

CHARLES L. GLASER

Elliott School of International Affairs
The George Washington University
1957 E Street, NW
Washington, DC 20052

cglaser@gwu.edu

<https://iscs.elliott.gwu.edu>

WORK EXPERIENCE

- 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
- 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
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
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.
- Summer 1982 The RAND CORPORATION
- Summer 1980 U.S. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY

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:

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:

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

“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,” Charles L. Glaser and 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,” Charles L. Glaser and 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 Kruzell, 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:

"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:

“International Order, or Just Grand Strategy and Foreign Policy under Anarchy?” (July 2017).

“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.

FELLOWSHIPS, GRANTS, AND HONORS

- Spring 2016-
Winter 2018 Principal Investigator: Selected to receive a 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 2014-
Spring 2015 Fellow, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Kissinger Institute
- Fall 2013-
Fall 2015 Principal Investigator: Carnegie Corporation grant to study U.S. nuclear policy toward China; \$450,000
- Spring 2012 Honorable Mention, Best Book Award, International Security Studies Section, International Studies Association, April 2012, for *Rational Theory of International Politics*
- Fall 2004 to
Spring 2007 Smith Richardson Foundation
Grant to continue the Program on International Security Policy, with J. Mearsheimer and R. Pape
- Fall 2001 to
Spring 2004 Smith Richardson Foundation
Grant to continue the Program on International Security Policy, with J. Mearsheimer and R. Pape
- Fall 2000 to
Spring 2001 Smith Richardson Foundation
Grant to continue the 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
- 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
- Summer 1989 UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, Rackham Faculty Fellowship

Fall 1988 UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, Presidential Initiatives Fund

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.