

Paul O. Carrese

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Education

Boston College, Ph.D., Political Science, 1998
Oxford University, Pembroke College, U.K.; M. Stud., Theology, 1993
Oxford University, Pembroke College, U.K.; M.A. Oxon., Politics & Philosophy, 1991
Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vermont; B.A., Political Science, 1989

Academic Positions Held

Founding Director, [School of Civic & Economic Thought and Leadership](#) (SCETL)
Arizona State University, Tempe, 2016 – 2023
Professor, ASU School of Politics & Global Studies; tenure transferred to SCETL, 2016 -
Director, US Air Force Academy Scholars Program, 2004-2007 – co-founder and
director of Academy’s academic honors program, reporting to Dean (Provost)
Professor, Political Science, U.S. Air Force Academy – Assistant Professor 1998-2001,
Associate Professor 2001-2004, Professor 2004-2016
Visiting Assistant Professor, Middlebury College, Political Science, 1996-1998

Academic Awards, Recognition (national & international level to institutional level)

Senior Fellow for Civic Thought and Leadership, Jack Miller Center for Teaching
America’s Founding Principles and History, 2024 -
Jack Miller Center, national Academic Advisory Council, 2022 –
Distinguished Fellow, The Civitas Institute, University of Texas Austin, 2022 –
New England Pol. Sci. Assoc.’s 2016 Donovan Prize for Best Paper by Faculty Member
Forbes Visiting Fellow, James Madison Program, Princeton University, 2012-13
Fulbright Senior Specialist, 2011-2016
Fulbright Fellowship lecturer, University of Delhi, India, 2007-2008
Post-doctoral Fellowship, Government Department, Harvard University, 2000-2001
Beinecke Memorial Scholarship (used for doctoral study, Boston College, 1993-95)
Rhodes Scholar, Oxford University, 1989-91, 1992-93
USAF Academy Outstanding Researcher (McDermott Award), Social Sciences, 2015
Outstanding Research Award, Political Science, USAF Academy, 2009-10
USAF Academy Nominee, Carnegie Foundation Professor of the Year Award, 2006
Best Instructor in Majors’ Courses, Political Science, USAF Academy 1999-2000
Domus Scholarship, Pembroke College, Oxford University, 1990
Phi Beta Kappa, Middlebury College, 1988

Books

Democracy in Moderation: Montesquieu, Tocqueville, and Sustainable Liberalism,
Cambridge University Press, 2016; paperback, 2018
*The Cloaking of Power: Montesquieu, Blackstone, and the Rise of Judicial
Activism*, University of Chicago Press, 2003; paperback 2013

- Co-editor, with Carol McNamara and James Stoner, *Free Speech and Intellectual Diversity in Higher Education*, Rowman & Littlefield, 2023
- Co-editor, with Giorgi Areshidze and Suzanna Sherry, *Constitutionalism, Executive Power, and the Spirit of Moderation: Murray P. Dry and the Nexus of Liberal Education and Politics*, SUNY Press, 2016
- Co-editor, with Robert Faulkner, John Marshall's *The Life of George Washington: Special Edition for Schools*, Liberty Fund, 2000 (hardcover and paperback)

Journal Articles, Chapters in Books, Essays, Entries (refereed and invited)

- [“Civic Thought and Leadership: A Higher Civics to Sustain American Constitutional Democracy,”](#) *LAWS: Special Issue on Civic Engagement, Justice, and the Law in National and International Context*. March 2024. MDPI open access.
- “Civic Preparation of American Youth: Reflective Patriotism and Our Constitutional Democracy,” *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 75 issue 1 (January 2023): 39-52 (published November 2023)
- “Montesquieu’s Call to Civic Education: Roots of and Remedies for America’s Civic Crisis,” in *American Citizenship and Constitutionalism in Principle and Practice*, ed. Pittz and Postell (University of Oklahoma Press, 2022)
- “Montesquieu and Christianity in the American Project: The Moderate Spirit of Religious Liberty,” in *Civil Religion in Modern Political Philosophy*, ed. Yaffe and Frankel (Penn State University Press, 2020)
- “Liberty, Constitutionalism, and Moderation: George Washington’s Harmonizing of Traditions,” in Frost and Sikkenga, eds., *History of American Political Thought*, 2nd edition (Lexington Books, 2019)
- “America Should Isolate Wilson and His Religion of Democracy – Not Adopt Isolationism,” essay for Law & Liberty blog, Liberty Fund, October 2018
- “High Theory versus Grand Strategy in Guiding Foreign Policy,” major entry in *Oxford Encyclopedia of Foreign Policy Analysis*, ed. Cameron Thies, September 2017
- “Grotius, Montesquieu, and American Moderation: From the Just War Tradition to a Global Strategy,” in *Philosophy, Politics, & the Conversation of Mankind: Essays in Honor of Timothy Fuller*, eds. Breyfogle et. al. (Colorado College Press, 2016)
- “Tocqueville’s Philosophy of Moderation,” in *Constitutionalism, Executive Power, and the Spirit of Moderation*, eds. Areshidze, Carrese, and Sherry (SUNY Press 2016)
- “America’s Machiavelli Problem: Restoring Prudent Leadership in U.S. Foreign Policy,” with Damon Coletta, *Strategic Studies Quarterly* (Winter 2015), 18-43
- “Republican Prudence: The Founders’ Foreign-Policy School and Its Enduring Legacy,” with Michael Doran, in *The Thriving Society*, eds. H. James and J. Stoner (Witherspoon Institute, 2015)
- “Obama to Versailles,” *The American Interest Online*, July 29, 2015
- “Constitutionalist Political Science: Rediscovering Storing’s Philosophical Moderation,” *American Political Thought*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Spring 2015), 259-288
- “The Grand Strategy of Washington and Eisenhower: Recovering the American Consensus,” *Orbis*, Spring 2015, 269-86
- “America’s Neglected Ideal of Moderation,” *The American Interest Online*, January 2015
- “Liberty Matters: Hugo Grotius on War and the State,” four blog essay contributions, March 2014; Liberty Fund website, at <http://oll.libertyfund.org/pages/lm-grotius>

- “Republican Prudence: The Founders’ Foreign Policy School,” with Michael Doran, *The American Interest*, May-June 2014
- “Montesquieu, Charles de,” in *The Encyclopedia of Political Thought*, ed. Gibbons (Wiley-Blackwell, 2014)
- “Blackstone, William,” in *The Encyclopedia of Political Thought*, ed. Gibbons (Wiley-Blackwell), 2014
- “Holmes, Oliver Wendell, Jr.,” in *The Encyclopedia of Political Thought*, ed. Gibbons (Wiley-Blackwell, 2014)
- “America’s Moderate Liberalism: Rediscovering Montesquieu, Recovering Balance,” in *Public Discourse*, Witherspoon Institute, November 2013
- “For Constitution and Profession: Paradoxes of Military Service in a Liberal Democracy,” in *NOMOS LI (51): Loyalty*, ed. Levinson, 2013
- “First Principles for American Foreign and Security Policy: A Presidential Debate Primer” and “George Washington’s Legacy as a Foreign Policy Guide,” for *Public Discourse*, Witherspoon Institute, October 2012
- “Tocqueville’s Foreign Policy of Moderation and Democracy Expansion,” in *Alexis de Tocqueville and the Art of Democratic Statesmanship*, ed. Danoff and Hebert (Lexington Books, 2011)
- “Common Law” and “Separation of Powers,” entries for *Sage Encyclopedia of Political Theory*, ed. Bevir, 2009
- “The Ideal of Liberal-Democratic Partnership: Philosophies of International Affairs and the Indo-US Nuclear Accord,” in *Nuclear Synergy: Indo-US Strategic Cooperation and Beyond*, ed. N. K. Jha (New Delhi: Pentagon Press, 2009)
- “George Washington’s Greatness and Aristotelian Virtue: Enduring Lessons for Constitutional Democracy,” in Holloway, ed., *Magnanimity and Statesmanship* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2008)
- “Montesquieu” and “Machiavelli,” entries for *Encyclopedia of Law and Society: American and Global Perspectives*, ed. Clark (Sage Publications), 2007
- “The Machiavellian Spirit of Montesquieu’s Liberal Republic,” in Paul Rahe, ed., *Machiavelli’s Liberal Republican Legacy* (Cambridge University Press, 2006)
- “Montesquieu, the Founders, and Woodrow Wilson: The Evolution of Rights and the Eclipse of Constitutionalism,” in *The Progressive Revolution in Politics and Political Science*, ed. Marini and Masugi (Rowman & Littlefield, 2005)
- “American Power and the Legacy of Washington: Enduring Principles for Foreign and Security Policy,” in Paul Bolt et. al., eds., *American Defense Policy*, 8th edition (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005)
- “Montesquieu’s Complex Natural Right and Moderate Liberalism: The Roots of American Moderation,” *Polity* 36, no. 2 (January 2004)
- “Republicanism: An Overview,” in Alan Charles Kors, ed., *The Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment* (Oxford University Press, 2003)
- “Liberty, Constitutionalism, and Moderation: The Political Thought of George Washington,” in Frost and Sikkenga, eds., *History of American Political Thought* (Lexington Books, 2003)
- “The Complexity, and Principles, of the American Founding: A Response to Alan Gibson,” *History of Political Thought* (U.K.) XXI (2000)
- “Judicial Statesmanship, the Jurisprudence of Individualism, and Tocqueville’s Common

Law Spirit,” *The Review of Politics* 60 (1998)

National report on American civic education (EAD) and selected public commentary

- Co-PI, co-author, *Educating for American Democracy* (EAD) – with Danielle Allen (Harvard), Jane Kamensky (Harvard), Peter Levine (Tufts), Louise Dube (iCivics); grant awarded by National Endowment for the Humanities and U.S. Department of Education; published March 2021, at <https://www.educatingforamericandemocracy.org/>
- Aspen Ideas Festival 2023 panel on “[What Should We Know and Who Decides?](#)” – with Univ. of Chicago President, director of iCivics, David Leonhardt of *NY Times*
- “What’s Un-American About Accommodation,” with James Stoner, *Law & Liberty*, May 8, 2023 (link [here](#))
- “Teacher Resources for American Civics,” with Adam Seagrave; essays on the Themes of the EAD “Roadmap” of curricular guidelines, for RealClearPolitics on its American Civics portal; 2022 (link [here](#))
- “Civic Education as a Duty and a Delight,” *RealClearPublicAffairs*, 1776 Series, August 25, 2021 (link [here](#))
- “Debating the Educating for American Democracy Roadmap,” with James Stoner, responding to Mark Bauerlein, *RealClearEducation*, July 23, 2021 (link [here](#))
- “What’s So Un-American about a Shared American Civics?,” with James Stoner, *National Review Online* June 9, 2021 (link [here](#))
- “Our Democracy Is Ailing. Civics Education Has to be Part of the Cure”, with Danielle Allen, *Washington Post*, March 2, 2021 (link [here](#)).
- Panel discussions on American civic education for Commonwealth Club of California; NY City Public Library; Global Silicon Valley Summit (ASU + GSV); Cato Institute; U.N. NGO Committee on the Family; 2021-22

Book Reviews, Review Essays

- “A Moderate Voice against Our Orthodoxies,” essay in review symposium of Craiutu, *Faces of Moderation*, in *Political Science Reviewer*, 2019
- “Don’t Blame the Founders for Our Civic Disintegration,” review of Rubin, *America, Aristotle, and the Politics of a Middle Class*, in *Public Discourse*, July 2018
- Lauren K. Hall, *Family and the Politics of Moderation*, for *Perspectives on Politics* (APSA), December 2016
- “Elevating our Politics by Going to the Source: Carson Holloway’s Recovery of a Nobler Debate” (on *Hamilton versus Jefferson in the Washington Administration*), in *Public Discourse* (online), August 2016
- “Founding Statesmanship and the Recurring Temptations of Democracy,” on Stephen Knott and Tony Williams, *Washington & Hamilton: The Alliance that Forged America* (2015), in *Library of Law and Liberty* (online), April 2016
- “Foreign Policy, American-Style,” on Henry Nau, *Conservative Internationalism: Armed Diplomacy under Jefferson, Polk, Truman, and Reagan* (2015), in *Claremont Review of Books*, February 2016
- “Taking the High Road,” review of David Brooks, *The Road to Character*, in *Commentary*, July/August 2015, 67-69

- “Review Essay: Liberal Education and Civic Leadership,” on *Zbigniew Pelczynski: A Life Remembered*, in *The American Oxonian*, Spring 2013 (volume C, number 2) [published January 2014]
- “Retracing Our Steps,” review of *Natural Rights Individualism and Progressivism in American Political Philosophy*, ed. Paul, Paul, and Miller, in *Claremont Review of Books*, Fall 2013
- Rory Brown, *Fighting Monsters: British-American War-Making and Law-Making*, in *Law & Politics Book Review*, 2013
- Aurelian Craiutu, *A Virtue for Courageous Minds: Moderation in French Political Thought, 1748-1830*, in *Society*, May 2013
- Peter Berkowitz, *Constitutional Conservatism: Liberty, Self-Government, and Political Moderation*, in *Commentary*, May 2013, 41-42
- Gordon Wood, *The Idea of America*, in *American Political Thought*, 2012
- “A Philosophical History of Prophetic Warnings and Pugnacity,” review of Rahe, *Soft Despotism, Democracy’s Drift: Montesquieu, Rousseau, Tocqueville, & The Modern Prospect*, in *Review of Politics*, 2010
- “Washington as Thinker, and Harmonizer of Traditions,” review of Morrison, *The Political Philosophy of George Washington*, in *Review of Politics*, 2010
- “Reviving Philosophy in Democracy,” review of Patrick Deneen, *Democratic Faith*, in *Society*, September/October 2006
- Jeremy Rabkin, *Law Without Nations? Why Constitutional Government Requires Sovereign States*, in *Law & Politics Book Review*, February 2006
- “The Single-Minded Constitution,” review of Randy Barnett, *Restoring the Lost Constitution: The Presumption of Liberty*, in *First Things*, Aug/Sep 2004
- Rebecca Starr, ed., *Articulating America: Fashioning A National Political Culture in Early America*, in *History of Political Thought (U.K.)*, vol. XXV, 2004
- “American Hegemony and American Principles,” review of Andrew Bacevich, *American Empire: The Realities & Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy*, in *Review of Politics*, vol. 66, 2004
- Russell Hittinger, *The First Grace: Rediscovering the Natural Law in a Post-Christian World*, in *Catholic Social Science Review*, vol. IX, 2004
- “The Ironies of American Power,” review of Robert Kagan, *Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order*, in *First Things*, July/August 2003
- Caroline Winterer, *The Culture of Classicism: Ancient Greece and Rome in American Intellectual Life, 1780-1910*, in *Academic Questions*, Spring 2003
- “Redressing the Balance, or Telling a Good Tale in Politics,” review of Norma Thompson, *The Ship of State: Statecraft and Politics from Ancient Greece to Democratic America*, in *Review of Politics*, vol. 64, 2002
- “Taking Federalism Seriously,” review of Forrest McDonald, *States’ Rights and the Union: Imperium in Imperio, 1776-1876*, in *First Things*, June/July 2001
- “Defending Machiavelli and Opposing Machiavellism,” review of Markus Fischer, *Well-Ordered License: On the Unity of Machiavelli’s Thought*, in *Review of Politics*, vol. 63, 2001
- Christopher Sparks, *Montesquieu’s Vision of Uncertainty and Modernity in Political Philosophy*, in *History of Political Thought (U.K.)*, vol. XXII, 2001
- “The Closing of the American Jurisprudential Mind,” review of Robert Clinton, *God and*

Man in the Law, in *Review of Politics*, vol. 62, 2000

Current research, and medium-term agenda

book on American civic education, higher education, and reflective patriotism; drafting during research leave in 2024; working title – *Why Civics Matters: Sustaining the American Idea* (target: Yale University Press series “Why X Matters”)

“The Spirit of Moderation in Montesquieu’s Separation of Powers: Political Equilibrium and Judicial Prominence,” chapter submitted for volume on separation of powers, ed. Kleinerman, under review with University Press of Kansas

invited by *The James Madison Review* to review new translation and commentary on Montesquieu’s *The Spirit of Laws* by William B. Allen; due September 2024

co-edited book under contract with Johns Hopkins University Press; *American Grand Strategy: War, Justice, and Peace in American Political Thought*; with Bryan-Paul Frost and Stephen Knott; anticipated 2025; editor, chapter contributor, author of Introduction and Postscript

book prospectus: *Montesquieu: His Philosophy and Global Legacy* – preliminary discussions with Oxford University Press; 25k words drafted

Opinion essays, media interviews and participation (selected)

“How Civics Can Remedy Higher Education’s Decline,” *National Review Online*, February 2024 (link [here](#))

“A New Birth of Freedom in Higher Education: Civic Institutes at Public Universities,” American Enterprise Institute report, January 2023 (link [here](#))

Host of the [Civic Discourse Project](#), School of Civic & Economic Thought and Leadership, ASU and Arizona PBS, 2017-2023 ; multi-year lecture series and conference program (archive on Arizona PBS and SCETL YouTube channel)

Deseret News forum on “Civility in Politics and the Future of Our Democracy,” Phoenix, September 2023

“How Will America Stand Up to Russia if We Can’t Even Talk to Each Other?,” with Carol McNamara, *Arizona Republic*, March 28, 2022

“Viral Video Aside, ASU Can Have an Honest and Civil Debate on Race and Social Justice,” with Carol McNamara, *Arizona Republic*, October 2, 2021

Panelist for “Montesquieu: A Life,” on “Talking History” radio program, Newstalk Radio (Dublin, Ireland), October 2020; a Talking History podcast episode (link [here](#))

Expert for Federalist Society video and podcasts on influence of Locke and Montesquieu on the American founding and constitutionalism, January 2021 (link [here](#))

Panelist for “Indelible Legacy: The Indispensable, Uncancelable Statesmanship of George Washington,” webinar for The James Madison Program, Princeton University, November 2020 (link [here](#))

“ASU’s Role in Growing New Leaders,” opinion essay, *The Arizona Republic*, September 14, 2017

“Universities Should Be Safe Spaces – for Intellectual Diversity,” co-authored with fellow Middlebury College alumni, *RealClearPolitics* June 1, 2017

“U.S. Is Spending Its Legal Capital,” *The Denver Post*, January 28, 2006

Other featured interviews on civic education, free speech, and civil disagreement –

Arizona PBS “Horizon” February 2018, November 2018; KJZZ (Phoenix NPR affiliate), December 2018, November 2020, June 2021; The Daily Signal podcast, December 2018; CBS-5 TV, November 2018

Invited Lectures, Presentations – selected

Keynote speaker, National Summit on Civic Education, organized by Jack Miller Center for America’s Founding Principles, Philadelphia, November 9-10 2023
Constitution Day speaker, with Jane Kamensky (Harvard), on civic education and the American Constitution, Jackson State University, Mississippi, September 2023
Presenter at Aspen Ideas Festival, panel on civic education in K-12 and higher education with Univ. of Chicago President Paul Alivisatos, July 2023 [link above]
Presenter on civic education in American universities with UNC Chapel Hill Provost Chris Clemens, James Madison Program conference, Princeton Univ., June 2023
Presenter at American Enterprise Institute workshop on civic education in American universities, Washington D.C., May 2023
Presenter at Aspen Institute workshops on civics and K-12 public education, in Washington D.C. and Aspen, Colorado, April and July 2023
University of Houston Honor College, Great Challenges Forum, lecture on Montesquieu and Principles of American Foreign Policy, March 2023
Presentation at National Classical Education Symposium, on civic education and classical liberal education, Phoenix, February 2023
Presenter, National Summit on Civic Education, organized by Jack Miller Center, Mount Vernon, November 2022
“The Enduring Core of American Foreign Policy: Montesquieu and the Right of Nations,” lecture for Civitas Institute, University of Texas Austin, October 2022
“A Civilized Right of Nations: Montesquieu on a Defensible Liberal International Order,” keynote address to the International Association for the Philosophy of Law and Social Philosophy 30th Biennial World Congress, Bucharest, July 2022
“America’s Adaptation of Montesquieu: A ‘Constitution of Liberty’ Built for Peace and War,” address to the James Madison Memorial Fellowship Foundation summer institute for teachers, Virginia, July 2022; broadcast on C-SPAN American History TV as “Montesquieu and the Founding Fathers,” at <https://www.c-span.org/video/?521493-1/montesquieu-founding-fathers>
“A Defensible Liberal Republic: The Montesquieuan Foundations of American Foreign Policy,” lecture at conference on “Montesquieu, A Philosopher for the Early American Republic?” Sorbonne Université, Paris, June 2022
Keynote panel presentation at conference on “The Future of the American University,” American Enterprise Institute, Washington D.C., May 2022
Interviewed, with William Allen, for webinar on George Washington for James Madison Program, Princeton University, November 2020
“Educating Future Public Servants,” presentation to Rumsfeld Foundation conference, Washington D.C., September 2019
Presentations & workshops on civil disagreement in polarized times, Phoenix area – to Valley Leadership, September 2017; Arizona Community Foundation board, May 2018; Flinn Foundation, September 2018 and February 2019; Arizona Clean Elections Commission, 2019; Arizona Department of Education conference 2022

- Presentation, “America's Enlightened Self-Interest in Defending a Free Europe,” Black Sea Forum, Ovidius University, Romania, June 2019
- Presentation, panel on “Can a Decent Liberal Political Order Be Recovered?,” conference on Natural Rights and American Constitutionalism, University of Notre Dame, May 2019
- Graduation address, Veritas Preparatory Academy, Phoenix, May 2019
- Presentation, panel on “American Grand Strategy and Interventionism,” Alexander Hamilton Society speaker event, Arizona State University, April 2019
- Lecture, “Character and Leadership: How Personnel is Policy,” Ostrom Workshop and Tocqueville Forum, Indiana University Bloomington, November 2018
- Lecture, “Servant-Leadership, Civil Society, and Rebuilding America’s Civic Character,” School of Philanthropy, Indiana Univ.-Purdue Univ. Indiana, November 2018
- Lecture, “Tocqueville’s Philosophy of Moderation and Why We Should Rediscover It,” Great Works Program, Univ. of Nevada Las Vegas, October 2018
- “The Moderating of Power in Montesquieu’s Constitutionalism: The Judiciary and Political Equilibrium,” Jack Miller Center workshop, Philadelphia, August 2018
- Hertog Political Studies Program, leader of week-long seminar Grand Strategy for select undergraduate students, Washington D.C., July 2018
- Graduation address, Chandler Preparatory Academy, Phoenix, May 2018
- Presentation, “Restoring the Nexus of Civic Education and Liberal Education,” James Madison Society annual conference, Princeton University, May 2018
- Lecture, “Tocqueville’s Philosophy of Moderation and America’s Need to Rediscover It,” Center for Western Civilization, Univ. of Colorado Boulder, February 2018
- Presentation, “Restoring A Constitutionalist Political Science: Storing’s Philosophical Moderation, Diamond’s Eye for Distinctions,” James Madison Program conference, Princeton, September 2017
- Presentation, James Madison Society annual conference, on founding a great books leadership program, Princeton University, May 2017
- Presentation, conference on Civic Education in Higher Education, Claremont McKenna College, May 2017
- Lecture, “Washington’s Strategy of Enlightened Self-Interest: The American Foreign Policy.” Mercer University, April 2017
- Lecture, “Democracy in Moderation: Election 2016 and Recovery of Our Constitutional Balance,” Claremont Graduate School, March 2017
- Keynote lecture on “Recovering the Virtue of Moderation,” Institute of Faith and the Academy conference, Faulkner University, Alabama, February 2017
- Lecture, “Democracy, Leadership, and Election 2016,” Barrett Honors College, Arizona State University, January 2017
- Lecture, “Tocqueville’s Philosophy of Moderation – and Democracy’s Recovery of Constitutional Balance,” Arizona State University, Oct 2016
- Tikvah Fund Seminar co-leader, “Strategy, World Order, and the Middle East,” August 2016, Jerusalem, Israel
- Respondent to lecture by Maurizio Viroli, “How to Choose a Leader: Machiavelli’s Advice to Citizens,” James Madison Program, Princeton University, May 2016
- Lecture, “An American Grand Strategy of Prudent Internationalism,” the Tocqueville

Forum, University of Houston, April 2016
Lecture, “Democracy in Moderation: Tocqueville and Constitutional Balance,” Center for Political & Economic Thought, Saint Vincent College, PA, March 2016
Lectures, “The American Tradition of Rights,” Bill of Rights Institute seminar, Denver, CO public school district, November 2015
Presentation, “A Grand Strategy of Prudent American Internationalism for the Post-Obama Era,” The Hudson Institute, Washington, DC, September 2015
Lecture, “An American Grand Strategy of Prudent Internationalism,” Institute of World Politics, Washington, D.C., September 2015
Lecture, “Tocqueville’s Philosophy of Moderation,” Political Theory Institute, American University, September 2015
Constitution Day Speaker, The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina, September 2015
Presentation, “Washington’s Grand Strategy,” workshop on American Grand Strategy, U.S. Air Force Academy, funded by Earhart Foundation, April 2015
Lectures, “Civic Virtues, Self-Government, and American Citizenship,” Bill of Rights Institute seminar, Denver, CO public school district, February 2015
Presentation, “Washington as Statesman in the Just War Tradition,” panel on “The Just War: Historic Traditions, Current Problems,” Colorado College, February 2014
Presentation, “Lincoln’s Character and Statesmanship: An American Model with Global Resonance,” 2014 National Character and Leadership Symposium, USAF Academy, Colorado, February 2014
Lectures, “The American Founding and Civic Virtues,” Bill of Rights Institute seminar, Tucson, AZ public school district, January 2014
Seminar presentation on Montesquieu and international relations, Colorado College, Department of Political Science, October 2013
Lectures, “The American Founding and Civic Virtues,” Bill of Rights Institute seminar, Denver, CO public school districts, October 2013
Remarks on “Lincoln’s Civic Character and Example,” for Lincoln Club of New Jersey, Princeton, April 2013
Lectures, “Constitutional Principles of Civic and Economic Freedom,” Bill of Rights Institute seminar, Boston, MA public school district, March, 2013
Lecture, “Constitutionalist Political Science: Herbert Storing’s Philosophical Moderation,” Political Theory Colloquium, American University, March 2013
Presentation on Washington’s statesmanship, James Madison Program, Princeton, for Presidents’ Day 2013
Presentations to Ethics and Leadership classes, on George Washington’s principles and example, U.S. Naval Academy, February 2013
Lecture on Montesquieu’s political philosophy to Alexander Hamilton Institute, Hamilton College, NY, February 2013
Presentations for political theory graduate seminar, Politics Department, Princeton University, on Montesquieu and Tocqueville on moderation, November, 2012
Seminar presentation, “Tocqueville’s Philosophy of Moderation,” James Madison Program, Princeton University, November 2012
Lecture, “Constitutionalist Political Science: Herbert Storing’s Philosophical Moderation,” Political Science Department, Boston College, October 2012
Lectures, “The Constitution, Supreme Court, and Equal Protection of the Laws,”

Bill of Rights Institute seminar, Boston, MA public school district, Oct 2012
Lectures, “Principles of Religious Liberty in the American Founding,” Bill of Rights Institute seminar, Pittsburgh, PA public school district, October, 2012
Seminar presentation, “George Washington’s Principles for American Grand Strategy,” for James Madison Program Undergraduate Fellows, Princeton, September 2012
Lectures, “The American Founding and Civic Virtues,” Bill of Rights Institute seminar, Tempe, AZ public school district, July 2012
Lectures, “Principles of Religious Liberty in the American Founding,” Bill of Rights Institute seminar, Fort Collins, CO public school district, February, 2012
Remarks, “Tocqueville’s Philosophy of Moderation,” conference on “Political Philosophy and the Constitution,” Middlebury College, October 2010
Presentation, “Montesquieu’s Philosophy of Liberal Moderation and Religious Liberty,” Oxford Round Table, Oxford University, U.K., July 2010
Remarks, “American Executive Power and Dictatorship,” conference on Executive Power and Rule of Law, University of Texas at Austin School of Law, April 2010
Lectures, “The American Founding, Constitution, and Bill of Rights,” Bill of Rights Institute seminar, Denver, CO public school district, April 2010
Lectures, “Religious Liberty and the Separation of Church and State,” Bill of Rights Institute seminar, Colorado Springs, CO public school district, October 2008
Lecture, “Secularism, Moderation, and Religious Freedom: A Tocquevillean View of India,” International Law and Religion Symposium, Brigham Young University, October 2008
Remarks, “Indian Liberal Democracy,” colloquium for Colorado College and USAF Academy departments of political science, September 2008
Lectures, “The U.S. Constitution, Civic Values, and Statesmanship,” Bill of Rights Institute seminar, Phoenix, AZ public school district, June 2008
Lectures, “The U.S. Constitution, Equal Protection, and Affirmative Action,” Bill of Rights Institute seminar, Phoenix, AZ public school district, April 2008
Lecture, “India, America, and Liberal Partnership: A Tocquevillean Foreign Policy,” Rohatyn Center for International Affairs, Middlebury College, March 2008
Lecture, “Presidential Selection in the U.S. – A Democratic and Constitutional Path to Leadership,” at The American Center, New Delhi, India, January 2008
Lecture, “Religion and Politics in America,” at J. Nehru University (JNU), January 2008 and at Lady Shri Ram College, Delhi, October 2007, India
Lecture, “Is Liberal-Democratic Partnership Ideal? Philosophies of International Affairs and the Indo-US Nuclear Accord,” at Allahabad University, India, January 2008
Lecture, “Tocqueville’s Philosophy of Liberal Democracy,” at University of Delhi Political Science Department; Lady Shri Ram College, Delhi; and at Benares Hindu University, Varanasi – all during October to December 2007, India
Lecture, “First Principles of American Foreign Policy and the Problem of Liberal Empire,” Benares Hindu University, November 2007 and Delhi University, Department of Political Science, January 2008, India
Lecture, “Separation of Church and State and the Founding Fathers,” Broadmoor Community Church, April 2007, and USAF Academy, May 2007
Lectures, “Principles of the Constitution and Bill of Rights,” Bill of Rights Institute seminar, Cherry Creek public school district, Denver, February 2006

Lectures, “Rediscovering George Washington: His Achievements and Legacy,” for Boise State University “Teaching American History” seminar, October 2004
Lectures, “Montesquieu, Blackstone, and Publius on Separation of Powers,” Michigan Judicial Institute/George Mason Univ. Law & Economics Center, August 2004
Lecture, “Religion and Moderation in the *Persian Letters*: Montesquieu on Philosophical and Political Balance,” University of Toronto, March 2003
Guest instructor, Colorado College freshman seminar, on Shakespeare, Montaigne, and *The Tempest*, 2002 and 2003
Remarks, “The Just War Tradition and the War on Terrorism,” Colorado College seminar on War with Iraq, October 2002
Lecture, “The Balance Between Order and Liberty in America’s Founding Debates,” for “We the People” seminar for teachers, University of Denver, June 2002
Lecture, “Montesquieu’s Moderate Liberalism and the American Spirit,” Honors Program, University of Denver, May 2002
Lecture, “Montesquieu’s Natural Right and America’s Moderate Liberalism,” Harvard Political Theory Colloquium, March 2001
Lecture, “Courting Trouble? Liberalism, Judicial Power, and Community,” Middlebury College, November 2000

Conference Presentations, Participation (details on request; details for 2015-2024 are below)

Co-convener and presenter, conference on the Arizona Constitution project, Quill Centre, Pembroke College, Oxford University, December 2018
Paper presentations and respondent, American Political Science Association annual meetings, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2008, 2011, 2012, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2023, 2024 – on Western political theory, American political thought, constitutionalism, American foreign policy & grand strategy, religion & politics, civic education
Program Chair, American Political Thought related group, APSA 2016 meeting; for new American Political Thought Division of APSA, 2017 meeting
Paper presentations and respondent, New England Political Science Assoc. meetings, 1997, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2010, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2024 – panels on public law, Western political theory, religion & politics, American foreign policy and grand strategy
Paper presentations and panel respondent, Midwestern Political Science Association meeting, 2004, 2016, 2019 – Western political theory
Paper presentation, Southern Political Science Association meeting, January 2024
Association of Core Texts and Courses – chair, panel on liberal education and civic education, Santa Fe, April 2019
Program Chair, Public Law section, New England Political Science Association, 2004
Paper presentation on education for strategic leadership, International Studies Association Conference (International Security Studies Section), Providence, RI October 2010, Charlotte, NC 2012, San Francisco, CA 2013
Chair, panel on MacIntyre’s *After Virtue*, James Madison Program conference at Princeton University, May 2011
Paper presentation, Association for Political Theory annual meeting, 2004 – on Tocqueville’s theory of moderation in politics

Paper presentations, Northeastern Political Science Association meetings, 2001, 2002, 2018 – panels on Montesquieu, Machiavelli, moderation
Paper presentations, Southern Political Science Association meetings, 1997, 2000 – on American constitutional law
Presentation series on the Constitution and Bill of Rights, United States Information Service, Lesotho, Africa, 1991
Paper presentation, “Fukuyama’s ‘The End of History?’ and Hegel,” Hegel & Marx seminar, Oxford University, 1990

Details for 2015-2024:

2024 APSA meeting, Philadelphia, September 2024 – invited for two paper presentations, two roundtable presentations; political theory papers on Montesquieu and on Tocqueville, roundtable presentations on political science and civic education; all four accepted for presentation
Roundtable presentation, New England Political Science Assoc. meeting, on political theory and greatness, Providence RI, April 2024
Paper presentation, “Tocqueville’s Reflective Patriotism and Its Foundations in Religion,” Southern Political Science Assoc meeting, New Orleans, January 2024
Paper presentation, “Tocqueville on Reflective Patriotism and American Civics at Our Semiquincentennial,” APSA Annual Meeting, Los Angeles, September 2023
Participant, Johns Hopkins University Agora Institute conference on “A Conservative Agenda for Democracy,” Park City Utah, April 2023
Presentation, “Montesquieu and the Challenge of American Civic Education,” roundtable on Montesquieu and Modernity, APSA Annual Meeting, virtual, September 2020
Presentation, author meets critics roundtable on Burns, *The Politics of War Powers*, APSA Annual Meeting, virtual, September 2020
Paper presenter, “The Mutual Influence of Liberal Education and Civic Education,” panel on civic education, APSA Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., August 2019
Discussant, panel on Montesquieu’s political philosophy, APSA Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., August 2019
Discussant, panel on executive power and popular leadership, APSA Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., August 2019
Discussion leader, Liberty Fund colloquium on Machiavelli and Montesquieu on “Rome and Liberty,” Park City, UT, August 2019
Paper presenter, “Lincoln as Profile in Moderation,” Midwestern PSA, Chicago, April 2019
Discussant, panel on Montesquieu’s political philosophy, Midwestern PSA, Chicago, April 2019
Remarks at opening dinner, and chair for panel on liberal education and civic education, Association of Core Texts and Courses annual conference, Santa Fe, April 2019
Co-convenor and presenter, conference on the Arizona Constitution project, Quill Centre, Pembroke College, Oxford University, December 2018
Presentation, roundtable on “Civic Education and American Liberal Democracy,” APSA annual meeting, Boston, August 2018
Discussant, panel on individualism and community in political philosophy, APSA annual meeting, Boston, August 2018

Discussant, panel on executive power and American political thought, APSA meeting, Boston, August 2018

Paper presenter, “The Crisis of Political Science and the Elevation of Engagement over Civics: The Need to Restore the Nexus of Civic Education and Liberal Education,” APSA Teaching & Learning Conference, Baltimore, February 2018

Presentation, roundtable on Craiutu, *Faces of Moderation*, Northeastern PSA, Philadelphia, February 2018

Discussant, panel on “Political Philosophy, Statesmanship, and Liberal Modernity,” New England PSA 2017 meeting, April 2017

Speaker on Author-Meets-Critics roundtable on Carrese, *Democracy in Moderation*, Western PSA 2017 meeting, Vancouver, April 2017

Speaker on Author-Meets-Critics roundtable on Carrese, *Democracy in Moderation*, APSA 2016 meeting, Philadelphia

Presenter, roundtable on “Where Ideas Matter” (in International History and Politics division, on IR theory), APSA 2016 meeting, Philadelphia

Chair, panel on “Transforming Religion and Marriage in American Political Thought,” APSA 2016 meeting, Philadelphia

Discussant, panel on “Rousseau and Burke on Religion and the State,” APSA 2016 meeting, Philadelphia

Paper presenter, “American Political Thought Steering American Grand Strategy, Founding to Future,” New England PSA 2016 meeting, Newport, RI; **awarded NEPSA’s Donovan Prize for Best Paper Written by a Faculty Member**

Paper presenter, “Montesquieu’s Moderate Theory of International Relations,” New England PSA 2016 meeting, Newport, RI

Paper presenter, “Tocqueville’s Philosophy of Moderation: Tempering Democracy for a Sustainable Liberalism,” Midwest PSA 2016 meeting, Chicago

Discussant, panel on “War, Justice, and Peace in American Political Thought,” APSA 2015 meeting, San Francisco

Discussant and panel chair, “Community Obligations & Individual Rights,” New England PSA 2015 meeting, New Haven, CT

Professional Service and Civic Activities

American Political Science Association standing committee on Civic Education, 2024-2026

Adviser to US Department of Education on National Assessment for Educational Progress (NAEP), civics and history section, 2024

Nonresidential Fellow, The Civitas Institute, University of Texas at Austin, 2022 - Jack Miller Center national Academic Advisory Council, 2022 -

Co-Principal Investigator, *Educating for American Democracy* study; \$1.3 million grant from National Endowment for Humanities and U.S. Department of Education, 2019-2021; partnering with centers at Harvard and Tufts Universities and iCivics

Founding Advisory Board, Program on Public Discourse, University of North Carolina Chapel Hill, 2019-2020

Academic Advisory Board, Rumsfeld Foundation, 2018 -

Rhodes Scholarships annual selection committees, District (final) level, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2005, 2006, 2008, 2009, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2018,

2019, 2020, 2021

Referee for journals – *American Political Science Review*, *History of Political Thought* (U.K.), *Journal of Politics*, *Review of Politics*, *American Political Thought*, *LAWS*

Peer Reviewer in Political Science for US Fulbright Scholar Program candidates, 2010, 2011, 2012 (CIES, Council for International Exchange of Scholars)

Referee for academic presses – University of Chicago Press, Johns Hopkins University Press, Lexington Books and Rowman & Littlefield, Penn State University Press, Cambria Press, Catholic University of America Press, Cambridge University Press, University Press of Kansas

Participation in civil-military higher education project, Mellon Foundation grant, meetings at Colorado College and Vassar College, 2012, 2013; organized joint USAFA-Colorado College conferences, February & April 2014, April 2015

Tenure review and promotion referee – University of Minnesota-Duluth, 2006; University of Dallas, 2014; University of Colorado-Colorado Springs, 2016; Rochester Institute of Technology, 2018; Middlebury College, 2019; Rochester Institute of Technology, 2020

External reviewer, Department of Political Science, University of Colorado at Colorado Springs, 2017

Aspen Institute seminars on Leadership (2005) and American Foreign Policy (2006)

Referee, American Council of Learned Societies, project on Montesquieu, 2001

Referee, National Endowment for the Humanities, project on Montesquieu, 2000

Invited participant, conference on “Governance in Higher Education,” convened by the Philanthropy Roundtable, Fort Lauderdale, FL, December 2006

Co-Director, Liberty Fund colloquia on statesmanship and character (June 1999), Plutarch (November 2000), Washington’s statesmanship (June 2001)

Director, conference on George Washington, U.S. Air Force Academy, 1999

Chair, 1997 New England Pol. Science Assoc. Graduate Student Paper Award committee

Rhodes Scholarship selection committees, Rhode Island and Vermont, 1994, 1995, 1996

Teaching and Research Interests

Western political philosophy, jurisprudence, constitutionalism – ancient to contemporary

The American founding, American political thought, American constitutionalism

Grand strategy, political philosophy & international relations, American grand strategy

Statesmanship, leadership, and political ethics

Civic education and American civic education

American constitutional law and the judiciary

Comparative political philosophy and constitutionalism

Religion and politics – American, Western, comparative

Courses Taught

Arizona State University, 2017-

Statesmanship and American Grand Strategy (graduate-undergraduate)

Comparative Political Philosophy (graduate-undergraduate)

Global Intensive Experience: Service and Leadership in India

Global Intensive Experience: Service and Leadership in Israel and the West Bank

Shakespeare's Leadership Lessons
Leading a Life of Meaning: Liberal Arts Learning and You
Capstone Seminar (for SCETL major)

U.S.A.F. Academy, 1998-2016

Political Theory
American Government – core/introductory version; Scholars version
International Relations – core/introductory course; Scholars version
Politics of the Judiciary and the Supreme Court
Capstone Seminar: Political Judgment and the Question of Democracy
Capstone Seminar: Political Science, Grand Strategy, and National Security
American Political System and Theory
American Political Thought
The American Presidency
Comparative Political Philosophy (Islam, Hinduism, Confucianism)
Scholars Capstone Seminar: Statesmanship and Leadership
supervisor for several senior honors theses, and independent study courses,
on political philosophy & international relations

University of Delhi, Fulbright lecturer, 2007-2008

Political Theory (M.A. lectures)
Tocqueville's Philosophy of Liberal Democracy (M.Phil./D.Phil seminar)

Ashland University, Ohio (summer 2006, summer 2007) – M.A. Program in
American History & Government (Ashbrook Center) for school teachers
Religion in American History and Politics

Middlebury College, Political Science, Visiting Instructor (1996-98)

Modern Political Philosophy
Tradition and Change in Human Society
Modern and American Constitutionalism
Introduction to American Politics
American Constitutional Law: The Bill of Rights
The Presidency in the Constitutional Order

Boston College, Political Science, Teaching Assistant (1993-95)

American Government
American Political Ideas and Institutions
Shakespeare's Political Wisdom

National University of Lesotho (Africa), Political Science, Visiting Lecturer (1992)

Modern Political Philosophy

Service, Arizona State University

Founding Director, School of Civic & Economic Thought and Leadership, 2016 – 2023

- new department mandated and funded by Arizona state government; first faculty member, and as department head hired all faculty (tenure-line and non-tenured), and all staff;

- ultimately responsible for strategic planning; faculty personnel (reviews, promotion and tenure); curriculum development; public programs (speakers series and other projects); supervision of two Centers; external relations with state government, and with ASU administration and senior leadership (directly with President and Provost); development with foundations and donors; responding to national policy interest in replicating such an institute at public universities in other states (thus far in seven other states – FL, NC, OH, TN, TX, UT; total of 13 departments, colleges, or centers on separate campuses)
- University Senate, 2017-18 to 2021-22
- Executive Committee, 2021-22; chair of Committee on Committees
- Provost’s taskforce on General Studies reform, for new “American Institutions”
- ASU graduation requirement, 2022

Service, Air Force Academy (ranked by level of institutional scope)

Director, Academy Scholars Program, 2004-2007 – serving on provost’s staff as lead administrator and teacher in Academy’s academic honors program for 200 cadets

USAF Academy “Graduating Cadet Outcomes” Committee for Academy Superintendent (president), 2006

Co-founder of Academy Scholars Program, 2002-2003 – initiated concept, recruited faculty co-founders and Dean support, assisted first Director to launch program

Chair, Faculty Forum (senate) committee to institute faculty processional at Commencement, 2011-12; on Superintendent’s Commencement committee

Co-chair, Faculty Forum (senate) & Faculty Council (governing board of Colonels) committee on “Academy essence” document for Department of Defense, 2013-14

Faculty Forum (Senate) Executive Board Secretary, and Representative for Social Sciences Division, 2004-2005; active member, 1999-2012

Dean of Faculty Working Group, USAF Academy Strategic Review, 2004-2007

Director, first Constitution Day at AF Academy, September 2005 (continued in 2006)

Social Science Division committee, Academy Core curriculum review, 2011-2012

Member of Dean of Faculty-Chaplaincy working group on Religion and National Security, bringing speakers to USAFA, 2010 - 2012

Faculty Forum, chair of committee on USAFA 50th year strategic review, 2003-2004

Facilitator, Center for Educational Excellence symposia on American higher education and 50th anniversary curriculum review, spring & fall 2003

Faculty Forum, committees on institutional & curricular governance (2002), on Core curriculum review (2001), on cadet intellectual development (1999-2000)

Coordinator for major lectures at Academy: Ronald White on Lincoln; James Stoner on American constitutionalism; Gen. David Petraeus; Undersecretary of Defense Michele Flournoy; Michael O’Hanlon (Brookings); Harvey Mansfield; John Nagl (Center for New American Security); Steven Hayward on Reagan; Michael Nelson on Lyndon Johnson

Supervisor in Department of Political Science, and Chief of American & Policy Studies Division, 2004, 2009-2012, spring 2015

Coordinator of Georgetown University program (Fund for American Studies) cadet selection for Academy; and of Hertog Political Studies summer program for department

Co-director of Cadet Public Policy Forum, organizing speakers on public policy topics
Adviser, USAF Academy Chapter of Pi Sigma Alpha (national political science honor society), organizing annual induction and speakers
Coordinator of graduate studies program for Political Science department
Designed new Capstone Seminar required for all Political Science majors, and re-designed American Government core course required for all Academy graduates
Leader of cadet & faculty reading groups on leadership education and liberal education, theology & politics, Tocqueville, Augustine, Plutarch, Thucydides, *The Federalist*, Shakespeare and politics, principles of American grand strategy
Presentations to various Academy departments, faculty, and to courses in various Departments, including annual Constitution Day panels

Languages: French (reading); Latin

Associations: American Political Science Association; Midwestern Political Science Association; American Association of Rhodes Scholars; Phi Beta Kappa; James Madison Society; Heterodox Academy

Personal: married to Dr. Susan Myers Carrese; one daughter, one son

References (scholarly):

Aurelian Craiutu
Professor, Political Science, Indiana University Bloomington
Harvey C. Mansfield
Kenan Professor emeritus, Government, Harvard University
James R. Stoner, Jr.
Moyse Professor, Political Science, Director of Voegelin Institute, Louisiana State University (Baton Rouge)

James Ceaser
Byrd Professor, Government, University of Virginia
Bryan Garsten
Professor of Political Science and Humanities, Yale University
Dennis C. Rasmussen
Professor and Hagerty Family Fellow, Political Science, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University