DUKE PROGRAM IN AMERICAN GRAND STRATEGY

2022–2023
FROM THE DIRECTOR'S DESK

I am not sure if we have reached the point where ChatGPT can write my letter but we are probably at the point where any careful reader can predict what I will say. I will note that global affairs have been especially interesting lately (check). I will claim that this makes programs like ours important and lively (check). I will boast about success in staying relevant and interesting (check). And I will observe that we experienced some personnel churn with folks leaving and coming and how that keeps us all on our toes (check)!

After a few years with too much time on Zoom, this year was a return (almost completely) to the old AGS. We brought a variety of speakers to campus over the course of the academic year and only a few of them were entirely online. We had some speakers squarely in our sweet spot – for instance, our kick-off George Marshall Series speaker General CQ Brown in August 2022. Others allowed us to broaden the economic focus of grand strategy: I hope you were able to join us when we welcome the United States Trade Representative Katherine Tai. Another currently serving leader who joined us (by webinar) was the US Ambassador to the United Nations Linda Thomas-Greenfield. We had some well-timed distinguished former leaders speak on anniversaries – former deputy secretary general of NATO Rose Gottemoeller around the one-year anniversary of Russia's invasion of Ukraine and former national security advisor Stephen J. Hadley around the twentieth anniversary of the start of Operation Iraqi Freedom. We helped host former prime minister of Israel Naftali Bennett and many, many other distinguished scholars and policymakers.

Our students traveled to Washington, DC for a chance to tour agencies in the intelligence community and headed on the annual staff ride to walk the battlefields at Gettysburg. In the spring, a group went to New Orleans to visit the National World War II Museum. And we capped off the semester with a trip to Fort Bragg (now Fort Liberty), made possible by our good friends in the Counterterrorism and Public Policy Fellows program.

The biggest event of the year remained our annual international staff ride. In March, we took almost 40 students, faculty, and alumni to Italy to follow the WWII campaign from Anzio to Rome. And thanks to ticketing woes, we all got a crash course on the basics of strategy and that old Eisenhower axiom: plans are worthless, but planning is everything. We all eventually made it to Italy and back – once a group of stragglers, the "Lost Battalion," who spend an unwanted day in Atlanta caught up with the main group – and, despite the airline misadventure, it was one of the most interesting staff rides yet. Seeing Monte Cassino loom large over the valley approaches brought that infamous episode to life and the memorial ritual on the banks of what the Allies called the Rapido River, where we were joined by a local man who had been a boy at the time of the fighting, is a powerful memory. Be sure to watch the video!
As is always the case, the program continues to grow and change as new students come to Duke and old friends move on to their next adventures. We will miss the class of 2023 – our beloved "COVID class" whose first year at Duke was hijacked by the pandemic and then who stuck with us as we stumbled through the Zoomiverse and sabbaticals. We look forward to hearing about their successes in the years to come. Do make sure to stay in touch.

This year, we added another member to our team, Dr. Susan Colbourn who has been the Associate Director of AGS since coming on board in January 2023. Susie is no stranger to the program and she boasts an exceptional mix of substantive expertise, familiarity with the international landscape of grand strategy programs, and extensive programming experience – all deployed to help AGS grow and thrive. I am also grateful to Khuwailah Beyah for all she did this past year to support the program and its activities, including navigating the transition in the fall and then spearheading our staff ride to Italy. Thanks also is due to Jordan Harris, who served as program assistant for the busiest parts of the academic year.

After two years of service, AGS owes a big debt of gratitude to our outgoing Graduate Fellow Andrew Kenealy. He has been a great champion of the program, embracing the spirit of AGS and serving the vital role of bridging the generational gap between the faculty and the students (which involves translating lame attempts at "Dad jokes" humor by the AGS Director). Luckily, we’re not losing Andrew quite yet! Though he is stepping down as Graduate Fellow, he’ll remain an integral part of the AGS community as an AWC predoctoral fellow with the program. Andrew will, no doubt, be a great resource for Anna Hallahan, who will take over as Graduate Fellow for the 2023-24 academic year.

In the rest of this report, you can find out more about what we have been up to this year at AGS. So much of what we do is only possible because of our incredible network. As always, I want to thank the numerous parents, alumni, donors, and friends of AGS for their unflagging support.

Peter Feaver
Year in Review

26 Public Talks & Lectures

30 Distinguished Speakers

2 Staff Rides

3 Field Trips
July

The World Six Months After the Ukraine Invasion: Can the U.S. Handle Two Cold Wars at Once?
David Sanger, New York Times Correspondent | July 28

September

In An Age of Great Power Competition: Lethality, Flexibility, and Diversity
General Charles Q. Brown Jr., Chief of Staff of the Air Force | September 1

Combatting Domestic Terrorism in the U.S.
Thomas Brzozowski, Counsel for Domestic Terrorism, US Department of Justice | September 7

Prestige, Manipulation, and Coercion: Elite Power Struggles in the Soviet Union and China After Stalin and Mao
Joseph Torigian, American University | September 21

Intelligence & National Security Field Trip to Washington, D.C.
September 21-23
Co-sponsored with the Triangle Institute for Security Studies

The U.S. Approach to Latin America: Policy Implications in Cuba and Venezuela
Carrie Filipetti, Executive Director, Vandenberg Coalition | September 28
October

The Divider: Trump in the White House 2017-2021
Susan Glasser, Journalist & Staff Writer at The New Yorker | October 3

How Will Foreign Policy Affect the 2022 Midterms and Vice-Versa?
David French, Journalist | October 5

Contemporary Issues in the Intelligence Community
Patricia Larsen, Mirriam Grace-MacIntyre, and Tricia Wellman | October 18
Co-sponsored with the Triangle Institute for Security Studies

Gettysburg Staff Ride
October 22-23

Afghan Crucible: The Soviet Invasion and the Making of Modern Afghanistan
Elisabeth Leake, Tufts University | October 25

November

A Second Iranian Revolution? Implications for Regional Security
Ray Takeyh, Council on Foreign Relations | November 1

Phillips Lecture
Ambassador Katherine Tai, United States Trade Representative | November 9

The Global Arena: America's Changing Role
Ambassador Linda Thomas-Greenfield, United States Ambassador to the United Nations | November 14
November

Euromissiles: The Nuclear Weapons That Nearly Destroyed NATO
Susan Colbourn, Duke University and Francis J. Gavin, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies | November 16

An AGS Survivor Guide: How to Make the Most of Opportunities at Duke and Beyond
Daniel Strunk, Survivor contestant and Duke alumnus | November 17
January

The Peacemaker: Ronald Reagan, The Cold War, and the World on the Brink
William Inboden, University of Texas at Austin | January 12

Is the Western Hemisphere in Crisis?
Eric Farnsworth, Council of the Americas and the Americas Society | January 19

The Envoy: Mastering the Art of Diplomacy with Trump and the World
Gordon Sondland, former United States Ambassador to the European Union | January 26

February

Clarence Streit and Twentieth-Century American Internationalism
Talbot C. Imlay, Université Laval | February 1

Safeguarding American Diplomacy
Ambassador Gentry Smith, Assistant Secretary of State for Diplomatic Security | February 8
Co-sponsored with the Counterterrorism and Public Policy Fellows Program at the Sanford School of Public Policy and the Triangle Institute for Security Studies

Sanctions: What Everyone Needs to Know
Bruce W. Jentleson, Duke University | February 13

The New European Geopolitics One Year After the Russian Invasion
Rose Gottemoeller, former Deputy Secretary General of NATO | February 21
March

The Evolution of Israel's Nuclear Counterproliferation Policy
Or Rabinowitz, Hebrew University and Stanford University | March 2

International Staff Ride: Anzio to Rome
March 12-19

Phillips Lecture
Stephen J. Hadley, former national security advisor | March 21

An Evening with Naftali Bennett
Naftali Bennett, former Prime Minister of Israel | March 22
Co-sponsored with the Center for Jewish Studies and Jewish Life at Duke

The Past, Present, and Future of the Pursuit of Israeli-Palestinian Peace
Ghaith al-Omari and Dov Weissglas, former peace process negotiators | March 28

April

Field Trip to the National World War II Museum
March 31-April 1

Leaving Afghanistan
General (ret.) Austin S. Miller, last U.S. commander in Afghanistan | April 6

Field Trip to Fort Bragg
April 14
Team Update

Dr. Susan Colbourn joined AGS as Associate Director in January 2023. Susie brings a wealth of program experience in the grand strategy space, along with a scholarly background in US foreign policy and international affairs. She holds a Ph.D. in History from the University of Toronto and is the author of *Euromissiles: The Nuclear Weapons That Nearly Destroyed NATO* (Cornell, 2022).

From all of us at AGS, we would like to thank Andrew Kenealy for his service as AGS Graduate Fellow over the last two years. Andrew has been invaluable to the success of the program, whether scouting an international staff ride, pitching in with events or providing a valuable graduate student perspective. We wish Andrew the best - and are grateful he will be part of the AGS community as an AWC fellow.

Welcome to AGS Graduate Fellow Anna Hallahan! Anna is a Master of Public Policy candidate at the Sanford School focusing on national security and foreign policy. Before coming to Duke, she spent four years working at the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in a policy role, managing several priority initiatives. She earned her Bachelor of Arts from Georgetown University, where she studied government and psychology.
What a privilege it has been to serve as the AGS Graduate Fellow for the past two years. The program has helped me grow in many ways—two in particular stand out.

The first is as a policy analyst. Ph.D. programs in political science by necessity emphasize theory and methodology, perhaps at the expense of engagement with current events. My involvement with AGS has helped me to keep a finger on the pulse of contemporary foreign policymaking, and boosted my awareness of the kinds of things that today's policymakers need to know. This exposure is a steady reminder that my own academic research should be useful and relevant—and has even inspired new research ideas along the way!

The second is as a teacher. I have learned much about teaching as a teaching assistant in the political science department; I have learned more through AGS. I would be surprised if there is a like-minded program in the country that provides more depth and breadth, or more opportunities, to their undergraduates. And as the program’s graduate fellow, I have seen intimately how these many opportunities educate and encourage Duke’s undergraduates in ways that even the very best classroom instruction cannot. Getting to know and work with the dozens of remarkable undergrads who participate in AGS was by far the best part of the job.

While I am taking a step back from AGS (and will be taking these two as well as other lessons with me), I’m not going far. I’ll be based here at Duke next year, chugging along on my dissertation. Please keep in touch!

Andrew Kenealy
AGS Graduate Fellow, 2021-23
In September, AGS partnered with the Triangle Institute for Security Studies (TISS) to take twenty-two students to the nation’s capital. Participants came from Duke, as well as from the other three schools that make up TISS: North Carolina Central University, North Carolina State University, and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Over a few days, students had the chance to visit a variety of government agencies, speaking with leaders from the intelligence community, touring the Pentagon, and much more. This trip would not have been possible without the support of Andy Vail or Kyle Beardsley.
The Gettysburg staff ride is a canonical experience of nearly every military officer's education—and a staple of the annual AGS calendar.

This year, AGS took a group to Gettysburg on October 22 and 23, where we walked the battlefields and presented historic roles from the battle. In the process, participants gain a deeper understanding of the Battle of Gettysburg and the strategic thinking that shaped the Civil War.
Anzio to Rome

Over spring break in March, thirty-eight Duke students, faculty, and alumni joined AGS for our annual international staff ride. This year, AGS spent a week in Italy following the allied landings at Anzio and the subsequent drive to Rome, as well as the campaign’s relevance to the modern era.

Participants were each assigned a specific character role and presented their roles as we followed the campaign from Anzio to Rome. Stops included the World War II Sicily-Rome American Cemetery and Monument, the Anzio Landing Beach Monument, the Anzio Beachhead Museum, Ranger Road, San Pietro Infine, Rapido River, the Bell of Peace, the Old Castle, the Abbey of Monte Cassino, the Albaneta Loop, and the Vatican Archives.
This spring, on March 31 and April 1, AGS took ten students to New Orleans to visit the National World War II Museum. Students toured the museum’s exhibits, heard from experts about the Italian campaign and the broader strategic trade-offs of the war in the Mediterranean theater, and got an incredible behind-the-scenes look inside the museum’s vault.

The Program is grateful to Jeremy Collins, Connie Gentry, and the fantastic team at the Jenny Craig Institute for the Study of War and Democracy at the National World War II Museum for making our visit so exceptional.
On April 12, AGS students traveled to Fort Bragg (now Fort Liberty) to learn more about Army Special Operations. Students learned about unconventional warfare, special reconnaissance, and how Special Forces Groups adapt, innovate, and modernize to fulfill the requirements in the National Defense Strategy.

AGS is grateful to Colonel Nathan Whitfield, a 2022-2023 Counterterrorism and Public Policy Fellow, for making this trip possible.
Ambassador Katherine Tai

Ambassador Katherine Tai was sworn in as the 19th United States Trade Representative on March 18, 2021. As a member of the President’s Cabinet, Ambassador Tai is the principal trade advisor, negotiator, and spokesperson on U.S. trade policy.

As part of the Ambassador Dave and Kay Phillips Family International Lecture Series, Ambassador Tai joined AGS for a conversation about the current landscape of US trade relations, including trade relations with China.
Stephen J. Hadley served for four years as the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, a position often known as the national security advisor, from 2005 to 2009. In that capacity he was the principal White House foreign policy advisor to then President George W. Bush, directed the National Security Council staff, and ran the interagency national security policy development and execution process.

He is a principal of Rice, Hadley, Gates & Manuel LLC (RHGM), an international strategic consulting firm founded with Condoleezza Rice, Robert Gates, and Anja Manuel. He is the editor of Hand-Off: The Foreign Policy George W. Bush Passed to Barack Obama.

In the spring Ambassador Dave and Kay Phillips Family International Lecture, Hadley joined AGS Director Peter Feaver for a conversation reflecting on the foreign policy legacy of the George W. Bush administration at the twentieth anniversary of the invasion of Iraq.
This year, the Duke Program in American Grand Strategy lost a long-time friend and supporter, Ambassador Stanley Davis “Dave” Phillips. Ambassador Phillips passed away on November 20, 2022, at the age of 80.

Phillips was the United States Ambassador to Estonia from April 16, 2007, until January 16, 2009.

A North Carolina native, Phillips was born in High Point in 1942. He attended Choate Rosemary Hall in Wallingford, Connecticut, followed by the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill where he joined Delta Kappa Epsilon and graduated with a bachelors in business administration.

Phillips spent over 30 years working in financial services in the U.S. and international Futures Market. He was the founding chairman of the Phillips Factors Corp., which was a financial services firm that would later merge with BB&T Corp. Phillips also founded Phillips Mills (which merged with Culp Inc.) and was a founding partner of the Market Square Partnership which would later merge with Varnado Realty Trust. He served as Chairman and CEO of Phillips Industries, Inc.

While in high school, Phillips participated in one of the first exchange programs between the United States and the Soviet Union and studied at Moscow State University. He traveled a great deal through Poland, Georgia, Ukraine, and Russia. The opportunity to travel as a young person and his exposure to the international stage and international travel was one of his life’s greatest gifts and he felt everyone should take advantage of opportunities like this when at all possible.

In 1996, Phillips and his wife, Katherine (Kay), endowed the Ambassador Dave and Kay Phillips Family International Lectureship to bring notable leaders and decisionmakers in and out of government to speak at Duke.

We offer our heartfelt condolences and deepest gratitude to the entire Phillips family.
On September 1, AGS hosted General Charles Q. Brown, Jr., the Chief of Staff of the United States Air Force. General Brown has over 35 years of service in the United States military.

In wide-ranging remarks, General Brown discussed the Russian invasion of Ukraine, the rise of China, the U.S. withdrawal from Afghanistan, and his experience as the first African-American to be appointed as chief of staff of the Air Force.
Marshall Military Conversation

General (ret.) Austin S. Miller

On April 6, General (ret.) Austin S. Miller joined AGS for a conversation about his four decades of military service, including as the final commander of the US forces in Afghanistan and of NATO’s Resolute Support Mission.

General Miller dedicated much of his comments to the United States’ involvement in Afghanistan and the withdrawal of US forces in 2021 drawing on his own experience.
Participating in Duke University's American Grand Strategy program has been an incredibly valuable experience for me as an active-duty servicemember. Engaging in candid talks with professionals across the entire spectrum of national security has provided me with unique perspectives and a deeper understanding of the complexities of security and foreign policy. Because of the intimate environment presented by AGS, guest speakers were candid and nuanced about challenging topics. While I might not agree with everyone’s viewpoints, I have a more comprehensive understanding of the field from these authentic, face-to-face interactions.

Beyond the individual benefits, the program has provided a sense of friendship and community within Duke University and the Sanford School of Public Policy. Connecting with fellow students who share a passion for foreign policy has created a supportive and familial network, allowing me to form meaningful connections, both personal and professional.

AGS has been the nexus of extra-curricular learning for me at Duke this past year. Because of the diverse backgrounds of both participants and speakers, I have had enriching conversations which have reshaped the direction of my career. Looking ahead, I am excited for what the next year holds for AGS, knowing I will experience further intellectual growth and professional development. I am truly grateful for the program and the wonderful people within it.

Luke Talian
Masters of Public Policy Class of 2024
The Program in American Grand Strategy is a founding member of the America in the World Consortium (AWC), a dynamic and innovative partnership of schools seeking to foster more vibrant debate about the United States’ role in the world among policy-engaged academics established in 2018.

As part of the consortium’s activities, AGS hosts a cohort of predoctoral and postdoctoral fellows at Duke and sponsors key AWC programming and initiatives.

Learn more about the America in the World Consortium at awconsortium.org.

The 2022-23 AWC Fellows, from left to right: Kaitlyn Robinson (Duke), Daniel Chardell (Johns Hopkins SAIS), Rebecca Dudley (Duke), Marino Auffant (Johns Hopkins SAIS), Joseph Ledford (UT Austin), Kyle Balzer (UT Austin), and Ayumi Teraoka (UT Austin).
The America in the World Consortium (AWC) continues to foster discussions on critical global security issues. Here are some highlights from recent events:

**Book Talk with William Inboden**

In January, AWC hosted William Inboden to discuss his award-winning new book, *The Peacemaker: Ronald Reagan, the Cold War, and the World on the Brink*. Inboden is one of the principals of the America in the World Consortium.

**The All-Volunteer Force at 50: Civil-Military Challenges and Opportunities**

In cooperation with the Center for Security Studies at Georgetown University, the America in the World Consortium brought together a range of experts for a two-day conference on civil-military relations in February 2023. Expert scholars and practitioners tackled a range of topics, including civilian control of the armed forces, politicization of the military, public confidence in the military, and the impact of political polarization.

The conference featured keynotes from the Honorable Kathleen Hicks, Deputy Secretary of Defense, Admiral (Ret.) Michael Mullen, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Senator Jack Reed, the chair of the Senate Armed Services Committee.

**Annual Policy Workshop**

AWC hosted its fourth annual policy workshop in April 2023. This year’s conference brought together a mix of scholars and practitioners to discuss major issues shaping US foreign policy today, including the Russian war in Ukraine, the role of domestic politics, and the future of relations with the People’s Republic of China.
I began an AWC postdoctoral fellowship at Duke University in August 2022. With AWC’s support, I have been able to make significant progress on my academic and professional goals over the past year. In fall 2022, I interviewed for and accepted a tenure-track position in the Department of Political Science at Rice University (starting in July 2023).

In spring 2023, I published two peer-reviewed research articles — one in the *Journal of Conflict Resolution* and one in *Perspectives on Terrorism*. Throughout the year, I also made progress on my book project, which examines when, why, and how foreign states aid the organization of new non-state militant groups. Additionally, I coauthored research for the U.S. Department of Homeland Security, working as a research affiliate of the Mapping Militants Project and the National Counterterrorism Innovation, Technology, and Education Center (NCITE).

During my time at Duke, I presented my research at several academic conferences hosted by the American Political Science Association, Peace Science Society International, the Triangle Institute for Security Studies, and the United States Military Academy. I also chaired several panels at AWC events, and I traveled with Duke undergraduate students to Gettysburg as the faculty representative on the Program in American Grand Strategy fall staff ride.

I greatly enjoyed my AWC postdoctoral fellowship at Duke, and I would highly recommend it to other junior scholars. AWC gave me the time, resources, and support that I needed to advance my academic career. The AWC and Duke communities have been incredibly welcoming and encouraging, and I am deeply appreciative for their mentorship and support.

Kaitlyn Robinson
*AWC Postdoctoral Fellow, 2022-23*
Spotlight: Rebecca Dudley

Rebecca Dudley held an AWC predoctoral fellowship in 2022-23, based at Duke University. A Ph.D. candidate in political science at Duke, Dudley’s research focuses on conflict resolution and foreign policy, emphasizing the role of third parties in the dynamics of conflict and conflict resolution.

Dudley earned her Ph.D. in 2023 completing a dissertation on how third-party states decide to become diplomatically involved in a resolution process, with a particular emphasis on U.S. diplomacy and foreign policy.

Rebecca Dudley has been a critical part of the AGS and AWC communities in recent years, having previously served as the AGS Graduate Fellow from 2019 to 2022.

We wish Becca the very best on her next adventures – as an assistant professor of political science at her alma mater, Brigham Young University.
Dr. Caileigh Glenn joins us from MIT where she was a Grand Strategy, Security, and Statecraft postdoctoral Fellow at the Security Studies Program. Glenn's research expertise focuses on topics at the intersection of international security and international political economy. Her current book project focuses on the political effects of financial coercion in foreign policy. She received her Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Dr. Soyoung Lee comes to Duke from Stanford University where she earned a Ph.D. in political science. Lee's research focuses on the interplay between domestic politics and international conflict. In her book project, she examines why states and their citizens are willing to engage in costly conflict over some issues but not others. Lee will join the faculty of the Department of Political Science at Yale University in summer 2024.

Andrew Kenealy is a PhD candidate in political science at Duke University, specializing in security, peace, and conflict as well as political methodology. His dissertation examines how Congress engages with and shapes the American public on foreign affairs. Before coming to Duke, Kenealy was a research analyst at the Brookings Institution. He holds a B.A. in government from Dartmouth College.
Affiliated Faculty

Abdullah Antepli
Kyle Beardsley
General Martin Dempsey
Ambassador Patrick Duddy
Charles J. Dunlap Jr.
David Hoffman
Bruce Jentleson
Simon Miles
Rachel Myrick
Timothy Nichols
David Schanzer
David Siegel
Jennifer Siegel
Erika Weinthal
Giovanni Zanalda
Spotlight: Counterterrorism and Public Policy Fellows

Each year, the Sanford School of Public Policy hosts a select group of mid-career national security professionals for the Counterrorism and Public Policy (CTPP) Fellowship. An intensive educational experience, the fellowship is designed to enhance understanding of national security issues and the policymaking process in the United States, empowering fellows to operate more effectively at high-level leadership positions.

The CTPP Fellows are always an integral part of our AGS community, studying in the classroom along AGS students and taking part in our co-curricular activities.

From left to right: Tim Nichols, COL Andrew Brokhoff, COL James Stultz, Chaplain (COL) Jay West, COL Justin Hufnagel, Unit Chief Luz Ruiz, COL Nathan Whitfield, David Schanzer, and Supervisory Special Agent Bracken Murphy.
Class of 2023

As always, many of our graduating seniors are off to new and exciting professional opportunities. Here are just a few of the highlights.

Deborah Ades has joined the office of Congresswoman Ashley Hinson.
Daniel Billings is working at Citi Bank in the Sustainability and Corporate Transitions office.
Peter Connolly is working for a private capital group in Boston.
Francis de Beixedon will be at AEI where he will be working on Asian security issues.
Adam Israelevitz was awarded a James C. Gaither Junior Fellowship at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Israelevitz is the first Duke student to have done so.
Brent Katz was named a Brent Scowcroft Award Fellow with the Aspen Strategy Group.
Muhammad Usama is pursuing a PhD in Duke’s History Department.
Samuel Reynoldson has started law school at the University of Iowa.
Ritika Saligram is at Goldman Sachs in the Risk Analysis division.
Sara Scanlan is a paralegal in the Manhattan District Attorney’s office.

Lehrman Summer Fellows

AGS is proud to provide support for summer internship and other research opportunities for current students involved in the program. This year, Lehrman Summer Fellows interned at think-tanks, worked on Senate staff, designed and conducted original research projects, and served at bodies of the United Nations.

The 2023 cohort included six current undergraduate students: Millicent Caughey, Grace Endrud, Laurel Holley, Ruthie Kesri, Zoe Spicer, and Lauren Tse.
Event with Daniel Strunk

AGS alumnus Daniel Strunk ‘14 joined the program in November to discuss his time on the long-running television show Survivor and to speak about life after his time at Duke. The Duke graduate, a lifelong fan of the show, appeared in season forty-two of Survivor.

In addition to his time on the show, Strunk talked about his experience since graduating from Duke. Strunk earned a master’s degree in politics and public policy from Trinity College Dublin before attending Yale Law School for his Juris Doctor. He currently works as a law clerk.

Recent Alumni Achievements

Emma Campbell-Mohn ‘16 was selected as part of the Aspen Strategy Group Rising Leaders Program Class of 2023.

Ella Lipin ‘10 was recently appointed as deputy assistant secretary for the Bureau of International Organization Affairs at the Department of State.

AGS Garden Party

On June 23, old and new friends of AGS gathered for our annual garden party, hosted by long-time friend of the program John Hillen.
Reflection: Sebastian Borda

Sebastian Borda is a graduate student at Harvard University, where he is pursuing a Master in Public Policy at the Kennedy School of Government. Previously, he worked in Congress as a national security policy staffer for Senator James Lankford.

Studying in Cambridge has provided occasion to learn from the Belfer Center’s distinguished scholars, hone my geopolitical analysis skills, and explore the role of faith-based perspectives in national security. HKS is a vibrant academic environment with a constant flow of dignitaries, academics, and policy leaders—an engaging setting for any aspiring public servant. Most of all, I’ve benefitted from Harvard’s Negotiation Coaching Clinic as well as Eric Rosenbach’s demanding yet rewarding policy implementation course, which featured a memorable 5 AM National Security Council simulation.

This summer, I am working with POLARIS National Security, a non-profit that equips candidates for office with foreign policy expertise, messaging insights, and polling data. But unlike comparable organizations, we focus on articulating U.S. global leadership to outside-the-Beltway audiences and identifying what resonates with the public. Conducting this work has improved my ability to communicate America’s role in the world to the skeptic and increased my appreciation for the complexity of building support for international engagement.

Though AGS is often championed for the ways in supports students’ intellectual formation, I can attest to its enduring value after Duke. I regularly found AGS alumni in the halls of Congress, partnered with them on legislative priorities, and even collaborated to advance bills and block nominees. Simon Miles and Peter Feaver—my AGS mentors—have also continued to go above and beyond in helping me navigate graduate school and answering vocational questions. The AGS community, for those who lean into it, provides its alumni a decisive professional and academic advantage.

I am especially eager to reconnect with the AGS program in August at the Reagan Presidential Library, where we will explore historical lessons from the 40th president’s foreign policy and their contemporary applications.

My best to the Duke AGS program.

Sebastian Borda ‘20
Reflection: Ted Leonhardt

I have been working since April 2022 as a research associate for former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. Intellectually, professionally, and personally, I would not have attained this opportunity without AGS.

The AGS program teaches intellectual rigor rooted in a historical sensibility, thorough analysis, and concise writing. Professionally, I have also called upon that training in investment banking and legal practice – experiences that prepared me for my current work. AGS uniquely pairs that academic rigor with personal warmth in the energetic style of Professor Feaver. Meeting distinguished leaders who visit Duke is a highlight for many students, and those remarkable encounters teach poise. Yet the friendships formed through AGS are most enduring. My friend and predecessor Matthew King forged the path for me to serve Dr. Kissinger.

AGS offers students a lifelong social and intellectual base. The opportunity to return to that base motivated me to attend Duke for law school. Embarking from it on a career in foreign affairs, I am proud to be an AGS alum.

Ted Leonhardt ’15
From Our Alumni

Jimmy Toscano ‘21 is an analyst in the Government Accountability Office’s professional development program. Jimmy is currently working on a performance audit of the U.S. Department of the Treasury’s administration of the $350 billion Coronavirus State and Local Fiscal Recovery Funds. His team’s report will be published late this year on GAO’s website. Next month, Jimmy will be transitioning to the International Affairs and Trade team, where he will still be doing performance audits but with more of an American Grand Strategy focus. Jimmy will also be starting a course in “Strategy and War” at the Naval War College on Tuesday evenings in DC as part of their Fleet Seminar Program, which he feels extremely well-prepared for as a survivor of multiple AGS courses at Duke. Finally, he looks forward to continuing to connect with other AGS alumni in the DC area, so please feel free to reach out!

CALLING ALL AGS ALUMNI!

Stay in touch and send us your latest news and publications.
As a freshman in 2019, I would not have been able to look ahead and predict my 4 years at Duke. And yet, amidst a pandemic, academic challenges, and an ever-changing campus, there was always one constant that I soon grew to call home: AGS. As for many Introduction to International Relations students, it started with an interesting event here and there ... but it soon grew into a love affair spanning multiple staff rides, events, dinners, and more.

What I grew to appreciate is that AGS is so much more than its roster of excellent programming. The courses, trips, and candid conversations with today's leaders teach students how to become tomorrow's leaders and how to handle adversity of all types. This program has helped me to become more inquisitive, to challenge myself, and to push others to do the same. I was once daunted by the thought of asking Ambassador Samantha Power a question; as a senior, I spent an entire evening in thought-provoking conversation with former national security advisor Stephen Hadley. This program turns students into bold and boundary-pushing individuals.

However, the most important thing I have gleaned from 4 years of AGS learning and 2 years of AGS leadership is that change only ever really happens in a team. This program is cultivating the next generation of game-changers, but hours of readings and discussions have taught me that we must work together to achieve the great things we have set out to do. AGS offers students so many incredible opportunities to supplement their coursework, to pursue their passions, and to jumpstart their careers, but no matter your path, this program teaches you the importance — and the skills — of teamwork. Whether you hope to broker peace in war zones or build trade coalitions for a sustainable future, AGS will show you that you can’t do it alone — and why that diversity is so crucial to getting it done right.

None of this would be possible without the dedicated and supportive team of people behind the scenes, to whom I owe so much. Dr. Feaver, Dr. Colbourn, KB, and all of the AGS faculty work so hard every day to allow students to reap the benefits of this wonderful program. I am incredibly proud of the work we have done together, along with my co-chairs Sara and Ruthie, to bring AGS to more of the Duke community. I can’t wait to see what the new cohort of Council, led by Ruthie, Grant, and Andrea, accomplishes. They are lucky to have AGS, but more importantly, AGS is very lucky to have them!

All my best,

Ritika Saligram, ’23
My involvement with AGS began in the fall of 2019 with Dr. Feaver's Introduction to International Relations class. That course opened for me all the possibilities that AGS offered. I remember being captivated by this program within my very first days at Duke. Four years later, it amazes me to see how much of an impact taking that course my freshman fall had on the rest of my college experience and on my future career interests.

The opportunities, speaker events, and immersive experiences offered by AGS were integral to my time at Duke. Whether the topics covered were ones I myself had studied or concepts that were brand new, these events allowed me to continually learn outside of the classroom and have shaped my own perspectives. The ability to hear first hand from prominent figures in foreign policy and national security has inspired my own thoughts about my time after Duke.

Starting off as a student in an AGS course, becoming a Council Member, and finally being Co-Chair for the past two years has been an incredible journey. AGS adapted to the ups and downs of a pandemic and has come out stronger. Conversations and small group events such as the ones with Samantha Power and Michael McFaul provided me an invaluable lens into the minds of great foreign policy leaders. Field trips to Fort Bragg helped me build personal relationships and understandings of civil-military relations, and affiliated AGS courses helped me form the foundations of knowledge in these fields. The stories shared and the knowledge I gained from my AGS coursework have inspired me to pursue a career in this realm and have left me constantly curious about the fields of foreign policy and national security.

When I look back at my time at Duke, AGS will forever stand out as the most profoundly impactful part of my experience, both during college and for whatever comes next. The skills gained and relationships formed will help me throughout my future career. I am immensely grateful to the AGS community of students and professors for the support and guidance over the past four years.

Sincerely,

Sara Scanlan, ’23
My name is Ruthie Kesri, Class of 2024, and I am honored to hold the position of co-chair in the AGS Student Council, alongside Andrea and Grant. My areas of academic focus include Political Science, Religion, and Global Health.

My time with Duke's Program in American Grand Strategy began in the middle of a pandemic, and although my first year was constrained to Zoom meetings and socially distanced coffee chats, I have witnessed the community transform from a virtual gathering spot to one that has filled up ballrooms for Ambassador Katherine Tai's talk on the state of U.S.-China affairs.

Hailing from Southern Kentucky, I entered college with a fervent desire to blend my unwavering passion for national security and foreign policy with invaluable real-world experiences. Through dinners with policy leaders, simulation courses, and staff rides to Gettysburg, Pearl Harbor, and Italy, AGS has exceeded my wildest expectations, granting me the invaluable opportunity to not only learn but also engage experientially, fueling my passion like never before.

One of many memorable instances occurred during a poignant conversation with Prime Minister Naftali Bennett, where he fervently emphasized the importance of unwavering courage amidst adversity. He passionately reminded all of us present that the essence of public service lies not only in the mere act itself but in the intrinsic values that ignite and propel it forward. Another transformative experience took place when I brought Chief of the Imperial General Staff, Alan Brooke, to life during the Italy staff ride. Unveiling the connections between his strategic decision-making and the triumph of the Allied forces, and championing his exceptional leadership even a century later, was an awe-inspiring encounter.

AGS is invaluable for students seeking a real-world understanding of America's position in the world, using the past to inform our present. Its emphasis on inclusivity creates a welcoming community for students of diverse backgrounds, promoting intellectual diversity within and beyond Duke. AGS uniquely prepares students for life after college, benefiting every Duke student. What distinguishes AGS is the unwavering investment and dedication demonstrated by the faculty, alumni, and students alike.

To all those who tirelessly support this program, I extend my deepest gratitude for gifting students like me an unparalleled glimpse into the realm of American grand strategy.

Ruthie Kesri, '24
Co-Chair Reflection: Andrea Reyes ‘25

My name is Andrea Reyes and I am very excited to have joined the Co-Chair team alongside Ruthie Kesri and Grant Wernick. I am in the Class of 2025 and am double majoring in Political Science and Russian Studies with a minor in Computer Science.

Since the first month of my freshman year, AGS has been a key element of my time at Duke. From my first ice cream social, I looked forward to all the opportunities the Program in American Grand Strategy could offer me. I was excited to be a part of an organization that would allow me to engage with peers equally enthused with learning about foreign policy and national security. Combined with Professor Feaver’s Introduction to International Relations course, AGS provided me with an outlet outside of the class to grow my knowledge of foreign relations.

Since my freshman year I have been grateful to join various staff rides, such as the New Orleans WWII Museum and Gettysburg staff rides which have further allowed me to engage with grand strategy. My sophomore year, I had the privilege of being the student lead for the Gettysburg staff ride in 2022 where I worked closely with the AGS leadership team. Each of these experiences has been incredibly valuable to me by providing me with the opportunity to interact with graduate students and alumni, as well as foster my knowledge of international relations. Not only this, but AGS has continuously helped me envision myself in various career paths that I never thought about pursuing before. The program’s ability to connect undergraduates with professionals in incredible fields is truly unlike anything I’ve ever seen at Duke.

Throughout my time in AGS I have especially enjoyed getting to meet new students at various events and dinners. This organization is unique in the fact that it brings a wide range of students together who are all interested in engaging further with the topics in foreign policy that impact the world around us every day. Further, what sets AGS apart is how passionate the leadership team and students are about the organization and the effort they put into helping it grow each year.

Now as Co-Chair I look forward to continuing the efforts of reaching out to students with wide ranging political and social backgrounds in order to strengthen the intellectual diversity of the Program in American Grand Strategy. I believe all students can benefit from the opportunities AGS provides. I am very proud of all that the program offers to the Duke community and am excited for the years to come.

Thank you to everyone who continues to help make AGS the incredible organization that gives so much to students like myself.

Andrea Reyes, ‘25
You probably remember the moment you became eager to get involved with AGS. For many, it was some time during Dr. Feaver's infamous Introduction to International Relations. For me, it was during the ice cream social at the start of my freshman year, when Dr. Miles plugged his AGS core course Statecraft and Strategy. He described it as a greatest hits of strategically brilliant emperors, prime ministers, and commanders in chief. I could not log onto DukeHub fast enough and drop Economics 101 to make room for it on my schedule.

AGS brings what we learn in the classroom to life by gathering together students, alumni, faculty, distinguished guests, and practitioners (read: Duke's resident Special Forces officers and CIA operatives) to discuss strategic challenges from our nation's past, present, and future. With intriguing events scheduled regularly throughout the fall and spring semesters, AGS sucks you in like a peripheral conflict during the Cold War. It is hard to believe that less than two years since that fateful ice cream social, I have taken three AGS courses, participated in an equal number of staff rides, and attended dinners with the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Air Force Chief of Staff, and the former US ambassador to Russia – the latter within a few days of Russia's initial invasion of Ukraine, no less.

The experiential learning opportunities provided by AGS are unparalleled. As a future military officer, personal highlights have included being outshot by Green Berets at Fort Bragg (who were in turn outshot by Sara Scanlan), defeated by a former Army Best Ranger Competition winner on the Schofield Barracks obstacle course (though not by Professor Nichols), and nonplussed by a question regarding my alleged "service in Afghanistan" by the former commander of Delta Force during a Q&A in Sanford. AGS has much to offer students envisioning careers in the military, politics or foreign service but also those whose interests lie in any field requiring keen strategic thinking. The intellectual diversity and diversity of interests within AGS make the Program much stronger.

Thank you for your continued engagement and support!

Grant Wernick, '25
HAND-OFF

The Foreign Policy George W. Bush Passed to Barack Obama

EDITOR: Stephen J. Hadley

CO-EDITORS: Peter D. Feaver William C. Inboden Meghan L. O’Sullivan

Operational and Technical Support — Maureen McGrath

Foreword by President George W. Bush
Preface by Condoleezza Rice and Stephen J. Hadley
Dr. Connor Huff was a Visiting Fellow at AGS for the 2022-2023 academic year.

Huff is an assistant professor of political science at Rice University. His research provides new theory and evidence for how individual behavior shapes when and why wars begin, and why conflicts are so difficult to end.

While at Duke, he published a new paper in the *American Political Science Review* on how counterinsurgency tactics affect rebel behavior, and completed a draft of his book manuscript about why rebels reject compromise peace settlements.

Huff also leveraged the vibrant AGS community to make significant progress on a new research agenda about inequality in war. Drawing on insights from Duke experts in military history and operations, he wrote a new paper on how commanders’ beliefs about their soldiers shape who gets asked to do what on the battlefield, and in turn who dies in war.

Connor also actively participated in the robust AGS programming. He was a regular attendee at the AGS speaker series and participated in the field trip to Fort Bragg. (See if you can spot him among the students!)

We were thrilled to have Connor as part of the AGS community for the academic year, and wish him all the best back at Rice.
Publications from our AGS faculty & affiliates

Books


Monographs & Reports


**Articles & Book Chapters**


Opinion & Commentary


Feaver, Peter, and Michèle Flournoy. "Let's Stop Being Cavalier About Civilian Control of the Military." Lawfare, September 13, 2022.

Jentleson, Bruce W. "American Consensus on Ukraine Has Fractured." Foreign Policy, March 29, 2023.


Jentleson, Bruce W. "Who's Winning the Sanctions War?" Foreign Policy, August 18, 2022.
