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Elliott School of International Affairs
The George Washington University
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ACADEMIC POSITIONS

- Fall 2009- Present THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
Elliott School of International Affairs and Department of Political Science
Professor of Political Science and International Affairs
Director, Institute for Security and Conflict Studies through summer 2019
Co-director, 2020-present
- Fall 2019- Summer 2020 Roth Family Distinguished Visiting Scholar, Dartmouth
- Fall 2014- Spring 2015 WOODROW WILSON INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR SCHOLARS
Kissinger Institute, Fellow
- Fall 1991- Summer 2009 UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
Irving B. Harris Graduate School of Public Policy Studies
Emmett Dedmon Professor of Public Policy, 2006-2009
Professor, October 1998; Deputy Dean, April 1998-Summer 2009.
Acting Dean, September 1994-June 1996; Associate Professor, July 1994.
Associate Faculty Member, Department of Political Science.
Member Committee on International Relations.
- Fall 1996- Spring 1997 STANFORD UNIVERSITY, Center for International Security and Arms Control
Visiting Fellow.
- Fall 1990- Summer 1991 THE U.S. JOINT STAFF, Strategic Plans and Policy Directorate
Strategic Analyst. Council on Foreign Relations International Affairs Fellow.
- Fall 1989- Summer 1990 UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE
Jennings Randolph Peace Fellow.
- Fall 1987- Summer 1991 UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, Department of Political Science
Assistant Professor. Research Associate at Institute for Public Policy Studies.
- Summer 1985- Summer 1987 MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY, Center for International
Studies. Research Associate. Adjunct Research Fellow, CSIA, Harvard.
- Fall 1983- Summer 1985 HARVARD UNIVERSITY, Center for Science and International Affairs,
John F. Kennedy School of Government. Research Fellow.

EDUCATION

- 1981-1983 HARVARD UNIVERSITY, John F. Kennedy School of Government
Ph.D. in Public Policy.
Graduate Student Associate, Center for Science and
International Affairs, Harvard University.
- 1979-1981 HARVARD UNIVERSITY, John F. Kennedy School of Government
Master of Public Policy.
- 1978-1980 HARVARD UNIVERSITY
Master of Arts in Physics.
- 1972-1977 MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
Bachelor of Science. Major in Physics.
College honors included Phi Beta Kappa and Sigma Xi.

PUBLICATIONS

Books:

Understanding Nuclear Operations in the 21st Century, co-edited with Austin Long and Brian Radzinsky (Brookings Press, forthcoming 2022).

Crude Strategy: Rethinking the U.S. Military Commitment to Defend Persian Gulf Oil, coeditor w/ Rosemary A. Kelanic (Georgetown University Press 2016).

Rational Theory of International Politics: Logic of Competition and Cooperation (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).

Honorable Mention, Best Book Award, International Security Studies Section, International Studies Association, April 2012.

Analyzing Strategic Nuclear Policy (Princeton University Press, 1990).

Articles and Book Chapters:

“Legal, but Lethal: The Law of Armed Conflict and U.S. Nuclear Strategy,” with Steve Fetter (forthcoming, *The Washington Quarterly*).

“Introduction,” co-authored with Brian Radzinski, in Glaser, Long and Radzinski, *Managing Nuclear Operations in the 21st Century* (forthcoming, Brookings Press, 2022).

“Basics of Deterrence and U.S. Nuclear Doctrine and Forces,” co-authored with Brian Radzinski, in Glaser, Long and Radzinski, *Managing Nuclear Operations in the 21st Century* (forthcoming, Brookings Press, 2022).

“Realism” in Alan Collins, ed., *Contemporary Security Studies*, 6th edition, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022).

“The Sources and Consequences of Deepening US-China Competition” in Jacques deLisle and Avery Goldstein, eds. *After Engagement: Dilemmas in U.S.-China Security Relations* (Brookings Institution Press, 2021).

“Rational Analysis of Grand Strategy,” in Thierry Balzacq and Ronald R. Krebs, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Grand Strategy* (Oxford University Press, 2021).

“Washington is Avoiding the Tough Questions of Taiwan and China: The Case for Reconsidering U.S. Commitments in East Asia,” *Foreign Affairs* (April 28, 2021).

“The Nuclear Revolution Marches On,” in roundtable of Robert Jervis, *The Meaning of the Nuclear Revolution*, *Texas National Security Review* (April 2020).

“A Flawed Framework: Why the Liberal International Order Concept is Misguided,” *International Security*, Vol. 43, No. 4 (Spring 2019), pp. 51-87.

“Was Nuclear Disarmament Ever Alive?” in Bard Nicholas Vik Steen and Olav Njolstad, ed., *Nuclear Disarmament: A Critical Assessment* (Routledge, 2019).

“Realism” in Alan Collins, ed., *Contemporary Security Studies*, 5th edition, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

“How Effects, Saliencies and Norms Should Influence U.S. Cyberwar Doctrine,” Henry Farrell and Charles L. Glaser, in Herb Lin and Amy Zegart, eds., *Bytes, Bombs, and Spies: The Strategic Dimensions of Offensive Cyber Operations* (Brookings, 2018).

“A Realist Perspective on the Constructivist Project,” in Patrick James, Mariano Bertucci and Jarrod Hayes, eds., *Constructivism and its Critics* (University of Michigan Press 2018).

“Correspondence: The Limits of Damage Limitation,” Charles L. Glaser and Steve Fetter, *International Security*, Vol. 42, No. 1 (Summer 2017), pp. 193-207.

“The Role of Effects, Saliencies, and Norms in U.S. Cyberwar Doctrine,” Henry Farrell and Charles L. Glaser, *Journal of Cyber Security*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (March 2017), pp. 7-17.

“Getting Out of the Gulf: Oil and U.S. Military Strategy,” with Rosemary A. Kelanic, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 96, No. 1 (January-February 2017).

“Oil, Asia, and U.S. Foreign and Security Policy,” in Mike Mochizuki and Deepa Ollapally, eds., *Energy Security in Asia and Eurasia* (Routledge, 2017).

“Should the United States Stay in the Gulf?” w/ Rosemary A. Kelanic, in Glaser and Kelanic, eds., *Crude Calculus: Reexamining the Oil Security Logic of America’s Military Presence in the Persian Gulf* (Georgetown University Press 2016).

“Introduction” w/ Rosemary A. Kelanic, in Glaser and Kelanic, eds., *Crude Calculus: Reexamining the Oil Security Logic of America’s Military Presence in the Persian Gulf*, coeditor w/ Kelanic (Georgetown University Press 2016).

“Should the United States Reject MAD? Damage Limitation and U.S. Nuclear Strategy toward China,” with Steve Fetter, *International Security*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (Summer 2016), pp. 49-98.

“Correspondence: Grand Bargain or Bad Idea? U.S. Relations with China and Taiwan,” *International Security*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (Spring 2016), pp. 178-191.

“Realism” in Alan Collins, ed., *Contemporary Security Studies*, 4th edition, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

[Earlier versions of this chapter appeared in Alan Collins, ed., *Contemporary Security Studies*, 3rd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) and 2nd edition (2010).]

“Correspondence: Can Great Powers Discern Intentions?,” with Andrew H. Kydd, *International Security* (Winter 2015/16), Vol. 40, No. 3, pp. 197-215.

“Realism: Not Expanding, But Still Evolving” in Christopher Daase, Julian Junk, and Gabi Schlag, eds., *Transformations of Security Studies: Dialogues, Diversity and Discipline* (Routledge, 2015).

“A U.S.-China Grand Bargain? The Hard Choice between Military Competition and Accommodation” *International Security*, Vol. 39, No. 4 (Spring 2015), pp. 49-90.

“How Oil Influences U.S. National Security,” *International Security*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (Fall 2013), pp. 112-146.

“The Security Dilemma: Understanding International Competition and Cooperation,” in Daniel J. Christie, ed., *Encyclopedia of Peace Psychology* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2011).

“Defending *RTIP* Without Offending Unnecessarily,” *Security Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (July-September 2011), pp. 469-489.

“Why Unipolarity Doesn’t Matter (Much),” *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (June 2011), pp. 135-147.

“Glaser Replies—Disengaging from Taiwan: Should Washington Continue its Alliance with Taipei,?” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 90, No. 4 (July/August 2011).

“Will China’s Rise Lead to War?: Why Realism Does Not Mean Pessimism,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 90, No. 2 (March/April 2011).

“Historical Remembrance and International Relations Theory,” in Roundtable Discussion of Jennifer Lind’s *Sorry States: Apologies in International Politics*,” *Journal of East Asian Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (September-December 2009), pp. 337-343.

“The Instability of Small Numbers Revisited: Prospects for Disarmament and Nonproliferation,” October 2007, in Michael May, ed., *Rebuilding the NPT Consensus* (CISAC Report, Stanford University April 2008), at <http://iis-db.stanford.edu/pubs/22218/RebuildNPTConsensus.pdf>.

“Counterforce Revisited: Assessing the Nuclear Posture Review’s New Missions,” Charles L. Glaser and Steve Fetter, *International Security*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (Fall 2005), pp. 84-126.

“Critiquing the Nuclear Posture Review’s New Nuclear Missions,” with Steve Fetter, in James J. Wirtz and Jeffrey A. Larson, eds., *Nuclear Transformation: The New U.S. Nuclear Doctrine* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

“When Are Arms Races Dangerous? Rational versus Suboptimal Arming,” *International Security*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (Spring 2004), pp. 44-84.

“Structural Realism in a More Complex World,” *Review of International Studies* (July 2003), pp. 403-414.

[Excerpt reprinted in Colin Elman and Michael Jensen, eds., *Realism Reader* (Routledge 2014); and in Elman and Jensen, eds., *Realism Reader* (Routledge, 2011).]

“The Natural and Necessary Evolution of Structural Realism,” in Colin Elman and John Vasquez, eds., *Realism and the Balancing of Power* (Prentice Hall 2003).

[Partially reprinted in Colin Elman and Michael A. Jensen, eds., *Realism Reader* (Routledge, 2014).]

“Correspondence: The Case for Limited National and Allied Missile Defense,” Steve Fetter and Charles L. Glaser, *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 4 (Spring 2002), pp. 196-201.

“National Missile Defense and the Future of U.S. Nuclear Weapons Policy,” Charles L. Glaser and Steve Fetter, *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (Summer 2001), pp. 40-92.

“The Causes and Consequences of Arms Races,” in Nelson Polsby, ed., *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 3 (Palo Alto: Annual Reviews, 2000), pp. 251-276.

[Reprinted in Paul Diehl, ed., *War: Vol. 3—National and Systemic Correlates of Conflict* (Sage, 2005).]

“Correspondence: Taking Offense at Offense-Defense Theory,” Charles L. Glaser and Chaim Kaufmann, *International Security*, Vol. 23, No. 3, (Winter 1998/99), pp. 200-206.

[Reprinted in Michael E. Brown, et al., eds., *Offense, Defense and War* (MIT Press, 2004).]

“What is the Offense-Defense Balance and Can We Measure It?,” Charles L. Glaser and Chaim Kaufmann, *International Security*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (Spring 1998), pp. 44-82.

[Reprinted in Michael E. Brown, et al., eds., *Offense, Defense and War* (MIT Press, 2004).]

“The Flawed Case for Nuclear Disarmament,” *Survival*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (Spring 1998), pp. 112-28.

“The Security Dilemma Revisited,” *World Politics*, Fiftieth Anniversary Special Issue, Vol. 50, No. 1 (October 1997), pp. 171-201.

“Correspondence: ‘Current Gains and Future Outcomes’,” *International Security*, Vol. 21, No. 4 (Spring 1997), pp. 186-193.

“Realists as Optimists: Cooperation as Self-Help,” *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (Winter 1994/95), pp. 50-90.

[Reprinted in Michael E. Brown, Sean Lynn-Jones, and Steven E. Miller, eds., *The Perils of Anarchy: Contemporary Realism and International Security* (MIT Press, 1995); in slightly revised form, *Security Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (Spring 1996) and Benjamin Frankel, ed., *Realism: Restatements and Reconstructions* (Frank Cass, 1996); and in Michael E. Brown et al., eds., *Theories of War and Peace* (MIT Press, 1998); and partially in Colin Elman and Michael A. Jensen, eds., *Realism Reader* (Routledge, 2014).]

“Why NATO is Still Best: Future Security Arrangements for Europe,” *International Security*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (Summer 1993), pp. 5-50.

[Reprinted in Paul F. Diehl, ed., *The Politics of Global Governance: International Organizations in an Interdependent World* (Lynne Rienner, 1997). Reprinted in condensed form in *Global Issues in Transition*, U.S. Information Agency's electronic journal, November 1993.]

“Future Security Arrangements for Europe: Why NATO is Still Best,” in George W. Downs, ed., *Collective Security Beyond the Cold War* (University of Michigan Press, 1994).

“Planning Nuclear Forces During Transition,” in Joseph Kruzal, ed., *American Defense Annual, 1992-1993* (Lexington Books, 1993).

“Models of Soviet-American Relations, Charles L. Glaser and Ted Hopf, in William Zimmerman, ed., *The Changing Soviet Union and Western Theories of Deterrence* (University of Michigan Press, 1992), pp. 497-538.

“Political Consequences of Military Strategy: Expanding and Refining the Spiral and Deterrence Models,” *World Politics*, Vol. 44, No. 4 (July 1992).

[Reprinted in Matthew Evangelista, ed., *Peace Studies: Critical Concepts in Political Science* (Routledge, 2005).]

“Nuclear Policy Without an Adversary: U.S. Planning for the Post-Soviet Era,” *International Security*, Vol. 16, No. 4 (Spring 1992).

“Defense Policy: U.S. Role in Europe and Nuclear Strategy,” Charles L. Glaser and George W. Downs, in Kenneth A. Oye, Robert J. Lieber, and Donald Rothchild eds., *Eagle in a New Land: American Grand Strategy in the Post-Cold War World* (Harper-Collins, 1991).

"Why Do Strategists Disagree About the Requirements of Strategic Nuclear Deterrence?," in Lynn R. Eden and Steven E. Miller, eds., *Nuclear Arguments* (Cornell University Press, 1989).

"Defense-Dominance," in Graham Allison, Albert Carnesale and Joseph S. Nye, Jr., eds., *Fateful Visions: Avoiding Nuclear Catastrophe* (Ballinger, 1988).

"Managing the Transition," in Samuel F. Wells and Robert Litwak, eds., *Strategic Defenses and Soviet-American Relations* (Ballinger, 1987).

[Reprinted in Charles W. Kegley, Jr. and Eugene Wittkopf, eds., *The Nuclear Reader: Strategy, Weapons, War* (St. Martin's, 2nd ed., 1989).]

"Do We Want the Missile Defenses We Can Build?," *International Security*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (Summer 1985), pp. 25-57.

[Reprinted in Steven E. Miller and Stephen Van Evera, *The Star Wars Controversy* (Princeton University Press, 1986).]

"Star Wars bad even if it works," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (March 1985), pp. 13-16.

[Reprinted in Len Auckland and Steven McGuire, *Assessing the Nuclear Age* (Educational Foundation for Nuclear Science, 1986).]

"Why Even Good Defenses May Be Bad," *International Security*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Fall 1984), pp. 92-123.

[Reprinted in Robert J. Art and Kenneth N. Waltz, eds., *The Use of Force*, Third Edition (University Press of America, 1988); and in Steven E. Miller and Stephen Van Evera, *The Star Wars Controversy* (Princeton University Press, 1986).]

"Treatment of Escalation in the Rand Strategic Assessment Center," Charles Glaser and Paul Davis, The Rand Corporation, N-1969-DNA, April 1983.

"ICBM Vulnerability: The Cures Are Worse Than the Disease," Albert Carnesale and Charles Glaser, *International Security*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Summer 1982), pp. 70-85.

"Cross-Beam Determination of Na-Rare Gas Fine-Structure-State-Changing Cross Sections," William D. Phillips, Charles L. Glaser, and Daniel Kleppner, *Physical Review Letters*, Vol. 38, 2 May 1977.

Other Publications:

"Bob Jervis's Awesome Legacy," ISSF Tribute to the Life, Scholarship, and Legacy of Robert Jervis: Part I (4 February 2022) at <https://issforum.org/ISSF/PDF/ISSF-Jervis-Tribute-1.pdf>

"Still Powerful, Nuclear Revolution Theory May Require Qualifications," H-Diplo Roundtable Review of Brendan Rittenhouse Green, *The Revolution that Failed: Nuclear Competition, Arms Control, and the Cold War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2020) [November 2021]

“Still Waiting for a Serious Debate on Taiwan,” *Foreign Policy* (May 19, 2021).

"Problems in Viewing China's Rise as a Threat to the Liberal International Order," *Owl in the Olive Tree*, Minerva Research Initiative Blog (July 23, 2019).

"The G-20 is discussing the 'International liberal order.' That's a bad place to start a debate.," *The Monkey Cage*, *Washington Post* (June 28, 2019).

H-Diplo/ISSF Roundtable Review of Matthew Kroenig, *The Logic of American Nuclear Strategy: Why Strategic Superiority Matters*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

“The United States should forego a damage-limitation capability against China,” in Pierce Cordon et al., *Nuclear Weapons and Related Security Issues*, AIP Conference Proceedings (Melville, NY: AIP Publishing, 2017).

“China’s Rise Can Be Peaceful If the U.S. Doesn’t Provoke It,” Room for Debate, *New York Times* (December 16, 2016) at <http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2016/12/14/can-trump-get-tough-with-china/chinas-rise-can-be-peaceful-if-the-us-doesnt-provoke-it>

“The United States Should Forego a Damage-Limitation Capability Against China,” ISCS Policy Brief (February 2016), at https://iscs.elliott.gwu.edu/sites/iscs.elliott.gwu.edu/files/downloads/China%20Policy%20Brief_Glaser.pdf

“Time for a U.S.-China Grand Bargain.” Policy Brief, Belfer Center for International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School, July 2015.

“Deterrence of Cyber Attacks and U.S. National Security,” CSPRI Report (June 2011) at <http://www.cspri.seas.gwu.edu/Seminar%20Abstracts%20and%20Papers/2011-5%20Cyber%20Deterrence%20and%20Security%20Glaser.pdf>

“Analysis or Advocacy?: the role of political preferences,” *H-Diplo: International Security Studies Forum* (2010)

“Revisit the Deterrence Question,” *Los Angeles Times* (May 12, 2003)

Papers in progress:

“U.S. Policy Toward China in the South China Sea” (August 2021, with Taylor Fravel)

“The Role of Nuclear Weapons in Extending Deterrence to Japan” (January 2020)

“Nuclear Compellence Revisited: Explaining the Success and Failure of Nuclear Compellent Threats,” with Alex Downes and Jasen Castillo (August 2021).

“U.S. Grand Strategy Toward China” (April 2021)

“A Realist Perspective on the Implications of Identity for US policy Toward Rising Powers,” (October 2012), to be included in Mike Mochizuki and Deepa Ollapally, *Power and Identity in Asia*.

“Does the Offense-Defense Balance Matter?,” with Chaim Kaufmann; delivered at the APSA 1998 Annual Meeting.

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Editorial boards: *International Security*
Security Studies 1991-2014

Reviewer: *American Political Science Review*; *European Journal of International Relations*; *International Organization*; *International Security*; *International Studies Quarterly*; *Journal of Conflict Resolution*; *Journal of Peace Research*; *Millennium*; *The Nonproliferation Review*; *Political Science Quarterly*; *Review of International Studies*; *Security Studies*; *World Politics*; Cambridge University Press; Columbia University Press; Cornell University Press; Michigan University Press; Princeton University Press; Stanford University Press; RAND Corporation; Carnegie Corporation; Smith Richardson Foundation.

Member: CENTER FOR NAVAL ANALYSES, Strategy, Forces and Operations Technical Advisory Committee, 1997-2003.

The RAND CORPORATION: Summer 1982

U.S. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY: Summer 1980

HONORS and FELLOWSHIPS

Spring 2021 National Academy of Sciences’ William and Katherine Estes Award, for behavioral research toward the prevention of nuclear war

Spring 2020 Michael E. Brown Research Prize, Elliott School, George Washington

Fall 2019-
Summer 2020 Roth Family Distinguished Visiting Scholar, Dartmouth

Spring 2019 George Washington University OVPR Distinguished Scholar

Spring 2018 ISA ISSS (International Security Studies Section) Distinguished Scholar Award for lifetime achievement in international security studies via research, writing, and mentorship

Fall 2014-
Spring 2015. Fellow, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Kissinger Institute on China and the United States

Spring 2012 Honorable Mention, Best Book Award, International Security Studies Section, ISA, April 2012, for *Rational Theory of International Politics*

Fall 2006-
Spring 2009 Emmett Dedmon Professor of Public Policy, Harris School, University of Chicago

Fall 1990 to
Summer 1991 COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
International Affairs Fellow; Strategic Analyst, Joint Staff.

Fall 1989 to
Summer 1990 UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE
Peace Fellow.

Summer 1989 UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, Faculty Recognition Award

1986 to
1991 COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
Term Member.

Fall 1982 to
Spring 1983 INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF WORLD POLITICS
Pre-doctoral research fellowship.

GRANTS

Summer 2021-
Spring 2023 Principal Investigator: Carnegie Corporation grant to study the technological future of major power nuclear competition; \$200,000

Fall 2017-
Spring 2021 Principal Investigator: Carnegie Corporation grant to study U.S. nuclear policy toward China, third stage of project; \$400,000

Spring 2016-
Winter 2020 Principal Investigator: Minerva grant—Spheres of Influence and Regional Orders: Assessing Approaches for Responding to China’s Rise; ~ \$1,640,000

Fall 2015-
Fall 2017 Principal Investigator: Carnegie Corporation grant to study U.S. nuclear policy toward China, second stage of project; \$450,000

Fall 2013-
Fall 2015 Principal Investigator: Carnegie Corporation grant to study U.S. nuclear policy toward China; \$450,000

Fall 2004 to
Spring 2007 Smith Richardson Foundation
Program on International Security Policy, with J. Mearsheimer and R. Pape

Fall 2001 to Smith Richardson Foundation

Spring 2004 Program on International Security Policy, with J. Mearsheimer and R. Pape

Fall 2000 to
Spring 2001 Smith Richardson Foundation
Program on International Security Policy, with J. Mearsheimer

Fall 1997 to
Spring 2000 Smith Richardson Foundation
Grant to create the Program on International Security Policy, with J.
Mearsheimer and S. Walt

Summer 1989 UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, Rackham Faculty Fellowship

Fall 1988 UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, Presidential Initiatives Fund