

# DR. JOHN C. HULSMAN

## SPEECHES

---

- December *Does the Baker-Hamilton Commission Report Herald A Sea Change in American Foreign Policy?* at the German Council on Foreign Relations, Berlin.
- “Strange Bedfellows: The European Gaullist-American Neocon Symbiosis,”* at the Open Europe Annual Dinner, London.
- “What do the Election Results mean for Transatlantic Relations?”* at the German Council on Foreign Relations, Berlin.
- “Ethical Realism: Why moral Courage is Necessary to Change the Direction of American Foreign Policy,”* at the State Department/CIA sponsored Meridian House, “Authors’ Evening,” Washington.
- November *“China and the Middle East: Test Cases of Ethical Realism,”* at the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, Chicago, IL.
- “The Problems of Preventive War,”* at the World Affairs Council, San Francisco, CA.
- “The Policies Flowing From Ethical Realism,”* at the University of Berkeley, Berkeley, CA.
- “The Precepts Behind Ethical Realism,”* at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) conference, ‘Mending Fences With America’s Allies,’ Washington.
- “Ethical Realism and the Great Capitalist Peace,”* at Georgetown University, Washington.
- October with *“Can Ethical Realism Become A Genuine Alternative to Neoconservatism?”* at the CATO Institute Debate Lawrence Kaplan of New Republic, Washington.
- “Ethical Realism: The Real Alternative To A Failed Foreign Policy,”* at the New America Foundation, Washington.
- September *“Rebuilding Transatlantic Cooperation Towards the Greater Middle East,”* at the Opening of the Alfred von Oppenheim Center for International Relations, German Council on foreign Relations, Berlin.
- “Who are the real modern heirs of Harry Truman?”* at a Hudson Institute debate (with Peter Beinart of the Council on Foreign Relations) of the same name, Washington.
- July *“Ethical Realism: What a Real Conservative Foreign Policy Looks Like,”* at the Congressional Conservative Fellows Program, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Washington.
- June *“Starting Over: Alliance Management After Iraq,”* at the Army Staff College, Fort Belvoir, VA.
- “Will the Second Bush term be more responsive to Europe than the first?”* at the Center for American Studies conference, “America” Quo Vadis?” Rome.
- “Repairing the Rift: Transatlantic Relations is Just Business,”* at ISPI, Milan.
- “What 9/11 did to American Foreign Policy,”* at the Catholic University of Milan.
- May *“Transatlantic Relations and the Presidencies of George H. W. Bush and Bill Clinton: Opportunity Lost?”* at the Institute for the Study of International Politics (ISPI), Milan.

- April *“What to Expect from the Bush Administration in a Second Term,”* at a Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) conference, “The EU and Transatlantic Relations in the Era of Globalization,” Athens.
- “The Other Special Relationship: US-Australian Relations in the New Century,”* at an Army War College conference of the same name.
- March *“Iran and the Tough Choices Ahead,”* at a gathering of senior Hill staffers.
- February *“Europe’s flowering, the EU’s demise,”* at the Georgetown University Conference, “The transatlantic partnership.”
- “Should the UK tilt toward Europe or the US?”* debate with Philip Stephens of the *Financial Times*, Dickinson College event, London.
- January 2006 *“Foreign Policy Aspects of the Special Relationship,”* Paper presented at the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI), London.
- “Thinking the Untinkable: Should Israel Join NATO?”* at the annual JINSA conference.
- December *“Should a League of Democracies supercede the UN?”* Debate at an Aspen Institute Event, Berlin.
- November *“Will Europe Emerge as a Superpower in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century?”* Debate with Mark Leonard of the Centre for European Reform, at a German Marshall Fund Event.
- “The rebirth of realism?”* at the invitation of the National Defense University.
- “World Order 2020: European-American Strategies for Dealing with Emerging Asian Powers,”* at a Friedrich Ebert Foundation conference, “Global Atlanticists,” Berlin.
- “The Evolution of Terror: An Update on the War with al-Qaeda,”* at a Heritage Foundation meeting of senior House International Relations Committee staffers.
- October *“Iran Where the Rubber Hits the Road for the Bush Administration,”* at a State Department sponsored International Visitors Program.
- August *“CFSP/ESDP-How Common? How Effective?”* at a State Department sponsored seminar for the new American Ambassador to the European Union.
- July *“Hans Morgenthau and Ethical Realism: The Future of Conservatism?”* at a New America Foundation event of the same name.
- “Will ESDP ever amount to anything?”* at the invitation of the National Defense University.
- June *“Lessons Learned or More of the Same? Principles of American and European Foreign Policies at the Beginning of the Second Bush Administration,”* at the invitation of Harvard University, Tailloires, France.
- May *“Can Neo-Conservatives and Realists Reach an Intellectual Consensus?”* at the invitation of George Washington University/National Interest.
- “An Upward Turn: Is the Transatlantic Relationship on the Mend?”* Debate with Karl Kaiser of Harvard, at the invitation of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, Chicago.
- April *“A Fateful Choice: Will the UK Turn Toward the EU or the US?”* Paper presented at the British Defense Academy Conference, “How Special is the Special Relationship?” Shrivenham, England.
- “Snatching Defeat from the Jaws of Victory: Why the Chinese Arms Embargo Controversy must not end the Transatlantic Thaw,”* at the invitation of the French Army War College, Paris.

*"Lawrence of Arabia and the Perils of Nation-Building,"* Paper presented at the German Council on Foreign Relations Conference, "Unprepared? Germany in a Globalized World," Berlin.

March *"The Good, The Bad, and the Ugly-A Look at the Results of the President's Recent Trip to Europe,"* at the invitation of the European Parliament, Strasbourg, France.

January 2005 *"A Look at the Headlines in a Second Bush Term,"* at the invitation of the Newseum/National Press Club.

*"The Agenda for the Second Bush Administration and Implications for Trans-Atlantic Relations,"* at the German Council on Foreign Relations Conference, Berlin.

December *"NATO after Prague and the War in Iraq,"* at the invitation of Johns Hopkins (SAIS).

*"Is Europe the Future or Passe?"* at the invitation of the American Council on Germany.

*"Foreign Policy and the Special Relationship,"* at a Dickinson College/Army War College conference, "The Special Relationship in the new era," Carlisle, PA.

November *"Security and Diplomacy: In search of a new transatlantic deal,"* at the Aspen Institute conference, "After the US Presidential Election: Implications for Europe," Rome.

*"Has Germany really changed strategically?"* at the invitation of Johns Hopkins (SAIS).

*"French strategic realities in the post-September 11<sup>th</sup> era: Is the Gaullist Dream Over?"* at the invitation of Johns Hopkins (SAIS).

*"A Conservative Vision for US Policy Toward Europe,"* at a State Department/CIA sponsored conference, Meridian House.

*"9/11 and the war on terror,"* at the invitation of Johns Hopkins (SAIS).

*"Soft Power and the Perils of Nation-Building,"* at a Middle East Institute Conference, "Iraq and After,"

October *"Is there a way out of the Iran WMD crisis?"* at the invitation of Johns Hopkins (SAIS).

*"European security and institutional options at the end of the Cold War,"* at the invitation of Johns Hopkins (SAIS).

*"The Security Dimension of Turkey's EU Bid,"* Paper presented at an American Institute of Contemporary German Studies Conference, "Changing Parameters in US-German-Turkish Relations: Future Scenarios," Berlin.

*"Will either a Kerry or a Bush victory bring a new bipartisan consensus in American Foreign Policy?"* at the invitation of the Arizona chapter of the American Foreign Affairs Council, Tucson, AZ.

*"What will happen in terms of foreign policy in a second Bush term?"* at the invitation of the Virginia chapter of the American Foreign Affairs Council, Charlottesville, VA.

*"First-principle differences: What is the root of the transatlantic rift?"* at the invitation of Johns Hopkins University, School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS).

September *"Next Steps: Five Issues that can help rebuild the transatlantic alliance,"* at the invitation of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Western European Union.

*"How are we doing in fighting al-Qaeda: An Overview,"* at the invitation of Meridian House/The CIA.

*"Is Europe Ready for Turkish Accession Negotiations?"* Paper presented at a Western Policy Center Conference, "Turkey's EU Prospects and Europe's Domestic Politics."

- “Lawrence of Arabia and the perils of state building,”* at the invitation of the Swedish Foreign Ministry, Stockholm.
- June *“How the Keith Richards Doctrine will save the Atlantic alliance,”* at the invitation of the Swedish Atlantic Council, Stockholm.
- “The Keith Richards Doctrine: A realist view of repairing the transatlantic relationship,”* Debate with G. John Ikenberry of Georgetown and Bill Kristol, *The Weekly Standard*, sponsored by the German Marshall Fund/German Bundestag, Berlin.
- May *“Who will win the 2004 election and how will this affect US foreign policy?”* at the invitation of the Norwegian Atlantic Association/Norwegian Embassy
- April *“American Foreign Policy Schools of Thought, Post-9/11,”* at the invitation of Zbigniew Brzezinski’s Current Affairs Roundtable, The Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS).
- “Linkages: How has the war on terror been affected by Iraq?”* Paper presented at the NATO/Spanish Ministry of Defense conference, “NATO-North African ties in an age of terror,” Madrid.
- “Is the US in Trouble In Iraq and Afghanistan?”* Debate with Robert Orr of Harvard, sponsored by La Salle University, Philadelphia.
- March *“September 11<sup>th</sup>: A geopolitical Revolution?”* Paper presented at the Limes/Province of Parma, Italy conference, “The world after September 11<sup>th</sup>,” Parma, Italy.
- February *“An Expanding Europe: Prospects and Perceptions,”* Paper presented at Georgetown University.
- “A fateful choice: Central and Eastern Europe ponders a two-speed solution for the EU,”* at the invitation of the Young Diplomats Club of Hungary, given at the State Department.
- January *“A bumpy ride: transatlantic relations in an age of terror,”* at the invitation of American University.
- 2003  
December *“Iraq after the arrest of Saddam: Where do we go from here?”* Paper presented at the CATO Institute conference, “Iraq: Prospects for the Future.”
- November *“US-EU relations: Where do we go from here on defense issues?”* at the invitation of the Atlantic Council of Finland, Helsinki.
- “Does the EU have a foreign policy?”* at the invitation of the American friends of Wilton Park (debate with Martin Walker, Editor of UPI).
- “Cherry-picking issues: A Proposal to revive the transatlantic relationship,”* at the invitation of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, Orlando, FL.
- October *“Cherry-picking as the Future of the Transatlantic Relationship,”* at invitation of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Hague, The Netherlands.
- “Cherry-picking Issues of Commonality: The Way to Revive the Transatlantic Relationship,”* at invitation of the American Consulate, Florence.
- September *“Cherry-picking is the Future of the Transatlantic Relationship,”* Speech given at the European Union Institute, Florence.
- “Issues that Divide Us: How to Move Forward with the Transatlantic Relationship,”* Paper presented at the Center for American Studies Conference, Rome.

*"What are the contours of America's post-September 11<sup>th</sup> foreign policy?"* Speech given at American University.

*"What Does the Transatlantic Rift over Iraq Mean for the Countries of Southeastern Europe?"* Paper presented at the Center for the Study of Democracy during conference on "Addressing the problems of corruption in the Balkans," in Sofia, Bulgaria.

July *"How neo-conservatives have changed American foreign policy,"* Paper presented at a conference on American foreign policy since 9/11, sponsored by the U.S. Department of State and the Central Intelligence Agency.

*"Will Eastern Europeans be forced to choose between the EU and NATO?"* Paper presented on the future of Central and Eastern Europe at a conference at Meridian House sponsored by the U.S. Department of State and the Central Intelligence Agency.

*"Is the US Winning the War on Terror?"* Speech given to University of Delaware.

May *"Are Differing European-American Threat Perceptions the Root Cause of the Current Transatlantic Crisis?"* Paper presented at the Institute of International Relations Studies (IRIS) conference, "The Crisis in Transatlantic Relations," in Paris, France.

April *"How Should We Repair the Current Transatlantic Rift?"* Paper presented at the European Union Institute for Security Studies Conference, "The EU and the US: Partners in Stability?" in Paris, France.

*"Transatlantic Cooperation in Europe: The Iraqi Test Case,"* Paper presented at the Institute for International Affairs (IAI) conference in Rome, Italy.

February *"Will NATO Survive?"* Panelist at invitation of the Harvard Club of Washington, DC on the future of transatlantic relations with former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Ronald Asmus and National Security Council Director Kurt Volker.

*"Iraq, North Korea, al-Qaeda: How is America to confront this new, dangerous world?"* Speech delivered at George Mason University.

*"Secretary Powell's Speech: The last nail in Saddam's Coffin?"* Speech presented to the foreign policy committee of the Norwegian Progressive Party.

January *"Nation-Building: Which Is The Side of the Angels?"* Paper presented to the Council on Foreign Relations (Debate with former Undersecretary of Defense Walter Slocombe).

*"US relations with multilateral institutions in the post-September 11<sup>th</sup> era,"* Speech presented to the political section of the The Netherlands Embassy.

2002  
December *"Waiting for Godot: Cherry-Picking and the Rise of European Gaullism,"* Paper presented at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars conference on the future of transatlantic relations.

November *"Iraq: The Moment of Truth?"* Speech delivered to La Salle University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

*"The nexus of politics and foreign policy within the Republican Party,"* Speech delivered to the Stanford University Washington Semester Program.

September *"Is there the danger of a far-right resurgence in Europe?"* Paper presented at Georgetown University.

*"Intervention: How Should American Power Be Used Overseas?"* Speech presented at the Donald and Paula Smith Family Foundation with Richard Holbrooke and Michael Ledeen, City University of New York Graduate Center.

August *"A NATO Reform Agenda for Prague and Beyond,"* Paper presented at the American Council on Germany conference, "US-German relations after 9/11," in Hamburg, Germany.

- May                    *"How NATO reform is likely to affect civil-military cooperation in peacekeeping operations in Southeast Europe,"* Paper presented at conference on "Stability and Asymmetrical Threats In Southeast Europe," sponsored by the Greek Ministry of Defense and American Embassy in Thessaloniki, Greece.
- April                    *"NATO accession and the broader case for the reform of the alliance,"* Speech given to the Bulgarian Atlantic Club in Sofia, Bulgaria.
- "Alexander Hamilton and the practical exercise of democracy,"* Paper presented at the Bulgarian School for Politics Conference in Pamporovo, Bulgaria.
- March                    *"NATO reform for the new era,"* Speech given at the Dimitrie Contenir University in Bucharest, Romania.
- "The war against terror and the new foreign policy world it has ushered in,"* Speech given at the Samford University Convocation in Samford, Alabama.
- 2001                    *"Restructuring the US role in NATO and European Defense,"* Paper presented at the Institute for the December Study of International Politics (ISPI) in Milan, Italy.
- "Security Issues and the Transatlantic Relationship,"* Paper given at conference sponsored by U.S. Department of State on "Transatlantic Relations After September 11," in Rome, Italy.
- October                    *"US-EU trade relations: What's coming down the road?"* Paper presented at the U.S. Department of State and the Central Intelligence Agency Conference on European Union trade policy in Arlington, Virginia.
- September                    *"An end game in Bosnia,"* Paper presented at the Meridian House/Department of State briefing on Bosnia for Ambassador-designate Clifford Bond.
- "EU-US: Queuing for participation in regional crises,"* Paper presented at the Halki International Seminar, "Patterns of Cooperation in Southeastern Europe and the Black Sea Region," in Halki, Greece.
- June                    *"The Heritage Index of Economic Freedom: Changing the Argument about Economic Liberalization,"* Paper presented to the Graduate Economics Class, The University of Montenegro in Podgorica, Montenegro.
- "ESDP and Missile Defense: The diplomatic topography in Europe after the Bush visit,"* Paper presented to the Centre des Hautes Etudes Militaires at the Embassy of France in Washington, DC..
- "The Future of the Transatlantic Relationship,"* Paper presented to senior Congressional staff.
- April                    *"Why Conservatives Should Favor ESDP,"* Paper presented at the US Naval Institute Conference, "What is the Future of NATO?" in Annapolis, Maryland.
- "Political Liberalism, Free Trade and Deregulation in the Global Economy: The end of communism and governments' role in facilitating the process of globalization,"* Paper presented at the Howard University Conference, "The Challenges and Opportunities of Globalization at the Dawn of the Millennium."
- "A criteria-driven approach is the way forward for NATO expansion,"* Paper presented at the Central Intelligence Agency/National Defense University Conference, "NATO Enlargement After 2002," Fort McNair.
- March                    *"Why closer US-UK trade links make sense from an American point of view,"* Paper presented to the Federalist Society of Yale Law School in New Haven, Connecticut.
- 2000                    *"Transatlantic Relations: Is the US still a leader?"* Paper presented at The French Center on the United States (CFE) Conference, "The Next Administration and the new Congress: Whither the US?" in Paris.
- April                    *"The Prospects for a Free Trade Association,"* Paper presented at The Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House), in London, England.

*"The World Turned Rightside Up: A Free Trade Association for the age of Globalization,"* Paper presented at The International Economics Association in London, England.

March

*"The Future of the EU and US-EU Relations,"* Paper presented at The Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) US-Slovak Foreign Policy Roundtable in Bratislava, Slovakia.

*"NATO Reform in the New Century,"* Paper presented at The National Defense University.

February

*"A new global free trade association: closer economic links between the US and the UK,"* Paper presented at briefing for Senate Finance Committee staff.