

## FLYNT LAWRENCE LEVERETT

[fl110@psu.edu](mailto:fl110@psu.edu)

Professor and founding faculty member, School of International Affairs, Penn State, with affiliate appointments in Asian studies and law; also

- Visiting Scholar, Institute of International and Strategic Studies, Peking University
- Senior Fellow, Chongyang Institute, Renmin University of China

Research and teaching interests: international security, especially

- grand strategies of the United States and “rising” regional and global powers (e.g., China, Iran)
- energy and international relations/economic dimensions of international security
- international relations of the Middle East and Persian Gulf
- Chinese foreign policy

### Education

Ph.D., M.A. in politics, Princeton University

Advanced Arabic language/literature, Georgetown University; intensive Arabic, Yarmouk University (Jordan)

Ford Foundation Fellow in international security, University of Michigan

B.A. in political science, B.M. in piano performance, both *cum laude*, Texas Christian University (elected to Phi Beta Kappa); postgraduate study in piano, Franz Liszt Academy (Budapest)

Languages: Arabic, French, German; read Farsi; learning Chinese

### Career

2008-: Professor and founding faculty member, School of International Affairs, Penn State; Affiliate Faculty, Program in Asian Studies and Penn State Law

2015-: Senior Fellow, Chongyang Institute for Financial Studies, Renmin University of China (Beijing)

2011-: Visiting Scholar, Institute of International and Strategic Studies and School of International Studies, Peking University

2010-11: Inaugural Senior Fellow, Jackson Institute for Global Affairs, Yale University

2006-07: Visiting Professor of Political Science, MIT

2006-12: Senior fellow, New America Foundation, Washington

2003-06: Senior fellow, Brookings Institution, Washington

2002-03: Senior director, Middle East affairs, National Security Council (left March 2003 in disagreement over Middle East policy)

2001-02: Policy Planning Staff, U.S. State Department (Superior Honor Award)

1992-2001: Senior analyst, Directorate of Intelligence, CIA

### **Professional Activities**

2015 (June): Visiting professor, China Foreign Affairs University

2013-: Columnist, "[Leverett on International Relations](#)," *World Financial Review*

2003-: Track 2/"Track 1&½" processes on Middle East regional security challenges and frameworks, U.S.-Iran relations, and U.S.-Syria relations; through Princeton University, Durham University, Körber Stiftung, Bertelsmann Stiftung (Kronberg Talks), SIPRI, Royal Institute for International Affairs, Atlantic Council, German Council on Foreign Relations, UN Foundation, Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs

2012-15: External member, Ph.D. dissertation committee, University of Maryland School of Public Policy

2011-15: Faculty Editorial Board, *Penn State Journal of Law & International Affairs*

External reviewer on China's external energy policy and on gas geopolitics for International Energy Agency's *World Energy Outlook*

Signatory/contributor, [A New Way Forward: Rethinking U.S. Strategy in Afghanistan](#), Report of the Afghanistan Study Group (New America Foundation and Center for International Policy Foundation/Center for International Policy)

Steering Group, [U.S.-Iranian Relations: An Analytic Compendium of U.S. Policies, Laws, and Regulations](#), Atlantic Council of the United States

Member, Council on Foreign Relations advisory panels on the strategic consequences of U.S. indebtedness and managing global economic imbalances

Member, Center for a New American Security Iran Expert Group

Expert advisor, World Economic Forum Persian Gulf scenarios project

Testimony to the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and House Committee on Government Oversight and Reform (Subcommittee on National Security and Foreign Affairs)

Peer reviewer—*Asian Politics and Policy*, *Energy Policy*, Grawemeyer Award for Ideas Improving World Order

Life member, Council on Foreign Relations

### University Service

2015-: Decanal search committee, Penn State School of International Affairs and Penn State Law

2014-: Penn State Graduate Council Joint Curricular Committee

2013-2014—Strategic planning committee, Penn State School of International Affairs

### Publications

#### Books

*Going to Tehran: Why the United States Must Come to Terms With the Islamic Republic of Iran* (New York: Metropolitan, 2013) [with Hillary Mann Leverett]; paperback ed., *Going to Tehran: Why America Must Accept the Islamic Republic of Iran* (New York: Picador, 2013)

- Recommended by *Foreign Policy* as a “[Book to Read in 2013](#),” by *Politico* as a “[New and Noteworthy Book](#),” and by the [Indian Council on Global Relations](#)
- Chinese-language ed. (Beijing: World Affairs Press, forthcoming); Farsi-language ed. (Tehran: Fars/Mashregh, 2015)

*Inheriting Syria: Bashar’s Trial By Fire* (Washington: Brookings, 2005)

- *Foreign Affairs* bestseller; *Foreign Affairs*’ “[What to Read on Syrian Politics](#)”; featured on *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart*
- Arabic-language ed. (Beirut: Arab Scientific Publishers, 2005)

*The Road Ahead: Middle East Policy in the Bush Administration’s Second Term* (Washington: Brookings, 2005) [editor and contributor]

#### Monographs

*Moving (Slightly) Closer to Iran: China’s Shifting Calculus for Managing its “Persian Gulf Dilemma”*, Asia-Pacific Policy Papers (Reischauer Center, Johns Hopkins SAIS, 2009) [with John Garver & Hillary Mann Leverett]

*Democratizing Energy: Geopolitics and Power*, Report of the Club of Madrid’s Sixth General Assembly and Annual Conference (Madrid: Club of Madrid, 2008) [editor and contributor]

*Dealing With Tehran: Assessing U.S. Diplomatic Options Toward Iran* (Century Foundation, 2006); Council on Foreign Relations “[Must Read](#)”

“Hard Truths about America’s Iran Strategy,” *International and Strategic Studies Report* 29, Institute of International and Strategic Studies, Peking University (2011 in Chinese; English on request) [with Hillary Mann Leverett]

Chapters (academic/peer-reviewed)

“America’s Monetary Stake in the Persian Gulf and the Looming Challenge of the Petroyuuan” in S. Hook and T. Niblock, eds., *The United States and the Gulf: Shifting Pressures, Strategies and Alignments* (Berlin and London: Gerlach, 2015) [with Hillary Mann Leverett]

“[American Hegemony \(and Hubris\), the Iranian Nuclear Issue, and the Future of Sino-Iranian Relations](#)” in A. Ehteshami and Y. Miyagi, eds., *The Emerging Middle East-East Asia Nexus*, Durham Modern Middle East and Islamic World Series (Oxford: Routledge, 2015) [with Hillary Mann Leverett]

“A Strategy Tested: Iranian Foreign Policy and the Arab Awakening” in S. Mishra, ed., *Studies in Iran* (New Delhi: Foreign Policy Research Centre, 2013) [with Hillary Mann Leverett]

“[Consuming Energy: Rising Powers, the International Energy Agency, and the Global Energy Architecture](#)” in A. Alexandroff and A. Cooper, eds., *Rising States, Rising Institutions: Challenges for Global Governance* (Washington: Brookings for Center for International Governance Innovation, 2010)

“[Resource Mercantilism and the Militarization of Resource Management: Rising Asia and the Future of American Primacy in the Persian Gulf](#)” in D. Moran and J. Russell, eds., *Energy Security and Global Politics: The Militarization of Resource Management* (Oxford: Routledge, 2008)

“Different Roads to Damascus” in I. Daalder *et al.*, eds., *Crescent of Crisis: U.S.-European Strategy for the Greater Middle East* (Washington/Paris: Brookings/Institute for Security Studies of the European Union, 2005)

“Introduction,” “Engaging Damascus,” and “Reengaging Riyadh” in F. Leverett, ed., *The Road Ahead: Middle East Policy in the Bush Administration’s Second Term* (Washington: Brookings, 2005)

Articles (academic/peer-reviewed & policy journals)

“(Mis)Understanding the Islamic State,” *China International Strategy Review*, Institute of International and Strategic Studies, Peking University (2015 in Chinese, forthcoming in English) [with Hillary Mann Leverett]

“[The Iranian Nuclear Issue, the End of the American Century, and the Future of International Order](#),” *Penn State Journal of Law and International Affairs*, 2, no. 2 (Nov. 2013) [intro. to [symposium](#) on *Going to Tehran: Why the United States Must Come to Terms with the Islamic Republic of Iran*]

“The Balance of Power, Public Goods, and the Lost Art of Grand Strategy: American Policy toward the Persian Gulf and Rising Asia in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” *Penn State Journal of Law and International Affairs* 1, no. 2 (Nov. 2012) [with Hillary Mann Leverett]

“The United States, the Islamic Republic of Iran, and the Middle East’s New ‘Cold War’,” *International Spectator* (peer-reviewed journal of *Istituto Affari Internazionali*) 45, no.1 (March 2010) [with Hillary Mann Leverett]

“Black Is the New Green,” *National Interest* 93 (Jan./Feb. 2008)

“The New Axis of Oil,” *National Interest* 84 (July 2006) [with Pierre Noël]

“Managing China-U.S. Energy Competition in the Middle East,” *Washington Quarterly* 29, no. 1 (Winter 2005-06) [with Jeffrey Bader]; Council on Foreign Relations “[Must Read](#)”

#### Other Articles

Over 25 articles in high-profile trade journals, including *The World Financial Review* (regular columnist), *American Prospect*, *Boston Review*, *Foreign Policy*, *Harper’s*, *Nation*, *New Republic*, and *Washington Monthly*. Full list on request; examples:

“China Looks West: What Is at Stake in Beijing’s ‘New Silk Road’ Project,” *The World Financial Review*, Jan./Feb. 2015 [with Hillary Mann Leverett & Wu Bingbing]

“The Rise of the Petro yuan and the Slow Erosion of Dollar Hegemony,” *The World Financial Review*, July/Aug. 2014 [with Hillary Mann Leverett]

“America’s Shale Revolution and the Dangerous Myth of Energy Independence,” *The World Financial Review*, May/June 2014 [with Hillary Mann Leverett]

“America’s Iran Policy and the Undermining of International Order,” *The World Financial Review*, July/Aug. 2013 [with Hillary Mann Leverett]

“Age of Disorganization” (strategic winners/losers from 2008 financial crisis), *Foreign Policy*, Apr. 2009 [with Ian Bremmer]

#### Op-Eds and Opinion Pieces

Over 60 op-eds in high-profile venues, including the *New York Times*, *Financial Times*, *Politico*, *Reuters*, *Washington Post*, *National Interest Online*, Al Jazeera, CCTV, CNN, *Huffington Post*, *Salon*, *BRICS Post*, *The Diplomat* (Tokyo) and *The National* (Abu Dhabi). Full list on request; examples:

“One Belt, One Road,” *Panview* (CCTV), March 5, 2015 [with Hillary Mann Leverett]

“[America’s Middle East Delusions](#),” *National Interest*, June 15, 2014 [with Hillary Mann Leverett]

“[The Sino-Russian Hydrocarbon Axis Grows Up](#),” *National Interest*, May 21, 2014 [with Hillary Mann Leverett]

“[Rouhani Won the Iranian Election. Get Over It](#),” *Al Jazeera*, June 16, 2013 [with Hillary Mann Leverett & Seyed Mohammad Marandi]

“[The U.S. Needs a Completely Different Approach to Iran](#),” *Reuters*, Jan. 31, 2013 [with Hillary Mann Leverett]; cited in *The Atlantic* [best columns](#) of the week

“[Another Iranian Revolution? Not Likely](#),” *New York Times*, Jan. 6, 2010 [with Hillary Mann Leverett]

“[Ahmadinejad Won. Get Over It](#),” *Politico*, June 15, 2009 [with Hillary Mann Leverett]; Council on Foreign Relations “[Must Read](#)”

“[Why Libya Gave Up on the Bomb](#),” *New York Times*, Jan. 23, 2004

### **Presentations (selected)**

“The Nuclear Deal and U.S.-Iran Relations,” World Affairs Council Houston, Sept. 3, 2015

“[The USA, the Middle East and ‘One Belt, One Road’](#),” Chongyang Institute for Financial Studies, Renmin University of China (Beijing), Jan. 5, 2015

“The United States and the Islamic Republic of Iran” for symposium on U.S. midterm elections, Faculty of World Studies, University of Tehran, Nov. 24, 2014

“Persian Gulf Oil, China’s Rise, and the Erosion of Dollar Hegemony,” Gulf Research Meeting, University of Cambridge, Aug. 26, 2014

“Political Risk in the Persian Gulf: Iran, Saudi Arabia, and the Decline of American Power,” Société Générale Energy Conference, Apr. 2, 2014

“[Energy Independence](#),” U.S. Army War College Great Decisions Lecture series (Carlisle), March 21, 2014

“[Iranian Priorities](#)” for *The Future of US Policy Toward Iran: Reimagining the Relationship*, NYU Center for Dialogues, Oct. 29, 2013 [FLL at 20:35]

“[Iran and American Foreign Policy: Where the U.S. Went Wrong](#),” Technology & Culture Forum at MIT, May 14, 2013 [with Noam Chomsky]

“[The Iranian Nuclear Issue, the End of the American Century, and the Future of International Order](#),” keynote for *The U.S.-Iranian Relationship and the Future of International Order* (symposium on *Going to Tehran*), Penn State, Feb. 15, 2013

“America’s Iran Policy in Obama’s Second Term,” Faculty of World Studies, University of Tehran, Dec. 18, 2012

“[Energy, Economics, and the Lost Art of Grand Strategy: American Policy Toward the Persian Gulf and Rising Asia in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century](#),” *Penn State Journal of Law and International Affairs* lecture series, Apr. 3, 2012

“The Arab Awakening and America’s Middle East Strategy,” *New Horizons in the Middle East* (Tokyo), Ministry of Foreign Affairs/Japan Institute for International Affairs/Middle East Research Institute of Japan, Mar. 7, 2012

“Egypt and the Middle East’s Shifting Balance of Power” and “The Islamic Republic of Iran in a Changing Middle East: Order, Legitimacy, and Grand Strategy,” School of International Studies, Peking University, June 2011

“American Grand Strategy in the Middle East: On the Road to Failure,” Jackson Institute, Yale University, Oct. 25, 2010

“[Giving Engagement a Bad Name: The Obama Administration’s Flawed Iran Policy](#),” Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland, University of Maryland School of Public Policy, Oct. 7, 2010

“Iran-U.S. Relations and Political Risk in Global Energy and Financial Markets,” Société Générale Energy Conference (Paris), Apr. 2010

*Iran: Engagement or Regime Change?* (Flynt Leverett vs. Michael Ledeen; moderated by David Ignatius), Atlantic Council, Mar. 3, 2010

“China’s Persian Gulf Dilemma and Deepening Relations with Iran,” Reischauer Center for East Asian Studies, Johns Hopkins SAIS, Oct. 13, 2009

“Turkey and Middle East Regional Security,” inaugural Istanbul Forum, Oct. 2009

“Elements of U.S. Iran Policy: Drivers for Reconciliation and Confrontation,” Norwegian Institute of International Affairs and “Change and Continuity in U.S. Middle East Policy under Obama—Drivers for Engagement vs. Drivers for Conflict,” Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Oslo), Sept. 2009

“[The Rise of the Rest: How the Ascent of Russia and China Affects Global Business and Security](#),” Carnegie Council, July 9, 2008

“[The G-8: Does It Still Matter?](#)” Nixon Center, July 2, 2008

“Political Context and Future Relations” for symposium on *Iranian Nuclear Ambitions After the NIE: Current Knowledge and Policy Prospects*, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (Ottawa), May 8, 2008

“Energy and the New Global Financial Architecture,” *Enriching the Middle East’s Economic Future* (Doha), Ministry of Foreign Affairs/UCLA, Mar. 10, 2008

“Between Iraq and Iran: U.S., China, and Middle East Diplomacy” for *China, the United States, and the Middle East: Diplomacy, Strategy, and the Triangular Relationship*, Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research (Abu Dhabi), Oct. 31, 2007

“Iran, Iraq, and U.S. Primacy in the Middle East,” Schwartz Distinguished Lecture, University of Toronto, Sep. 27, 2007

“[Iran and the Middle East: How to Shape a Security Regime Acceptable to All Regional Actors](#),” NYU Center for Dialogues, March 27, 2007

“The New Geopolitics of Oil and U.S. Foreign Policy,” U.S. Embassy, Moscow (Spaso House), June 1, 2006

“The United States and the Iranian Nuclear Issue” for a seminar on *Russia, America, and the Iran Nuclear Issue*, Carnegie Moscow Center, May 29, 2006

*Iran and the Future of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime* (panelist with Matthew Bunn and Barry Posen), Harvard Law School, March 16, 2006

“U.S. Policy toward Syria,” Council on Foreign Relations (New York), March 18, 2005

“U.S.-Iran Relations: Looking Back and Looking Ahead,” Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research (Abu Dhabi), July 2003

#### Book Presentations

#### ***Going to Tehran: Why America Must Accept the Islamic Republic of Iran***

“[Going to Tehran: Why the United States Must Accept the Islamic Republic of Iran](#),” Alwaleed bin Talal Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding, Georgetown University, Oct. 10, 2013; “[Rethinking Iran](#),” World Affairs Council of Northern California, March 25, 2013; “[Going to Tehran: Why the United States Must Come to Terms with the Islamic Republic of Iran](#),” Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland, University of Maryland School of Public Policy, Feb. 7, 2013; “[Going to Tehran](#),” Center for the National Interest, Feb. 21, 2013; “[Going to Tehran: Prospects for U.S.-Iranian Engagement](#),” Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs, Jan. 17, 2013; “[Going to Tehran](#),” East-West Institute, Jan. 15, 2013 (for C-Span’s *Book TV*)

#### ***Inheriting Syria: Bashar’s Trial by Fire***



“Inheriting Syria,” World Affairs Council of Houston, Aug. 31, 2005; “Whither Syria?” Centre of International Studies, University of Cambridge and Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House), May 2005; “[Is Syria Next?](#)” MIT Security Studies Program, May 11, 2005; “Syria Inherited: Bashar’s Trial By Fire,” World Affairs Council of Northern California, Apr. 29, 2005; *Inheriting Syria: Bashar’s Trial By Fire*, Brookings book release (for C-Span’s *Book TV*), Apr. 25, 2005

## Media Appearances

### Feature-length interviews and profiles (selected)

“[Flynt and Hillary Mann Leverett on Iran](#),” *Charlie Rose*, March 29, 2010

“[Why the United States Must Come to Terms with the Islamic Republic of Iran](#),” *Conversations with History* (University of California Television, May 24, 2013 [over 80,000 views on UCTV and *YouTube*])

*The Daily Show With Jon Stewart*, [Flynt Leverett](#) interviewed about *Inheriting Syria: Bashar’s Trial By Fire*, June 15, 2005

“[The Future of Syria](#),” *The Heat* (CCTV), Sept. 23, 2015

“[Going to Tehran](#),” *Conversations from Penn State* (WPSU), May 2, 2013

Glenn Greenwald, “[Podcast Discussion with Two of America’s Leading Iran Experts: The Leveretts](#),” *Guardian*, Apr. 9, 2013

“[American Grand Strategy in the Middle East](#),” *MacMillan Report* (MacMillan Center for International and Area Studies at Yale), Nov. 10, 2010

Featured in “[Showdown With Iran](#),” *PBS Frontline*, Nov. 2007

Hundreds of additional one-on-one/panel interviews and appearances, including:

- U.S.-based: *Charlie Rose*; CNBC; CNN; Council on Foreign Relations/ *New York Times*; *Democracy Now!*; *HuffPost Live*; *Intelligence<sup>2</sup> Debates*; MSNBC; NPR (*All Things Considered*, *Fresh Air*, *Morning Edition*, *On Point*); PBS *Newshour*; *The Politic* (Yale Journal of Politics); PRI (*To the Point*)
- Global: BBC (*HARDtalk*, *Doha Debates*); CCTV; China Radio International; *Deutsche Welle*; *The Diplomat* (Iran), *Fars*, *Global Times* (China); IRIB; IRNA; Al Jazeera (Arabic/English); Mashregh; Al Mayadeen; Mehr; *Le Monde*; *Le nouvel observateur*; NHK; Press TV; RT (Russia Today); *Der Spiegel*/*Spiegel Online*