

Bernd Kaussler, PhD

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EDUCATION

- 2003 – 2007 University of St. Andrews, United Kingdom
PhD in International Relations
(Subfields: Conflict Resolution, Security, Diplomacy, Iranian Politics and Foreign Policy)
- 2002 – 2003 University of St. Andrews, United Kingdom
Master in Middle East Politics
- 1999 – 2002 University of Sussex, United Kingdom
Bachelor of Arts in International Relations and Development Studies

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

- 2007 – present **Associate Professor of Political Science**
Department of Political Science, James Madison University
- Assistant Department Head (since 2018)
 - Courses taught: “Global Politics;” “US Foreign Policy;” “Political Islam and Islamic Fundamentalism;” “Middle East Security;” “International Security and Conflict Management;” “The U.S. and the Middle East;” “Hacking for Defense;” “Hacking for Diplomacy”
- 2007– present **Associate Fellow**
Institute for Iranian Studies, University of St. Andrews
- 2006 – 2007 **Teaching Fellow (fixed term)**
School of International Relations, University of St. Andrews
- Courses taught: “Foreign Policy Analysis and Comparative Politics;” “Political Islam;” “Conflict in the Middle East;” “Introduction to IR”

PUBLICATIONS AND RESEARCH

Peer-Reviewed Books:

- *US Foreign Policy Towards the Middle East: The Realpolitik of Deceit.* co-authored with Glenn Hastedt. (London, Routledge, 2017)
- *Iran's Nuclear Diplomacy: Power Politics and Conflict Resolution.* (London, Routledge, 2014)

Peer-Reviewed Articles:

- with Lars Kristiansen “The Bullshit Doctrine: Fabrications, Lies and Nonsense in the Age of Trump” *Informal Logic* Vol. 38, No 1 (2018)
- “American Power and Security during the Bosnian War (1993-1995): National Identity, Credibility, and the ‘Stalemate Machine;” co-authored with Jonathan Keller in *Journal for Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, 2017, 19:4, 446-460,
- “Towards Middle East Power Equilibrium: Tracing Qatar’s Foreign Policy Trajectory and its Impact on Regional Security,” *Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies*, September 2015.
<http://english.dohainstitute.org/file/get/d31b5ea7-be0b-4a01-b37a-e0df9dc663a9.pdf>
- “Giving Diplomacy a Chance: US-Iranian Relations and the Joint Plan of Action,” *Orient- German Journal for Politics, Economics and Culture of the Middle East*, vol. II, no. 55, 2014, pp. 38-46.

- “From Engagement to Containment: EU–Iran Relations and the Nuclear Programme, 1992–2011,” *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, vol. 14, no. 1, 2012, pp. 53-76.
- “Diplomacy in Bad Faith: American–Iranian Relations Today,” co-authored with Anthony Newkirk in *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, vol. 23, no. 2, 2012, pp. 347-380.
- “Is the End Nigh for the Islamic Republic?” *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*, Hudson Institute, vol. 13, 2012, pp. 69-91.
- U.S. Air Force online capstone simulation on Middle East Security for the MA in National Security Decision Making, *Air Command and Staff College*, 2011.
- “British-Iranian Relations and the Salman Rushdie Affair - A Case of Two-Level Game Diplomacy,” *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 38, no. 2, 2011, pp. 203-225.
- “Iran,” *Freedom in the World 2011*, Freedom House, February 2011.
- “No Winners, No Losers: Reagan, the Iran-Iraq war and the Gulf’s Perpetual Security Dilemma,” *White House Studies*, vol. 9, no. 3, 2010.
- “IR Teaching Reloaded: Using Films and Simulations in the Teaching of International Relations,” *International Studies Perspectives*, vol. 10, no. 4, 2009.
- “EU Constructive Engagement with Iran: An Exercise in Conditional Human Rights Diplomacy,” *Iranian Studies*, vol. 41, no. 3, 2008, pp. 269-295.

Book Reviews:

- “Iran – Europe Relations: Challenges and Opportunities,” authored by Seyyed Hossein Mousavian, *Iranian Studies*, vol. 43, no. 4, 2010, pp. 578-580.
- “Géopolitique de l’Iran,” authored by Bernard Hourcade, *Iranian Studies*, vol. 44, no. 6, 2011, pp. 924-927.
- “Les enjeux principaux des relations entre l’Iran et l’Europe de 1979 à 2003. Une étude sur la sociologie politique des relations internationales,” authored by Kamal Bayramzadeh, *Iranian Studies*, vol. 42, no. 1, 2009 Special Issue, pp. 152-154.

Book Chapters:

- “Explaining U.S. Foreign Policy Toward Bosnia, 1993-95: National Identity, Credibility, and the ‘Stalemate Machine,’” in *The Role of Intelligence in Ending the Bosnia Conflict*, Ed. Tim Walton, Lexington Press, 2014.
- “Non-Violent Resistance – The Case of Iran 2009-2011,” in *Non-Violence: A Reader*, Ed. Bidyut Chakrabarti, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Scholarly Articles and Conference Papers:

- Conference Paper, The Battle of Aleppo: The ‘Battle of Aleppo’: Third Party Intervention and Strategic Use of Violence against Civilians in Syria at 33. Deutscher Orientalisten Tag “Asia, Africa and Europe” University of Jena, Germany 21 September 2017
- “Why the US-Built of Cards in the Middle East if Falling Apart”, *The National Interest* (2 November 2016) <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/why-the-us-built-house-cards-the-middle-east-falling-apart-18267>

- “Iran’s Foreign Policy Perspective and Relations with the US,” Invited Panelist on *Pathways to Peace in Iran*, the UN House/The Scottish Centre for International Strategic Affairs, Edinburgh, Scotland, April 2016. <http://www.unhscotland.org.uk/scottish-centre-for-international-affairs/peace-and-reconciliation-series/pathways-to-peace-in-iran/>
- “Towards Middle East Power Equilibrium: Tracing Qatar’s Foreign Policy Trajectory and its Impact on Regional Security,” *The GCC Countries: Politics and Economics in Light of the Regional and International Shifts and Changes*, Doha, Qatar, December 2014.
- “Could the Arab Spring Create a New Balance of Power in the Middle East?” *The National Interest*, 26 May 2014. <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/could-the-arab-spring-create-new-balance-power-the-middle-10529>
- “The Elusive Quest for Regional Security After the Arab Spring: External Intrusion and Internal Imbalances in the Middle East,” *Middle East Dialogue 2014: Strategies for Change*, Washington, DC, 27 February 2014
- “Why No Middle Eastern Metternichs?” *The National Interest*, 16 September 2013. <http://nationalinterest.org/commentary/why-no-middle-eastern-metternichs-9069>
- “Iran Security Sentinel,” *Jane’s Information Group*, sole contributor 2007-2013. www.sentinel.janes.com.
- Subject Matter Expert, *Competitive Influence Game by the Asymmetric Operations Working Group (AOWG) and John Hopkins University’s Applied Physics Laboratory*, McDill Air Force Base, Tampa, Florida, 24-27 July 2012.
- Subject Matter Expert, *AOWG Cycle #7 The Levant: Emerging Challenges and External Influencers - Immersion Seminar*, Navy-Marine Corps Memorial Stadium, Annapolis, Maryland, 17 May 2012.
- “Non-Violent Resistance: The Case of Iran,” *International Studies Association Annual Conference*, San Diego, California, 4 April 2012. <http://files.isanet.org/ConferenceArchive/a2469e3dc1954b9f97438d188bf54c02.pdf>
- “The Iranian Army: Tasks and Capabilities in Viewpoints,” *Middle East Institute’s Viewpoints*, November 2011, pp. 36-40. <http://www.mei.edu/content/iranian-army-tasks-and-capabilities>
- “Are Iran’s Leaders, Well...Crazy,” *The Diplomat*, 29 December 2011. <http://the-diplomat.com/2011/12/29/are-iran%E2%80%99s-leaders-well%E2%80%A6crazy/>
- “Gulf of Mistrust: Iran and the Gulf Protests,” *Foreign Policy in Focus*, 21 April 2011. [http://www.fpiif.org/articles/gulf of mistrust iran and the gulf protests](http://www.fpiif.org/articles/gulf%20of%20mistrust%20iran%20and%20the%20gulf%20protests)
- “From Friend to Foe? EU-Iran relations 1992-2011,” *Iran at Large Conference*, University of Illinois, April 2011.
- “Internal Bleeding: Resistance to Iran’s Regime,” *Jane’s Intelligence Review*, January 2010.
- “From Geneva with Love: Breakthrough in US-Iranian Relations?” *Foreign Policy in Focus*, 22 October 2009. www.fpiif.org
- “Iran: The End of the Republic?” *Al-Jazeera Focus*, 1 August 2009. <http://english.aljazeera.net/focus/2009/08/20098171953790365.html> 1 August 2009
- “How to Lose Friends and Alienate your own People,” *Iranian*, 12 July 2009. <http://www.iranian.com/main/2009/jul/how-lose-friends>
- “Defending the Revolution: Human Rights in Post-Election in Iran,” *International Relations*, 30 June 2009. <http://www.e-ir.info/?p=1741>

- “Ahmadinejad’s Coup D’état,” *Foreign Policy in Focus*, 16 June 2009. <http://www.fpif.org/fpiftxt/6193>
- “Sunni Terrorists Strike Shi’a Mosque in Iran’s Sistan-Baluchistan Province,” *Terrorism Monitor*, vol. 7, no. 16, 2009.
- “Iran’s Next Leadership?” *Foreign Policy in Focus*, 20 May 2009. <http://www.fpif.org/fpiftxt/6131>
- “Iran: A Faith on Trial,” *Open Democracy*, April 2009. <http://www.opendemocracy.net/article/email/iran-a-faith-on-trial>
- “Morocco Severs Ties with Iran,” *Jane’s Foreign Report*, March 2009.
- “Economic Survival versus Deterrence: Sanctions and Iran’s Ambiguous Persian Gulf Policy,” Naval Academy, 29 January 2009.
- “Iran’s New Resolutions and Old Habits,” *Jane’s Foreign Report*, January 2009.
- “Iran’s Oil Bubble Bursts,” *Jane’s Foreign Report*, 29 October 2008.
- “MKO Uses YouTube to Display Military Prowess,” *Terrorism Focus*, vol. 4, no. 39, 2007.
- “Politics as Usual – Assessing Iran’s Parliamentary Election Results,” *Jane’s Intelligence Review*, vol. 20, no. 4, 2008.
- “How the EU Could Resolve the US-Iran Crisis,” *Europe’s World*, Spring 2008.
- “Nuclear Politics- Farwell to Larijani,” *Jane’s Foreign Report*, 29 October 2007.
- “Khamenei’s Changing of the Guard,” *Terrorism Focus*, vol. IV, no. 31, 2007.
- “Iran Moves Against PJAK in Northern Iraq,” *Terrorism Focus*, vol. IV, no. 29, 2007.
- “Ahmadinejad Pays Price for Cheap Fuel,” *Jane’s Foreign Report*, no. 2937, 19 July 2007.
- “Confronting Iran – Options for Peaceful Solutions,” *St. Ethelburga’s Centre for Peace and Reconciliation*, London, April 2007.
- “Bread not the Bomb,” *The World Today*, vol. 63, no. 3, 2007. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/40477721.pdf?acceptTC=true>.
- “US-Iran: Roadmap to Conflict?” *Jane’s Foreign Report*, February 2007.

MEDIA EXPERIENCE

Television / Radio Interviews:

- NPR
- WHSV
- BBC World Service
- Deutsche Welle
- France 24
- CBS
- WVON’s Santita Jackson Show (Chicago)
- Henry Raines Show on WWBA (Florida)
- Dick Riseling Show of WJFF-FM (New York)

UNIVERSITY SERVICE

2018 – present	Assistant Department Chair, Department of Political Science, JMU
2015 – present	Faculty adviser for Delta Phi Epsilon (professional foreign service fraternity)
2011 – present	Director, Summer Semester in Scotland
2014 – present	Cluster Four representative for JMU's General Education Council
2007 – present	Member of JMU College of Arts and Letters Cluster Four Committee
2014	Panelist for Dingeldine Scholarship Selection Committee
2013	Chair, search committee for tenure track position in IR
2011 – 2012	Chair for steering committee to design a new liberal arts study abroad program
2011 – 2012	Served in the College of Arts Faculty Assistance Committee
2011 – 2012	Served in the Selection Committee for Boren Scholarship
2010 – 2014	Member of Judicial Affairs Board
2009 – 2012	Served in search committee for visiting professor position
2009 – 2010	Served on JMU's Fulbright Scholarship Committee
2009 – 2010	Participated in two search committees for IR tenure-track positions
2009 – 2010	Member of SPIA Polling Group Committee
2009 – 2010	Member Political Science Best Paper Award Committee
2008 – 2009	Chair of the SPIA Civic Engagement Committee
2007 – 2008	SPIA Civic Engagement Committee

ACADEMIC SERVICE

Referee	<i>Cambridge Review of International Affairs</i> <i>Foreign Policy Analysis</i> <i>Politics</i> <i>International Studies Perspectives</i> <i>Diplomacy & Statecraft</i> <i>Iranian Studies</i> <i>Journal of Political Science Education</i> <i>Brazilian Journal of International Politics</i>
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COURSES TAUGHT

Hacking for Defense and Hacking for Diplomacy (JMU)

A collaboration with Stanford University, both are interdisciplinary courses that use innovative research methods to enable students to tackle real-world problems that resist easy resolution. Students from seven disciplines work in interdisciplinary teams working for government and corporate clients. Students are given actual public policy challenges and learned how to apply Lean Startup principles (Mission Model Canvas, Customer Development and Agile Engineering) in order to meet customer needs throughout the course. Collaborating partners have been: US Special Operations Command; Department of Homeland Security; Department of State; US Army; US Airforce; the Aspen Institute; Endagme (cybersecurity firm); US Institute for Peace
<https://jmuxlabs.org/hacking-4-defense-2/> and <https://jmuxlabs.org/hacking4diplomacy-h4di/>

International Security Simulations (JMU and Virginia Tech)

This is a joint course for James Madison University and Virginia Tech students. It provides a conceptual foundation for understanding conflict and the political, economic, and military components of policies and capabilities for coping with the possibility of conflict, as well as expertise for analyzing specific thematic and regional security issues. The course aims to provide both theoretical understanding and aims to provide students for a wide range of professional positions. To that end, students will be required to apply above techniques and approaches to security in various simulations played through the 4-VA network.

Middle East Security (JMU and University of St. Andrews)

This module centralizes conflict within the Middle East as a broad area of inquiry and investigates the political, economic and social conditions generating conflict both within and between states in the region. The module also covers all aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict as well as causes and implications of the Iraq war. Simulations on conflict, diplomacy, conflict resolution and military strategy are an elementary part of this course.

Political Islam and Islamic Fundamentalism (JMU and University of St. Andrews)

This special topics course examines the causes, evolution and diffusion of Political Islam in the core regions of the Muslim world, with emphasis on the Middle East. It aims to describe the key features of this phenomenon, its influence on national and regional politics as well as on international relations. It describes the specificity of Political Islam as a religious-based ideology and how it informs the rise of Islamist movements across the Muslim world. It also focuses on the relationship between Islamist movements and the state, and between Islamist movements and civil society within the context of political liberalization and pluralism.

Senior Seminar in International Affairs: “The U.S. and the Middle East”

This senior seminar examines the history of U.S. engagement with the Middle East as well as ongoing foreign policy challenges. Readings and discussions will focus on the development of U.S. Middle East policy since the early 19th century until today. Surveying U.S. - Middle East relations within the context of colonialism, decolonization, the Cold War, issues of resources and political and economic development, conflict and security and Political Islam and terrorism, students examine the U.S. government’s strategic choices concerning the use of force and diplomacy, the role of regional allies and energy security.

U.S. Foreign Policy

This senior Political Science course introduces students to U.S. foreign policy and provides an introduction to the history, theory, processes and institutions that serve as foundations for U.S. foreign policy. The course also identifies contemporary challenges and problems facing U.S. foreign policy.

International Security and Conflict Management

This course examines major threats to international security, including proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, humanitarian affairs, terrorism and ethnic conflict. The effectiveness of economic sanctions, deterrence, international organizations, preventative war and other tools in dealing with these threats is critically examined. The course provides a conceptual foundation for understanding conflict and the political, economic and military components of policies and capabilities for coping with the possibility of conflict as well as expertise for analyzing specific thematic and regional security issues.

Global Politics

An exploration of political, social and economic issues and structures existing within and between states in the contemporary global community. Students are introduced to alternative approaches to analyzing these issues in diverse cultures and political settings.

Comparative Political Systems and Foreign Policy Analysis (University of St. Andrews)

This module introduces students to some of the main features of political systems and seeks to link these with the making of foreign policy. Different types of political systems, introduce a range of concepts such as democracy, political culture, the state and power, and outline the key institutional features of modern states. The second half of the module looks at the ways in which different states make foreign policy, the different levels of analysis open to the student of foreign policy, and make extensive use of the case studies from various regions.

Introduction to International Relations (University of St. Andrews)

This module introduces students to key concepts and theories in the study of international relations. It includes weeks on war, international organizations, international law, international economics, global environmental debates, globalization and humanitarian interventions.