

William C. Wohlforth

Dartmouth College
Department of Government
6108 Silsby Hall
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William.Wohlforth@Dartmouth.edu

Education

6/89 Ph.D., Political Science, Yale University (with distinction)
6/86 M.Phil., Political Science Yale University
6/84 M.A., International Relations, Yale University
5/82 B.A. International Relations, Beloit College (summa cum laude)

Appointments

7/08- Daniel Webster Professor, Dartmouth College
7/05- Professor, Government Department, Dartmouth College
8/00-6/05, Associate Professor, Government Department, Dartmouth College
9/98 – 7/00, Assistant Professor, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University
9/89-5/96, Assistant Professor, Princeton University
9/88-8/89 Instructor: Princeton University

Publications:

Books

World Out of Balance: International Relations Theory and the Challenge of American Primacy (Princeton University Press, 2008). With Stephen G. Brooks.

The Balance of Power in World History (editor, with Richard Little and Stuart Kaufman), (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

Cold War Endgame: Oral History, Analysis, Debates (Penn State University Press, 2003)
(Editor)

Witnesses to the End of the Cold War (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996). (Editor)

The Elusive Balance: Power and Perceptions During the Cold War (Cornell University Press, 1993)

Refereed Journals

- “Unipolarity, State Behavior and Systemic Consequences,” with G. John Ikenberry and Michael Mastanduno, *World Politics* (January 2009): 1-27 (Introduction to special issue on “International Relations Theory and the Consequences of Unipolarity.”)
- “Unipolarity, Status Competition and Great power War,” *World Politics* (January 2009): 28-57.
- “The Balance of Power in World History,” *European Journal of International Relations* Vol 13, No. 6 (June 2007) (with Richard Little, Stuart Kaufman, David Kang, Charles Jones, Victoria Tin-Bor Hui, Arthur Eckstein, Daniel Deudney, and William Brenner)
- “International Relations Theory and the Case Against the ‘New Unilateralism’” *Perspectives on Politics* Vol. 3, No. 1 (September 2005), pp. 509-524. With Stephen G. Brooks
- “Hard Times for Soft Balancing” *International Security* (Vol. 30, No. 1 Summer 2005), pp. 72-108. With Stephen G. Brooks
 Reprinted in:
 Michael E. Brown, Owen R. Coté Jr., Sean M. Lynn-Jones and Steven E. Miller, eds., *Primacy and its Discontents* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2006).
- Ideas and the End of the Cold War* (Co-editor, with Nina Tannenwald) Special Issue of *Journal of Cold War Studies* (Vol. 7, No. 2, Spring 2005). Includes:
- “The Role of Ideas in the End of the Cold War,” pp. 3-12. With Nina Tannenwald.
- “The End of the Cold War as a Hard Case for Ideas,” pp. 165-173.
- “From Old Thinking to New Thinking in Qualitative Research.” *International Security* Vol. 26, No. 4 (Spring 2002), pp. 93-110. With Stephen G. Brooks.
 Reprinted in:
 Gary Goertz and Jack Levy (eds.), *Explaining War and Peace: Case Studies and Necessary Condition Counterfactuals* (Routledge, 2007);
 M. E. Cox, ed., *Twentieth Century International Relations: Vol II: The Rise and Fall of the Cold War* (Sage, 2006).
- “The Russian-Soviet Empires, 1400-2000: A Test of Neorealism” *Review of International Studies* Vol. 27, No. 5 (December, 2001), pp. 213-235.
 Reprinted in:
 Michael Cox, Tim Dunne and Ken Booth, eds., *Empires, Systems and States; Great Transformations in International Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
- “Power, Globalization and the End of the Cold War: Reevaluating a Landmark Case for Ideas,” *International Security* Vol. 25, No. 3 (Winter 2000/2001), pp. 5-53. With Stephen G. Brooks.
 Reprinted in:
 Gary Goertz and Jack Levy (eds.), *Explaining War and Peace: Case Studies and Necessary Condition Counterfactuals* (Routledge, 2007).
 M. E. Cox, ed., *Twentieth Century International Relations: Vol II: The Rise and Fall of the Cold War* (Sage, 2006).

"Power Test: Updating Realism in Response to the End of the Cold War," *Security Studies* Vol. 9, No. 3 (Spring 2000), pp. 60-108. With Randall Schweller.

"The Stability of a Unipolar World," *International Security* Vol. 21, No. 1 (Summer 1999), pp. 5-41.

Reprinted in:

Michael E. Brown, Owen R. Coté Jr., Sean M. Lynn-Jones and Steven E. Miller, eds., *Primacy and its Discontents* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2006).

Richard Little and Michael Smith, eds., *Perspectives on World Politics* (London: Routledge, 2005).

Paul F. Diehl, Ed., *War: Volume III: National and Systemic Correlates of Conflict* (Sage, 2004).

Karen Mingst and Jack Snyder, eds., *Essential Readings in World Politics* (New York: Norton, 2001)

Michael E. Brown, Owen R. Cote, Jr., Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Steven E. Miller, eds., *America's Strategic Choices*, rev. ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2000.)

"A Certain Idea of Science: How International Relations Theory Avoids the New Cold War History" *Journal of Cold War Studies* Vol. 1, No. 2 (Spring 1999), pp. 39-60.

"Reality Check: Revising Theories of International Relations in Response to the End of the Cold War," *World Politics* Vol. 50, No. 4 (July 1998), pp. 659-680 (Review Essay)

"New Evidence on Moscow's Cold War: Ambiguity in Search of Theory," *Diplomatic History* Vol. 21, No. 2 (Spring 1997), pp. 229-242.

"Realism and the End of the Cold War," *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (Winter 1994-95), pp. .

Reprinted in:

Michael E. Brown, Sean M. Lynn- Jones and Steven E. Miller, eds., *The Perils of Anarchy: Contemporary Realism and International Security* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995).]

"The Perception of Power: Russia in the pre-1914 Balance," *World Politics* Vol. 39, No. 3 (Spring, 1987), pp. 353-381.

Reprinted in:

M. E. Cox, ed., *Twentieth Century International Relations: Vol. I: The International System, 1815-1945* (Sage, 2006).

Articles in Policy Journals

"Unipolar Stability: The Rules of Power Analysis," *Harvard International Review* (Spring 2007): 42-46

"American Primacy in Perspective," (With Stephen G. Brooks) *Foreign Affairs* (July/August, 2002).

Reprinted in

Phil Williams, Donald Goldstein, Jay Shafritz (eds). *Classic Readings in International Relations* (Thomson Wadsworth 2006).

M. E. Cox, ed., *Twentieth Century International Relations: Vol III: The United States: From Superpower to Empire* (Sage, 2006).
Gideon Rose, ed., *America and the World: Debating the New Shape of International Politics* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 2002).
Current Oct. 2002, No. 446, as "Global Predominance: American Primacy."
Translated and excerpted as: "Oui! l'unipole est américain," in *Courier de la Planète* 69, Vol III (2002)

"Ready for Revisionism: Russia's Intellectual Adjustment to Decline," *Harvard International Journal* XIX: No. 1 (Winter, 1996/97).

Articles in Edited Books

- *"Realism," in Christian Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations* (Oxford University Press, 2008)
- *"Realism and Foreign Policy," in Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield and Tim Dunne, eds., *Foreign Policy: Theory, Actors, Cases* (Oxford University Press, 2008)
- *"Defying Expectations: Russia's Missing Asian Revisionism" in G. John Ikenberry and Chung-In Moon, *The United States and Northeast Asia: Debates, Issues and New Order* (London: Rowman and Littlefield, 2008).
- *"Balancing and Balancing Failure in Biblical Times: Assyria and the Ancient Middle Eastern System, 900-600 BCE," in Kaufman, Little and Wohlforth, eds., *The Balance of Power in World History* (London: Palgrave, 2007): 22-46. With Stuart J. Kaufman
- "Heartland Dreams: Russian Geopolitics and Foreign Policy," in W. F. Danspeckgruber, ed., *Perspectives on the Russian State in Transition* (Princeton: LISD, 2006)
- "Revisiting Balance of Power Theory in Central Eurasia;" in T. V. Paul, James J. Wirtz, and Michel Fortmann, eds., *Balance of Power: Theory and Practice in the 21st Century* (Stanford University Press, 2004).
- "Economic Constraints and the Turn Toward Superpower Cooperation in the 1980s," (With Stephen G. Brooks), in Olav Njølstad, ed., *The Last Decade of the Cold War: From Conflict Escalation to Conflict Transformation: The Cold War in the 1980's* (London: Frank Cass, 2004)
- "German Unification" (with James Davis) in Richard K. Herrmann and Richard Ned Lebow, eds., *Ending the Cold War: Interpretations, Causation, and the Study of International Relations* (New York: Palgrave, 2004).
- "The Transatlantic Dimension," Roland Danreuther, ed., *European Union Foreign and Security Policy: Towards a Neighbourhood Strategy* (London: Routledge, 2004).
- "Russia's Soft Balancing Act," in Richard Ellings and Aaron Friedberg, with Michael Wills, eds. *Strategic Asia, 2003-4: Fragility and Crisis* (Seattle, Washington: National Bureau of Asia Research, 2003).

- “Central Asia: Defying ‘Great Game’ Expectations,” (with Kathleen Collins) in Richard Ellings and Aaron Friedberg, with Michael Wills, eds. *Strategic Asia, 2003-4: Fragility and Crisis* (Seattle, Washington: National Bureau of Asia Research, 2003).
- “U.S. Strategy in a Unipolar World,” in G. John Ikenberry, ed., *America Unrivaled: The Future of the Balance of Power* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002)
- “Measuring Power—and the Power of Theories,” in John A. Vasquez and Colin Elman, eds., *Realism and the Balancing of Power: A New Debate* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 2002)
- “Russia,” in Richard J. Ellings and Aaron L. Friedberg, eds., *Strategic Asia 2002-3: Asian Aftershocks* (Seattle and Washington DC: National Bureau of Asian Research, 2002)
- “Economic Constraints and the End of the Cold War,” (with Stephen G. Brooks), in Wohlforth, ed., *Cold War Endgame*.
- “Die Zukunft der transatlantischen Beziehungen in einer unipolaren Welt,” in Reinhard C. Maier-Walser and Susanne Luther, eds., *Europa und die USA: Transatlantische Beziehungen im Spannungsfeld von Regionalisierung und Globalisierung* (Munich: Olzog Verlag 2002).
- “Self-Determination and the Stability of the Russian Federation,” (with Tyler Felgenhauer), in Wolfgang Danspeckgruber, ed., *The Self-Determination of Peoples: Community, Nation, State in an Interdependent World* (Boulder/London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002).
- "Historical Science and Cold War Scholarship," in Colin Elman and Miriam Fendius Elman, eds., *Bridges and Boundaries: Historians, Political Scientists, and the Study of International Relations* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001)
- "A Certain Idea of Science: How International Relations Theory Avoids Reviewing the Cold War," in Odd Arne Westad, ed., *Reviewing the Cold War: Approaches, Theory, Interpretations* (London: Frank Cass, 2000).
- "New Security Challenge or Old? Russia's Catch-22" in Kurt R. Spillmann and Andreas Wenger, eds, *Towards the 21st Century: Trends in Post-Cold War International Security Policy* (Zürich: Peter Lang Verlag, 2000).
- "German Reunification: A Reassessment" in *The Cold War--Reassessments* Arthur L. Rosenbaum and Chae-Jin Lee, editors (Monograph Series #11) (Claremont, CA: The Keck Center for International and Strategic Studies, 2000)
- "Honor as Interest in Russian Decisions for War," 1600-1995 in Elliot Abrams, ed., *Honor Among Nations: Intangible Interests and Foreign Policy* (Washington, DC: Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1998).
- "Ending the Cold War: The Search for Causes," and "Policymakers, Scholars and the End of the Cold War," both in Wohlforth, ed., *Witnesses*.

"From Kuwait to the Abyss: The Soviet Union's Last Foreign Policy" in *The Iraqi Aggression Against Kuwait: Strategic Lessons and Implications for Europe* Wolfgang Danspeckgruber and Charles Tripp, eds., (Westview Press, 1995.)

"Gorbachev's Foreign Policy: From New Thinking to Decline," in *Emerging Dimensions of European Security Policy*, Wolfgang Danspeckgruber ed., (Westview, 1991).

Monographs and Other Publications

"The Comedy of Errors? A Reply to Sangiovanni," in *European Journal of International Relations* (forthcoming Vol. 15, No. 2) , with Richard Little, Stuart Kaufman, David Kang, Charles Jones, Victoria Tin-Bor Hui, Arthur Eckstein, Daniel Deudney, and William Brenner.

"Clarifying the End of the Cold War Debate," *Cold War History* Vol. 7, No. 3 (August 2007) (With S. G. Brooks)

"Correspondence: Striking the Balance," *International Security* Winter 2005/6

"Transatlantic Relations in Unipolar World," Occasional Paper No, 21, Geneva Centre for Security Policy. September 2002.

"Cold War Endgame: Conference Report" With Fred I. Greenstein. *Cold War International History Bulletin* Issue 12/13 (Fall/Winter, 2001), pp. 341-5.

Annotator, Sergei N. Khrushchev, *Nikita Khrushchev: Creation of a Superpower* 2 Vols. (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000)

"Ideology and the Cold War" *Review of International Studies* 26/2 (April 2000). Pp. 327-331.

"Correspondence: Is Anybody Still a Realist?" *International Security* 25/1 (Summer 2000)

Cold War Endgame. With Fred I. Greenstein, Princeton University, Center of International Studies Monograph Series # 10, 1997.

"Correspondence: Realism and the End of the Cold War," *International Security* Vol. 19 (Fall, 1995).

Retrospective on the End of the Cold War, With Fred I. Greenstein, Princeton University Center of International Studies Monograph Series #6, 1993

Selected Reviews

David Held and Mathias Koenig-Archibugi, *American Power in the 21st Century*, in *Perspectives on Politics*. June 2006: 431-32.

"Superpowers, Interventions and the Third World," *Cold War History* Vol. 6, No. 3 (August 2006), 365-371 (Symposium on O. A. Westad, *The Global Cold War*).

Benjamin Barber, *Fear's Empire: War, Terrorism and Democracy in International History Review* Vol XXVII, No. 3 (September 2005).

“Rethinking Cold War Historical Materialism,” *International Studies Review* (Fall 2002).
Review of Richard Saull, *Rethinking Theory and History in the Cold War: The State, Military Power and Social Revolution*

Paul. Hollander, *Political Will and Personal Belief: The Decline and Fall of Soviet Communism*, and Mikhail Gorbachev, *Gorbachev: On My Country and the World in Georgetown Journal of International Relations* (Winter 2000)

Alan Collins, *The Security Dilemma and the End of the Cold War in International History Review* (December 1998).

Fred Chernoff, *After Bipolarity: The Vanishing Threat, Theories of Cooperation, and the Future of the Atlantic Alliance* and Edward A. Kolodziej and Roger E. Kanet, eds., *Coping with Conflict after the Cold War*. Reviewed in *American Political Science Review* Vol. 91, No. 2 (June 1997)

Selected Papers and Invited Lectures (since 2003)

“The Relevance of the Cold War for Contemporary Security Challenges,” Geneva Center for Security Policy, Oct. 22, 2008.

“Why Realists Disagree about U.S. Foreign Policy,” International Studies Association. March 2008

“Realism and Foreign Policy Analysis,” International Studies Association. March 2008

“Power Assessment in World Politics: Is the United States in Decline?” National War College, 9 November 2007

“Bounding Power,” American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, September 2007

“The United States’ Position in World Politics,” Dartmouth Class of ’61; September 2007

“The United States and the World after Bush: The End of Unipolar Era?” Beloit College, March 21, 2007

“Realism and the Bush Doctrine: Crisis, What Crisis?” American Political Science Association, September 1, 2006.

“Unipolarity,” Conference on “Unipolarity and International Relations Theory” Princeton University, March 30-31 2006.

- “The Challenge of American Primacy,” (presented jointly with Stephen G Brooks) at The Council on Foreign Relations; and the School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University, both on Feb. 9, 2006.
- “Realism, 9/11 and the Bush Doctrine,” Norwegian Institute of International Relations Feb. 4 2006.
- “The Power of Power,” Mershon Center, Ohio State University, Jan 21, 2006
- “International Relations Theory and Constraints on U.S. Power,” University of Wales, Aberystwyth, December 13, 2005.
- “Institutions and Legitimacy as Constraints on U.S. Power,” Department of Politics, University of Nottingham, 16 November 2005.
- “Institutions and Legitimacy as Constraints on U.S. Power,” Centre of International Studies, Cambridge University, Nov 8, 2005
- “Iraq and U.S. Foreign Policy,” Chatham House Seminar, October 21, 2005.
- “Unipolarity, Globalization, and China’s Grand Strategy.” Metropolitan University of London, October 20, 2005.
- “American Power: Global Sheriff or International Outlaw?” London School of Economics October 18, 2005.
- “The End of the Cold War and the Crisis in IR Theory,” London School of Economics, October 5, 2005
- “American Primacy, Exceptionalism, and Political Risk,” keynote address, Chatham House (Royal Institute of International Affairs) annual political risk conference, October 3, 2005
- “Responses to U.S. Primacy: Soft Balancing or Unipolar Politics as Usual?” International Studies Association Annual Convention, Honolulu, Hawaii, March 2005.
- “The Limits of American Power,” Princeton University, Woodrow Wilson School, February 8, 2005
- “The Meaning of Unipolarity,” (with Stephen G. Brooks), Princeton University Workshop on “Unipolarity and International Relations Theory, January 13, 2005.
- “International Relations Theory and the Case against the ‘New Unilateralism,’” Norwegian Institute of International Relations, Oslo, 27 September 2004.
- “American Primacy and Foreign Policy,” Norwegian National Technical University, Trondheim, 26 September 2004.
- “Grand Strategy in the ‘Global War on Terror’: Playing to America’s Strengths,” paper presented at the 15th Annual Strategy Conference “Winning the War by Winning the Peace: Strategy for Conflict and Post-Conflict in the 21st Century.” U.S. Army War College, 13-15 April, 2004.

“Responses to U.S. Primacy: Soft Balancing or Unipolar Politics as Usual?” Christopher H. Browne Center for International Politics, University of Pennsylvania, April 1, 2004

“Still an Asian Power? Russia’s Adjustment to Decline,” Conference on Asian Security at Georgetown University, 23 November, 2003,

Unipolarity and America’s ‘New Unilateralism’ and “The End of the Cold War: New Research and its Implications for IR theory;” lectures given at Geneva Centre for Security Policy, 1 November 2003

“Explaining U.S. Unilateralism” lecture given at the University of Geneva, 1 November, 2003.

“Beyond Balancing: Why Balancing Fails;” and “King Ahab vs. Assyria: Balancing and Balancing Failure in the Late Biblical Inter-state System.” (both with S. J. Kaufman), at workshop on “Balancing Failure in Ancient International Systems” Dartmouth College, Oct 20-22, 2003.

“The Russian-Soviet Empires, 1600-2000: A Test of Neorealism,” paper delivered at the Center for Historical Studies, University of Maryland, October 13, 2003.

“The EU in a Unipolar World,” paper delivered at the Woodrow Wilson School/Center for European Studies Conference on “The EU—Its Role and Power in the Emerging International System” Princeton University, October 3-5, 2003.”

“Assessing the Case Against the ‘New Unilateralism,” Chicago Council on Foreign Relations. September 18, 2003.

“Russia’s Balancing Act in Asia,” Yonsei Univeristy, Seoul, Korea, May 29, 2003.

“International Relations Theory and the Case Against the ‘New Unilateralism,”” Mershon Center, Ohio State University April 30, 2003.

Awards and Fellowships

Dartmouth College Senior Faculty research grant 2004-5.

Olin Fellow in International Security Studies, Yale University (1996-98)

Social Science Fellow, Center for International Security and Arms Control , Stanford University (1993-94)

Foreign Policy Fellow, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace (1992)

Pre-Doctoral Fellow, Center for International Security and Arms Control (1987-88)

Yale University Fellowship (1982-87)

Phi Beta Kappa (1981)

Selected Professional Activities

Editor-in-chief, *Security Studies*

Editorial board, *Cambridge Studies in International Relations*

Co-editor (for International Security Studies Section) of the International Studies Association's *Compendium* project—a 20 volume set on the state of knowledge in international studies.

International Studies Association, International Security Studies Section, Book Award Committee, 2006-7

Member, Editorial Board, *International Security* (2003-)

External promotion review expert, London School of Economics

Member, International Advisory Board, Research Program on "Hegemony and World Order" at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (2005-)

Member, International Advisory Board, *Journal of International Relations and Development* (2003-)

Member: Council on Foreign Relations, APSA, ISA.

Associate Editor, *World Politics* (1989-96)

Program chair, section on International History and Politics, APSA (2003)

Senior Advisor, Eurasia Program, National Bureau of Asian Research (2001-6)

Member of the Board, Stiftung für Selbstbestimmung und Internationale Beziehungen in Liechtenstein—SIRIL (2001-)

Reviewer for:

Journals: *American Political Science Review*; *Cold War Studies*; *Comparative Political Studies*; *European Journal of International Relations*; *Global Governance*; *International History Review*; *International Organization*; *International Security*; *International Studies Quarterly*; *Journal of Cold War Studies*; *Journal of Conflict Resolution*; *Journal of Politics*; *Journal of International Relations and Development*; *Political Science Quarterly*; *Security Studies*, *World Politics*.

Presses: Cornell University Press; Princeton University Press; University of Michigan Press; Columbia University Press, Oxford University Press; Brookings Institution, St. Martin's Press; Frank Cass/Routledge.

Foundations: Foreign Policy Association; Grawemayer Award; U.S. Institute of Peace

Teaching Experience

Undergraduate: Russian Foreign Policy; International Relations Theory; Strategy and Decision; Leadership and Grand Strategy; Ideas and International Politics: Ending the Slave Trade, Colonialism and the Cold War; Is War Obsolete?; Globalization and International Security; International Security; Introduction to International Relations; The Soviet Union in World Affairs; Russia and the International Politics of Eurasia.

MA: International Relations: Theory and Practice; The United States, Russia and the Newly Independent States of Eurasia; Leadership and Grand Strategy; Foreign Policy Analysis; Russian Foreign Policy and the Soviet Legacy; Soviet Foreign Policy.

Ph.D: Theory of International Politics; Mellon Dissertation Workshop (Research Methods); Service on committees of doctoral candidates at Princeton, the University of Pennsylvania, and Georgetown.

University and Department Service

Vice-Chair, Committee Advisory to the President, Sept. 2008-
Academic Advisor, Dartmouth Co-ed Sailing, July 2007-
Chair, Department of Government, July 2006-
Committee Advisory to the President, July 2006-December 2007
Search Committee, Clements Chair in American Democracy (W 06)
Search Committee, International Relations (W 2005-6)
Chair, Committee on Off Campus Activities (Winter and Spring, 2004)
Chair, Search Committee in Comparative and American Politics, Dept. of Government
Search Committee, Russian Language and Literature, 2002-3
Committee on Off Campus Activities, 2002-4
Search Committee (Latin American Politics) Department of Government (2001-02)
Search Committee (Political Theory) Department of Government (2000-01)
Admissions Committee, Master of Science in Foreign Service Program (2000)
Search Committee, Transition Economics CEREEES/Economics (2000)
Acting Master, Stevenson Hall (1992-94)
Resident Faculty, Stevenson Hall (1989-91)
University Committee on Undergraduate Life (1989-94)
Russian Studies Program Committee (1990-96)
Politics Undergraduate Committee/Junior Independent Work Advisor (1994-96)
Politics Graduate Committee/Admissions Committee (1990-94)