

# Spencer D. Bakich

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## Current Position

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### Virginia Military Institute

- Professor of International Studies, 2021-present
- National Security Program, Director, 2016-present

### Miller Center, University of Virginia

- Senior Fellow, 2021-present

## Education

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### University of Virginia

- Ph.D., Politics, 2006
- M.A., Foreign Affairs, 1998

### James Madison University

- B.A., International Affairs, Economics, 1996
- *Magna Cum Laude*

## Previous Positions

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### Virginia Military Institute

- Associate Professor of International Studies, 2016-2021

### University of Richmond

- Visiting Lecturer in Political Science, 2015-2016

### University of Virginia

- Lecturer in Politics, 2015-2016

### Sweet Briar College

- Associate Professor of Government and International Affairs, 2013-2015
- Assistant Professor of Government and International Affairs, 2007-2013
- Visiting Assistant Professor of Government and International Affairs, 2006-2007

### University of Virginia

- Adjunct Professor of Politics, 2006-2007

## Books

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- Under Contract: *George H. W. Bush and the Persian Gulf War: Diplomacy, War, and Grand Strategy in the New World Order*. Landmark Presidential Decisions Series, Michael Nelson, ed., University Press of Kansas.

- *Success and Failure in Limited War: Information and Strategy in the Korean, Vietnam, Persian Gulf, and Iraq Wars*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014).

## Refereed Articles and Book Chapters

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- “The Iraq War and the Battle for Strategic Solvency,” in Michael Nelson, Barbara Perry, and Russell Riley, eds., *43: The Presidency of George W. Bush* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, in process and under contract, forthcoming fall 2021).
- “Global Hegemony and American Foreign Policy: From the Cold War’s End to 9/11,” in Tyson Reeder, ed. *Routledge History of U.S. Foreign Relations* (New York: Routledge, forthcoming 2021).
- “Signalling Capacity and Crisis Diplomacy: Explaining the Failure of ‘Maximum Pressure’ in the 2017 U.S.-North Korea Nuclear Crisis,” *Journal of Strategic Studies* (April 2020).
- “The Persian Gulf War,” *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History* (New York: Oxford University Press, June 2019).
- “The Reluctant Grand Strategist at War: Diplomacy and Force in Bosnia and Kosovo,” in Michael Nelson, Barbara Perry, and Russell Riley, eds. *42: The Presidency of Bill Clinton* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2016).
- “Institutionalizing Supreme Command: Explaining Political-Military Integration in the Vietnam War, 1964-1968,” *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 22:4 (2011), 688-711.
- “Storming to Partition: Croatia, the United States, and Krajina in the Yugoslav War,” (with John Ashbrook) *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 21:4 (2010), 537-560.
- “The Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation: Working Document or Anachronism?” *Conflict Studies*, 301 (London: Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism, 1997), 1-30.
- “Toward a New Quality: Russian Military Doctrine and Eurasian Security,” *Journal of Social, Political, and Economic Studies*, 21:1 (Washington, D.C.: The Council for Social and Economic Studies, 1996), 3-24.

## Non-Refereed Publications

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### *Essays and Commentary*

- “Kim Jong-un's Demand for Self-Reliance Risks North Korean Lives,” *The National Interest* June 25, 2021.
- “A Donald Trump Second Term: A Dangerous Time for U.S.-North Korea Relations?” *The National Interest*, September 20, 2020.
- “The Korean War as Allegory,” *The National Interest*, July 6, 2020.

- “President Bush Learned From His Missteps. Here's How Trump Can, Too,” (with Barbara A. Perry), *USA Today*, November 1, 2019.
- “Conceptualizing Emerging Strategic Challenges in the Cyber Age,” *The Strategy Bridge*, December 12, 2016.
- “Reviewing Success and Failure in Limited War: A Response to Dixon,” *The Strategy Bridge*, March 16, 2016.
- “Legitimacy, Strategy, and the Islamic State,” *The Strategy Bridge*, December 9, 2015.
- “Can Cooler Heads Prevail in U.S.-China Military Relations?” *The Strategy Bridge*, June 18, 2015.
- “Life Beyond Yeltsin: Policy, Not Personality,” *The Washington Post*, October 18, 1997.

### ***Book Reviews***

- “Proof of the Bomb: The Influence of Previous Failure on Intelligence Judgments of Nuclear Programs.” *Security Studies*, 28:2 (2019): 1-39, by Cullen G. Nutt, in *H-Diplo/ISSF*, June 2019.
- *Safeguarding Democratic Capitalism: U.S. Foreign Policy and National Security, 1920-2015* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017), by Melvyn P. Leffler, in *The Strategy Bridge*, July 16, 2018.
- *The Evolution of Modern Grand Strategic Thought* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), by Lukas Milevski, in *The Strategy Bridge*, September 21, 2016.
- *War by Other Means: Geoeconomics and Statecraft* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016), by Robert D. Blackwill and Jennifer M. Harris, in *The Strategy Bridge*, August 17, 2016.
- *Brothers in Arms: Chinese Aid to the Khmer Rouge, 1975-1979* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014), by Andrew Mertha, in *Perspectives on Politics*, 13:2 (June 2015), 598-600.
- *An Age of Neutrals: Great Power Politics, 1815-1914* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), by Maartje Abbenhuis, in *H-Diplo, H-Net Reviews*, January 2015.

### **Conference Papers**

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- “Learning and Grand Strategy: The Rise and Fall of the ‘New World Order,’” paper presented at the American Political Science Association annual meeting, September 2020.
- “Signaling Capacity and Crisis Bargaining in Northeast Asia,” paper presented at the American Political Science Association annual meeting, August 2019.
- “Information Institutions, Tacit Bargaining Capacity, and Escalation in War,” paper presented at the American Political Science Association annual meeting, August-September 2018.

- “The Institutional Determinants of Escalation Control in War,” paper presented at the Midwest Political Science Association annual meeting, April 2017.
- “International Security Orders: A Typology and Hypotheses,” paper presented at the Midwest Political Science Association annual meeting, April 2016.
- “Negotiating Over Fighting: Information, Commitment, and Intra-War Tacit Bargaining,” paper presented at the Midwest Political Science Association annual meeting, April 2014.
- “Coercive Diplomacy, Crisis Management, and Contests for Access,” with Dennis Smith, paper presented at the International Security Studies Section-International Security and Arms Control annual conference, 2013.
- “Bargaining Over Fighting: Strategic Assessments and Tacit Bargaining in Limited War,” paper presented at the American Political Science Association annual meeting, August 2013.
- “Initial Strategies and the Stability of War Aims: Evaluating the Roles of Endogenous and Exogenous Information in Conditioning War Termination,” paper presented at the American Political Science Association annual meeting, August 2011.
- “A Tale of Two Cultures: Information Sharing versus Organizational Culture in the Battle Over Strategy in the Vietnam War, 1964-1968,” paper submitted to the International Studies Association annual meeting, April 2010.
- “The Sinews of Grand Strategy: Hypotheses on Information Management and Limited War Outcomes,” paper presented at the International Studies Association annual meeting, April 2009.
- “Limited Wars and Information Networks,” paper presented at the 2nd Annual Graduate Student Conference, Woodrow Wilson Department of Politics, University of Virginia, 2006.
- “Strategy and Information Overload: Avoiding Extreme Balancing in Limited Wars,” paper presented at the American Political Science Association annual meeting, August 2004.
- “Hypotheses on Operational Power, the Offense-Defense Balance, and War,” paper presented at the International Studies Association annual meeting, April 2001.
- “Social Origins of Military Doctrine,” paper presented at the International Studies Association annual meeting, April 2000.

## **Invited Talks**

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- “Signaling Capacity and Crisis Diplomacy: Explaining the Failure of ‘Maximum Pressure’ in the 2017 U.S.-North Korea Nuclear Crisis,” Faculty Brown Bag Seminar, Virginia Military Institute, November 8, 2019.
- Program Faculty (three lectures), “Bush 41: The Pivotal Presidency,” Washington & Lee University, July 21-24, 2019.

- “Civil-Military Relations and Strategic Decision Making: A Survey of the Literature” Conference on Civil-Military Relations and Grand Strategy, The Project on Civilian-Military Educational Cooperation, Colorado Springs, CO, June 8-9, 2018.
- “Information Institutions, OODA Looping, and the Third Offset,” DEF[x]W&M, Defense Entrepreneurs Forum, Williamsburg, VA, February 20, 2016.
- “Learning How to Lead: Anthony Lake and the Evolution of America's Bosnia Policy,” Honors Colloquium, Sweet Briar College, October 8, 2014.
- “From Tonkin to Tet: Reconsidering America's War in Vietnam,” Longmont (CO) Rotary Club, October 29, 2013.
- “Success and Failure in Limited War: Implications for Policy and Intelligence Assessment,” book round-table discussion hosted by the National Intelligence Council, Central Intelligence Agency, Langley, VA, June 20, 2013.
- “Threat Assessment and the Rise of China,” Great Decisions Lecture Series, Lynchburg, VA, February 7, 2013.
- “The Arab Spring and American Grand Strategy,” Alumnae Reunion Lecture, Sweet Briar College, May 21, 2011.
- “Special Envoys in American Foreign Policy,” Great Decisions Lecture Series, Lynchburg, VA, March 4, 2010.
- “Afghanistan 2009: A Strategic Appraisal,” Ethics and Public Policy Discussion Series, Sweet Briar College, October 14, 2009.
- “Talking to Our Enemies: Smart Power and the Future of U.S. Foreign Policy,” Great Decisions Lecture Series, Lynchburg, VA, February 21, 2008.

## **Invited Workshops and Symposia**

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- Council on Foreign Relations University and College Educators Workshop, New York, NY, April 11-12, 2019.
- “Countering Cyber Threats: Government and Private Sector Responsibilities,” panel moderator, Commonwealth Cyber Fusion 2017, Lexington, VA, February 24, 2017.
- Institute for Presidential Studies Workshop, Miller Center of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia, March 26-27, 2015.
- Symposium on the Clinton Administration, sponsored by the Clinton Presidential Center and the Miller Center of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia, Little Rock, AR, November 13-14, 2014.

- Unified Quest 2014 Deep Futures War Game, National Strategy Workshop (Blue Strategic Framework), sponsored by the United States Army Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC), April 1-4, 2014.
- Unified Quest 2014 Strategic Trends Seminar, sponsored by the United States Army Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC), College of William and Mary, January 7-10, 2014.
- Summer Workshop on the Analysis of Military Operations and Strategy (SWAMOS), Institute of War and Peace Studies, Columbia University, 2001.
- Offense-Defense Theory: Retrospectives and Future Directions, conference co-sponsored by Harvard University's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs (BCSIA) and Georgetown University's Center for Peace and Security Studies, September 21-22, 2000.

## Presidential Oral Histories

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### *Presidential Oral History Program, Miller Center, University of Virginia, interviewer*

- Former Director of the Central Intelligence Agency and Commander United States Central Command (CENTCOM) GEN David Petraeus (Obama 44), March 9 & 26, May 19, July 23, 2021.
- Former Undersecretary of Defense (Policy) Ambassador Eric Edelman (Bush 43), June 2, 2017.
- Former Commander United States Central Command (CENTCOM) GEN John Abizaid (Bush 43), September 15, 2016.
- Former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff GEN Peter Pace (Bush 43), January 19, 2016.
- Former Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Adviser for Iraq and Afghanistan LTG Douglas Lute (Bush 43), September 3, 2015.
- Former Army Chief of Staff and Commander Multi-National Force-Iraq GEN George W. Casey (Bush 43), September 25, 2014.
- Former National Security Council Staff Special Adviser Peter D. Feaver (Bush 43), January 10-11, 2012.
- Former Vice-Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff ADM David E. Jeremiah (Bush 41), November 15, 2010.
- Former Ambassador to Iraq and Pakistan Ryan Crocker (Bush 43), September 10-11, 2010.

## Media

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- Interviewed by WIQO 100.9 Lynchburg on President-elect Trump's foreign policy, 17 November 2016.
- "Defense Budgeting and American Grand Strategy," podcast conversation with Col. Jim Hentz, Virginia Military Institute (June 21, 2016).
- Featured on *Inside Charlottesville With Coy Barefoot*, WCAV CBS 19, 29 June 2014.
- Interviewed by Coy Barefoot on *Inside Charlottesville*, WCHV 107.5 FM, 26 June 2014.
- Interviewed by WIQO 100.9 Lynchburg on ISIS in Iraq, 24 June 2014.
- Interviewed by WLNI 105.9 Lynchburg on Syrian civil war, 7 June 2013.
- Interviewed by WSET-TV on death of Osama bin Laden, 2 May 2011.
- Interviewed by WLNI 105.9 Lynchburg on Afghanistan War, 24 June 2010.

- Quoted in Tamara Lytle, "Experts: Nobel a Gift and a Curse for Obama," *AOL News*, 12/10/2009.

## **Professional Experience and Service**

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- External Manuscript Reviewer, *Security Studies*, *Journal of Military History*, *International Journal of Nuclear Security*, *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, *European Journal of International Relations*, and Pearson Longman Press.
- Judge, The Strategy Bridge Annual Essay Contest, 2019
- External Tenure and Promotion Reviewer, University of West Florida, 2018
- External Honors Examiner in International Relations, Department of Politics, University of Virginia, 2009, 2014, 2015, 2017
- Program Assistant, Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Virginia, 2000-2006
- Program Assistant, Middle East Studies Program, University of Virginia 2000-2006

## **Additional Conference Participation**

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- Chair, "Civil-Military Relations," APSA annual meeting, August 29, 2019.
- Discussant, "Covert Action and Intervention in Foreign Policy," APSA annual meeting, August-September 2018.
- Chair and Discussant, "Cyber-Security and Counter-Terrorism," MPSA annual meeting, April 2017.
- Chair and Discussant, "Grand Strategy: Theory and Evidence," MPSA annual meeting, April 2016.
- Discussant, "The Origins of Modern Insurgency: Case Studies on the Evolution of Irregular Warfare," APSA annual meeting, 2014.
- Chair and Discussant, "Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Syria," APSA annual meeting, 2014.
- Discussant, "Weapons of Mass Destruction: Arming and Disarming," MPSA annual meeting, 2014.
- Discussant, "Causes and Consequences of Military Intervention," ISSS-ISAC annual conference, 2013.
- Discussant, "Foreign Aid and Foreign Policymaking," APSA annual meeting, 2013.
- Chair, "Sources of Power and Security," APSA annual meeting, 2011.
- Chair and Discussant, "Military Power in a Changing World," ISA annual meeting, 2009.

## **Grants and Awards (VMI)**

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- Jackson-Hope Faculty Development Leave (half-year), Fall 2020
- Jackson-Hope Grant for Faculty Travel, 2016, 2018, 2019, 2020
- Inductee, Virginia Military Institute Circle of Omicron Delta Kappa, October 11, 2018

## **Professional Affiliations**

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- American Political Science Association

- International Studies Association

## **Courses Offered**

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- National Security Policy
- Strategy and Power
- Strategy and Cybersecurity
- U.S.-China Relations
- National Security Capstone

## **Service and Appointments (VMI)**

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- Library Committee (2021-)
- Institute Honors Committee (2019-)
- Virginia Cyber Fusion Executive Planning Committee (2016-2021)
- Adviser to the Class of 2021 (2017-2021)
- Cadet Educational and Professional Opportunities Committee (2016-2018)
- Senior Capstone Assessment Committee (2016-2018)