hallgardner.com



<https://www.amazon.com/Theory-Historical-Analogy-Major-Power/dp/3030046354>

This book critically examines elements of America-First nationalism, neo-conservatism, neo-realism, neo-liberalism, environmental theories, and social constructionism by way of developing an “alternative realist” approach to the study of the origins of major power war. The author critiques concepts of “polarity” and “sovereign” decision making and diplomacy before developing the concept of “highly uneven polycentrism.” The book then develops a unique comparative historical approach that seeks to compare and contrast the pre-World War I, pre-World War II, and Cold War eras with the contemporary post-Cold War period. It is argued that the US, as it remains the leading global hegemon, must fully engage in multilateral diplomacy with major friends and rivals alike in the establishment of differing forms of power sharing and joint sovereignty accords—in order to prevent the global system from polarizing into two contending alliances more reminiscent of both the pre-World War I and pre-World War II periods than the “new Cold War.”

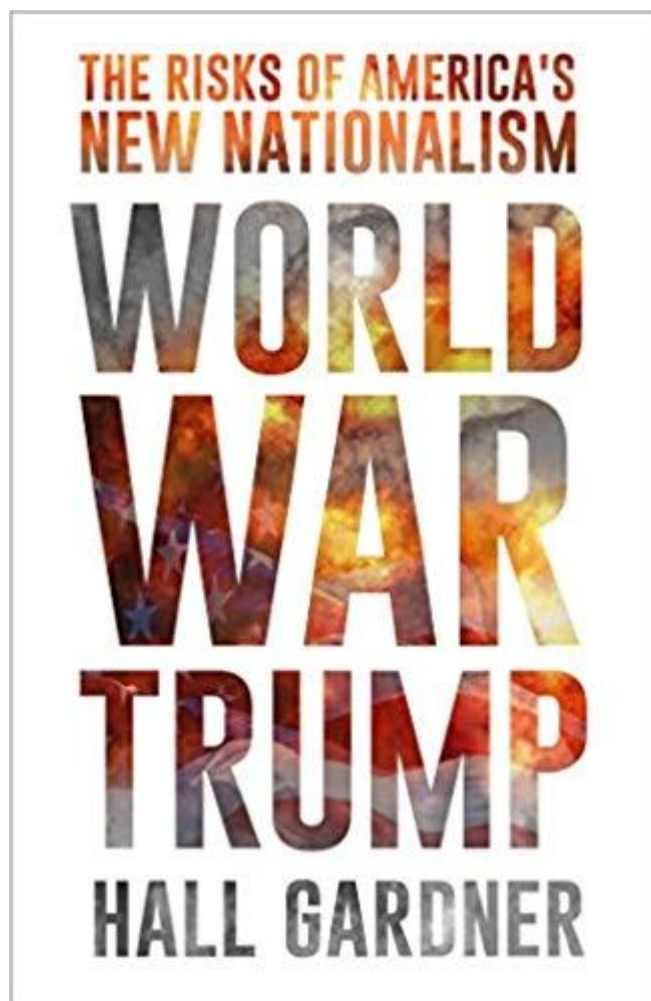
Reviews:

“Hall Gardner’s timely study, *IR Theory, Historical Analogy, and Major Power War*, draws powerfully on his many years of close, analytical scholarship concerning the successes and failures of international diplomacy. It is hard to imagine a moment at which his advice could be more welcome than now—when political incentives often seem to reward polarizing strategies—just the reverse of the realistic, multilateral approaches that Gardner so persuasively recommends.” (Lee Huebner, School of Media and Public Affairs, The George Washington University, USA)

“This original book provides a new analytical tool that can be used to dissect the major international issues of the day, especially the realignment of the major powers.” (Amitai Etzioni, University Professor and Professor of International Affairs, The George Washington University, USA)

“A journey of rich intellectual exploration which ranges from the leveraging of history to alliance theory and theories of hegemony. A work of illuminating discussions and arresting observations. A must read.” (Christopher Coker, Professor of International Relations at the London School of Economics, and Director of LSE IDEAS, UK)

“Dr. Hall Gardner has written an original and evocative book that brings discipline to the most difficult topic of our time—how to explain and understand the uneven post–Cold War global system. It is superb.” (Robert Jackson, Fletcher Jones Professor of Government, University of Redlands, USA, and Distinguished Research Professor, Carleton University, Canada)



Book Review by Jonathan Power <https://www.nyjournalofbooks.com/book-review/world-war-trump>

A speech of General George Patton, a famous World War II warrior, has an uncanny resemblance to the philosophy of Donald Trump. “All real Americans love the sting and clash of battle. Americans love a winner and will not tolerate a loser—Americans despise cowards. Americans play to win—all the time. That’s why Americans have never lost, not ever will lose a war, for the very thought of losing is hateful to Americans.”

Then came the Korean War (a stalemate), Vietnam (a loss), Afghanistan (mired in unconquerable mountains), Iraq 2 (a quagmire).

Nevermind the failures, with Trump in the saddle a new toughness is apparent. He’s in the middle of conflicts with North Korea, Russia, Iran, Syria, China, Yemen, Somalia, Libya, and in Niger and Mali. “Fire and Fury,” aimed at North Korea, is in danger down the road of becoming his mantra.

Recall that the U.S. commander in Korea, General Douglas MacArthur, advocated using 34 nuclear weapons on targets in Korea and China. Polls today show that a majority of Americans would think it right to use them if America were attacked. Obama would never have pressed the button. Don't be so sure about Trump sometime over the next few years.

Where are the risks? This is the big question put by Hall Gardner. It is a far-ranging answer, covering the whole waterfront of foreign affairs with great thoroughness. Not even Zbigniew Brzezinski or Henry Kissinger have written such a book.

* Russia: Trump has pushed for a fast build up of America's military might, including nuclear weapons, even though America has a military expenditure as high as the combined total of Russia, China, Japan, the UK, France, Saudi Arabia and India. He has no plan to discuss arms cuts, to take missiles off hair-trigger alert nor to take up ex-president Dmitri Medvedev's important proposal for a new European Security Treaty. This would deal with Russia's anger at the expansion of NATO up to its borders despite promises to Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev not to, while getting Russia's soldiers out of Ukraine and ending its military maneuvers in and around the Baltic.

Ukraine needs to be de-militarized, but Trump has decided to arm the government with sophisticated weapons. To deal with rebel demands the reasonable request for decentralization—as practiced in the UK—should be met.

* China: Trump has provoked China unnecessarily over Taiwan. This small island which has provided much of China's investment is claimed by Beijing to be part of China. It is not. But it should not, as a counter move, declare independence, a policy that Trump seems to lean to. Rather it should realize the quiet status quo is the only policy worth its weight.

Trump is aggravated by Chinese claims to islands in the South and East China seas. U.S. warplanes already cross the borders of China's Air Defense Identification Zone in the East China sea. In the 1950s the U.S. nearly went to war with China over the off-shore islands of Qemoy and Matsu, owned by Taiwan. President Dwight Eisenhower considered using nuclear weapons. Eventually China did pull back.

These days no one in their right mind wants to provoke a major war fought over tiny uninhabited islands. If this be true then the Pentagon should be ordered to take its military far away, so war cannot happen.

On the economic front there is a danger that Trump is initiating a trade war which in the long run will lead to a U.S. defeat. China has most of the cards. The total size of its economy is fast catching up with the U.S. It could buy its planes from Airbus rather than Boeing etc. It can start selling its vast savings in U.S. Treasury bonds.

* Iran: To Trump Iran is the source of all the problems of the Middle East: "From Lebanon to Iraq to Yemen, Iran funds, arms and train terrorists, militias and other extremist groups that spread destruction and chaos across the region." Trump has gone to great lengths to make sure Saudi Arabia benefits politically and militarily from his views, even though for years its government has permitted funds to be sent to Al Qaeda. Such an attitude undermines the job of making ISIS and Al Qaeda the primary target, as they should be. It is Iran, Iran, Iran, even though Iran is a force for defeating extremists. Yet Iran can be negotiated with as the U.S. discovered when it succeeded in sealing a highly important de-nuclearization agreement.

Trump wants to rip that accord open, even though he should know that North Korea will never trust a US deal if that's what happens two years later.

* North Korea: Negotiations are now underway between the North and the U.S. If they work then that should be an example for how to deal with other problems. If they fail, then we *should* worry that Trump might lead us into a war that could become nuclear.

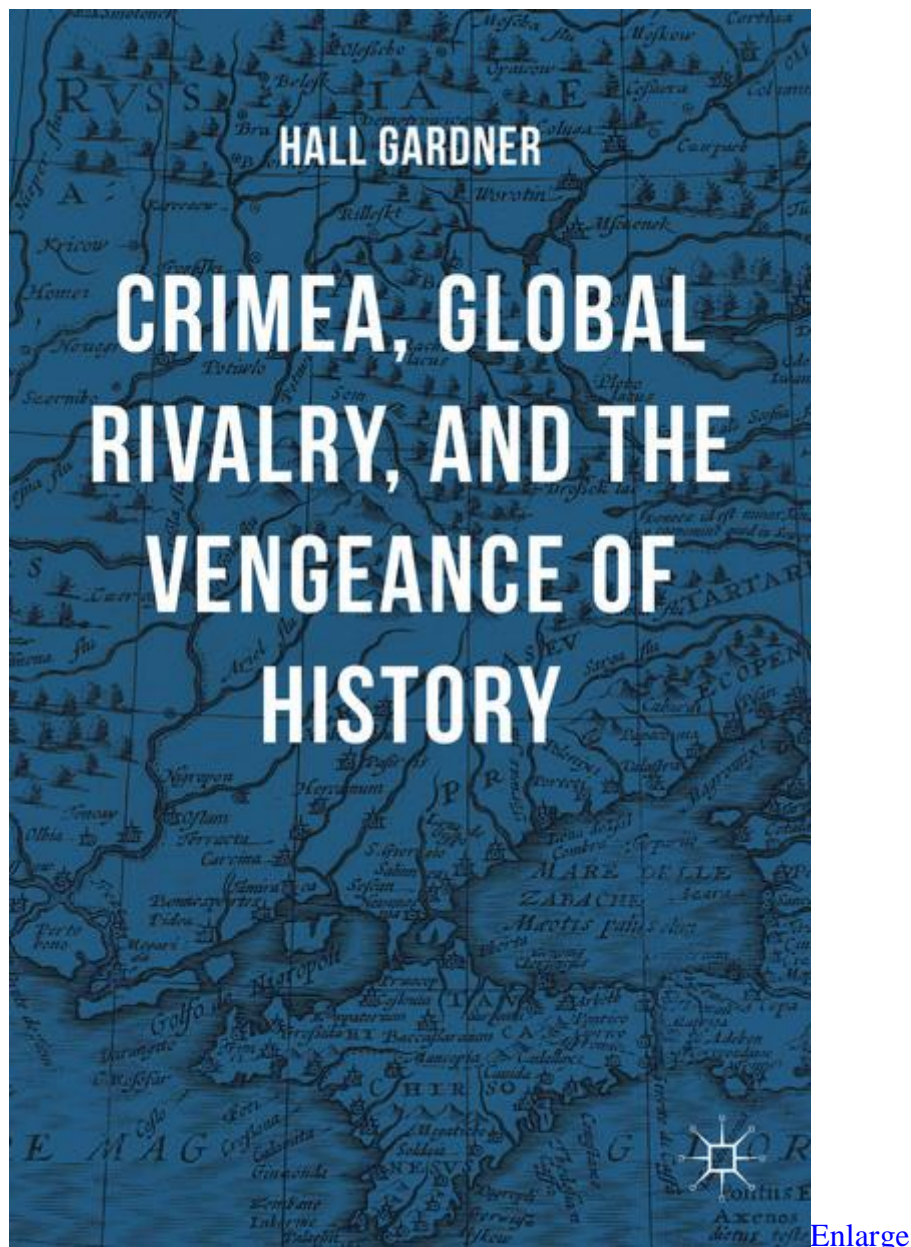
With Obama, even though he made grave mistakes, one felt there was a momentum toward peace. With Trump it just seems to be, North Korea excepted at the moment, a momentum to war.

Gardner opens his book with an apt warning: "The US will not only need to formulate its foreign and defense policy but also radically reform its system of governance and its domestic political-economy—if it is to both achieve peace abroad and work to mitigate tendencies toward even deeper social, economic and political polarization within the U.S. itself." The book provides good answers to his warning. Every foreign affairs student, journalist, academic and policy maker should make reading it a priority.

Jonathan Power's most recent book is *Ending War Crimes, Chasing the War Criminals*. He is an author, filmmaker, and has been a foreign affairs columnist for more than 35 years. He has interviewed 60 of the world's most famous political icons. His columns and articles have included in such publications as the *International Herald Tribune*, *The New York Times*, and *The Washington Post*. One of his documentaries for the BBC won a silver medal at the Venice Film Festival. For 17 years he was a foreign affairs columnist/commentator for the *International Herald Tribune*.

Crimea, Global Rivalry, and the Vengeance of History

[Hall Gardner](#)



Hardcover (184 pages)

ISBN 9781137546760

Publication Date August 2015

Formats	Hardcover Ebook (PDF) Ebook (EPUB)
Publisher	Palgrave Macmillan

Crimea, Global Rivalry, and the Vengeance of History critically examines the causes and consequences of Russia's annexation of Crimea and reviews differing annexations in history from the Seven Years War to today. It develops a unique comparative historical approach designed to compare and contrast alliance formations after Soviet collapse with alliance formations in previous eras. It argues that contemporary Russia-Ukraine conflict is more reminiscent of conflict during the Bolshevik revolution than Hitler's annexation of the Sudetenland, but that a nascent Russian-Chinese alliance can be compared to that between Weimar Germany and Soviet Russia. And although the US-NATO-European-Japanese reaction is not that of 'appeasement,' it is reminiscent of French reaction to Prussian annexation of Alsace before World War I, or European reaction to Russian annexations before the Crimean War. Based on these historical analogies and others, the book urges an alternative global strategy toward both Russia and China in the effort to prevent a renewed arms race, if not global war.

The Failure to Prevent World War I

The Unexpected Armageddon

World War I represents one of the most studied, yet least understood, systemic conflicts in modern history. At the time, it was a major power war that was largely unexpected. This book refines and expands points made in the author's earlier work on the failure to prevent World War I. It provides an alternative viewpoint to the thesis of Christopher Clark, Fritz Fischer, Paul Kennedy, among others, as to the war's long-term origins. By starting its analysis with the causes and consequences of the 1870-71 Franco-Prussian War and the German annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, the study systematically explores the key geostrategic, political-economic and socio-cultural-ideological disputes between France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Russia, Japan, the United States and Great Britain, the nature of their foreign policy goals, alliance formations, arms rivalries, as well as the dynamics of the diplomatic process, so as to better explain the deeper roots of the 'Great War'. The book concludes with a discussion of the war's relevance and the diplomatic failure to forge a possible Anglo-German-French alliance, while pointing out how it took a second world war to realize Victor Hugo's nineteenth-century vision of a United States of Europe—a vision now being challenged by financial crisis and Russia's annexation of Crimea.

Contents: Prologue; Introduction; The 'insecurity-security dialectic' and the unexpected Armageddon; Origins of the Franco-Prussian War; Global consequences of the Franco-Prussian War; French calls for revanche and Bismarck's nightmare of coalitions; British intervention in Egypt and the threat of a continental alliance; Bismarck's strategy and Anglo-German alliance talks; The failure of Caprivi's new course; 1894: year of Anglo-German alienation; Fissures within the continental alliance; The failure of Anglo-German alliance talks; Britain's quest for new allies; The Anglo-German détente and Eurasian conflicts; The question of Alsace-Lorraine; Stumbling into Armageddon; Conclusions: the failure to prevent World War I; Selected bibliography; Index.

The Ashgate Research Companion to War Origins and Prevention

Edited by Hall Gardner and Oleg Kobtzeff, The American University of Paris, France

Many different social scientists have been challenged by the origins of wars, their immediate causes and the mechanisms leading to the breakdown of peaceful relations. Many have speculated whether conflicts were avoidable and whether alternative policies might have prevented conflict. The Ashgate Research Companion to War provides contributions from a number of theorists and historians with a focus on long term, systemic conflicts.

The problématique is introduced by the Editors highlighting the need for interdisciplinary approaches to the study of war as a global phenomenon. The following 29 essays provide a comprehensive study guide in four sections:

Part I explicates differing theories as to the origins of war under the general concept of 'polemology'. Part II analyzes significant conflicts from the Peloponnesian wars to World War II. Part III examines the ramifications of Cold War and post-Cold War conflict. Part IV looks at long cycles of systemic conflict, and speculates, in part, whether another global war is theoretically possible, and if so, whether it can be averted.

This comprehensive volume brings us a much needed analysis of wars throughout the ages, their origins, their consequences, and their relationship to the present. A valuable understanding that is ideal for social scientists from a variety of backgrounds.

Contents: Preface; General introduction; polemology, Hall Gardner and Oleg Kobtzeff; Part I Alienation, Legitimacy, and the Roots of War: Alienation and the origins and prevention of war, Hall Gardner; The roots and evolution of conflict: from Cain to the present, Azar Gat; Gender and the causes, tactics and consequences of war, Debra L. DeLaet; Age of progress or 'age of extremes?': the escalation of warfare in modern times and the nature of its mutation, Oleg Kobtzeff; The state as a cause of war: anarchist and autonomist critiques of war, Andrew Robinson; Majority rule – a cause of war?, Peter Emerson; The legitimacy of war – toward a new principle for intervention, with its application to the Iraq War of 2003, Troy Davis. Part II Major Wars in History: From innovative democracy to warfare state: ancient Athens as a model of hegemonic decline, Athina Karatzogianni; Origins of Arab- Israeli conflicts in the 'Greater Middle East', Marco Rimanelli; A 'time of troubles': war in an age of planetary upheaval, from the end of the Middle Ages to 1648, Oleg Kobtzeff; Napoleonic wars: art of war, diplomacy and imperialism, Marco Rimanelli; War and the sacred: Russian-Ottoman conflict, 1876–1878, Ilya Platov; The failure to prevent World War I, Hall Gardner; World War I in history, Anthony D'Agostino; Totalitarian times – total war, global war: the roots of World War II and the nature of the conflict, Oleg Kobtzeff. Part III Cold War and Beyond...: NATO as a

war-preventive organization: Cold War vs. World War III, Marco Rimanelli; The Cold War and the media: lessons from America in Vietnam, Steven Ekvovich; NATO as post-Cold War humanitarian and peacekeeping organization, Marco Rimanelli; NOT a clash of civilizations: the conflict in Kosovo revisited, Oleg Kobtzeff; Child soldiers: the pursuit of peace and justice for child combatants, Susan Hitchcock Perry; The instrumentalization of gender in war, Carol Mann; Wars and climate: the effects of climatic change on security, Ben Cramer; Cyberconflict and the future of warfare, Athina Karatzogianni; The future of asymmetric warfare, François Géré. Part IV Long Cycles and Major Power Conflict: Metastrategy, sociostrategic systems in the West, Jean Paul Charnay; Islamic warfare, Jean Paul Charnay; Long cycle theory and concentrations/deconcentration of economic and political-military resources, William R. Thompson; Preventing global war, George Modelski; Reflections on polemology: breaking the long cycles of wars of initial challenge and wars of revanche, Hall Gardner; Index.

About the Editor: Hall Gardner, Professor and Chair, International and Comparative Politics, American University of Paris, France and Oleg Kobtzeff, Assistant Professor, International and Comparative Politics, American University of Paris, France

Reviews: 'Rich and diverse in terms of sources and perspectives, these assembled essays combine international relations theory with history. Addressing some of the great puzzles of statecraft, such as the origin of World War I, these essays will find a valued place in the classroom.' Charles F. Doran, Johns Hopkins SAIS, USA

'... a weighty tome that takes an interdisciplinary [...] approach to the study of war... Recommended.' Choice

'This broad-ranging, interdisciplinary and transatlantic conversation looks at war from new angles, focusing on the multilayered deep structures and systems underlying surface events. From Azar Gat's brilliant overview of human warfare to the causes of World War I and the rise of China, this thought-provoking collection views a familiar landscape of themes and events from new perspectives.' Joshua S. Goldstein, American University, USA (emeritus)

'The essays in this volume cover an admirable range of topics, including the evolution of modern warfare, the role of gender in conflict, the role of the state and Anarchist critiques of warfare, cyber-conflict, child soldiers, and the future of asymmetric conflict. Many of these essays are useful summaries of the literature and would be a valuable resource for students beginning to work in those areas... the volume takes an important step forward by translating the writings of some key French thinkers on war, such as Jean-Paul Charnay, while bringing the insights of others to the attention of English-speaking audiences... If one wishes to adopt or even learn more about the polemological approach, these essays are fascinating.' Perspectives on Terrorism '

AVERTING GLOBAL WAR

Regional Challenges, Overextension, and Options for American Strategy by Hall Gardner

First Edition

Description *Averting Global War* examines major regional disputes and conflicts throughout the world as they impact upon both American domestic and foreign policy. These include: The ongoing “war on terrorism”; NATO enlargement to Russian borders; US intervention in Iraq; US confrontation with Iran; the feud between Israel and the Palestinians; the widening “zone of conflict” from Central Asia to sub-Saharan Africa; the global ramifications of North Korea’s nuclear program and China’s claims to Taiwan; Venezuela’s “Bolivarian Revolution” and the “war on drugs” in Latin America, the domestic socio-political effects of Latin American immigration upon the US. The book’s goal is to articulate an irenic American strategy intended to resolve, or at least transform, a number of these disputes and conflicts so as to prevent them from further “deepening” or “widening”—and to avert the real possibility of major power confrontation involving both clandestine and overt methods of warfare.

Praise for Averting Global War

“*Averting Global War* is an artful and arresting defense of the need for American policy-makers to adopt meaningful and wise strategies for handling the growing number of regional problems throughout the world. In a comprehensive manner, Hall Gardner demonstrates how violence and perhaps even wars among the major power may result if the wrong approaches are taken to these growing challenges.”--**Robert Jackson**, Author of *Temptations of Power: the US in Global Politics since 9/11*

"Hall Gardner zeroes in on the ‘new world disorder,’ and alerts us to the geostrategic dangers inherent in our unsettled time.”--**Susan Eisenhower**, President of The Eisenhower Group, Inc., and Chairman Emeritus, The Eisenhower Institute

<http://www.palgrave-usa.com/catalog/product.aspx?isbn=0230600859>

American Global Strategy and the 'War on Terrorism'

***(Ashgate, 2005; 2007)* by Hall Gardner**

Contemporary international events, and indeed even the US presidential election, demonstrate the continuing need for debate and discourse over the direction and emphases of US foreign policy. *American Global Strategy and the 'War on Terrorism'* addresses a wide range of themes that are crucial to understanding the post-11 September, 2001 crisis and to formulating an effective American and global foreign and security policy to deal with that crisis. Hall Gardner seeks to re-conceptualize the 'war on terrorism' and to analyze the nature of American domestic and international policy-making within the context of historical and structural constraints upon US policy. The book contends that US strategy needs to shift gears and work more diligently to minimize the risks of even wider regional conflicts, possibly involving major powers, through engaging in truly multilateral strategies and through 'strengthening' the UN.

Contents

Preface; Introduction: Labors of Hercules without end in sight; Reflections upon the 11 September attacks and 'pre-emptive' war in Iraq; The roots of American neo-conservatism: neo-timocrats or moralizing politicians?; The question of State and anti-State 'terrorism': who is 'terrorizing' whom?; The risks of nuclear proliferation; Manipulating US global power: Pakistan, 'war on terrorism' and strategic leveraging; The global ramifications of American military expansionism; 'Clash of democracies' or new global concert?; Transcending the international disequilibrium; Bibliography.

Reviews

'A truly remarkable book. Few if any other volumes provide such an encompassing overview of the most troubling issues that the world faces in the wake of the Cold War's end and the 2001 attack on the United States homeland. Neither neo-realist nor neo-con, just straightforward, powerful analysis.' **Amitai Etzioni, author of *From Empire to Community: A New Approach to International Relations***

'A provocative and scholarly book that deserves a wide audience...No reader will find it possible to agree with every point argued forcefully by the author, but not will fail to gain, analytically as well as conceptually, from the author's insights.' **Simon Serfaty, Center for Strategic & International Studies, USA**

'In his latest book Professor Hall Gardner sketches the outlines of a new world order in which the US plays a more multilateral role. His views may be deemed "too idealistic" and not be shared by protagonists of a unilateral approach in US foreign policy, but they are provocative and highly interesting and, as always, based on deep insights and a broad and detailed historical knowledge.' **Marcel H. Van Herpen, Director, Cicero Foundation, The Netherlands**

'...the book will provide an interesting and thought-provoking read for those who - armed with a solid previous knowledge of American foreign policy - want to engage in an all-encompassing overview of the crucial security issues facing the world today.' *The International Spectator*

'*American Global Strategy* is one of the most interesting and creative volumes among

the recent plethora of books on American grand strategy. Gardner is especially attuned to the complexity of the underlying dynamics shaping foreign policies abroad.' *The National Interest*

'...a thorough and critical study of US foreign policy in the post-September 11, 2001 period...a refreshing analysis...This book deserves to be read by scholars and lay people alike.' *The Muslim News*

'...a tightly written, well-supported, extensively documented analysis of the US grand strategy to deal with the international threat of terrorism...A series of significant conclusions is proffered by the author...Highly recommended.' *Choice*

"Gardner's work serves to provoke analysis of the incentives and objectives or lack thereof according to the scholar of American foreign policy since 9/11 and strives to formulate a more coherent, and more encompassing American global strategy. An effort that by itself is a praiseworthy exercise, because it provides an alternative mode of thinking with respect to current thought. Furthermore, Gardner's analytical, erudite and detailed descriptions make *American Global Strategy and the 'War on Terrorism'* a publication that is well worth reading." *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management*, Volume 14, Number 3, September 2006

<https://www.ashgate.com/shopping/title.asp?key1=&key2=&orig=results&isbn=0%207546%207094%205>

NATO and the European Union: New World, New Europe, New Threats

(Ashgate, 2004) Edited by Hall Gardner

"Written in the interval between 9/11 and the invasion of Iraq, the book offers a rich variety of insights into the evolving nature of the new international system - one where "state terror" contends with "anti-state terror, but with no clear end in sight." The opening section discusses "the strategic impact of September 11" - an "a symmetrical conflict" with an "imbalance of terror." In one of his own essays, the editor, Hall Gardner, calls for a new strategy of "multilateral dissuasion" to replace the increasingly inadequate Cold War strategy of "deterrence." Two further sections of four articles each deal with the changing structure and policies of NATO in the new strategic climate and the relationship between NATO and the EU in the "War on Terrorism." The book is notable for including a broad presentation of European and Russian views. It is a useful study for anyone trying to gain a longer-term perspective on today's swirling events."

---David P. Calleo, University Professor, Dean Acheson Professor and Director of European Studies, Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University

The New Transatlantic Agenda

Facing the Challenges of Global Governance

(Ashgate, 2001)

Hall Gardner and Radoslava Stefanova, eds.

Reviews

'...a timely and substantive contribution to the further – and much needed – discussion of the interconnected web of transatlantic relationships. The authors are well-chosen, both for their evident expertise and for their analytical familiarity with the "Agenda."...there is also a welcome balance in focus found in the essays on the Middle East, the Balkans, Russia and China, and on the triangular engagement of the United Nations...the essays have an enduring and transcendent quality and usefulness.'

---**Stephen M. McClain, The Johns Hopkins University, USA**

'How is one to make sense of the collision, at a single point in time, of three mega-developments that will surely reshape transatlantic relations: The EU's decision at Nice to acquire military tools to buttress its security policy; the new US administration's decisions to take a unilateralist approach to world problems; and the battles against globalization from Seattle to Genoa. The New Transatlantic Agenda trenchantly provides some answers.'

---**Frank Loy, Former Under Secretary of State for Global Affairs, USA**

'...an excellent scholarly contribution to the debate about transatlantic ties and the challenges facing North America and Europe in the 21st century...the editors should be congratulated for doing an excellent job... fascinating...'

---**Professor Erika Simpson, University of Western Ontario, Canada**

'...contains some good chapters by well-known authors...this book is easy to read and extremely useful to those reflecting on the future of the relationship between the US and Europe.'

---**Études internationales**

Dangerous Crossroads

(Praeger, 1997)

by Hall Gardner

“This book is timely material for a debate that will extend through spring 1998 as the governments of NATO countries decide whether to incorporate Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary into the Atlantic Alliance.”

---Choice

“Gardner's treatment reflects a balance and objectivity that can be appreciated when so much of the discourse concerning United States security policy toward Russia continues to reflect the misconceptions and prejudices of the Cold War.....Gardner offers a thoughtful alternative to existing strategies for forging a post-Cold war security structure.....Hall Gardner's *Dangerous Crossroads* constitutes a significant contribution devoted to resolving an issue that will shape the security structure of the entire global community into the twenty-first century.”

---Slavic Review

“[Gardner's] book is comprehensive, richly documented, and equal to the task undertaken.... His book is especially useful for foreign affairs and defense policymakers, academics, and advanced graduate students interested in U.S. foreign policy, national security policy, or international relations.”

---The Russian Review

“Chapter 9: Critique of Three Approaches to NATO Enlargement” was selected as one of the “best books or articles on NATO enlargement”

-Questia Librarians

<http://www.questia.com/library/politics-and-government/nato-enlargement.jsp>.

<http://www.questia.com/library/politics-and-government/nato-enlargement.jsp>. (Accessed 12 Aug 2006).

