# James Goldgeier American University; Brookings Institution; Stanford University www.jamesgoldgeier.com

# **CURRENT APPOINTMENTS**

In addition to my faculty appointment as Professor of International Relations at American University, I am a Visiting Scholar at Stanford University's Center for International Security and Cooperation and a Visiting Fellow at the Brookings Institution. I am a senior adviser to the Bridging the Gap (BTG) initiative, which trains, mentors, and advocates for scholars of political science, international relations, and public policy to engage with policy communities and the public, and I am a co-editor of the Oxford University Press Bridging the Gap book series. I serve as chair of the State Department Historical Advisory Committee and as a member of the Secretary of State's International Security Advisory Board.

# PRIOR FACULTY AND ADMINISTRATIVE APPOINTMENTS

I taught my first class as a lecturer at the University of California, Berkeley in 1988. After finishing my Ph.D. in 1990, I taught for three years as a tenure-track assistant professor at Cornell University before moving to George Washington University, where I received tenure in 1998. At GWU, I directed the Institute for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies from 2001-2005. I taught at GWU until 2011, when I left to become dean of American University's School of International Service (SIS) from 2011-2017.

# **EDUCATION**

I received my A.B. in Government *magna cum laude* from Harvard College in 1983, and then received my M.A. (1985) and PhD (1990) in Political Science from UC Berkeley, where I received the Peter H. Odegard Memorial Award for Outstanding Achievement as a Distinguished Doctoral Candidate.

# **FELLOWSHIPS**

I have held numerous fellowships, including Library of Congress Chair in U.S.-Russia Relations (2018-19), Visiting Senior Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations (2017-19), Transatlantic Academy Fellow at the German Marshall Fund (2010-2011), Whitney Shepardson Senior Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations (2006-2010), Edward Teller National Fellow (2009) and W. Glenn Campbell and Rita Ricardo-Campbell National Fellow (2008) at the Hoover Institution, Public Policy Scholar at the Wilson Center (2007), and Henry Kissinger Chair in Foreign Policy and International Relations at the Library of Congress (2005-06).

In 1995-96, I was a Council on Foreign Relations International Affairs Fellow at the State Department and on the National Security Council staff, where I served as a director for Russian, Ukrainian, and Eurasian Affairs.

#### BOOKS

Foreign Policy Careers for PhDs: A Practical Guide to a World of Possibilities. Georgetown University Press 2023 (with Tamara Cofman Wittes). "This book will be a must read for every doctoral student contemplating a career outside the ivory tower." –Dean Alyssa Ayres, GWU Elliott School of International Affairs

Evaluating NATO Enlargement: From Cold War Victory to the Russia-Ukraine War. Palgrave Macmillan 2023 (Co-editor with Joshua R. Itzkowitz Shifrinson). "[T]he single most important English-language contribution to the question of post-Cold War NATO enlargement" – International Affairs, Chatham House

America Between the Wars: From 11-9 to 9-11. PublicAffairs 2008 (with Derek Chollet). Named a "Best Book of 2008" by Slate and a "2008 Favorite Book" by The Daily Beast. "[A]n astute and highly informed book, lucidly mapping the forces that have been reshaping the post-Cold War World" – New York Times

Power and Purpose: U.S. Policy toward Russia after the Cold War. Brookings 2003 (with Michael McFaul);

recipient of the Georgetown University Lepgold Book Prize for the best book on international relations. "If there is one book to read on what shaped American policy toward the Soviet Union in its last years and Russia throughout the last decade, this is it" – Ambassador Dennis Ross

Not Whether But When: The U.S. Decision to Enlarge NATO. Brookings 1999. "I can think of no better book to read on the nature of American leadership in the post-Cold War world" – Yale Prof. John Lewis Gaddis

Leadership Style and Soviet Foreign Policy: Stalin, Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Gorbachev. The Johns Hopkins University Press 1994; recipient of the Edgar S. Furniss Book Award for the best book by a first-time author in national security studies. "[A]n imaginative and original argument" – Univ of Toronto Prof. Janice Gross Stein

# **GRANTS**

I serve on the leadership team for Bridging the Gap, which has received more than \$6 million in grants from the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Raymond Frankel Foundation since 2012. I have served as a principal investigator for other grants at George Washington University and American University that received federal funding totaling nearly \$1.5 million.

# PEER-REVIEWED ARTICLES

"Bridging the Gap in a Changing World: New Opportunities and Challenges for Engaging Practitioners and the Public," *International Studies Perspectives*, March 27, 2023; with Jordan Tama, Naazneen H. Barma, Brent Durbin, and Bruce W. Jentleson: <a href="https://academic.oup.com/isp/advance-article/doi/10.1093/isp/ekad003/7086648">https://academic.oup.com/isp/advance-article/doi/10.1093/isp/ekad003/7086648</a>

"Reassurance and Deterrence after Russia's War against Ukraine," A response piece for *Security Studies*, December 2022; with Lily Wojtowicz: <a href="https://www.tandfonline.com/eprint/SWTA4N6SSEKYVSDKYIRG/full?target=10.1080/09636412.2022.2140">https://www.tandfonline.com/eprint/SWTA4N6SSEKYVSDKYIRG/full?target=10.1080/09636412.2022.2140</a>

"How Not to Bridge the Gap in International Relations," *International Affairs*, September 2022; with Naazneen H. Barma: https://academic.oup.com/ia/article/98/5/1763/6686655

"Policy School Deans Want It All: Results of a Survey of APSIA Deans and Top-50 Political Science Department Chairs on Hiring and Promotion," *International Studies Perspectives*, February 2022 (first published online, March 3, 2021); with Michael C. Desch, Ana K. Petrova, and Kimberly Peh: <a href="https://academic.oup.com/isp/advance-article-abstract/doi/10.1093/isp/ekaa022/6158086?redirectedFrom=fulltext">https://academic.oup.com/isp/advance-article-abstract/doi/10.1093/isp/ekaa022/6158086?redirectedFrom=fulltext</a>

"NATO Enlargement and the Problem of Value Complexity," *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Fall 2020: <a href="https://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/full/10.1162/jcws\_a\_00968">https://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/full/10.1162/jcws\_a\_00968</a>

"Evaluating NATO Enlargement: Scholarly Debates, Policy Debates, and Roads Not Taken," *International Politics* (June 2020); with Joshua R. Itzkowitz Shifrinson: at <a href="https://link.springer.com/article/10.1057/s41311-020-00243-7">https://link.springer.com/article/10.1057/s41311-020-00243-7</a>; This piece framed a special issue on the Legacies of NATO Enlargement: <a href="https://link.springer.com/journal/41311/57/3">https://link.springer.com/journal/41311/57/3</a>, which was updated and issued as the 2023 book Evaluating NATO Enlargement.

"NATO at 70: Is the USA Still In It for the Long Haul?" *Journal of Transatlantic Studies*, June 2019, first published online on March 20, 2019: <a href="https://rdcu.be/br4hW">https://rdcu.be/br4hW</a>

"Nationalist Strategies and European Integration," Perspectives on Politics (March 2004); with Zsuzsa Csergo.

"Psychology and International Relations Theory," *Annual Review of Political Science* (2001); with Philip E. Tetlock

"The Liberal Core and the Realist Periphery in Europe," *Perspectives on European Politics and Society* (Spring 2001); with Michael McFaul

"Human Nature and World Politics: Cognition, Identity, and Influence," *International Journal of Psychology* 35, 2 (2000); with Philip E. Tetlock

"Psychology and Security," Security Studies 6 (Summer 1997)

"A Tale of Two Worlds: Core and Periphery in the Post-Cold War Era," *International Organization* 46 (Spring 1992); with Michael McFaul.

OTHER SELECT ARTICLES, ESSAYS, AND COMMENTARY

"Why NATO Needs Ukraine: Kyiv's Survival and Europe's Security Depend on a More Unified Front," *Foreign Affairs*, February 1, 2024; with Alina Polyakova: <a href="https://www.foreignaffairs.com/ukraine/why-nato-needs-ukraine">https://www.foreignaffairs.com/ukraine/why-nato-needs-ukraine</a>

"Debating NATO Enlargement," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; an exchange of essays between me and Joshua Shifrinson: <a href="https://carnegieendowment.org/programs/americanstatecraft/debatingnato">https://carnegieendowment.org/programs/americanstatecraft/debatingnato</a>

"NATO, China, and the Vilnius Summit," *War on the Rocks*, July 7, 2023; with Garret Martin: https://warontherocks.com/2023/07/nato-china-and-the-vilnius-summit/

"Bridging Gaps," *H-Diplo/RJISSF Policy Roundtable II-3*: Sustaining Conversations between Political Scientists and Historians, June 28, 2023: <a href="https://issforum.org/policy-roundtable/h-diplorjissf-policy-roundtable-ii-3-sustaining-conversations-between-political-scientists-and-historians">https://issforum.org/policy-roundtable/h-diplorjissf-policy-roundtable-ii-3-sustaining-conversations-between-political-scientists-and-historians</a>

"The Long War in Ukraine," *Foreign Affairs*, January 9, 2023; with Ivo H. Daalder: <a href="https://www.foreignaffairs.com/ukraine/long-war-ukraine-russia-protracted-conflict">https://www.foreignaffairs.com/ukraine/long-war-ukraine-russia-protracted-conflict</a>

"China's Relations with Russia, India, and Europe," Brookings Institution Policy Brief, December 2022; with Célia Belin, Tanvi Madan, and Angela Stent: <a href="https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/FP">https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/FP</a> 20221220 china russia india europe.pdf

Blog Post: "How Not to Bridge the Gap in International Relations," International Affairs, September 23, 2022; with Naazneen H. Barma: <a href="https://medium.com/international-affairs-blog/how-not-to-bridge-the-gap-in-international-relations-3aad212f1256">https://medium.com/international-affairs-blog/how-not-to-bridge-the-gap-in-international-relations-3aad212f1256</a>

"Bob Jervis: Jack of All Trades, Master of All," *H-Diplo*, August 26, 2022; with Elizabeth N. Saunders: <a href="https://issforum.org/ISSF/PDF/ISSF-Jervis-Tribute-2.pdf">https://issforum.org/ISSF/PDF/ISSF-Jervis-Tribute-2.pdf</a>

"Europe Strong and Safe: To Deter Russia, America Must Help Revive the Region's Security Architecture," *Foreign Affairs*, January 5, 2022; with Ivo Daalder: <a href="https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russia-fsu/2022-01-05/europe-strong-and-safe">https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russia-fsu/2022-01-05/europe-strong-and-safe</a>

"The United States and NATO after the End of the Cold War: Explaining and Evaluating Enlargement and Its Alternatives," in *Before and After the Fall: World Politics and the End of the Cold War*, edited by Nuno P.

Monteiro and Fritz Bartel (Cambridge University Press, 2021); with Joshua Shifrinson

"Biden's Democracy Summit Was Never a Good Idea. But Here's How to Make It Work," *Politico Magazine*, December 5, 2021; with Bruce Jentleson: <a href="https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2021/12/05/bidens-democracy-summit-never-good-idea-523718">https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2021/12/05/bidens-democracy-summit-never-good-idea-523718</a>

"Finding the Right Role for NATO in Addressing China and Climate Change," Brookings Institution report, October 2021; with Agneska Bloch: <a href="https://www.brookings.edu/research/finding-the-right-role-for-nato-in-addressing-china-and-climate-change/">https://www.brookings.edu/research/finding-the-right-role-for-nato-in-addressing-china-and-climate-change/</a>

"A Democracy Summit is Not What the Doctor Ordered," *Foreign Affairs*, December 14, 2020; with Bruce Jentleson: https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2020-12-14/democracy-summit-not-what-doctor-ordered

Contribution to the H-Diplo Roundtable on "The Importance of White House Presidential Tapes in Scholarship," November 2, 2020; with Elizabeth N. Saunders: <a href="https://issforum.org/forums/25-tapes#Essay">https://issforum.org/forums/25-tapes#Essay</a> by James Goldgeier American University and Elizabeth N Saunders Georgetown University v10

"How to Rethink the Teaching of International Relations," *Foreign Policy*, June 12, 2020; with Carmen Iezzi Mezzera: <a href="https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/06/12/how-to-rethink-the-teaching-of-international-relations/">https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/06/12/how-to-rethink-the-teaching-of-international-relations/</a>

"The Misunderstood Roots of International Order—And Why They Matter Again," *Washington Quarterly*, Fall 2018; available at <a href="https://twq.elliott.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs2121/f/downloads/41-3%20Goldgeier.pdf">https://twq.elliott.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs2121/f/downloads/41-3%20Goldgeier.pdf</a>

"Bill and Boris: A Window into a Most Important Post-Cold War Relationship," *Texas National Security Review*, vol. 1, issue 4; posted online August 28, 2018; available at <a href="https://tnsr.org/2018/08/bill-and-boris-a-window-into-a-most-important-post-cold-war-relationship">https://tnsr.org/2018/08/bill-and-boris-a-window-into-a-most-important-post-cold-war-relationship</a>

"The Unconstrained Presidency," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2018; with Elizabeth Saunders; available at <a href="https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/unconstrained-presidency">https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/unconstrained-presidency</a>

"Good Foreign Policy is Invisible: Why Boring is Better," *Foreign Affairs*, February 28, 2017; with Elizabeth N. Saunders: <a href="https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2017-02-28/good-foreign-policy-invisible;">https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2017-02-28/good-foreign-policy-invisible;</a> Named to *Foreign Affairs* "Best of 2017"

"Promises Made, Promises Broken? What Yeltsin Was Told About NATO in 1993 and Why it Matters," *War on the Rocks*, July 12, 2016; available at <a href="http://warontherocks.com/2016/07/promises-made-promises-broken-what-yeltsin-was-told-about-nato-in-1993-and-why-it-matters/">http://warontherocks.com/2016/07/promises-made-promises-broken-what-yeltsin-was-told-about-nato-in-1993-and-why-it-matters/</a>

# OTHER SELECT CURRENT PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Member, International Studies Association (ISA) International Security Studies Section Task Force on Diversity and Inclusion; Member, *Texas National Security Review* Editorial Board; Member, Wilson Center History and Public Policy Program Advisory Board; Chair, Council on Foreign Relations International Affairs Fellowship Selection Committee; Member, ISA Karl Deutsch Award Committee; Member, Library of Congress Henry A. Kissinger Chair Selection Committee.