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### EDUCATION

Ph.D., Yale University, 1988  
M.Phil., Yale University, 1983  
M.A., Yale University, 1983  
A.B., University of Michigan, 1981 (Highest Distinction, Highest Honors)

### RESEARCH POSITIONS

Mary and David Boies Distinguished Senior Fellow in U.S. Foreign Policy, 2024-  
Director of Fellowship Affairs, 2024-2025  
Senior Vice President, Director of Studies, and Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, Council on Foreign Relations, 2009-2024  
Director, Robert S. Strauss Center for International Security and Law, and Tom Slick Chair for International Affairs, Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs, University of Texas at Austin, 2006-2009  
Vice President, Director of Studies, and Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, Council on Foreign Relations, 2003-2006  
Deputy Director, Foreign Policy Studies Program, The Brookings Institution, 2003  
Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Studies Program, The Brookings Institution, 1999-2003  
Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Iowa, 1995-1999  
Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Iowa, 1992-1995  
Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Iowa, 1988-1992  
Instructor, Department of Political Science, University of Iowa, 1987-1988

### GOVERNMENT POSITIONS

Staff Expert, Task Force on United Nations Reform (Gingrich-Mitchell Commission), United States Institute of Peace, 2005.  
Consultant, United States Commission on National Security/21<sup>st</sup> Century (Hart-Rudman Commission), 2000-2001  
Director for Global Issues and Multilateral Affairs, National Security Council, The White House, 1996-1997

### PUBLICATIONS

#### ***Books***

Daalder, Ivo H., and James M. Lindsay. 2018. [\*The Empty Throne: America's Abdication of Global Leadership\*](#). New York: Public Affairs.

- Daalder, Ivo H., and James M. Lindsay. 2003, 2005. [\*America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy\*](#). Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press. Winner of the Lionel S. Gelber Prize and Arthur S. Ross Book Award finalist.
- O'Hanlon, Michael E., Peter R. Orszag, Ivo H. Daalder, I.M. Destler, David L. Gunter, James M. Lindsay, Robert E. Litan, and James B. Steinberg. 2003. [\*Protecting the American Homeland: One Year On\*](#). Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.
- Lindsay, James M., and Michael E. O'Hanlon. 2001. [\*Defending America: The Case for Limited National Missile Defense\*](#). Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.
- Squire, Peverill, James M. Lindsay, Cary R. Covington, and Eric R.A.N. Smith. 1995. [\*Dynamics of Democracy\*](#). Multiple editions. Madison, Wis.: Brown & Benchmark.
- Lindsay, James M. 1994. [\*Congress and the Politics of U.S. Foreign Policy\*](#). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Lindsay, James M. 1991. [\*Congress and Nuclear Weapons\*](#). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

### **Edited Volumes**

- Aaron, Henry J., James M. Lindsay, and Pietro Nivola. 2003. [\*Agenda for the Nation\*](#). Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.
- Lindsay, James M., ed. 2002, 2003, 2005. [\*American Politics After September 11\*](#). Cincinnati, Ohio: Atomic Dog Publishing.
- Lindsay, James M., ed. 1998, 2000. [\*Perspectives: Global Issues\*](#). Boulder, Colo.: CourseWise Publishers.
- Lindsay, James M., ed. 1998, 2000. [\*Perspectives: World Politics\*](#). Boulder, Colo.: CourseWise Publishers.
- Ripley, Randall B., and James M. Lindsay, eds. 1997. [\*U.S. Foreign Policy After the Cold War\*](#). Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Lindsay, James M., John A.C. Conybeare, and Gerald L. Sorokin, eds. 1994. "[\*Arms, Alliances, and Cooperation: Formal Models and Empirical Tests\*](#)." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 38:179-352.
- Ripley, Randall B., and James M. Lindsay, eds. 1993. [\*Congress Resurgent: Foreign and Defense Policy on Capitol Hill\*](#). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

### **Journal and Magazine Articles**

- Daalder, Ivo H., and James M. Lindsay. 2022. "[\*The West Holds Firm: Why Support for Ukraine Will Withstand Russian Pressure\*](#)." *Foreign Affairs*, September 15.
- Daalder, Ivo H., and James M. Lindsay. 2022. "[\*Last Best Hope: The West's Final Chance to Build a Better World Order\*](#)." *Foreign Affairs* (July/August): 120-30.

- Daalder, Ivo H., and James M. Lindsay. 2019. "[Waging War on the World](#)." *Horizons* 14 (Summer): 32-55.
- Daalder, Ivo H., and James M. Lindsay. 2018. "[Trump's Screwing Up His Own Foreign Policy](#)." *Politico Magazine*, November 1.
- Lindsay, James M. 2014. "Discontent, Demands and Decisions: The Sway of Global Politics in 2014." *Thought* (Special Issue): 2-6.
- Lindsay, James M., and Rachael Kauss. 2013. "U.S. Foreign Policy Under Obama's Second Administration." *Euro Atlantic Quarterly* 8 (Spring): 12-13.
- Lindsay, James M. 2011. "[George W. Bush, Barack Obama, and the Future of U.S. Global Leadership](#)." *International Affairs* 87 (July): 765-79.
- Collins, Kate, and James M. Lindsay. 2011. "Vol'by Do Amerického Kongresu Alebo „Výprask" Pre Obamovu Politiku." ["The American Congress Elections or a "Shellacking" for Obama policy."] *Euro Atlantic Quarterly* 5 (December): 34-35.
- Posen, Barry, Barry Rubin, James Lindsay and Ray Takeyh. 2010. "[Could a Nuclear Iran Be Contained?](#)" *Foreign Affairs* 89 (July/August): 160-168.
- Lindsay, James M., and Ray Takeyh. 2010. "[After Iran Gets the Bomb](#)." *Foreign Affairs* 89 (March/April): 33-49.
- Lindsay, James M. 2009. "[The Case for a Concert of Democracies](#)." *Ethics & International Affairs* (Spring): 5-11.
- Lindsay, James M. 2009. *Foreign Affairs* 88 (March/April): "[A League of Their Own](#)." *Foreign Affairs* 88 (March/April): 166-68.
- Daalder, Ivo H., and James M. Lindsay. 2007. "[Restore Trust in American Leadership](#)." *Democracy* (Fall): 13-17.
- Daalder, Ivo H., and James M. Lindsay. 2007. "[Democracies of the World, Unite: The Debate Continues](#)." *American Interest* 2 (March/April): 137-39.
- Daalder, Ivo H., and James M. Lindsay. 2007. "[Democracies of the World, Unite](#)." *American Interest* 2 (January/February): 5-19.
- Lindsay, James M. 2006. "[How Ambitious Can We Be?](#)" *American Prospect* 17 (October): 47-49. [Review of *Ethical Realism* by Anatol Lieven and John Hulsman and *The American Way of Strategy* by Michael Lind.]
- Lindsay, James M. 2005. "[Serve un'Alleanza delle Democrazie](#)." ["We Need an Alliance of Democracies."] *Ideazione* 12 (March-April): 44-51.
- Daalder, Ivo H., and James M. Lindsay. 2005. "The Future of the Democrats." *Foresight*. (April 16-May 20): 65-67. (In Japanese). Reposted as "[Why the Democrats Have a Hard Time Gaining Trust in Diplomacy and Security](#)." Brookings.edu. May 1.
- Daalder, Ivo H., and James M. Lindsay. 2005. "[For America, the Age of Geopolitics Has Ended and the Age of Global Politics Has Begun](#)." *Boston Review*. (February/March): 20.

- Lindsay, James M. 2004. "[Wie Ethnien bei Onkel Sam Gehör finden](#)." ["How Ethnic Groups Find Uncle Sam's Ear."] *Der Überblick*. 3/2004: 42-45. (In German).
- Daalder, Ivo, and James Lindsay. 2004. "[Unbinding Prometheus](#)." *Time* (Canadian Edition) 163: 12.
- Daalder, Ivo H., and James M. Lindsay. 2003. "[Bush's Revolution](#)." *Current History* 102: 367-76.
- Lindsay, James M. 2003. "[Deference and Defiance: The Shifting Rhythms of Executive-Legislative Relations in Foreign Policy](#)." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 33: 530-46.
- Daalder, Ivo H., and James M. Lindsay. 2003. "[Bush's Flawed Revolution](#)." *American Prospect* 14 (10): 17-18.
- Daalder, Ivo H., and James M. Lindsay. 2003. "[Unilateralism Disgraced: The Price We All Have to Pay for Bush's Botched Tack](#)." *American Prospect* 14 (9): 17-18.
- Daalder, Ivo H., and James M. Lindsay. 2003. "[Nuclear Wal-Mart?](#)" *American Prospect* 14 (8): 17-18.
- Lindsay, James M., and Caroline Smith. 2003. "[Rally Round the Flag](#)," *Brookings Review* 21 (Summer): 20-23.
- Daalder, Ivo H., and James M. Lindsay. 2003. "[Scheidung oder Neubeginn: Die transatlantischen Beziehungen sind an einem Wendepunkt angelangt](#)." ["Divorce or New Beginning: Transatlantic Relations Have Arrived at a Turning Point."] *Internationale Politik* 58: 9-20.
- Daalder, Ivo H., and James M. Lindsay. 2003. "[Where Are the Hawks on North Korea?](#)" *American Prospect* 14 (2): 27-28.
- Nivola, Pietro S., Henry J. Aaron, and James M. Lindsay. 2003. "[Toward an Agenda](#)." *Brookings Review* 21 (Winter): 2-3.
- Daalder, Ivo H., and James M. Lindsay. 2003. "[The Globalization of Politics](#)." *Brookings Review* 21 (Winter): 12-17.
- Daalder, Ivo H., James M. Lindsay, and James B. Steinberg. 2002. "[Hard Choices: National Security and the War on Terrorism](#)." *Current History* 101: 409-13.
- Lindsay, James M. 2002. "[The Bush National Security Strategy: What Does 'Pre-Emption' Mean?](#)" *IJSS Strategic Comments* 8: 8. [Unattributed]
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- Lindsay, James M., and Michael E. O'Hanlon. 2002. "[Missile Defense After the ABM Treaty](#)." *Washington Quarterly* 25:163-76. [Reprinted in *Contemporary Nuclear Debates: Missile Defense, Arms Control, and Arms Races in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Alexander T.J. Lennon. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2002.]
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- Daalder, Ivo H., and James M. Lindsay. 2001. "[The United States and the War Against Terrorism.](#)" *Current History* 100: 403-409.
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- Lindsay, James M. 2001. "[Global Warming Heats Up.](#)" *Brookings Review* 19 (Fall): 26-29.
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- O'Hanlon, Michael, and James Lindsay. "What Changes to US Foreign Policy in an Al Gore White House?" *Parliamentary Brief* 6: 33-34.
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- Lindsay, James M., John A.C. Conybeare, and Gerald L. Sorokin. 1994. "[Introduction](#)." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 38: 179-84.
- Lindsay, James M., and Wayne P. Steger. 1993. "[The Two Presidencies Thesis Revisited](#)." *Congress and the Presidency* 20: 103-17.
- Lindsay, James M. 1992-93. "[Congress and Foreign Policy: Why the Hill Matters](#)." *Political Science Quarterly* 107: 607-28.
- Lindsay, James M., and Randall B. Ripley. 1992. "[Foreign and Defense Policy in Congress: A Research Agenda for the 1990s](#)." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 17: 417-49.
- Lindsay, James M., Lois W. Sayrs, and Wayne P. Steger. 1992. "[The Determinants of Presidential Foreign Policy Choice](#)." *American Politics Quarterly* 20: 3-25.
- Lindsay, James M. 1991. "[Testing the Parochial Hypothesis: Congress and the Strategic Defense Initiative](#)." *Journal of Politics* 53: 860-76.
- Lindsay, James M. 1990. "[Congressional Oversight of the Department of Defense: Reconsidering the Conventional Wisdom](#)." *Armed Forces and Society* 17: 7-33.
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- Lindsay, James M. 1988. "Congress and the Defense Budget." *Washington Quarterly* 11: 57-74. [Reprinted in Randall B. Ripley and Eliot B. Slotnick, eds. 1992. [Readings in American Government and Politics](#). Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth.]
- Lindsay, James M. 1987. "[Congress and Defense Policy: 1961 to 1986](#)." *Armed Forces and Society* 13: 371-401.
- Lindsay, James M. 1986. "[Trade Sanctions as Policy Instruments: A Re-examination](#)." *International Studies Quarterly* 30: 153-73.

### **Book Chapters**

- Lindsay, James M. 2018. "Invitation to Struggle: Congress, the President, and U.S. Foreign Policy." In [Domestic Determinants of Foreign Policy in the European Union and the United States](#), eds. Daniel S. Hamilton and Teija Tiilikainen. Washington, D.C.: Center for Transatlantic Relations.
- Lindsay, James M. 2018. "The Shifting Pendulum of Power: Executive-Legislative Relations on American Foreign Policy." In [Domestic Politics of American Foreign Policy: Insights and Evidence](#), 7<sup>th</sup> ed., ed. James M. McCormick. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Lindsay, James M. 2011. "The Shifting Pendulum of Power: Executive-Legislative Relations on American Foreign Policy." In [Domestic Politics of American Foreign Policy: Insights and Evidence](#), 6<sup>th</sup> ed., ed. James M. McCormick. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Lindsay, James M. 2011. "The Senate and Foreign Policy." In [The U.S. Senate: From Deliberation to Dysfunction](#), ed. Burdett Loomis. CQ Press.

- Lindsay, James M. 2011. "National Security, the Electoral Connection, and Policy Choice." In [\*Parties and Policy Choice: The Electoral Connection and Crafting Party Coalitions\*](#), ed. Martin A. Levin, Daniel DiSalvo, and Martin Shapiro. Johns Hopkins University Press..
- Lindsay, James M. 2007. "The Shifting Pendulum of Power: Executive-Legislative Relations on American Foreign Policy." In [\*Domestic Politics of American Foreign Policy: Insights and Evidence\*](#), 5<sup>th</sup> ed., ed. Eugene R. Wittkopf and James M. McCormick. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Lindsay, James M. 2005. "Morality Is Really Hard." In [\*Liberty and Power: A Dialogue on Religion & U.S. Foreign Policy in an Unjust World\*](#), ed. E.J. Dionne, Jr., Jean Bethke Elshtain, and Kayla Drogosz. Washington, D.C. Brookings Institution Press.
- Daalder, Ivo H., and James M. Lindsay. 2004. "American Foreign Policy and Transatlantic Relations in the Age of Global Politics." In [\*Shift or Rift: Assessing US-EU Relations After Iraq\*](#), ed. Gustav Lindstrom. Paris: Institute for Security Studies.
- Daalder, Ivo H., and James M. Lindsay. 2003. "The Bush Revolution: The Remaking of America's Foreign Policy." In [\*The George W. Bush Presidency: An Early Assessment\*](#), ed. Fred I. Greenstein. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Lindsay, James M. 2003. "From Deference to Activism and Back Again: Congress and the Politics of American Foreign Policy." In [\*Domestic Politics of American Foreign Policy: Insights and Evidence\*](#), 4<sup>th</sup> ed., ed. Eugene R. Wittkopf and James M. McCormick. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Aaron, Henry J., James M. Lindsay, and Pietro S. Nivola. 2003. "Introduction." In [\*Agenda for the Nation\*](#), ed. Henry J. Aaron, James M. Lindsay, and Pietro S. Nivola. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.
- Lindsay, James M., and Audrey Singer. 2003. "Changing Faces: Immigrants and Diversity in the Twenty-first Century." In [\*Agenda for the Nation\*](#), ed. Henry J. Aaron, James M. Lindsay, and Pietro S. Nivola. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.
- Daalder, Ivo H., and James M. Lindsay. 2003. "Power and Cooperation: An American Foreign Policy for the Age of Global Politics." In [\*Agenda for the Nation\*](#), ed. Henry J. Aaron, James M. Lindsay, and Pietro S. Nivola. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.
- Lindsay, James M. 2003. "Apathy, Interest, and the Politics of American Foreign Policy." In [\*The Uncertain Superpower: Domestic Dimensions of U.S. Foreign Policy after the Cold War\*](#), ed. Bernhard May and Michaela Hönicke Moore. Berlin: Leske & Budrich.
- Daalder, Ivo H., and James M. Lindsay. 2002. "America's New Cold War: Governance after September 11." [\*American Politics after September 11\*](#). Cincinnati, Ohio: Atomic Dog Publishing.
- Lindsay, James M. 2002. "What Is Treason? John Walker Lindh and the U.S. Constitution." [\*American Politics after September 11\*](#). Cincinnati, Ohio: Atomic Dog Publishing.
- Lindsay, James M. 2002. "The Middle East Is Us: Middle Easterners, Arabs, and Muslims in American Life." [\*American Politics after September 11\*](#). Cincinnati, Ohio: Atomic Dog Publishing.



- Lindsay, James M. 2002. "Racial Profiling Meets the War on Terrorism." [\*American Politics after September 11\*](#). Cincinnati, Ohio: Atomic Dog Publishing.
- Lindsay, James M. 2002. "Apathy and Interest: The American Public Rediscovered Foreign Policy after September 11." [\*American Politics after September 11\*](#). Cincinnati, Ohio: Atomic Dog Publishing.
- Lindsay, James M. 2002. "The Unloved Trumpet: The News Media Report on the War on Terrorism." [\*American Politics after September 11\*](#). Cincinnati, Ohio: Atomic Dog Publishing.
- Lindsay, James M. 2002. "Who Won and Who Lost? Interest Group Politics after September 11." [\*American Politics after September 11\*](#). Cincinnati, Ohio: Atomic Dog Publishing.
- Lindsay, James M. 2002. "Congress after September 11." [\*American Politics after September 11\*](#). Cincinnati, Ohio: Atomic Dog Publishing.
- Daalder, Ivo H., and James M. Lindsay. 2002. "Whose Job Is It? Organizing the Federal Government for Homeland Security." [\*American Politics after September 11\*](#). Cincinnati, Ohio: Atomic Dog Publishing.
- Lindsay, James M. 2002. "The Mystery of the Vanishing Surplus: Who Took It and Where Did It Go?" [\*American Politics after September 11\*](#). Cincinnati, Ohio: Atomic Dog Publishing.
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- Daalder, Ivo H., and James M. Lindsay. 2002. "A New Marshall Plan: Foreign Aid and America's War on Terrorism." [\*American Politics after September 11\*](#). Cincinnati, Ohio: Atomic Dog Publishing.
- Daalder, Ivo H., and James M. Lindsay. 2002. "Next Stop: Iraq?" [\*American Politics after September 11\*](#). Cincinnati, Ohio: Atomic Dog Publishing.
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- Lindsay, James M., and Randall B. Ripley. 1997. "U.S. Foreign Policy After the Cold War." In [\*U.S. Foreign Policy After the Cold War\*](#), ed. Randall B. Ripley and James M. Lindsay. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.



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- Bianco, William T., and James M. Lindsay. 1993. "Collective Action and Leadership in International Politics." In [\*Collective Security Beyond the Cold War\*](#), ed. George Downs. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
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### **Newspaper Analyses and Op-eds**

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Daalder, Ivo H., and James M. Lindsay. 2018. "[Washington Thinks Voters Hate Foreign Entanglements. The Data Says Otherwise.](#)" *Washington Post*, November 5.

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### **ACADEMIC AWARDS, GRANTS, AND HONORS**

Minerva Research Initiative Grant. Department of Defense. "Climate Change, State Stability, and Political Risk in Africa." Principal Investigator. December 2008.

Finalist and Honorable Mention, Arthur Ross Book Award, *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy* (with Ivo H. Daalder), 2003.

Lionel S. Gelber Prize, *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy* (with Ivo H. Daalder), 2003.

College and University Faculty Seminar on Conflict and Peacemaking in an Evolving World, United States Institute of Peace, 1998.

Congressional Research Grant, Dirksen Congressional Center, 1997.

International Affairs Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations, 1995.

Fellowship, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, California, 1994. (Declined).



University Faculty Scholarship, University of Iowa, 1993-1995.

Conference Grant, Benjamin F. Shambaugh Trust, for a conference on "Formal Models of Bargaining in International Relations," 1992. (with John A.C. Conybeare and Gerald L. Sorokin).

Conference Grant, Midwest Consortium for International Security Studies, for a conference on "Formal Models of Bargaining in International Relations," 1992. (with John A.C. Conybeare and Gerald L. Sorokin).

Conference Grant, Midwest Consortium for International Security Studies, for a conference on "The Foreign and Defense Policy Bureaucracy in the United States," 1992. (with Randall B. Ripley).

Advanced Research Fellowship in Foreign Policy Studies, Social Science Research Council, 1992.

Small Grant for Exploratory Research, National Science Foundation, 1990 (with five other researchers; Professor Arthur H. Miller, Principal Investigator).

Old Gold Fellowship, University of Iowa, Summer 1988 and Summer 1990.

Guest Scholar, Brookings Institution, 1986-1987 and Summer 1988.

John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Fellowship in International Peace and Security, Social Science Research Council, 1985-1987.

John M. Olin Dissertation Fellowship, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, 1985-1986.

Dissertation Fellowship, Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University, 1985-1986.

Foreign Policy Fellowship, The Brookings Institution, 1985 (Declined).

Hubert H. Humphrey Fellowship, United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, 1985 (Declined).

Fellowship, Institute for the Study of World Politics, 1985 (Declined).

Yale University Fellowship, 1981-1985.

William Jennings Bryan Prize, University of Michigan, 1981.

Phi Beta Kappa, 1980.

LS&A Merit Scholarship, University of Michigan, 1977-1981.

## **TEACHING AWARDS AND HONORS**

Collegiate Teaching Award, University of Iowa, 1991

Pew Faculty Fellowship in International Affairs, 1990-1991

James N. Murray Faculty Teaching Award, University of Iowa, 1990

**PROFESSIONAL BOARDS, COMMITTEES, AND ORGANIZATIONS**

Council of Foreign Relations, 2000-

Editorial Board, *International Studies Quarterly*, 1999-2002

Executive Committee, Midwest Consortium for International Security, 1992-1999

Editorial Board, *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 1993-1996

Editorial Board, *International Studies Perspectives*, 2004-2007