

## **Charles A. Kupchan**

Council on Foreign Relations  
1779 Massachusetts Ave., NW  
Washington, DC 20036  
202 518-3402  
ckupchan@cfr.org

### **PRESENT POSITIONS**

Senior Fellow and Director of European Studies, Council on Foreign Relations.

Professor of International Affairs, School of Foreign Service and Department of Government, Georgetown University.

### **PREVIOUS POSITIONS**

Director, Mortara Center for International Studies, Georgetown University (2004-2005).

Assistant Professor of Politics, Princeton University (1986-1993).

Director for European Affairs, National Security Council, The White House (1993-1994).

Member, Policy Planning Staff, U.S. Department of State (1992).

### **EDUCATION**

Oxford University (1981-1985).

Doctorate in Politics (June 1985). Dissertation: "The Evolution and Defense of Western Interests in the Persian Gulf, 1973-1982."

Master of Philosophy in Politics (awarded June 1983). Focus on strategic studies, international relations and political theory. Thesis title: "The Evolution of the Carter Doctrine and U.S. Security Policy in the Gulf, 1979-1981."

Harvard University (1976-1981).

B.A. Magna Cum Laude in East Asian Studies. Thesis title: "Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Ahad Ha'am Cultural Nationalism: A Response to a Changing World."

### **TEACHING EXPERIENCE**

Georgetown University.

Graduate courses on: International Relations Theory and Practice, The Sources of Nationalism, and Contemporary Debates in International Security. Undergraduate

courses on: Grand Strategy in Historical and Comparative Perspective, and Introduction to International Relations.

Princeton University.

Two undergraduate lecture courses: Introduction to International Relations, and Great Powers in the International System; a graduate course on Theories of International Relations; and undergraduate seminars on International Relations Theory, Strategic Studies, and U.S. Foreign Policy.

Harvard University (1984-1986).

Instructor: Supervised undergraduate independent work.

Tutor in East Asian Studies, Lowell House: Supervised students in Asian studies.

Oxford University (1983-1984).

Instructor, University College: Taught introductory courses in international relations, political theory, and comparative government.

## **PUBLICATIONS**

### **Books**

The End of the America Era: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Geopolitics of the Twenty-first Century (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002). Revised paperback edition (New York: Vintage, 2003). Translated editions in Belgium, Bulgaria, China, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, South Korea, and Russia.

The Vulnerability of Empire (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994).

The Persian Gulf and the West: The Dilemmas of Security (Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1987).

Power in Transition: The Peaceful Change of International Order (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2001), co-author with Emanuel Adler, Jean-Marc Coicaud, and Yuen Foong Khong.

Civic Engagement in the Atlantic Community (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1999), co-editor and contributor with Josef Janning and Dirk Rumberg.

Atlantic Security: Contending Visions (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1998), editor and contributor.

Nationalism and Nationalities in the New Europe (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), editor and contributor.

### **Scholarly Articles**

“Independence for Kosovo: Yielding to Balkan Reality,” Foreign Affairs, vol. 84, no. 6 (November/December 2005).

“The Travails of Union: The American Experience and its Implications for Europe,” Survival, vol. 46, no. 4 (Winter 2004-05). Reprinted as “Stati Uniti d’Europa? No, but,” in Aspenia, No. 28 (2005).

“Liberal Realism: The Foundations of a Democratic Foreign Policy,” with G. John Ikenberry, The National Interest, vol. 77 (Fall 2004).

“New Research Agenda? Yes. New Paradigm? No.” Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen, vol. 11, no. 1 (2004).

“La Légitimité de la Puissance Américaine en Question,” in Guillaume Parmentier, ed., Les États-Unis aujourd’hui: Choc et Changement (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2004).

“Renewing the Atlantic Partnership,” Report of an Independent Task Force, Henry A. Kissinger and Lawrence H. Summers, co-chairs, (New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 2004).

“The Rise of Europe, America’s Changing Internationalism, and the End of U.S. Primacy,” Political Science Quarterly, vol. 118, no. 2 (Summer 2003).

“Recasting the Atlantic Bargain,” in Bernhard May and Michaela Hönicke Moore, eds., The Uncertain Superpower: Domestic Dimensions of U.S. Foreign Policy after the Cold War (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 2003).

“The Waning Days of the Atlantic Alliance,” in Bertel Heurlin and Mikkel Vedby Rasmussen, eds., Challenges and Capabilities: NATO in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century (Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies, 2003).

“Misreading September 11<sup>th</sup>,” The National Interest, no. 69 (Fall 2002). Reprinted in Read, (a Chinese-language magazine of news and commentary published in Guangzhou) (November/December 2002).

“Hollow Hegemony or Stable Multipolarity?” in G. John Ikenberry, ed., America Unrivaled: The Future of the Balance of Power (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002).

“Empires and Geopolitical Competition: Gone for Good?” in Chester Crocker, Fen Hampson, and Pamela Aall, eds., Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict (Washington: United States Institute of Peace, 2001).

“Kosovo and the Future of U.S. Engagement in Europe: Continued Hegemony or Impending Retrenchment?” in Pierre Martin and Mark Brawley, eds., Alliance Politics, Kosovo, and NATO’s War: Allied Force or Forced Allies? (New York: Palgrave, 2001).

“The Origins and Future of NATO Enlargement,” Contemporary Security Policy, vol. 21, no. 2 (August 2000).

“In Defence of European Defense: An American Perspective,” Survival, vol. 42, no. 2 (Summer 2000).

“Concerts, Collective Security, and the Future of Europe: A Retrospective,” with Clifford Kupchan, in Michael Brown, et al., eds., America’s Strategic Choices, revised edition, (Cambridge, MA: The M.I.T. Press, 2000).

“Life After Pax Americana,” World Policy Journal, vol. 16, no. 3 (Fall 1999). Reprinted in America and the World: Debating the New Shape of International Politics (New York: W.W. Norton for the Council on Foreign Relations, 2002).

“Rethinking Europe,” The National Interest, no. 56 (Summer 1999).

“Turning Adversity Into Advantage: Russia In NATO,” in Mathias Jopp and Hanna Ojanen, European Security Integration: Implications for Non-Alignment and Alliances (Helsinki: The Finnish Institute of International Affairs, 1999).

“After Pax Americana: Benign Power, Regional Integration, and the Sources of a Stable Multipolarity,” International Security, vol. 23, no. 2 (Fall 1998).

“Vom Friedensstifter zum Partner. Amerika, Europa und die atlantische Sicherheit (From Pacifier to Partner: America, Europe, and Atlantic Security),” Internationale Politik, No. 7, 1998.

“Illiberal Illusions: Democracy First,” Foreign Affairs, vol. 77, no. 3 (May/June 1998).

“From the European Union to the Atlantic Union,” in Jan Zielonka, ed., Paradoxes of European Foreign Policy (Dordrecht: Kluwer Law International, 1998).

“Arresting the Decline of Europe,” with Roger Altman, World Policy Journal, vol. 14, no. 4 (Winter 1997/98).

“Regionalizing Europe’s Security: The Case for a New Mitteleuropa,” in Edward Mansfield and Helen Milner, eds., The Political Economy of Regionalism (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997).

“Regionalizing Europe’s Security: Building a Zone of Stability in Central Europe,” Pew Papers on Central Eastern European Reform and Regionalism, no. 6, Center of International Studies, Princeton University, 1996.

“Reviving the West,” Foreign Affairs, vol. 75, no. 3 (May/June 1996). Translated and published in German, Japanese, Hungarian, and Polish journals.

"Europe's Balancing Act," Survival, vol. 38, no. 1 (Spring 1996).

"The Promise of Collective Security," with Clifford Kupchan, International Security, vol. 20, no. 1 (Summer 1995).

"Should NATO Expand?" Report of an Independent Task Force (New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1995).

"Strategic Visions," World Policy Journal, vol. 11, no. 3 (Fall 1994).

"The Case for Collective Security," in Collective Security Beyond the Cold War, George Downs, ed. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994).

"El Debate sobre la Declinacion en Retrospectiva (The Declinist Debate: A Retrospective)," in Mito y Realidad de la Declinacion de Estados Unidos, Rosa Cusminsky, ed. (Mexico City: National University of Mexico, 1992).

"Legitimacy and Power: The Waning of U.S. and Soviet Hegemony," with John Ikenberry, in Power, Economics, and Security, Henry Bienen, ed. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992).

"Concerts, Collective Security, and the Future of Europe," with Clifford Kupchan, International Security, vol. 16, no. 1 (Summer 1991). Reprinted in America's Strategy in a Changing World, Steven Miller and Sean Lynn-Jones, eds. (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1992).

"A New Concert for Europe," with Clifford Kupchan, in Rethinking America's Strategy, Graham Allison and Gregory Treverton, eds. (New York: W.W. Norton for the Council on Foreign Relations and The American Assembly, 1991).

"Conventional Force Reductions: Assessment, Uncertainty, and the Search for Stability," in Emerging Dimensions of European Security Policy, Wolfgang Danspeckgruber, ed. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991).

"Getting In: The Initial Stage of Military Intervention," in Foreign Military Intervention: The Dynamics of Protracted Conflict, Ariel Levite, Bruce Jentleson, and Larry Berman, eds. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991).

"Socialization and Hegemonic Power," with John Ikenberry, International Organization, vol. 44, no. 3 (Summer 1990).

"The Legitimation of Hegemonic Power," with John Ikenberry, in World Leadership and Hegemony, David Rapkin, ed., vol. 5 of the International Political Economy Yearbook (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1990).

"Defense Spending and Economic Performance," Survival, vol. 31, no. 5 (Sept./Oct. 1989).

"Setting Conventional Force Requirements: Roughly Right or Precisely Wrong?" World Politics, vol. 41, no. 4 (July 1989).

"Empire, Military Power, and Economic Decline," International Security, vol. 13, no. 4 (Spring 1989).

"American Globalism in the Middle East: The Roots of Regional Security Policy," Political Science Quarterly, vol. 103, no. 4 (Winter 1988-89).

"NATO and the Persian Gulf: Examining Intra-Alliance Behavior," International Organization, vol. 42, no. 2 (Spring 1988).

"Regional Security and the Out of Area Problem," in Securing Europe's Future, in Stephen Flanagan and Fen Hampson, eds. (London: Croom Helm, 1986).

"Avoiding Nuclear War," Negotiation Journal, vol. 2, no. 1 (January 1986).

### **Editorials, Book Reviews, and Other Articles**

"Indépendance Immédiate pour le Kosovo," ("Immediate Independence for Kosovo"), Le Monde, October 21, 2005. Also published in El Pais, NRC Handelsblad, Corriere della Sera, and Folha de Sao Paulo.

"Casting the EU as a Counterweight to the US Would Only Divide Europe," The Irish Times, August 10, 2005.

"La Crisi Europea," ("The European Crisis"), Corriere della Sera, June 14, 2005. Also published in El Pais and NRC Handelsblad.

"America's Place in the World," review of Beyond the Age of Innocence, by Kishore Mahbubani, Return to Greatness, by Alan Wolfe, The Superpower Myth, by Nancy Soderberg, and At the Point of a Gun, by David Rieff, Washington Post Book World, April 3, 2005.

"Dubya Does Europe," with Ivo Daalder, Los Angeles Times, February 20, 2005. Also published in Corriere della Sera, Die Welt, and NRC Handelsblad.

"Europa, è l' ora di farsi i muscoli," ("It's time for Europe to Flex Its Muscles") Corriere della Sera, January 27, 2005.

"Rethinking the Western Alliance," salon.com, November 13, 2004.

"Le Lien Transatlantique en Question (The Transatlantic Link in Question)," Le Figaro, November 6-7, 2004.

"Summoning History as a Weapon Against the Iraq War," review of War and the American Presidency, by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and The Folly of Empire: What George W. Bush Could Learn from Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, by John B. Judis, The New York Times, September 24, 2004.

"Resent, Resist, Compete," The World Today, vol. 60, no. 7 (July 2004).

"Die brüchige Allianz (The Fragile Alliance)," Handelsblatt (Germany), June 3, 2004.

“The ugly American,” salon.com, June 2, 2004.

“Saudi and American Elites Find Friends in High Places,” review of House of Bush, House of Saud, by Craig Unger, The New York Times, April 12, 2004.

“Immigrants Change Face of Old Europe,” Los Angeles Times, March 3, 2004. Reprinted in Alameda Times Star, The Fremont Argus, The Oakland Tribune, The San Mateo County Times, March 7, 2004 and as “Europe’s Economy Needs Immigrants,” The Times Union, March 6, 2004.

“America Searches for its Centre,” Financial Times, February 10, 2004. Reprinted as “World May Have to Live with a More Difficult U.S.,” The Straits Times, March 16, 2004.

“Réponses à la lettre d’Europe (Responses to the letter from Europe), Mouvements, no. 20 (November-December 2003).

“A Double-Barreled Attack on American War Policy,” Review of Imperial America: The Bush Assault on the World Order, by John Newhouse, The New York Times, October 22, 2003.

“‘America jidai no owari’ wo shizuka ni ukeire yo (Calmly Accepting ‘The End of the American Era’),” Foresight (Japan), October 2003. Reprinted as “La brecha trasatlántica,” Reforma (Mexico), February 28, 2004 and “Usa, un voto per il multilateralismo,” Vita e Pensiero, February 2004.

Review of The Tragedy of Great Power Politics, by John J. Mearsheimer, International History Review, vol. 25, no. 3 (September 2003).

“Nicht nur einer wird gewinnen: Amerika gegen den Rest der Welt – das kann nicht gut gehen. Europa setzt dem Einfluss der Vereinigten Staaten Grenzen (Not Only One will Win: America Against the Rest of the World – That Cannot Go Well. Europe Sets the Limits of the United States),” Die Zeit (Germany), May 22, 2003.

“Continental Rift,” Newark Star-Ledger, April 27, 2003.

“Trennung im Einvernehmen: Europa und Amerika kommen nicht wieder zusammen. Eine Katastrophe ist das nicht (A Parting of Ways: Europe and America are Not Coming Back Together. This is Not a Catastrophe),” Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung (Germany), April 13, 2003. Reprinted as “L’indépendance stratégique de l’Europe est inéluctable,” Sociétal (France), no. 41, Summer 2003.

“The Atlantic Alliance Lies in the Rubble,” Financial Times, April 10, 2003. Reprinted as “Atlantische alliantie ligt onder het puin van Bagdad,” NRC Handelsblad (Netherlands), April 10, 2003; “La alianza atlántica yace entre escombros,” El País (Spain), April 15, 2003; and “Zatruci niemocą,” Forum (Poland), April 22, 2003.

“Iraq Isn’t Worth Losing U.S. Allies,” Newsday, March 3, 2003.

“Uneasy Alliances,” Los Angeles Times, February 17, 2003.

“United States Should Scrap Iraqi Occupation Plans,” The Wichita Eagle, December 27, 2002. Reprinted as “Past Nation-building Models Not Likely to Succeed in Iraq,” St. Paul Pioneer Press, December 27, 2002; “Post-WW II Model of Nation Building Won’t Work in Iraq,” Charleston Sunday Gazette Mail, December 29, 2002; and “Barriers to Nation-building in Iraq,” The San Diego Union-Tribune, December 30, 2002.

“The End of the West,” The Atlantic Monthly, vol. 290, no. 4 (November 2002). Reprinted as “L’Occidente diviso: il clash USA-Europa,” Aspenia (Italy), no. 19 (2002); “L’Europe défiera l’Amérique,” Le Nouvel Observateur (France), no. 1989 (December 19, 2002); and “The End of the West,” in Die Stärke des Rechts gegen das Recht des Stärkeren, Dieter S. Lutz and Hans J. Gießmann, eds. (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 2003).

“The Last Days of the Atlantic Alliance,” Financial Times, November 18, 2002.

“It is Up to the EU to Check U.S. Hubris,” Los Angeles Times, November 10, 2002.

“A Budding Partnership,” with Clifford Kupchan, Los Angeles Times, May 19, 2002.

“Macedonia’s Last Chance to Survive,” with Denko Maleski, Los Angeles Times, July 29, 2001.

“Bring Mother Russia into the Fold,” with James Chace, Los Angeles Times, July 13, 2001.

“Facing New Global Realities,” review of Henry Kissinger, Does America Need a Foreign Policy?, The New Leader, vol. 84, no. 4 (May/June 2001).

“The U.S.-European Relationship: Opportunities and Challenges,” Statement to the Subcommittee on Europe, Committee on International Relations, U.S. House of Representatives, Wednesday, April 25, 2001.

“Bush, Via Dalla Piazza Europa,” La Stampa (Italy), March 9, 2001.

“Milosevic Mustn’t Be Allowed a Quiet Retirement,” with Diane Orentlicher, Los Angeles Times, October 29, 2000.

“When Can-Do Doesn’t: The Pitfalls of U.S. Power,” Los Angeles Times, July 30, 2000.

Review of The Myth of Global Chaos, by Yahya Sadowski, Survival, vol. 42, no. 2 (Summer 2000).

Review of Unipolar Politics: Realism and State Strategies after the Cold War, edited by Ethan Kapstein and Michael Mastanduno, Foreign Affairs, vol. 79, no. 2 (March/April 2000).

“Turkey Can Strengthen Its Ties with Greece,” with Ian Lesser, International Herald Tribune, February 11, 2000.

“It Can Be Lonely At the Top,” with Robert Zoellick, Financial Times, December 13, 1999.

“Europe Must Draw in the Balkans,” Los Angeles Times, June 27, 1999.

“The Balkans: Fractured U.S. Resolve and the Paradox in Limited U.S. Involvement,” The Washington Post, June 13, 1997.

“If No Ground Troops, NATO Should Cut Its Losses,” with Ivo Daalder, Los Angeles Times, April 25, 1999.

“Kosovo: Europe’s SOS,” Los Angeles Times, March 28, 1999.

“Trusting a Madman to Make Peace,” Los Angeles Times, January 24, 1999.

“Germany: Non-Kohl Must Learn to Lead,” Los Angeles Times, October 4, 1998.

“Saving Macedonia,” with Denko Maleski, Christian Science Monitor, September 30, 1998.

“NATO: Oxymoron of Serious Senate Debate,” Los Angeles Times, May 3, 1998.

“Iraq: On Target,” Los Angeles Times, February 22, 1998.

“NATO Maneuvers on Russia,” The Nation, December 15, 1997.

Review of Does Conquest Pay? by Peter Liberman, American Political Science Review, vol. 91 (December 1997).

“To Prevail in Bosnia, Keep U.S. Troops There,” Los Angeles Times, September 28, 1997.

“Doing the NATO Shuffle: Clinton Can’t Dance Away from the Hard Questions,” The Washington Post, August 31, 1997.

“As Asia Rises, Europe Must Revitalize,” with Roger Altman, Los Angeles Times, March 23, 1997. Reprinted in International Herald Tribune, April 1, 1997.

“Serbia: A Nascent Democracy? U.S. Must Help It Along,” Los Angeles Times, December 8, 1996.

“Clinton’s Diplomatic Objectives in the Second Term,” Yomiuri Shimbun (Japan), November 9, 1996.

“Containing a Rogue State: Clinton Learns the Art of Using Force,” Los Angeles Times, September 8, 1996.

“A More Perfect Atlantic Union,” The Washington Post, April 13, 1996.

"Multilateralism and a Free Trade Order: Roots in Place," Seoul Shinmun Daily (South Korea), January 1, 1996.

"Bosnia: A Question of Stature," Los Angeles Times, December 3, 1995.

"Reclaiming the Moral High Ground: What Does the West Stand For If It Does Nothing?" Los Angeles Times, July 23, 1995.

"Reckoning Time in Bosnia," Los Angeles Times, June 4, 1995.

"It's a Long Way to Bratislava: The Dangerous Fantasy of NATO Expansion," The Washington Post, May 14, 1995.

"Chechnya: A Fitting Reply to Fragmentation," Los Angeles Times, January 22, 1995.

"Expand NATO -- And Split Europe," The New York Times, November 27, 1994. Reprinted in International Herald Tribune, November 30, 1994.

"What Ukraine Especially Needs Now is a Little More Nationalism," Los Angeles Times, November 27, 1994.

"For Better Foreign Policy: Talk to the Public," Los Angeles Times, July 3, 1994.

"Beyond Vietnam: Using Force in Bosnia," Los Angeles Times, April 17, 1994.

"Presidential Leadership Key to Bosnia Policy," Los Angeles Times, February 20, 1994.

"Is a Toehold in Europe the Best We Can Do?" with John Ikenberry, Newsday, November 24, 1991.

"For Chinese, Time Stopped June 4, '89," Los Angeles Times, September 16, 1990.

"After NATO: Concert of Europe," with Clifford Kupchan, The New York Times, July 6, 1990. Reprinted in International Herald Tribune, July 7-8, 1990.

"Iran After Khomeini," Orbis, vol. 34, no. 2 (Spring 1990).

Review of The Gulf War, by M. Khadduri, Political Science Quarterly, vol. 104 (Winter 1989-90).

Review of Congress, Parliament and Defence, by Andrew Cox and Stephen Kirby, Political Science Quarterly, vol. 102, no. 4 (Winter 1987-88).

"Should the Saudis Get U.S. Arms? Not the Whole Package," The New York Times, May 12, 1986.

Review of The Other Arab-Israeli Conflict, by Steven Spiegel, Political Science Quarterly, vol. 101, no. 1 (Summer 1986).

"It's Only a War Game . . . But What If It Were Real?" The Boston Globe, March 19, 1986.

"Mediawatch: Hostages on Parade," The Boston Review, vol. 11, no. 2, (February 1986).

Review of Saudi Arabia, by Nadav Safran, The Washington Monthly, vol. 17, no. 11 (1985).

"Poland: Solidarity's Future," The Atlantic, vol. 255, no. 5 (May 1985).

"The Palestinians in Lebanon," International Herald Tribune, February 1, 1984.

"Soviet 'Refuseniks': Treated as Common Criminals," Christian Science Monitor, November 23, 1983.

### **RELATED PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE**

Member, Board of Trustees, Alfred Herrhausen Society of Deutsche Bank (2004- ).

Visiting Scholar, Institute for International Policy Studies, Tokyo (2003).

Visiting Scholar, Institute of War and Peace Studies, Columbia University (1989-1990).

Visiting Fellow, Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales, Paris (1988).

Visiting Fellow, International Institute for Strategic Studies, London (1987).

Postdoctoral Fellow, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University (1984-1986).

Research Affiliate, Center for Science and International Affairs, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University (1985-1986).

Member, Council on Foreign Relations (1988- ).

### **FELLOWSHIPS AND GRANTS**

Japan Society Fellowship (2001).

Whitney Shepardson Fellowship, Council on Foreign Relations (2000-2002).

United States Institute of Peace Research Grant (1999).

United Nations University Research Grant, Program on Peace and Governance (1998).

Bertelsmann Foundation Research Grant on Transatlantic Relations (1994).

Pew Research Grant in Program on Reform in Eastern Europe (1993).

Council on Foreign Relations International Affairs Fellowship (1989).

German Marshall Fund / Princeton Dulles Program Fellowship (1989).

Pew Research Grant in Program on Economics and Security (1987).

NATO Research Fellowship (1985).

Ford Fellowship in European Society and Western Security (1985).

Olin Fellowship in National Security Affairs (1984).

Overseas Research Scholarship for advanced study in the United Kingdom (1983).

Keasbey Memorial Scholarship for graduate study at Oxford University (1981).