# **ALLISON KATHERINE STANGER**

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## CURRENT POSITIONS

Co-Director, GETTING-Plurality Research Network, Harvard University, 2023-present

**Senior Fellow**, Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation, Harvard Kennedy School, February 2024-present.

**Russell Leng Professor of International Politics and Economics**, Middlebury College, 2008-present.

(James Jermain Professor of Political Economy, 2006-2008; Professor of Political Science, 2003-2006; Associate Professor, 1998-2003; Assistant Professor, 1991-1998).

External Professor and Science Board Member, Santa Fe Institute, 2018/2019-present.

Senior Advisor, Hannah Arendt Humanities Network, 2021-present.

#### EDUCATION

#### Harvard University

 PhD in Political Science, 1991
 Dissertation: Demise of Empire: Radical Domestic Reform and Foreign Policy Under Stalin, Khrushchev, and Gorbachev

A.M. in Regional Studies - Soviet Union, 1988

**London School of Economics** Graduate Diploma in Economics (with honours), 1983

**Ball State University** B.S. in Actuarial Science/Mathematics, 1982

#### PREVIOUS POSITIONS

**Research Scholar,** Human Centered AI Institute (HAI), Stanford University, November 2023-February 2024.

**Visiting Fellow**, Edmond and Lily Safra Center for Ethics, Harvard University, spring 2023.

Visiting Professor of Technology and Human Values, Bard College, Spring 2023.

**Visiting Professor of Computer Science**, Vienna University of Technology (TU Wien), November 2022.

**Digital Humanism Senior Fellow**, Institute for Human Sciences (IWM), Vienna, November 2022.

**Research Affiliate (Co-Lead, Responsible Hybrid Intelligence Initiative)**, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford University, 2021-23.

**2020-21 SAGE Sara Miller McCune Fellow** at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford University.

**Cary and Ann Maguire Chair in Ethics and American History**, John W. Kluge Center at the Library of Congress, 2020.

**Technology and Human Values Senior Fellow**, Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, Harvard University, <u>2019-20</u>.

**Visiting Professor of Government**, Harvard University, 2020 (taught Gov94as, The Politics of Virtual Realities).

Scholar in Residence, New America, 2017-2019.

**Research Associate**, Center for Economic Research and Graduate Education-Economics Institute (CERGE-EI), Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic, 2012-2013.

Chair, Department of Political Science, Middlebury College, 2009-2012.

**Expert consultant,** Secretary's Policy Planning Staff, United States Department of State, October 2009-April 2011.

**Founding Director,** Rohatyn Center for International Affairs, Middlebury College, <u>2002-2010</u>.

**Director,** Geonomics Center for International Studies, Middlebury College (reported to Provost), 1999-2002.

**Director,** International Politics and Economics, Middlebury College, 1999-2001; 2013-2014.

#### PROFESSIONAL APPOINTMENTS AND ACTIVITIES

Member, International Academic Board, Academic Exchange, 2021-present.

Member, Digital Humanism Program Committee, TU Wien, 2020-present.

Contributing Writer, The Atlantic, 2019-present.

Member, Science Board, Santa Fe Institute, 2019-present.

Member, Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) Committee on Term Membership, 2019-23; Life Member, CFR, 2004-present.

Board Member, Czech and Slovak National Museum and Library, 2019-present.

Judge, HMH Foundation First Amendment Award, 2022.

Cybersecurity Fellow, New America, 2016-17 & 2019-20.

Senior Fellow, Hannah Arendt Center, Bard College, 2018-present.

Visiting Scholar, Arizona State University, February 2018.

Chair, 2018 Woodrow Wilson Award Committee for the best book on government, politics, or international affairs, American Political Science Association.

Jurist, 2017 Lionel Gelber Prize for the world's best non-fiction book in English on foreign affairs.

Expert, Wikistrat, 2012-2016.

Member, Executive Council, New England Political Science Association, 2010-2012.

International Relations Section Chair, New England Political Science Association, 2009-2010.

One-on-one briefing of Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, October 2009.

Founding Member (with Princeton, University of Texas, and Columbia), University Channel, 2006-2010.

Member, Academic Leadership Council, Business for Diplomatic Action, 2006-2010.

Chair, External Review Committee, Bowdoin Department of Government and Legal Studies, April 2009.

Member, Woodrow Wilson School Task Force on the Changing Nature of Government Service (chair: Paul Volcker), 2007-2009.

Visiting Scholar, Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic, 1995-96.

Visiting Professor, Prague Summer Program, Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic, July 2005.

Participant, Princeton Project on National Security, 2004 to 2009.

Member, External Review Committee (with Michael Nacht), Graduate School of International and Policy Studies, Monterey Institute of International Studies, February 2006.

Visiting Associate Professor of Government, Harvard University, 2002 (taught Gov90js, American Foreign Policy).

Visiting Scholar, Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies, Harvard University, 2001-2002.

Member, American Political Science Association's Greenstone Prize Committee (to select the best book on politics and history published in the past two years), 2004.

Consultant, Booz Allen Hamilton, Project on Enduring Institutions, April-May 2004.

Consultant, Oldenborg Center Task Force, Pomona College, December 2002.

Visiting Fellow, Institute for the Study of USA and Canada, Soviet Academy of Sciences, Moscow, USSR, June-July 1991.

Research Fellow, Brookings Institution, 1990-91.

Rapporteur, Dartmouth Conference (Kettering Foundation), Austin, Texas (1988) and Moscow, USSR (1989).

Research Fellow, Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University, 1987-90.

Consultant, Soviet Audience and Opinion Research, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Paris, France - Summers 1988 and 1987.

Alternate delegate (Manhattan, New York), Democratic National Convention, San Francisco, CA – July 1984.

Analyst (risk management), The Equitable Life Assurance Society, New York, NY - 1983-84.

Peer reviewer for National Academies' Committee on Sciences, Engineering and Medicine's consensus report on Responsible Computing, *American Political Thought*, Cambridge University Press, *Communications of the Association for Computing Machinery*, *Democratization*, *Computing*, Harvard University Press, *Journal of Politics*, *Intelligence and National Security*, *International Security*, *International Studies Review*, MIT Press, *Perspectives*, Oxford University Press, Princeton University Press, *PSQ*, Vienna Science and Technology Fund, *World Politics*, and Yale University Press.

## AWARDS AND HONORS

2020 PROSE Award winner in the Government, Policy, and Politics category (for *Whistleblowers*), American Association of Publishers (for scholarly and professional excellence), February 2020.

HMH Foundation First Amendment Award (Education), June 2018.

Merit of Special Recognition (for *One Nation Under Contract*), 2010 Charles H. Levine Memorial Book Prize, International Political Science Association.

Eliot S. Berkley Memorial Lecture, International Relations Council, Kansas City, Missouri, November 2009 (first woman).

1999 Vermont Professor of the Year, awarded by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

Notable Essay of 1999 (for "Living in Prague: A Letter"), *The Best American Travel Writing*, 2000 (Houghton Mifflin, 2000).

Merle Fainsod Prize (Harvard University prize awarded for academic promise), 1986.

#### BOOKS

Who Elected Big Tech? Yale University Press, under contract.

*Introduction to Digital Humanism* (co-edited <u>open source</u> textbook with Carlo Ghezzi, Julian Nida-Rümelin et. al.) (Springer, 2023).

*Complexity Economics* (co-edited with W. Brian Arthur and Eric Beinhocker) (Santa Fe Institute Press, 2020).

*Whistleblowers: Honesty in America from Washington to Trump* (Yale University Press, 2019; paperback edition, 2021; Chinese translation forthcoming, September 2022).

One Nation Under Contract: The Outsourcing of American Power and the Future of Foreign Policy (Yale University Press, 2009; paperback edition, 2011).

*Irreconcilable Differences? Explaining Czechoslovakia's Dissolution* (co-edited and cotranslated with Michael Kraus), Foreword by Václav Havel (Rowman and Littlefield, 2000).

#### ARTICLES AND BOOK CHAPTERS

"The First Amendment Meets the Virtual Public Square," in Lee Bollinger and Geoffrey Stone, eds., *Daedalus* Special Issue on the Future of Free Speech, Summer 2024.

"Terra Incognita: AI Governance in. Global Perspective," *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 27, 2024.

Co-Author, "White Paper on Complexity and Global Governance of AI," New America-Princeton-Arizona State University, April 2024.

"Are Cryptocurrencies and Decentralized Finance Democratic?" in Carlo Ghezzi, Julian Nida-Rümelin et. al., eds., *Introduction to Digital Humanism* (Springer, 2023).

Co-author, "Hybrid Intelligence: A Paradigm for More Responsible Practice," SSRN, 27 December 2022. https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\_id=4301478

"<u>Big Tech's Rise to Political Power</u>" ("L'Ascension Politique du Big Tech"), *La Vie des Idees*, College de France, June 2022 (in both French and English versions).

"Revisiting Hannah Arendt and C.L.R. James on Marxist Doctrine and the Workers Councils," *HA: Journal of the Hannah Arendt Center*, vol. IX, 2021.

"<u>The Real Cost of Surveillance Capitalism</u>," in Carlo Ghezzi, Edward Lee, Erich Prem, and Hannes Werther. (eds.) *Perspectives on Digital Humanism* (Springer, 2021).

"Edward Snowden, Donald Trump, and The Paradox of National Security Whistleblowing," in Lee Bollinger and Geoffrey Stone, eds., *National Security, Leaks and Freedom of the Press: The Pentagon Papers Framework Fifty Years On* (Oxford, 2021).

"Democracy's Tripwire: Global Corruption and Whistleblowing in Europe and the U.S.," *Center for European Studies Open Forum Series*, no. 40, August 7, 2020.

"<u>Consumers versus Citizens in Democracy's Public Sphere</u>," *Communications of the Association for Computing Machinery*, Vol. 63, No. 7, July 2020, pp. 29-31.

Co-author, "<u>Roadmap to Pandemic Resilience</u>: Massive Scale Testing, Tracing, and Supported Isolation (TTSI) as the Path to Pandemic Resilience for a Free Society," Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, April 20, 2020.

"The First Whistleblowers," Military History Quarterly, Spring 2020.

"Whistleblowing as Civil Disobedience: Leaks in the Era of Trump and the Deep State," *HA: The Journal of the Hannah Arendt Center*, volume VII, 2019.

Response to Michael Walzer's "Just and Unjust Leaks: When to Spill Secrets," (Foreign Affairs, March/April 2018) in Foreign Affairs, November/December 2018.

"Lessons from Middlebury," in Michael Ignatieff and Stefan Roch, eds, *Academic Freedom: The Global Challenge* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2018).

"Is Just War Doctrine Still Relevant?" *International Studies Review*, Vol, 19, Issue 2, June 2017.

"Hired Guns: How Private Military Contractors Undermine World Order," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2015.

"The Hidden Costs of Outsourcing Diplomacy and Development," *Foreign Service Journal*, February 2013.

"Transparency as a Core Public Value and Mechanism of Compliance," *Criminal Justice Ethics*, Vol. 31, No. 3, December 2012.

"Contractors' Wars and the Commission on Wartime Contracting," in Christopher Kinsey and Malcolm Patterson, eds., *Contractors and War: The Transformation of United States' Expeditionary Operations* (Stanford University Press, 2012).

"Prejudice and the Shadow of the Past in the Emergence of Cooperation," in I. William Zartman, ed., *Explaining Cooperation Among States* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

"Guns for Fire," Foreign Policy, August 18, 2010.

Foreword to Richard Fontaine and John Nagl, *Contracting in Conflicts: The Path to Reform*, Center for a New American Security, June 2010.

"Addicted to Contractors," Foreign Policy, December 1, 2009.

"Privatizing Force: The Benefits and Costs of Outsourcing Security," (with Mark Williams), *Yale Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 2, issue 1, Fall/Winter 2006.

"The Road to Qyteza: A Letter from Albania," *The American Scholar*, vol. 75, no. 4, Autumn 2006.

Albanian version: "Si e 'Zbulova' Unë Qytezën, Vendlindjen e gjyshit tim," ("Rediscovering the Birthplace of My Grandfather") in Kostaq Duka, ed., *Qyteza dhe Njerëzit e saj* (Tirana: Albin, 2008).

Longer English version: "The Road to Qyteza," in C. Michael Becker and Kostaq Duka, eds., *Qyteza and Its People: An Illustrated Anthology* (Tirana: Albin, 2012).

"How Important are New Constitutions for Democratic Consolidation? Lessons from the Postcommunist States," *Democratization*, vol. 11, no. 3, June 2004.

"Leninist Legacies and Legacies of State Socialism in Postcommunist Europe's Constitutional Development," in Grzegorz Ekiert and Stephen Hanson, eds., *Capitalism and Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe: Assessing the Legacy of Communist Rule* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

"The Price of Velvet: Constitutional Politics and the Demise of the Czecho-Slovak Federation," in Michael Kraus and Allison Stanger, eds., *Irreconcilable Differences? Explaining Czechoslovakia's Dissolution* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000).

"The Past as Prologue," "Czechoslovakia's Dissolution in Comparative Perspective," and "Lessons from the Breakup of Czechoslovakia" (all with Michael Kraus), in Michael Kraus and Allison Stanger, eds., *Irreconcilable Differences? Explaining Czechoslovakia's Dissolution* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000).

"Constitutional Transformation in Post-Communist Central Europe: A Liberal Revolution?" in Zdenek Suda and Jiri Musil, eds., *The Meaning of Liberalism—East and West* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2000).

"Living in Prague: A Letter," New England Review, vol. 20, no. 1, winter 1999.

"Institutional Inertia, Democratic Consolidation, and the Politics of Constitutional Renewal in Post-Communist Central Europe," Program on Central and Eastern Europe Working Paper Series #44, Center for European Studies, Harvard University (also published electronically by Columbia International Affairs On-Line).

"How Liberal Were the Revolutions of 1989?" *Center for Russian and East European Studies Newsletter*, vol. 5, no. 1, spring 1997.

Czech version: "Jak liberální byly revoluce v roce 1989?" *Slovenské Listy* (Prague), vol. 5, November/December 1997.

"In Search of *The Joke*: An Open Letter to Milan Kundera," *New England Review*, vol. 18, no. 1, winter 1997.

Czech version: "Hledání *Zertu*: Otevreny dopis Milanu Kunderovi," *Literární Noviny* (Prague), 5 March 1997. Spanish version: "La novela traicionada: Carta abierta a Kundera," *Lateral* 

(Barcelona), ano V, no. 42, June 1998.

"The Unintended Consequences of the Velvet Constitutional Revolution," *East European Constitutional Review*, vol. 5, no. 4, fall 1996.

"Courting the Generals: The Impact of Russia's Constitutional Crisis on Yeltsin's Foreign Policy," in Michael Kraus and Ronald D. Liebowitz, eds., *Russia and Eastern Europe After Communism* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996).

"Democratization and the International System: The Foreign Policies of Interim Governments," in Juan Linz and Yossi Shain, eds., *Between States: Interim Governments and Democratic Transitions* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

"Refounding by Referendum: DeGaulle and Yeltsin," *The Oxford International Review*, winter 1994/95.

#### COMMENTARY

"Sustaining Democracy in the Age of Generative AI," <u>New America Policy Brief</u> on Power and Governance in the Age of AI, March 14, 2024.

"<u>The One Internet Hack That Could Save Everything</u> (with Jaron Lanier), *Wired*, February 13, 2024.

"Make All Classes Pass/Fail Now," Chronicle of Higher Education, March 19, 2020.

"In Pursuit of Truth in American Universities," *Dallas Morning News*, November 8, 2019.

"Whistle-Blowers are the Last Defense against Global Corruption," *The Atlantic*, October 22, 2019.

"The Personal Cost of Whistleblowing," New America Weekly, October 10, 2019.

"Stop Trying to Police Who Gets to Count as a 'Real' Whistleblower," *Washington Post*, October 9, 2019.

"Why America Needs Whistle-Blowers," New York Times, October 6, 2019.

"America Needs Whistle-Blowers because of People Like This," *The Atlantic*, September 25, 2019.

"The Mueller Report Confirms It: Assange is Not a Whistleblower or a Journalist," *Washington Post*, April 22, 2019.

"Middlebury, My Divided Campus," New York Times, April 3, 2017.

"Understanding the Angry Mob at Middlebury Who Gave Me a Concussion," *New York Times*, March 13, 2017.

"Monica Crowley, Apologize for Plagiarism," CNN, October 23, 2017.

"The Pottery Barn Rule and Foreign Policy," The Weekly Wonk (New America Foundation), August 14, 2014.

"The Legacy of the War on Terror," LSE USAPP, April 8, 2014.

"Why Edward Snowden is Not a Whistleblower—Yet," The Weekly Wonk (New America Foundation), January 9, 2014.

"Republicans Say They Respect the Constitution, Really?" Global Public Square (CNN), October 4, 2013.

"Benghazi's Real Lessons," Bloomberg View, December 24, 2012.

"Apologies Matter," Global Public Square (CNN), February 29, 2012.

"The US Should Never Be Burning Books," Global Public Square (CNN), February 26, 2012.

"No Transparency, No Smart Government," Global Public Square (CNN), November 12, 2011.

"Why Big Government versus Small Government Misses the Point," Global Public Square (CNN), October 31, 2011.

"We Shouldn't Be Outsourcing Our Wars," USA Today, June 26, 2010.

"How the CIA Became Dangerously Dependent on Contractors," US News and World Report, August 27, 2009.

"The Imperative of Collaboration," (with Felix Rohatyn), *International Herald Tribune*, October 24, 2008.

"Your Tax Dollars at Work: If You Can Find Them," Washington Post, May 18, 2008.

"Foreign Policy, Privatized," (with Omnivore), New York Times, October 5, 2007.

"The Profit Motive Goes to War" (with Felix Rohatyn), *Financial Times*, November 17, 2004.

# CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY

<u>Testimony</u> before the House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Hearing on "Challenges to Freedom of Speech on College Campuses, Part II"—May 22, 2018.

<u>Testimony</u> before the Senate Health, Education, Labor, and Pension [HELP] Committee, Hearing on "Exploring Free Speech on College Campuses"—October 26, 2017.

<u>Testimony</u> before the Congressional Oversight Panel, "Hearing on Treasury's Use of Private Contractors"—September 22, 2010.

<u>Testimony</u> before the Senate Budget Committee, "Hearing on "Responsible Contracting: Modernizing the Business of Government"—July 15, 2010.

<u>Testimony</u> before the Commission on Wartime Contracting, "Hearing on "Are Private Contractors Performing Inherently Governmental Functions?"—June 18, 2010.

#### **BOOK REVIEWS**

Jason Ross Arnold, Whistleblowers, Leakers, and Their Networks: From Snowden to Samizdat (Rowman & Littlefield, 2019), Political Science Quarterly, spring 2022.

Lida Maxwell, Insurgent Truth: Chelsea Manning and the Politics of Outsider Truth-Telling (Oxford, 2019), American Political Thought, spring 2020, pp. 355-58.

Luke Harding, The Snowden Files: The Inside Story of the World's Most Wanted Man (Vintage, 2014), San Francisco Chronicle, March 2, 2014.

Thomas Bruneau, *Patriots for Profit: Contractors and the Military in U.S. National Security* (Stanford University Press, 2011), *Intelligence and National Security*, January 2014.

Laura Dickinson, *Outsourcing War and Peace: Preserving Public Values in a World of Privatized Foreign Affairs* (Yale University Press, 2011), *Opinio Juris*, May 2012.

Elke Krahmann, *States, Citizens, and the Privatization of Security* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), *Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 9, issue 2, June 2011.

M. Stephen Fish, *Democracy Derailed in Russia* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), *Democratization*, vol. 13, no. 2, April 2006.

Ole Waever, Barry Buzan, Morton Kelstrup and Pierre Lemaitre, *Identity, Migration, and the New Security Agenda in Europe* (St. Martin's Press, 1993), *Slavic Review*, fall 1995, vol. 54, no. 3.

"Keeping America First in an Interdependent World," Geonomics, July/August 1992.

# TRANSLATIONS

English translation (with Michael Kraus) from Czech of five chapters and from Slovak of four chapters in Michael Kraus and Allison Stanger, eds., *Irreconcilable Differences? Explaining Czechoslovakia's Dissolution* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000).

English translation (with Michael Kraus) from Czech of the screenplay for a Czech documentary film on survivors of Auschwitz, "Cesty do Nebe" (Journeys to Heaven), a Martin Vadas Production (58 minutes), 1996. Original version shown on Czech television twice in August 1996 and multiple times in fall 2019.

# FELLOWSHIPS AND GRANTS

Visiting Scholar, Berkman-Klein Center for Internet and Society, Rebooting Social Media Institute, Harvard University, 2023-24.

Institute for Human Sciences (IWM) Digital Humanism Senior Fellow and Visiting Professor of Computer Science, Vienna University of Technology (TU Wien), November 2022.

2020-21 SAGE Sara Miller McCune Fellowship at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford University.

2020 Cary and Ann Maguire Chair in Ethics and American History, John W. Kluge Center at the Library of Congress.

2019-20 Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics Fellowship, Harvard University.

Summer 2019, Institute for Humane Studies Research Fellowship.

2006 Fulbright Scholar Lecturing Award to China Foreign Affairs University, Beijing (declined).

2001 Rotary Grant for University Professors (declined).

Freeman Foundation Fellowship, "The United States and East Asia: The Search for Common Values," Salzburg, Austria, June 2000.

"Conference on the Dissolution of Czechoslovakia, 1989-92," International Research and Exchanges Board [IREX], Special Projects Grant (with Michael Kraus), 1995-96.

"Irreconcilable Differences? Explaining Czechoslovakia's Dissolution," National Council for Soviet and East European Research, 1995-96, co-principal investigator.

Advanced Individual Research Grant (for field research in the Czech Republic), IREX, 1995-96.

Research Grant, National Science Foundation (VT-EPSCoR), summer 1994.

East European Advanced Language Training Grant (Czech), American Council of Learned Societies, summer 1993.

Salzburg Seminar Presidential Fellowship, "European Integration after the Cold War," Salzburg, Austria, May 1993.

Brookings Institution Research Fellowship, Foreign Policy Studies, 1990-91.

Institute for the Study of World Politics Research Grant, 1990-91.

MacArthur Foundation Research Travel Grant, 1989-90.

MacArthur Fellowship in International Security, 1989-90, 1988-89.

Center for Science and International Affairs Research Fellowship, 1987-88.

Harvard University, Department of Government Honors Fellowship, 1986-87, 1987-88 (declined).

Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowships, 1985 & 1986.

Harvard University Graduate Fellowship, 1984-86.

# INVITED LECTURES AND TALKS (2009 to present only)

Open Society University Network, April 2024 Vanderbilt University, September 2023 University of Texas (Austin), September 2023. Harvard University, May 2023 Princeton University, May 2023 European University Institute, April 2023 Georgetown University, March Yale University, February 2023 TU Wien, Vienna, November 2022 Institute for Human Sciences (IWM), Vienna, November 2022 National Taiwan University, Taipei, November 2022 Austrian Ministry of Climate and Technology, Vienna, November 2022 Barnard College, October 2022 (via Zoom) University of Oklahoma, October 2022 Alpine Fellowship, Cheltenham Spa, England, August 2022 UC Irvine, June 2022 (COVID cancellation) University of the Underground, April 2022 (via Zoom) Complexity Interactive, Santa Fe Institute, January 2022 (via Zoom) Rohatyn Center for Global Affairs, Middlebury College, November 2021 Prince Street Capital, October 2021 (via Zoom) University of Houston, September 2021 TU Wien, June 2021 (via Zoom) CASBS, Stanford University, May 2021 (via Zoom) Lawrence University, April 2021 (via Zoom) OECD, June 2020 (COVID Cancellation) McMenamin Endowed Lecture, The Nightingale-Bamford School, May 2020 (via Zoom) Middlebury College, conversation with NYT's David Sanger, April 2020 (COVID cancellation) UC Irvine, March 2020 (COVID cancellation) Santa Fe Institute, March 2020 (COVID cancellation) Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, Harvard University, March 2020 (COVID cancellation) Hudson Library, March 2020 Hudson Institute, February 2020 Kluge Center, Library of Congress, January 2020 Town Hall Seattle, November 2019 University of Washington, November 2019

UCLA, November 2019 Dallas Humanities Center, November 2019 University of Dallas, November 2019 Santa Fe Institute, November 2019 University of South Florida, November 2019 US Department of State, October 2019 The Book Stall (IL), October 2019 University Club of Chicago, October 2019 Politics and Prose (DC), October 2019 Harvard University, September 2019 New America, September 2019 Central European University Presidential Lecture Series, September 2019 Chatham House, September 2019 Stanford University, May 2019 Luna Theater (NJ), February 2019 Oxford University, November 2018 Bennington College, October 2018 University of Rochester, October 2018 American Enterprise Institute, October 2018 Harvard University, September 2018 Rhodes College, September 2018 Princeton University, September 2018 Judicial Conference of the Fourth Circuit, June 2018 George Washington University, May 2018 Hannah Arendt Center in New York, April 2018 Coast Guard Academy, March 2018 ASU Barrett & O'Connor Washington Center, March 2018 Yale University, March 2018 Santa Fe Institute, February 2018 Arizona State University, February 2018 Princeton University, February 2018 Bard College in Washington, January 2018 Virginia Military Institute, October 2017 American Council of Trustees and Alumni (DC), October 2017 American Enterprise Institute World Forum, October 2017 Kenyon College, September 2017 Elmhurst College, September 2017 Chicago Humanities Summit, July 2017 Central European University (Budapest), June 2017 Marine Corps War College, February 2016, February 2015, February 2014, January 2012 Middlebury Institute of International Studies in Monterey, February 2016 The Carlton Club (London), February 2013 New York University Prague, December 2012 Fulbright Commission (Prague), November 2012 Brown University, April 2012 Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington, January 2011 Town Hall Seattle, January 2011 University of Southern California, January 2011

Pacific Northwest National Laboratories, January 2011 Vermont Humanities Council, November 2010 National Contract Management Association Annual Conference, July 2010 Professional Services Council, July 2010 University of Florida, July 2010 Inside NGO Annual Conference, June 2010 Cape Canaveral, May 2010 Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs, May 2010 Vermont Council on World Affairs, March 2010 George Washington University Law School, January 2010 Center for a New American Security, January 2010 Partnership for Public Service, January 2010 World Affairs Council of Northern California, December 2009 Brookings Institution, November 2009 Green Mountain Global Forum, November 2009 William J. Clinton Presidential Library (distinguished lecturer), November 2009 Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, November 2009 World Affairs Council of New Hampshire, November 2009 Dayton Council on World Affairs, November 2009 International Relations Council (Eliot S. Berkley Lecture), November 2009 Council on Foreign Relations, October 2009 Columbia University, October 2009 Soros Fund Management, October 2009 Goldman Sachs, October 2009 Women's Foreign Policy Group/NAFSA, October 2009 US Agency for International Development (USAID), October 2009 US Department of State, July 2009, and October 2009

Middlebury College Alumni lectures in London (2013), Washington, DC (2009, 2012); Boston (2009, 2012); New York (2009); San Francisco (2009, 2011, 2024).

# CONFERENCES AND WORKSHOPS (2010 to present only)

Participant, "AI and the Future of the Public Square," Google Jigsaw, April 2024.

Participant, "Workshop on Complexity Theory and Global AI Governance," Rockefeller Foundation, January/February 2024.

Speaker, "Summit on AI and Democracy," Harvard Kennedy School, November 2023.

Participant, Goldman Sachs Global Affairs Summit, October 2023.

Speaker, "Frontier AI Models and the Future of Democracy," DigHum Summer School 2022, Vienna, September 2023.

Speaker, "AI and Human Flourishing," Alpine Fellowship on Human Flourishing, Fjällnäs, Sweden, August 2023.

Participant, Emerging Technologies in Global Contexts: Identifying Education and Policy Needs, Rockefeller Foundation Bellagio Center, Bellagio, Italy, July 2023.

Co-organizer and Panelist, "Automating Deep Fakes," The Sociopolitical Impact of AI, Digital Humanism Summit on AI and Democratic Sustainability, Josephinum, Vienna, July 2023.

Panelist, "The Role of Nationalism," and Moderator, "Nationalism in Europe," National Sun Yat-Sen University, Forum on Nationalism, Kaohsiung, Taiwan, November 2022.

Discussant, Doug Melamed, Stanford Law School, "Mergers under Nascent Competition," Dynamic Competition Initiative, European University Institute/UC Berkeley/Free University of Amsterdam, November 2022 (via Zoom).

Panelist, "Is Social Media Compatible with Democracy? Conference on Rage and Reason: Democracy under the Tyranny of Social Media, Hannah Arendt Center for Politics and Humanities, Bard College, October 2022.

Speaker, "Are Cryptocurrencies and Decentralized Finance Democratic? DigHum Summer School 2022, Vienna, September 2022.

Presenter (for Dawn Wooten) and Judge, 2022 HMH Foundation First Amendment Awards, National Press Club, Washington, DC, September 2022.

Workshop Co-Leader, "Academic Freedom and Cancel Culture," Alpine Fellowship on Freedom, Ellenborough Park, UK, August 2023.

Participant, Responsible Hybrid Intelligence: Integrating the Computational and Social Sciences, Rockefeller Foundation Bellagio Center, Bellagio, Italy, July 2022.

Speaker, Yehuda Elkana Text Seminar on Uday Mehta's "Different Vision: Gandhi's Critique of Political Rationality," Central European University, Vienna, June 2022.

Speaker, "Who Elected Big Tech?" Conference on Panic, Policy, and Politics, Center for Political and Economic Thought, St. Vincent's College, April 2022.

Panelist, "Digital Humanism: How to Put Humans at the Center of Emerging Tech," Wilson Center, April 2022 (via Zoom).

Co-lead, Workshop IV on Theory of AI Practice Initiative, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford University, April 2022 (via Zoom).

Participant, "The Internet as a Global Public Good," United Nations Experts Roundtable, March 2022 (via Zoom).

Panelist, "Russia Invades Ukraine: Disruption of the World Order?" Open Society University Network, March 2022 (via Zoom).

Participant, AI Working Group, OSUN Hannah Arendt Global Humanities Network, Central European University, Vienna, March 2022.

Panelist, "What's Open about the Open Society?" COMPAS Program on Markets and the Open Society, Ohio State University, March 2022.

Co-lead, Workshop III on Theory of AI Practice Initiative, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford University, December 2021 (via Zoom).

Moderator, Revitalizing Democracy: Sortition, Citizen Power, and Spaces of Freedom, Hannah Arendt Center for Politics and Humanities, Bard College, October 2021.

Panelist, Popper in Critical Conversation Workshop: Arendt, Berlin, Shklar, and the Open Society, Central European University, Vienna, October 2021 (via Zoom).

Panelist, Oases of Excellence Conference, American Council of Trustees and Alumni, Cosmos Club, Washington, DC, September 2021.

Co-lead, Workshop II on Theory of AI Practice Initiative, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford University, September 2021 (via Zoom).

Participant, Science Board Symposium on the Complexity of Intelligence, Santa Fe Institute, 10-11 September 2021 (via Zoom).

Speaker, "Women's Equality in the Era of Artificial Intelligence," Human Sciences Resource Council, Pretoria, South Africa, August 2021 (via Zoom).

Participant, OSUN PhD in the Global Humanities Workshop, Bard College Berlin, August 2021.

Speaker, Text Seminar: Karl Popper's *The Open Society and Its Enemies*, Bard College, Rhinebeck, NY, July 2021.

Co-lead, Workshop I on Theory of AI Practice Initiative, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford University, July 2021 (via Zoom).

Panelist, Yehuda Elkana Manuscript Workshop on Helga Nowotny's *In AI We Trust*, Open Society University Network, Vienna, June 2021.

Member, AI Working Group, Hannah Arendt Center for Politics and the Humanities/Central European University/Institute for Human Sciences, Vienna, June 2021.

Participant, Workshop on Foundations of Intelligence in Artificial and Natural Systems, 15-19 March 2021, Santa Fe Institute (via Zoom).

Conversation with John Kaag, "Philosophy in Dark Times," 92<sup>nd</sup> Street Y, June 2020 (via Zoom)

Open Society University Network Workshop, Berlin, June 2020 (COVID cancellation).

Conversation with Danielle Allen, Paul Farmer, and Govind Persad, "Covid-19 in Global Context," Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, April 2020 (via Zoom and Facebook).

Panelist, "Whistleblowing, Public Policy, and Journalism," Symposium on Authority and Subversion, Northeastern Humanities Center, March 2020. (COVID cancellation).

Panelist, "US Foreign Policy and Presidential Elections," Conference on The Future of Diplomacy, Indiana University Hamilton-Lugar School of Global and International Studies, March 2020.

Panelist, "The Consequences and Legacy of the Velvet Revolution," Symposium on the 1989 Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia, 30 Years Later, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University, November 2019.

Featured Speaker, "Consumers vs. Citizens: Social Inequality and Democracy in a Big Data World," Symposium on New Complexity Economics, Santa Fe Institute, November 2019.

Panelist, "Economic Architecture," Symposium on New Complexity Economics, Santa Fe Institute, November 2019.

Keynote Speaker, "Social Justice in an Age of Polarization," Scholarship Breakfast, University of South Florida School of Social Work, November 2019.

In conversation with Ibram X. Kendi, "How to Be an Anti-Racist," Conference on Racism and Anti-Semitism, Hannah Arendt Center, Bard College, October 2019.

Participant, "Workshop: Empowering Public Voices," Maastricht University (Brussels campus), September 2019.

Participant, Whistleblowing International Network Conference, Glasgow, September 2019.

Participant, Bellagio 60—Innovative Frontiers of Development, Rockefeller Foundation Bellagio Center, June 2019.

Panelist, "Rational Disagreement: An Examination," Baylor University in Washington, April 2019.

Speaker, "Consumers vs. Citizens: Freedom and Democracy's Public Square in a Big Data World," Vienna Workshop on Digital Humanism, TU Wien, April 2019.

Roundtable participant, "Conservatism and Populism in Europe and Beyond," Conference on Conservatism and Reaction in Contemporary Politics, Gagarin Center for Civil Society and Human Rights of St. Petersburg State University, Bard College Center for Civic Engagement and the Harriman Institute of Columbia University, New York, New York, February 2019.

Speaker, "Lessons Learned from Public-Private Partnerships," Harvard Medical School/Harvard Kennedy School Workshop on Global Health and Security, Harvard University, December 2018.

Speaker, "Is Algorithmic Justice an Oxymoron?" International Workshop on Decision Making and Recommender Systems," University of Bolzano, Bozen-Bolzano, Italy, November 2018.

Speaker, "Whistleblowing as Civil Disobedience: Leaks in the Era of Trump and the Deep State," Conference on Citizenship and Civil Disobedience, Hannah Arendt Center, Bard College, October 2018.

Speaker, "Opportunities in the Classroom: What Professors Can Do to Make a Difference," HxA Open Mind Conference, The New York Times Center, June 2018.

Panelist, "Can We Talk? Free Speech and the Modern College Campus," Judicial Conference of the Fourth Circuit, The Greenbrier, June 2018.

Speaker, "Community vs. The Pursuit of Truth," Workshop on "The University Left to Right," Princeton University, February 2018.

Panelist, "Does Intervention Work? The Case of Libya," Conference on Middle Eastern Transition and the Foreign Policy Challenges, Yitzhak Rabin Center, Tel Aviv, Israel—March 2014.

Presidential theme roundtable participant, "US Grand Strategy and the Diffusion of Power, Institutions and Ideas," International Studies Association Annual Convention, San Francisco, California—April 2013.

Discussant, "Private Security: Beyond Private Military and Security Companies," International Studies Association Annual Convention, San Francisco, California—April 2013.

Panelist, "Outsourcing Security: Private Military and Security Companies and the Quest for Accountability," Workshop organized by John Jay College of Criminal Justice, CUNY—October 2011.

Discussant, "The Markets for Force: Regional Variation in the Forms & Functions of Security Commodification," ISA Workshop, International Studies Association Annual Convention, Montreal, Canada—March 2011.

Panelist, "Contractors and Counterinsurgency," New England Political Science Association Annual Meetings, Newport, Rhode Island—April 2010.

Panelist, "International Security and the Privatization of American Power," and "Prejudice and the Shadow of the Past in the Emergence of Cooperation," International Studies Association Annual Convention, New Orleans, Louisiana—February 2010.

White Paper co-author (with David Litman), "Acquisition in Crisis: Transforming Workforce and Process in the Public Interest," forum organized by the Partnership for Public Service, Pocantico Conference Center of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund—January 2010.

# COURSES TAUGHT

AI Ethics and Governance (TU Wien Department of Informatics; no student evaluations).

American Democracy Reconsidered (Middlebury; student evaluations exceeded 4.5 out of 5 possible points)

American Constitutional Democracy (Middlebury and Harvard; student evaluations have always exceeded 4.5 out of 5 possible points)

American Foreign Policy (Middlebury and Harvard; student evaluations have always exceeded 4.5 out of 5 possible points)

A Central European Odyssey: History, Culture, and Politics in Prague (Prague Summer Writers' Conference; no numerical student evaluations)

Crisis Diplomacy (Middlebury; student evaluations have always exceeded 4.5 out of 5 possible points)

Cybersecurity (under development)

Empires (Middlebury; student evaluations have always exceeded 4.5 out of 5 possible points)

Ethnicity, Nationalism, and the State (Middlebury and OSUN; student evaluations have always exceeded 4.5 out of 5 possible points)

The Political Development of Western Europe (Middlebury and Harvard; student evaluations have always exceeded 4.5 out of 5 possible points)

The Politics of Virtual Realities (Middlebury and Harvard; student evaluations have always exceeded 4.5 out of 5 possible points)

US-European Relations (Middlebury; student evaluations have always exceeded 4.5 out of 5 possible points)

War (Middlebury; student evaluations exceeded 4.5 out of 5 possible points)

Who Elected Big Tech? (Middlebury; student evaluations exceeded 4.5 out of 5 possible points)

## COLLEGE COMMITTEE SERVICE

Member, Presidential Task Force on AI, September 2023-present.

Member, Political Philosophy Search Committee, 2016.

Member, Ad Hoc Budget Committee, 2015-17.

Member, Resources Committee, 2015-17.

Faculty Representative, Athletic Hall of Fame Selection Committee, 2015-17.

Member, Task Force on Resources and Planning, 2014-15.

Member, Steering Committee for IPE Colloquium, 2013-14.

Member, Steering Committee for Clifford Symposium, 2014.

Member, Community Council, 2013-14.

Member, Residential Life Sub-Committee, 2013-14.

Faculty Advisor, Truman Scholarship, 2013-14.

Member, Middlebury-Monterey Integration Committees, 2005-2010.

Chair, Rohatyn Center Advisory Committee, 2002-2010.

Chair, International Committee, 2002-2005.

Member (with President and Board Chair), Monterey Exploratory Team, 2004-2005.

Ford Foundation/Middlebury College "Crossing Borders: Revitalizing Area Studies," Principal Investigator, 2000-2003.

Chair, International Peak Committee, 1999-2001.

Member, Reaccreditation Steering Committee, 1998-1999 (chaired the subcommittee on mission).

Member, Faculty Council, 1993-1999.

Member, Faculty Search Committees, 1993, 1994, 1997, 1998, 2000, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2008, 2010, 2013 (the majority in Political Science, but also in Economics, Environmental Studies, German, International Politics and Economics, and International Studies).

## MEDIA APPEARANCES

The 1A (NPR), Aamulehti (Finland), ABC (Spain), ABC News, ABC News Radio, Australian Broadcasting Corporation, Agence France Presse, Addison Independent, Al Jazeera Television, Atlanta Journal-Constitution, Atlantic, The American Interest, The American Prospect, Associated Press, BBC World Service, Big Think, Bill Martinez Live, BookTV (C-SPAN), Belt Iberica (Spain), Boston Globe, Bloomberg Government, Bloomberg View, Buenos Aires Herald (Argentina), Canada's National Post, CBS Sunday Morning, Charlotte Observer, Chicago Tribune, Columbus Dispatch, Christian Science Monitor, Chronicle of Higher Education, CNN, C-Span with Brian Lamb, Daily Show with Jon Stewart, Dallas Morning News, Daybreak USA, Denver Post, Diane Rehm, Die Zeit (Germany), Epoca (Brazil), Fareed Zakaria GPS, Financial Times, Focus (Illinois Public Radio), Forbes, Fort Wayne Journal Gazette, Frontline (PBS), Harper's, Harvard Crimson, Hindustan Times (India), IFC Media Project, Inside Higher Ed, International Herald Tribune, In Conversation With (WAMC), International Investor, International Public Radio, It's Your World (KQED), Jakarta Globe (Indonesia), Jefferson Exchange, Jefferson Public Radio, John Batchelor Show, Le Monde (France), Lidove Noviny (Czech Republic), Los Angeles Times, Macleans, Marketplace, Minneapolis-Saint Paul Star-Tribune, Minnesota Public Radio, Monterey Herald, Morning Edition (NPR), Morning Joe, Mother Jones, MSNBC, MTV, The Nation, National Review, New Hampshire Public Radio, New Republic, New York Magazine, New Yorker, New York Review of Books, New York Times, Newsmax, The Oregonian, Pravda (Russia), Prague Post, Politico, Politiken (Denmark), POTUS SiriusXM (The Morning Briefing), Ralph Nader Radio Hour, Rutland Herald, San Diego Union Tribune, San Francisco Chronicle, Santa Fe Public Radio, Stars and Stripes, Seattle Times, Scientific American, Seven Days, Sky News, Sydney Morning Herald (Australia), The Takeaway (WNYC), Tulsa World, Think (KERA), Time, Up to Date (KCUR), USA Today, US News and World Report, Vanity Fair, Vermont Edition (VPR), Vox, Virginia Pilot, Wall Street Journal, Washingtonian, Washington Post, WAMC, WAMU (On My Mind), WBUR Boston, WDBO Orlando, WGBH Boston, WGN Chicago, Wisconsin Public Radio, Where We Live (WNPR).

# RESEARCH LANGUAGES

Czech (very good), French (good), Russian (basic), Slovak (reading only)

# ANCIENT AND MODERN PROGRAMMING LANGUAGES

APL, Assembler, BASIC, Cobol, Fortran, C++, Java