

JOSHUA R. ITZKOWITZ SHIFRINSON

George Bush School of Government and Public Service
Allen Building 1038 4220 TAMU College Station, TX 77802-4220
jrishifrinson@tamu.edu (732) 740-0720
www.jrishifrinson.com

EMPLOYMENT

PARDEE SCHOOL OF GLOBAL STUDIES, BOSTON UNIVERSITY

Assistant Professor, 2018– Present

GEORGE BUSH SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC SERVICE, TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY

Assistant Professor, 2013 – 2018

EDUCATION

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

Ph.D., Political Science, September 2013

Dissertation: “Dilemmas of Decline, Risks of Rise: The Systemic and Military Sources of Rising State Strategy towards Declining Great Powers”

- Recipient of Lucian Pye Award for Outstanding Doctoral Thesis

BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY

B.A., summa cum laude, Departments of Politics and History, 2006

- Phi Beta Kappa, 2005 (junior-year selectee)

BOOKS

Rising Titans, Falling Giants: How Great Powers Exploit Power Shifts (Cornell, forthcoming)

PEER-REVIEWED ARTICLES & MONOGRAPHS

“How Long Until Midnight? U.S. Intelligence on the Israeli Nuclear Program, 1960-1985,” with Austin Long. *Journal of Strategic Studies* (forthcoming).

“George H.W. Bush as Conservative Realist.” *Orbis* 62, no. 1 (Winter 2018), 56-75.

“Deal or No Deal? The End of the Cold War and the U.S. Offer to Limit NATO Expansion.” *International Security* 40, no. 4 (Spring 2016), 7-44 (lead article).

- **Recipient of 2016 Diplomatic Studies Section Best Article Award from the International Studies Association.
- Reviewed via H-Diplo: <https://issforum.org/ISSF/PDF/ISSF-AR63.pdf>
- Repeated as Council on Foreign Relations Podcast, “The 1990 U.S. Pledge to the Soviet Union on NATO Expansion,” May 17, 2016, <http://blogs.cfr.org/zenko/2016/05/17/podcast-the-1990-us-pledge-to-the-soviet-union-on-nato-expansion-shifrinson/>.
- Repeated as Belfer Center Podcast: http://belfercenter.hks.harvard.edu/project/58/quarterly_journal.html?page_id=508&parent_id=46

PEER-REVIEWED ARTICLES & MONOGRAPHS (CONTINUED)

“The Malta Summit and U.S.-Soviet Relations: Testing the Waters Amidst Stormy Seas,” *Cold War International History Project*, e-Dossier no. 40, July 2013.

“A Crude Threat: The Limits of an Iranian Missile Campaign Against Saudi Arabian Oil,” with Miranda Priebe. *International Security* 36, no. 1 (Summer 2011), 167-201.

“Civil-Military Relations in Israel and Turkey,” with Metin Heper. *Journal of Political and Military Sociology* 33, No. 2 (Winter 2005/6), 231-248.

CHAPTERS IN EDITED VOLUMES

“Holding the Relationship Hostage: U.S. Efforts to Deter a Soviet Crackdown in Eastern Europe, 1988-1989,” in *Cross-Domain Deterrence: Strategic Responses to Complex Threats*, ed. Eric Gartzke and Jon Lindsay (Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2019; peer reviewed).

“It's a Trap! Allies, Power Shifts, and Entrapment,” with David Edelstein in *The Case for Restraint in U.S. Foreign Policy*, ed. Ben Friedman and Trevor Thrall (Routledge, 2018; peer reviewed).

“It's a Commons Misunderstanding: The Limited Threat to American Command of the Commons,” with Sameer Lalwani in *Dangerous World? Threat Perception and U.S. National Security*, ed. John Mueller and Chris Preble (Cato Institute, 2014; editor reviewed).

WORKS UNDER REVIEW & IN PROGRESS

“The Shadow of Exit: Insularity and American Preponderance” (with John Schuessler; UNDER REVIEW)

“Rising Titans, Falling Giants: How Rising States Manage Great Power Decline” (REVISE and RESUBMIT with *International Security*)

“A Signal Failure? The End of the Cold War, U.S.-Soviet Diplomacy, and Theories of Costly Signaling” (REVISE AND RESUBMIT with *International Studies Quarterly*)

“The Rise of China and IR Theory: Revisionism or Bust?” (UNDER REVIEW)

“The Second Face of Deterrence: The Strategic Consequences of Political Collapse in Nuclear States” (with Christopher Clary; working paper)

“Understanding the Varieties of Entrapment” (with David Edelstein; working paper)

ADDITIONAL SCHOLARLY WRITING

“John Bolton’s Appointment Reveals a Bigger Problem,” *The Monkey Cage/Washington Post*, March 29, 2018, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/03/29/john-boltons-appointment-is-a-symptom-of-a-much-bigger-problem-here-are-3-reasons-that-could-lead-to-war/>

- Cited and discussed in the Max Fisher and Amanda Taub, “The Interpreter: Gaze Into the Mustache and See America’s Future,” *New York Times*, March 30, 2018, https://static.nytimes.com/email-content/INT_579.html?nlid=78801897.

“Trump’s National Security Strategy: A Critic’s Dream,” with Emma Ashford, *Texas National Security Review* 1, no. 2 (Spring 2018).

- **Originally published as part of roundtable on Donald Trump’s foreign policy: <https://tnsr.org/roundtable/policy-roundtable-make-trumps-national-security-strategy/>

“Trump and NATO: Old Wine in Gold Bottles?” *H-Diplo/ISSF Series: Trump and the World*, September 29, 2017, <https://networks.h-net.org/node/311995/pdf>.

“Correspondence: NATO Enlargement – Was There a Promise?” *International Security* 42, no. 1 (Summer 2017), 186-192.

“Time to Consolidate NATO?” *The Washington Quarterly* 40, no. 1 (Spring 2017), 109-123.

“Correspondence: NATO Non-Expansion and German Reunification,” *International Security* 41, no. 3 (Winter 2016-2017), 197-200.

“Donald Trump’s Foreign Policy Views are Actually Pretty Mainstream,” *The Monkey Cage*, February 4, 2016, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/02/04/the-secret-behind-donald-trumps-antiquated-foreign-policy-views-theyre-pretty-mainstream/>.

- Reprinted in *The Science of Trump*, ed. John Sides (online: The Monkey Cage, 2016).

“Correspondence: Debating Decline,” *International Security* 37, no. 3 (Winter 2012-13), 172-77.

- Reprinted as part of *International Security, United States and China* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2014), <http://www.mitpressjournals.org/page/USandChinaBatch>.

“The Kurds and Regional Security: Assessing Developments since the Iraq War,” Crown Center for Middle East Studies, *Middle East Brief*, No. 14 (December 2006).

POLICY REPORTS, OP-EDS, AND BLOG POSTS

“Constructive Foreign Policy on Russia Requires Facts,” *RealClearWorld.com*, June 15, 2018, https://www.realclearworld.com/articles/2018/06/15/constructive_foreign_policy_on_russia_requires_facts_112825.html.

“Letter to the Editor: Our Treaty is Our Bond,” *The National Review*, June 7, 2018, <https://www.nationalreview.com/magazine/2018/06/25/602673/>.

“Trump, NATO, and Establishment Hysteria,” with Ben Friedman, *War on the Rocks*, June 16, 2017, <https://warontherocks.com/2017/06/trump-nato-and-establishment-hysteria/>.

“Russia’s Got a Point: The U.S. Broke a NATO Promise,” *Los Angeles Times*, op-ed, May 30, 2016, <http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-shifrinson-russia-us-nato-deal--20160530-snap-story.html>.

“Put It In Writing: How the West Broke Its Promise to Moscow,” *Foreign Affairs*, 29 October 2014, <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/142310/joshua-r-itzkowitz-shifrinson/put-it-in-writing>.

“Whither Command of the Commons? Choosing Security Over Control,” with Sameer Lalwani. New America Foundation, *Policy Papers in Grand Strategy*, September 2011.

ARTICLE & BOOK REVIEWS

Invited review of Stephen Brooks and William Wohlforth, *America Abroad: The United States’ Global Role in the 21st Century* (Oxford University Press, 2016) for *H-Diplo-International Security Studies Forum*, Vol. 10, no. 11 (March 2018).

Invited book review of Daniel Kliman, *Fateful Transitions: How Democracies Manage Rising Powers* (University of Pennsylvania, 2015) for *Political Science Quarterly* 131, no. 3 (Fall 2016), 656-657.

International Studies Quarterly Symposium discussion of K. Haynes, “Decline and Devolution: The Sources of Strategic Retrenchment,” November 2015, <http://www.isanet.org/Publications/ISQ/Posts/ID/4927/The-Decliners-Dilemma-Retrenchment-in-an-Uncertain-World>.

Invited review of James Graham Wilson, *The Triumph of Improvisation: Gorbachev’s Adaptability, Reagan’s Engagement, and the End of the Cold War* (Cornell University Press, 2014) for *H-Diplo-International Security Studies Forum*, Vol. 7, no. 7 (December 2014).

Invited review of Jeffrey Engel, “Bush, Germany, and the Power of Time,” *Diplomatic History* 37, no. 4 (Summer 2013), for *H-Diplo*, Article Review No. 476 (July 2014).

Invited review of Robert Lieber, *Power and Willpower in the American Future* (Cambridge University Press, 2011) for *H-Diplo-International Security Studies Forum*, Vol. 5, no. 5 (July 2013).

Invited review of Anthony D’Agostino, *The Rise of Global Powers: International Politics in the Era of the World Wars* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), for *H-Diplo* (July 2012).

FELLOWSHIPS, GRANTS, & AWARDS

- 2018 CKF Foreign Policy Grant (with Jayita Sarkar; for Boston University Policy and Security Initiative)
- 2017 Melvin Glasscock Center Faculty Publication Support Grant
- 2017 Fellow, Basin Harbor Pedagogy Project
- 2017 Bridging the Gap Project Policy Engagement Fellowship
- 2017 Best Article Award (“Deal or No Deal”), Diplomatic Studies Section of the International Studies Association
- 2015 John Dickey Center Postdoctoral Fellowship, Dartmouth College
- 2014 Lucian Pye Award for Outstanding Doctoral Thesis, MIT Political Science Dept.
- 2014 John Dickey Center Postdoctoral Fellowship, Dartmouth College (Declined)
- 2014 UT Austin, Clements Center Research Support Grant
- 2014 TAMU, Scowcroft Institute Faculty Research Grant
- 2012 GWU, Institute for Security and Conflict Studies Predoctoral Fellowship
- 2012 Associate, Belfer Center International Security Program
- 2012 Harvard Center for European Studies Dissertation Research Fellowship
- 2012 Harry Truman Library Research Grant
- 2012 Tobin Project National Security Fellowship (second-time recipient)
- 2012 O’Donnell Research Grant (H.W. Bush Library; second-time recipient)
- 2011 Pre-Doctoral Fellowship, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, International Security Program
- 2011 Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars Title VIII Research Grant
- 2011 MIT Center for International Studies Summer Study Grant
- 2011 Tobin Project National Security Fellowship
- 2011 O’Donnell Research Grant (George H.W. Bush Library)
- 2006-7 MIT Presidential Fellow
- 2006-11 MIT Graduate Fellowship
- 2006 Eugene C. Black Award for Excellence in History, Brandeis University
- 2004 Justice Louis C. Brandeis Award for an Outstanding Essay on Legal History

INVITED TALKS AND PRESENTATIONS

2018. “The False Analogies of the Cold War’s End: Implications for U.S.-Russian-European Relations,” presentation for Clements Center for Strategic Studies conference *Peaceful Co-existence? Russian Grand Strategy beyond Putin*, April 2018.
2018. “The Insular Advantages that Make the Difference: Geography and Postwar American Preponderance,” presentation for International Studies Association Annual Meeting, April 2018.
2018. “A Signal Failure? Theories of Costly Signaling and the End of the Cold War,” presentation for International Studies Association Annual Meeting, April 2018.
2018. “The Rise of China and U.S. Strategy in East Asia: Historical and Theoretical Perspectives,” presentation for Southern Methodist University Sun & Star China Symposium, March 2018.

INVITED TALKS AND PRESENTATIONS (CONTINUED)

2018. “The Future of the Transatlantic Relationship,” presentation and debate for Brookings-Charles Koch Institute *U.S. and the World* series, January 2018.
2017. “The Future of European Security: U.S., Russia, and NATO,” presentation for Davis Center (Harvard) - Institute for Higher Education (Moscow) Conference on U.S.-Russian Relations, December 2017
2017. “The Broken 1990 NATO Non-Expansion Pledge,” presentation for Association of Slavic and East European Studies Association Annual Meeting, November 2017.
2017. “Political Collapse and Nuclear States: Strategic Consequences and Prospects,” Tobin Project Workshop on Nuclear Threat Assessment, October 2017.
2017. “American Grand Strategy and the Cold War’s End,” presentation for Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations (SHAFR) Annual Meeting, June 2017.
2017. “Conservative Internationalism and the End of the Cold War,” Clements Center Conference on Conservative Internationalism, May 2017.
2017. “Assessing the Israeli Nuclear Program,” Tobin Project Workshop on Nuclear Threat Assessment, February 2017.
2017. “A Signal Failure? Theories of Costly Signaling and the End of the Cold War,” presentation for International Studies Association Annual Meeting, February 2017.
2017. “The Rise of China and American Foreign Policy: Problems and Prospects,” presentation for International Studies Association Annual Meeting, February 2017.
2016. “The Second Shield of the Republic: Geography and U.S. National Security,” TAMU conference *Command of the Commons Revisited*, November 2016 (with John Schuessler).
2016. “It’s a Trap! Allies, Power Shifts, and Entrapment,” George Washington University, September 2016 (with David Edelstein).
2016. “NATO Expansion and the U.S.-Russia Relationship,” Rand Corporation, June 2016.
2016. “It’s a Trap! Allies, Power Shifts, and Entrapment,” Cato Institute, June 2016 (with David Edelstein)
2016. “The United States and NATO Expansion at Cold War’s End,” presentation for U.S. Department of State, May 2016.
2016. “Fostering a Security Dilemma? The United States, Russia, and NATO Expansion after the Cold War,” Brookings Institution, May 2016.

INVITED TALKS AND PRESENTATIONS (CONTINUED)

2016. “Falling Giants: Rising States and the Fate of Declining Great Powers,” presentation before Dickey Center at Dartmouth College, April 2016.
2016. “Falling Giants: Rising States and the Fate of Declining Great Powers,” presentation for University of Chicago Department of Political Science, February 2016.
2015. “It’s a Trap! Allies, Power Shifts, and Entrapment,” presentation for the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, September 2015.
2015. “Falling Giants: Rising States and the Fate of Declining Great Powers,” presentation for Southern Methodist University Tower Center, for Political Studies, March 2015.
2015. “Falling Giants: Rising States and the Fate of Declining Great Powers,” presentation for University of California, Berkeley Department of Political Science, March 2015.
2014. “Forging the Special Relationship,” presentation for Kings College London-Clements Center (UT Austin) conference on Anglo-American Relations, November 2014.
2014. “H.W. Bush’s Grand Strategy and the End of the Cold War,” presentation for Texas A&M University Conference on *Twenty-Five Years after the Cold War’s End*, November 2014.
2014. “Dilemmas of Decline, Risks of Rise,” presentation for Lehigh University International Affairs Department, February 2014.
2013. “Security of the Commons: A Framework for Analysis,” presentation for Cato Institute conference *A Dangerous World?*, October 2013 (with Sameer Lalwani)
2013. “Dilemmas of Decline, Risks of Rise,” presentation for GWU Institute for Security and Conflict Studies, February 2013.
2011. “Whither Command of the Commons? Choosing Security Over Control,” presentation for New America Foundation, September 2011, (with Sameer Lalwani).
2011. “Power Shifts: Problems, Prospects, and Lessons from the End of the Cold War,” briefing to former UK Foreign Secretary David Miliband, April 2011.
2009. “Assessing an Iranian Missile Attack on Saudi Arabian Oil Infrastructure,” briefing to William Rammell, British Minister of State, May 2009 (with Miranda Priebe).

TEACHING

Bush School of Government

**All courses are at the graduate (MA) level

INTA 605: United States Foreign Policy since 1945

INTA 627: Foundations of Strategy and Statecraft

INTA 689: Alliance Politics

INTA 689: The Rise and Fall of Great Powers

Besides direct teaching duties, I also helped supervise the professional and educational development of students enrolled in the Masters of International Affairs program

PH.D. ADVISING

Molly Berkemeier, Texas A&M Political Science Department, project: Trust in International Politics (committee member)

Aaron Dilday, Texas A&M History Department, project: Ulysses S. Grant, Prisoners of War, and Strategy in the U.S. Civil War (committee member)

Michael Fasulo, Texas A&M History Department, project: The Reagan Administration and Arms Control (committee member).

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Department & College-level Service (Texas A&M):

Faculty Senator, Department of International Affairs (2016-2018)

Member of International Affairs Admissions Committee (2013-2014)

Member of Bylaws Committee (2013-2015)

Member of Senior International Development Search Committee (2014-2015)

Coordinator for International Affairs Research Brown Bag Coordinator (2014-2015)

Co-Founder and Coordinator for International Affairs Research Workshop (2014-2015)

University-level Service (Texas A&M)

Sitting on general exam and dissertation committees for students in the History Department.

Faculty Mentor, Alexander Hamilton Society, TAMU

Field-level Service

Elected Member, Governing Board, American Political Science Association Section 19 (International Security and Arms Control)

Chair, Kenneth Waltz Dissertation Award Committee, APSA Section 19

Elected Member, Governing Board, Foreign Policy Section 31 (Foreign Policy)

Chair, Best Book Award, Foreign Policy Section 31

Reviewer for *International Security*, Oxford University Press, *Security Studies*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *International Theory*, *World Politics*, *Journal of Transatlantic Studies*, *Political Science Quarterly*

Member, American Political Science Association, International Studies Association

PUBLIC & POLICY SERVICE

Adjunct Researcher, RAND Corporation, 2009, 2014

Media appearances with Associated Press, *Los Angeles Times*, *Austin American Statesman*,
Boston Review.