

# Stephen G. Brooks

Department of Government  
Dartmouth College  
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## EDUCATION

Yale University

Ph.D. (2001) in Political Science, granted with *Distinction*

Dissertation: “The Globalization of Production and International Security”

Winner of the 2002 *Helen Dwight Reid Award* for the best doctoral dissertation in international relations, law, and politics completed in 2001 or 2002.

University of California at Santa Cruz

B.A. (1993) in Economics and Politics, granted with *Highest Honors* and *Phi Beta Kappa*

## APPOINTMENTS

Professor, Department of Government, Dartmouth College, 2017-present

Associate Professor, Department of Government, Dartmouth College, 2007-2016

Assistant Professor, Department of Government, Dartmouth College, 2001-2006

## OTHER ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

Fellow, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University, 2002-2003

Visiting Predoctoral Fellow, Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University, 1998-2000

## BOOKS

- Political Economy of International Security  
(*Princeton University Press*, accepted and forthcoming).
- America Abroad: The United States’ Global Role in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century  
(*Oxford University Press*, 2016), with William Wohlforth.
- World Out of Balance: International Relations and the Challenge of American Primacy  
(*Princeton University Press*, 2008), with William Wohlforth.
- Producing Security: Multinational Corporations, Globalization, & the Changing Calculus of Conflict  
(*Princeton University Press*, 2005).

## ARTICLES

- “Do Partisan Types Stop at the Water’s Edge?” *Journal of Politics*, accepted and forthcoming, with Joshua Kertzer and Deborah Brooks.
- “Illusions of Autonomy: Why Europe Cannot Provide for Its Security if the U.S. Pulls Back,” *International Security*, Vol. 45, No. 4 (Spring 2021), with Hugo Meijer.
- “Europe Cannot Defend Itself: The Challenge of Pooling Military Power,” *Survival*, Vol. 63, No. 1, with Hugo Meijer, pp. 33-40.
- “Power Transitions, Then and Now: Five New Structural Barriers That Will Constrain China’s Rise,” *China International Strategy Review*, Vol. 1., No. 1 (Summer 2019), pp. 65-83.  
*Translated and reprinted in:*
  - Wang Jisi, ed., *China International Strategy Review 2020* (World Affairs Press, 2020).
- “The Demographic Transition Theory of War: Why Young Societies are Conflict Prone and Old Societies are Peaceful,” *International Security*, Vol. 43, No. 3 (Winter 2018/19), with Deborah Brooks, Brian Greenhill, and Mark Haas, pp. 53-95.
- “Assessing the Scope of U.S. Security Commitments in Asia,” *Asia Policy*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (July 2018), pp. 144-149.
- “Distinguishing a Minimalist Role for Grand Theorizing,” *International Relations*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (March 2017), pp. 85-90.
- “The Once and Future Superpower: Why China Won’t Overtake the United States,” *Foreign Affairs*, (Vol. 95, No. 3), May/June 2016, with William Wohlforth, pp. 91-104.
- “The Rise and Fall of Great Powers in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: China’s Rise and the Fate of America’s Global Position,” *International Security*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (Winter 2015/16), with William Wohlforth, pp. 7-48.
- “Economic Actors’ Lobbying Influence on the Prospects for War and Peace,” *International Organization*, Vol. 67, No. 4 (Fall 2013), pp. 863-888.
- “Don’t Come Home, America: The Case against Retrenchment,” *International Security*, Vol. 37, No. 3 (Winter 2012/13), pp. 7-51, with G. John Ikenberry and William Wohlforth.
- “Lean Forward: In Defense of American Engagement,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 92, No. 1 (January/February 2013), pp. 130-142, with G. John Ikenberry and William Wohlforth.  
*Reprinted in:*
  - Robert Art and Kelly Greenhill, eds., *The Use of Force: Military Power and International Politics* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2015).

- Gideon Rose, ed., *Masters of International Relations: Top Thinkers on the Top Problems* (2013).
- “Can We Identify a Benevolent Hegemon?” *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (2012), pp. 27-38.
- “Assessing the Balance,” *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 42, No. 2, pp. 201-219 (July 2011), with William Wohlforth
  - This article is our contribution to a symposium that analyzes our 2008 book (it is our response to seven separate articles examining our book).
- “Reshaping the World Order: How Washington Should Reform International Institutions,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 88, No. 2 (March/April 2009), with William Wohlforth.
- “Reflections on *Producing Security*,” *Security Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 4 (Winter 2008).
  - This article is my contribution to a symposium that analyzes my 2005 book (it is my response to three separate articles examining my book).
- “Clarifying the End of Cold War Debate,” *Cold War History*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (August 2007), pp. 447-454, with William Wohlforth.
- “International Relations Theory and the Case Against Unilateralism,” *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (September 2005), pp. 509-524, with William Wohlforth.
  - Reprinted in:
    - Robert Lieber, ed., *Foreign Policy* (Ashgate, 2008).
- “Hard Times for Soft Balancing” *International Security*, Vol. 30, No. 1, (Summer 2005), pp. 72-108, with William Wohlforth.
  - Reprinted in:
    - Michael E. Brown, Owen R. Coté Jr., Sean M. Lynn-Jones and Steven E. Miller, eds., *Primacy and its Discontents* (MIT Press, 2006)
- “A Double-Edged Sword: Globalization and Biosecurity,” *International Security*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (Winter 2003/04), pp. 123-148, with Kendall Hoyt.
- “American Primacy in Perspective,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 4 (July/August 2002), pp. 20-33, with William Wohlforth.
  - Reprinted in:
    - Phil Williams, Donald Goldstein, Jay Shafritz, eds., *Classic Readings in International Relations* (Thomson Wadsworth 2006).
    - Michael E. Cox, ed., *Twentieth Century International Relations: Vol III: The United States: From Superpower to Empire* (Sage, 2006).
    - David Skidmore, ed., *U.S. Foreign Policy in a Unipolar World* (New York: Longman, 2006)
    - Gideon Rose, ed., *America and the World: Debating the New Shape of International Politics* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 2002).
    - Translated as: “Oui! l’unipole est américain,” in *Courier de la Planète* 69, Vol III (2002)
    - *Current*, October 2002, Number 446, as “Global Predominance: American Primacy.”

- “From Old Thinking to New Thinking in Qualitative Research,” *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 4 (Spring 2002), pp. 93-110, with William Wohlforth.  
*Reprinted in:*
  - Gary Goertz and Jack Levy, eds., *Explaining War and Peace: Case Studies and Necessary Condition Counterfactuals* (Routledge, 2007).
  - Michael E. Cox, ed., *Twentieth Century International Relations: Vol II: The Rise and Fall of the Cold War* (Sage, 2006).
- “Power, Globalization, and the End of the Cold War: Reevaluating a Landmark Case for Ideas,” *International Security*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (Winter 2000/01), pp. 5-53, with William Wohlforth.  
*Reprinted in:*
  - Gary Goertz and Jack Levy, eds., *Explaining War and Peace: Case Studies and Necessary Condition Counterfactuals* (Routledge, 2007).
  - Michael E. Cox, ed., *Twentieth Century International Relations: Vol II: The Rise and Fall of the Cold War* (Sage, 2006).
- "The Globalization of Production and the Changing Benefits of Conquest," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 43, No. 5 (October 1999), pp. 646-670.
- "Dueling Realisms," *International Organization*, Vol. 51, No. 3 (Summer 1997), pp. 445-477.

#### BOOK CHAPTERS AND OTHER PUBLICATIONS

- "Author's Response," *H-Diplo Roundtable Reviews*, Volume X, No. 11 (2018), pp. 26-30, with William Wohlforth.  
*-This contribution is our response to four analyses of our book "America Abroad" that were published as part of a symposium sponsored by H-Diplo.*
- "Correspondence: Debating China's Rise and the Future of U.S. Power," *International Security*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (Fall 2016), with William Wohlforth, pp. 189-191.
- “Correspondence: Debating American Engagement: The Future of U.S. Grand Strategy” *International Security*, Vol. 38, No. 3 (Fall 2013), pp. 193-199, with G. John Ikenberry and William Wohlforth.
- “US Decline or Primacy?” with William Wohlforth. In *US Foreign Policy*, Michael Cox and Doug Stokes, editors (Oxford University Press, 2012).
- "Author's Response," *H-Diplo Roundtable Reviews*, Volume X, No. 13 (2009), pp. 29-36, with William Wohlforth.  
*-This contribution is our response to five analyses of our book "World Out of Balance" that were published as part of a symposium sponsored by H-Diplo.*

- “Correspondence: Striking the Balance,” *International Security*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (Winter 2005/06), pp. 186-191, with William Wohlforth.
- "Economic Constraints and the Turn Toward Superpower Cooperation in the 1980s," with William Wohlforth. In *The Last Decade of the Cold War: From Conflict Escalation to Conflict Transformation*, Olav Njnillstad, editor (Frank Cass, 2004).
- “Economic Constraints and the End of the Cold War,” with William Wohlforth. In *Cold War Endgame*, William Wohlforth, editor (Penn State University Press: 2002).

## **CURRENT RESEARCH**

- “What’s Fair in International Politics?” with Joshua Kertzer, Deborah Brooks, and Katy Powers
- “Multilateralism, Partisanship, and Public Opinion about U.S. Foreign Policy,” with Deborah Brooks
- “Lost at Sea: The U.S. Grand Strategy Debate and the Limits of Offshore Balancing,” with Benjamin Valentino and William Wohlforth

## **FELLOWSHIPS, GRANTS, AND ACADEMIC AWARDS**

- Finalist for Grawemeyer Award for Ideas Improving World Order, 2017
- Melville and Leila Strauss 1960 Faculty Fellowship, Dartmouth College, 2017
- Senior Faculty Fellowship, Dartmouth College, 2009
- C. Troy Shaver 1969 Fellowship, Dartmouth College, 2007
- Junior Faculty Fellowship, Dartmouth College, 2005
- Helen Dwight Reid Dissertation Award, 2003, APSA
- Bellagio Center Residency Fellowship, 2003, Rockefeller Foundation (declined)
- Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, International Security Fellowship, 2002-2003, Harvard University
- Rockefeller Fellow, 2001-2002, 2003-04, Dartmouth College
- Dickey Center Research Grant, 2002-2003, 2003-2004, 2004-2005, Dartmouth College
- Rockefeller Center Research Grant, 2002-2003, 2003-2004, 2008-2009, Dartmouth College
- Marion C. Sheridan Fellowship, 1999-2000, Yale University
- Institute for the Study of World Politics Dissertation Fellowship, 1998-1999
- Woodrow Wilson School, Visiting Predoctoral Fellowship, 1998-2000, Princeton University
- National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship, 1995-1998
- John F. Enders Research Award, 1998, Yale University

- Phi Beta Kappa, 1993, U.C. Santa Cruz
- University of California Regents Fellow, 1992-1993
- Adlai E. Stevenson Global Security Research Award, 1992, U.C. Santa Cruz
- Social Science Undergraduate Research Award, 1992, U.C. Santa Cruz

## INVITED LECTURES

- “Europe’s Role in the U.S. Grand Strategy Debate: What Should be Done to Restore Strong Transatlantic Ties?” The Perils of a U.S. Disengagement from Global Politics,” lecture at Egmont Royal Institute for International Relations at Ghent University, February 3, 2021.
- “Europe’s Role in the U.S. Grand Strategy Debate: What Should be Done to Restore Strong Transatlantic Ties?” The Perils of a U.S. Disengagement from Global Politics,” lecture at Centre for Security, Diplomacy and Strategy at Brussels School of Governance, December 17, 2020.
- “The Perils of a U.S. Disengagement from Global Politics,” keynote lecture at European Initiative on Security Studies Annual Conference held at Science Po, June 28, 2019.
- “Transatlantic Relations: The Way Forward,” lecture at Portuguese National Defense Institute, June 5, 2019.
- “A Grand Strategy of Deep Engagement,” lecture at MIT, April 17, 2019.
- “The Perils of a U.S. Disengagement from Global Politics,” lecture at Institut de Recherche Stratégique de l’Ecole Militaire (IRSEM), October 5, 2018.
- “The Perils of a U.S. Disengagement from Global Politics,” lecture at Sciences Po, October 4, 2018.
- “The Perils of a U.S. Disengagement from Global Politics,” lecture at Swedish Defence University, October 2, 2018.
- “The Perils of a U.S. Disengagement from Global Politics,” lecture at Leiden University Centre for International Relations, October 1, 2018.
- “The Perils of a U.S. Disengagement from Global Politics,” lecture at Finnish Institute of International Affairs (FIIA), September 28, 2018.
- “Comparing Different Traditions of Political Economy,” lecture at University of Copenhagen, September 25, 2018.
- “The Perils of a U.S. Disengagement from Global Politics,” lecture at University of Copenhagen, September 25, 2018.
- “America Abroad: The United States’ Global Role in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” lecture at University of Genoa, May 9, 2018.

- “America Abroad: The United States’ Global Role in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” lecture at European University Institute, May 7, 2018.
- “America Abroad: The United States’ Global Role in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” lecture at Istituto Affari Internazionali, May 3, 2018.
- “America Abroad: The United States’ Global Role in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” lecture at Duquesne University, November 8, 2017.
- “America Abroad: The United States’ Global Role in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” lecture at University of Copenhagen, November 12, 2017.
- “America Abroad: The United States’ Global Role in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” lecture at Royal Danish Defense College, November 12, 2017.
- “America Abroad: The United States’ Global Role in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” lecture at Copenhagen Business School, November 11, 2017.
- “The System Level and the US Role in the World,” lecture at The US and Transatlantic Relations Conference at Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies, November 9, 2017.
- “America Abroad: The United States’ Global Role in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” lecture at University of California at Santa Cruz, April 17, 2017.
- “America Abroad: The United States’ Global Role in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” lecture at University of Texas at Austin, March 22, 2017.
- “America Abroad: The United States’ Global Role in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” lecture at CATO Institute, March 21, 2017.
- “America Abroad: The United States’ Global Role in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” lecture at National Defense University, March 21, 2017.
- “America Abroad: The United States’ Global Role in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” lecture at RAND, March 20, 2017.
- “America Abroad: The United States’ Global Role in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” lecture at Princeton University, February 6, 2017.
- “Debating a Grand Strategy of Restraint,” keynote lecture at ISAC-ISSS Annual Conference held at University of Notre Dame, November 5, 2016.
- “The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: China’s Rise and the Fate of America’s Global Position,” lecture at University of Vermont, March 23, 2016.
- “The Political Economy of International Security,” book presented at University of Southern California, March 11, 2016.
- “The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: China’s Rise and the Fate of America’s Global Position,” paper (co-authored with William Wohlforth) presented at University of Southern California, March 10, 2016.

- “America Abroad: The United States’ Global Role in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” lecture at George Washington University, September 21, 2015.
- “America’s Global Role in the 21st Century,” lecture at US Naval War College, July 10, 2015.
- “America’s Global Role in the 21st Century,” lecture at Massachusetts Institute of Technology Lincoln Laboratory, June 24, 2015.
- “A One Superpower World?” paper (co-authored with William Wohlforth) presented at Brown University, May 11, 2015.
- “Multilateralism, Partisanship, and Public Opinion about U.S. Foreign Policy,” paper (co-authored with Deborah Brooks) presented at Cornell University, May 1, 2015.
- “The Political Economy of International Security,” lecture at Ohio State University, April 22, 2015.
- “The Political Economy of International Security,” lecture at Duke University, April 10, 2015.
- “The Pretty Prudent Partisan Theory of U.S. Foreign Policy Opinion,” lecture at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, February 7, 2014.
- “The Pretty Prudent Partisan Theory of U.S. Foreign Policy Opinion,” paper (co-authored with Deborah Brooks) presented at Yale University, January 29, 2014.
- “America Abroad: The United States’ Global Role in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” lecture at the Brookings Institution, December 11, 2013.
- “America Abroad: The United States’ Global Role in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” lecture at the Cato Institute, December 11, 2013.
- “America Abroad: The United States’ Global Role in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” lecture at Brown University, September 9, 2013
- “America Abroad: The United States’ Global Role in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” lecture at John Hopkins Applied Physics Laboratory, April 18, 2013
- “America Abroad: The United States’ Global Role in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” lecture at Georgetown University, April 18, 2013
- “America Abroad: The United States’ Global Role in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” lecture at Columbia University, February 12, 2013
- “America Abroad: The United States’ Global Role in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” lecture at Princeton University, February 11, 2013
- “The Pretty Prudent Partisan Theory of U.S. Foreign Policy Opinion,” paper (co-authored with Deborah Brooks) presented at University of Chicago, June 5, 2012
- “The Pretty Prudent Partisan Theory of U.S. Foreign Policy Opinion,” paper (co-authored with Deborah Brooks) presented at Vanderbilt University, February 26, 2012

- "The Pretty Prudent Partisan Theory of U.S. Foreign Policy Opinion," paper (co-authored with Deborah Brooks) presented at McGill University, Canada, October 5, 2011
- "US Power and Leadership in the Obama Presidency," lecture at Oxford University, United Kingdom, May 15, 2010.
- "US Power and Leadership in the Obama Presidency," lecture at Cambridge University, United Kingdom, May 14, 2010.
- "US Power and Leadership in the Obama Presidency," lecture at London School of Economics and Political Science, United Kingdom, May 13, 2010.
- "US Power and Leadership in the Obama Presidency," lecture at Aberystwyth University, United Kingdom, May 12, 2010.
- "Europe and Weapons Globalization," lecture at the Centre for Security, Economics, and Technology, Davos, Switzerland February 27, 2010.
- "The Past and Future of Weapons Globalization," lecture at the Institute of Political Science, University of St. Gallen, Switzerland, February 25, 2010.
- "World Out of Balance," book (co-authored with Bill Wohlforth) presented at the University of Ottawa, Canada, October 28, 2008.
- "World out of Balance," book (co-authored with Bill Wohlforth) presented at the Five College IR Seminar, Amherst MA, September 25, 2008.
- "International Institutions, Reputation, and Constraints on U.S. Security Policy," paper (co-authored with Bill Wohlforth) presented at the University of Virginia, October 13, 2006.
- "The Challenge of American Primacy," book (co-authored with Bill Wohlforth) presented at the Lone Star National Security Program, April 8, 2006.
- "The Challenge of American Primacy," lecture at Council on Foreign Relations, February 9, 2006.
- "The Challenge of American Primacy," lecture at Columbia University, February 9, 2006.
- "International Relations Theory and Constraints on US Security Policy," lecture at Center for International Studies, University of Southern California, November 30, 2005.
- "International Relations Theory and Constraints on US Security Policy," lecture at the Department of Government, The College of William and Mary, October 28, 2005.
- "International Relations Theory and the Case Against the New Unilateralism," paper (co-authored with Bill Wohlforth) presented at the Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, Harvard University, October 20, 2003.
- "Innovation, Globalization, and the Soviet Empire in Eastern Europe," lecture at the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University, April 16, 2003.

- "Multinational Corporations, Lobbying, and War," lecture at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, March 20, 2003.
- "American Primacy in Perspective," paper (co-authored with Bill Wohlforth) presented at the Patterson School of International Diplomacy, University of Kentucky, February 28, 2003.
- "American Primacy in Perspective," paper (co-authored with Bill Wohlforth) presented at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, November 5, 2002.
- "The Globalization of Production and International Security," lecture at the Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, Harvard University, December 2, 2000.
- "The Globalization of Production and International Security," lecture at the Program on International Security Policy, University of Chicago, November 28, 2000.
- "Power, Globalization, and the End of the Cold War," paper (co-authored with Bill Wohlforth) presented at the Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University, April 15, 2000.
- "Material Incentives and the End of the Cold War" paper (co-authored with Bill Wohlforth) presented at the International Relations Speaker Series, Columbia University, April 21, 1999.
- "The Globalization of Production and the Changing Benefits of Conquest," paper presented at the Research Program in International Security, Princeton University, October 30, 1998.
- "Multinational Production and Security," paper presented at the Political Economy Workshop, Yale University, October 26, 1998.
- "Economic Globalization and International Security," lecture at the Yale International Security Studies Colloquium, February 14, 1998.

## **RELEVANT OCCUPATIONAL EXPERIENCE**

*Research Analyst*, 1991- 1994, Department of National Security Affairs, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA (part-time 1991 and 1992, full-time 1993 and 1994).

## **TEACHING**

US Security Policy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, 2010-present

International Political Economy, 2008-present

Introduction to International Relations, Dartmouth College, 2000-present

Globalization and International Politics, Dartmouth College, 2000-2007

Unipolarity and US Security, 2008-2010

Economics, Security, and US Foreign Policy, Dartmouth College, 2003-2007

## ADMINISTRATIVE ACTIVITIES

Chair, Committee on the Faculty, Dartmouth College, Fall 2015-Winter 2018

Member, International Relations Search Committee, Dept. of Government, Dartmouth College, 2016

Member, Committee on the Faculty, Dartmouth College, Fall 2013-Spring 2015

Chair, International Relations Search Committee, Dept. of Government, Dartmouth College, 2012

Chair, Committee on Student Life, Dartmouth College, Spring 2009-Summer 2010

Member, Associate Dean for Campus Life Search Committee, Dartmouth College, 2010

Member, Assistant Dean for Campus Life Search Committee, Dartmouth College, 2010

Chair, International Relations Search Committee, Dept. of Government, Dartmouth College, 2009

Chair, International Relations Visitor Search Committee, Dept. of Government, Dartmouth College, 2009

Member, International Relations Search Committee, Dept. of Government, Dartmouth College, 2008-2009

Member, Committee on Student Life, 2008-2009

Member, Tucker Council, William Jewett Tucker Foundation, Dartmouth College, 2007-2009

Member, Rockefeller Faculty Council, Nelson Rockefeller Center, Dartmouth College, 2003-2008

Member, Committee on Off-Campus Activities, Dartmouth College, 2005

Member, Curriculum Committee, Dept. of Government, Dartmouth College, 2000-2001, 2001-2002

Member, Colloquium Committee, Dept. of Government, Dartmouth College, 2000- 2001

Member, International Relations Search Committee, Dept. of Government, Dartmouth College, 2005-2006

Member, Prize Committee, Dept. of Government, Dartmouth College, 2004-2005, 2005-2006