

FRANCIS FUKUYAMA

EDUCATION

Ph.D., Soviet Foreign Policy, Middle Eastern Politics, 1981, Harvard University,
Department of Government
B.A., Classics, 1974, Cornell University

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

2019-present: Director, Ford Dorsey Masters in International Policy, Stanford University.
2015-2021: Mosbacher Director, Center on Democracy, Development and the Rule of Law, Stanford University.
2010-present: Olivier Nomellini Senior Fellow, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, Stanford University; professor (by courtesy) of Political Science.
2008-present: Visiting Professor, Aarhus University, Aarhus, Denmark.
2005-2010: Director, International Development Program, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University.
2001-2010: Bernard L. Schwartz Professor of International Political Economy, SAIS.
2002-2004: Dean of Faculty, SAIS.
1996-2001: Omer L. and Nancy Hirst Professor of Public Policy, School of Public Policy, George Mason University.
1997-2000: Director, International Commerce and Policy Program, Institute of Public Policy, George Mason University.
1996-1999: Director, The New Sciences Project, SAIS; co-director, Project on the Information and Biological Revolutions, RAND/GMU.
1995-1996: Senior Social Scientist, the RAND Corporation
1994-1996: Fellow, Foreign Policy Institute, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, and director of the SAIS Telecommunications Project
1990 - 1994: Consultant, the RAND Corporation
1989 - 1990: Deputy Director, Policy Planning Staff, U.S. Department of State
1983 - 1989: Senior Staff Member, Political Science Department, The RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California
1986, 1989: Visiting Lecturer, Department of Political Science, UCLA.
1981 - 1982: Policy Planning Staff, Department of State, Washington DC; Member of the U.S. Delegation to the Egyptian-Israeli talks on Palestinian Autonomy

1979 - 1981: Associate Social Scientist, The RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California

1978 - 1979: Consultant, Pan Heuristics, Inc., Los Angeles, California

1976 (summer): Intern, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

VITAL STATISTICS

Date of Birth: 27 October 1952

Marital Status: Married to Laura Holmgren, one daughter and two sons

PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Non-resident Fellow, SAIS Foreign Policy Institute

Non-resident Fellow, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Chairman of the Editorial Board, *American Purpose*

Member, Board of Trustees, The Rand Corporation

Member of the Board of Governors, Pardee Rand Graduate School

Member, Board of Trustees, Freedom House

Member of the Board of Directors, The Volcker Alliance

Member, Council on Foreign Relations.

Member, American Political Science Association.

Honorary Doctorates, Connecticut College, 1995; Doane College, 2001; Doshisha University (Japan), 2007, Kansai University (Japan), 2009, Aarhus University (Denmark), 2011; Pardee Rand Graduate School, 2012.

HONORS

Centennial Medal, Harvard Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, 2016.

Johan Skytte Prize in Political Science, 2015.

Estoril Global Issues Book Prize, 2015.

Democracy Service Medal, National Endowment for Democracy, 2010.

Max M. Fisher Award for Excellence in Teaching, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, 2010.

Founder's Award, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, 2010.

Premio Capri International Award for the Italian language edition of *The End of History and the Last Man*, June 1992.

Los Angeles Times' Book Critics Award in the Current Interest category for *The End of History and the Last Man*, November 1992.

Medal of the Presidency of the Italian Republic, October 1993.

Excellence 2000 Award of the US Pan Asian-American Chamber of Commerce, May 1995

Graduate Fellow, National Security Program, Center for International Affairs,
Harvard University, 1979
Graduate Fellow, Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard
University, 1978-79

PUBLICATIONS

Books and Monographs

Liberalism and Its Discontents (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux and London: Profile Books), 2022.

Report of the Working Group on Platform Scale, Stanford University Program on Democracy and the Internet (Nov. 2020).

Identity: The Demand for Dignity and the Politics of Resentment (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2018).

Political Order and Political Decay: From the Industrial Revolution to the Globalization of Democracy (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2014).

Poverty, Inequality, and Democracy, ed., with Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012).

The Origins of Political Order: From Prehuman Times to the French Revolution (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2011).

New Ideas in Development After the Financial Crisis, ed., with Nancy Birdsall (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011).

Falling Behind: Explaining the Development Gap between the United States and Latin America (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008). Editor.

East Asian Multilateralism: Prospects for Regional Stability (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008). Editor, with Kent E. Calder.

Blindside: How to Anticipate Forcing Events and Wild Cards in Global Politics (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2007). Editor.

Beyond Bioethics: A Proposal for Modernizing the Regulation of Human Biotechnologies (Washington, DC: School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, 2006).

America at the Crossroads: Democracy, Power, and the Neoconservative Legacy (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).

Nation-Building: Beyond Afghanistan and Iraq, editor (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006). Editor. Author of Introduction, “Nation-building and the failure of institutional memory,” and Conclusion, “Guidelines for Future Nation-Builders.”

State-Building: Governance and World Order in the 21st Century (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004).

Our Posthuman Future: Consequences of the Biotechnology Revolution (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2002).

Information and Biological Revolutions: Global Governance Challenges—Summary of a Study Group, editor, with Caroline S. Wagner (Rand MR-1139-DARPA, 1999).

The Great Disruption: Human Nature and the Reconstitution of Social Order (New York: Free Press, 1999).

The End of Order (London: The Social Market Foundation, 1997).

The Virtual Corporation and Army Organization (with Abram Shulsky), Santa Monica: RAND Corporation MR-863-A, 1997.

Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity (New York: Free Press, 1995). Also published in approximately 26 foreign language editions.

The US-Japan Security Relationship After the Cold War (with Kongdan Oh), Santa Monica: RAND Corporation MR-283-USDP, 1993 (published also in a Japanese edition by Tokuma Shoten, 1994).

The End of History and the Last Man (New York: Free Press, 1992). Also published in approximately 23 foreign language editions.

Gorbachev and the New Soviet Agenda in the Third World, Santa Monica: RAND Corporation R-3634-A, February 1989.

Soviet Civil-Military Relations and the Power Projection Mission, Santa Monica: RAND Corporation R-3504-AF, April 1987.

The Soviet Union and the Third World: The Last Three Decades, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987). Editor, with Andrzej Korbonski. Author of Chap. 2, “Soviet Strategy in the Third World.”

Moscow's Post-Brezhnev Reassessment of the Third World, RAND Corporation
R-3337-USDP, February 1986.

Published Articles and Book Chapters

“Response to the *Global Perspectives* Reviews of *Liberalism and Its Discontents*,” *Global Perspectives* 4 (Nov. 2023).

“In Defense of the Deep State,” *Asia Pacific Journal of Public Administration* (Aug. 25, 2023).

“China’s Road to Ruin: The Real Toll of Beijing’s Belt and Road” (with Michael Bennon) *Foreign Affairs* (Sept-Oct 2023, forthcoming).

“Defining Bureaucratic Autonomy” (with Katherine Bersch), *Annual Review of Political Science* 26 (2023).

“Russia Is Winning in Georgia: America Needs to Get Tough on Tbilisi” (with Nino Evgenidze), *Foreign Affairs* (April 6, 2023).

“The Global Survey of Public Servants: Evidence from 1,300,000 Public Servants in 1,300 Government Institutions in 23 Countries,” *Public Administration Review* (2023); with C. Schuster, K. Mikkelsen, D. Rogger, Z. Hasnain, D. Mistree, J. Meyer, Sahling, K. Bersch, and K. Kay.

“Response to the Polity Collection,” *Polity* 54 (October 2022).

“The Obsolescing Bargain Crosses the Belt and Road Initiative: Renegotiations on BRI Projects,” *Oxford Review of Economic Policy* 38 (2022).

“A Country of Their Own: Liberalism Needs the Nation,” *Foreign Affairs* 101 (2022).

“Corruption, Elites, and Power: An Overview of International Policy Efforts to Improve the Quality of Government” (with Francesca Recanatini), in Andreas Bagenholm, Monika Bauer, Marcia Grimes, and Bo Rothstein, *The Oxford Handbook of The Quality of Government* (Oxford University Press, 2021).

“The Future of Platform Power: Solving for a Moving Target,” *Journal of Democracy* 32 (no. 3, July 2021).

- “Why National Identity Matters,” in Eric M. Uslaner and Nils Holtug, eds., *National Identity and Social Cohesion* (London and New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2021).
- “Making the Internet Safe for Democracy,” *Journal of Democracy* 32 (April 2021).
- “Rotten to the Core? How America's Political Decay Accelerated During the Trump Era,” *Foreign Affairs* (Jan. 18, 2021).
- “How to Save Democracy from Technology: Ending Big Tech’s Information Monopoly,” with Barak Richman and Ashish Goel, *Foreign Affairs* (Jan-Feb. 2021).
- “The Stakes in the Coming Election,” *American Purpose* (Oct. 13, 2020).
- “Liberalism and Its Discontents,” *American Purpose* (Oct. 5, 2020).
- “Responding to COVID-19 Through Surveys of Public Servants”, with Christian Schuster, Lauren Weitzman, Kim Sass Mikkelsen, Jan Meyer-Sehling, Katherine Bersch, Dinsha Mistree, Patricia Paskov, Daniel Rogger, and Kerenssa Kay, *Public Administration Review* 80: 792-796 (2020).
- “Comparative Media Regulation in the United States and Europe” (with Andy Grotto), in Joshua A. Tucker, and Nathaniel Persily, eds., *Social Media and Democracy: The State of the Field and Prospects for Reform* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2020).
- “The Pandemic and Political Order,” *Foreign Affairs* 99(4), June-July 2020.
- “The Intrinsic Functions of Government,” in James L. Perry and Paul A. Volcker, *Public Service and Good Governance for the 21st Century* (Philadelphia, PA: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2020).
- “What Kind of Regime Does China Have?” *The American Interest* 15 (May 2020).
- “The Wages of American Political Decay,” *The American Interest* 15 (May 2020).
- “What Would a Second Trump Term Do to the Federal Bureaucracy?” *Washington Monthly* (Ap-My-Jn 2020).
- “30 Years of World Politics: What Has Changed?” *Journal of Democracy* 31 (Jan. 2020): 11-21.

- “Beyond Measurement: What is Needed for Effective Governance and Anti-Corruption Reforms” (with Francesca Recanatini) in Helmut K. Anheier, Matthias Haber, and Mark A. Kayser, eds., *Governance Indicators: Approaches, Progress, Promise* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2018).
- “Why National Identity Matters,” *Journal of Democracy* 29 (Oct. 2018): 5-15.
- “Against Identity Politics,” *Foreign Affairs* 97 (no. 5, Sept-Oct. 2018): 90-115.
- “Civil Society and Political Society,” in Debra Erikson, and Michael Le Chevallier, *Jean Bethke Elshtain: Politics, Ethics, and Society* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2018).
- "The Populist Surge," *The American Interest* 13 (Mar-April, 2018): 16-18.
- “The Last English Civil War,” *Daedalus* 147 (no. 1, Winter 2018): 15:24.
- “What is Corruption?” in *Against Corruption*, with a forward by David Cameron (London: Crown, 2016).
- “American Political Decay or Renewal? The Meaning of the 2016 Election,” *Foreign Affairs* 95(4) 58-68.
- “Too Much Law and Too Little Infrastructure,” *The American Interest* 12(3), Nov-Dec 2016.
- “Macro Theory and the Study of Political Development,” *Scandinavian Political Studies* May 2016.
- “Governance: What Do We Know, and How Do We Know It?” *Annual Review of Political Science* 19: 89-105 2016.
- “Reflections on Chinese Governance,” *Journal of Chinese Governance* 3 (no. 1), 2016.
- “A More Systematic Approach to Biological Risk,” with Megan Palmer and David Relman, *Science* 350 issue 6267, 18 December 2015.
- “Our Peculiar Reform Challenge” (with Bruce Cain), *The American Interest* 11, no. 2, Nov-Dec 2015.
- “Fuss Budgeting,” *The American Interest* 11, no. 2, Nov-Dec 2015.

- "The Importance of Equality (Comment on Jørgen Møller)," *Journal of Democracy* 26(3), July 2015.
- "Nation-Building and State Building," in John A. Hall, Ove Korsgaard, and Ove K. Pedersen, *Building the Nation: N.F.S. Grundtvig and Danish National Identity* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 2015).
- "Why Is Democracy Performing So Poorly?," *Journal of Democracy* 26(1), January 2015.
- "States and Democracy," *Democratization* 21(7), 2014.
- "Building Better Governments," *The American Interest* 10(2), Nov-Dec. 2014.
- "America in Decay: The Sources of Political Dysfunction," *Foreign Affairs* 93(5), Sept-Oct. 2014.
- "Democracy and the Quality of the State," *Journal of Democracy* 24(4), Oct. 2013.
- "What Is Governance?" *Governance* 26(3), July 2013.
- "The Patterns of History," *Journal of Democracy* 23(1), January 2012. Published also in Marc Plattner, Larry Diamond, and Yun-han Chu, eds., *Democracy in East Asia: A New Century* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013).
- "The Future of History," *Foreign Affairs* 91(1), Jan-Feb 2012.
- "Democracy: Should All Nations Be Encouraged to Promote Democratization: Yes" with Michael McFaul, in Peter M. Haas and John A. Hird, ed., *Controversies in Globalization: Contending Approaches to International Relations, 2nd Ed.* (Boulder, CO: CQ Press, 2012).
- "Is There a Proper Sequence in Democratic Transitions?" *Current History* (November 2011).
- "American Political Dysfunction," *The American Interest* 7, no. 2 (Nov.-Dec. 2011).
- "Agency or Inevitability: Will Human Beings Control Their Technological Future?" in Kasper Lippert-Rasmussen, Mads Rosendahl and Jacob Wamberg, *The Posthuman Condition* (Aarhus, Denmark: Aarhus University Press, 2012).

- “National Identity, American and Otherwise,” in Michael Böss, ed., *Narrating Peoplehood amidst Diversity: Historical and Theoretical Perspectives* (Aarhus, Denmark: Aarhus University Press, 2011).
- “Dealing with Inequality,” *Journal of Democracy* 22 no. 3 (July 2011).
- “Political Order in Egypt,” *The American Interest* 6 no. 5, May-June 2011: 6-13.
- “The Post-Washington Consensus,” *Foreign Affairs* 90 no. 2 (March-April 2011), with Nancy Birdsall.
- “Left Out,” *The American Interest* 6, No. 3, Jan.-Feb. 2011.
- “Development Strategies: Integrating Governance and Growth,” with Brian Levy, World Bank Policy Research Working Paper No. 5196, Jan. 2010.
- “Transitions to the Rule of Law,” *Journal of Democracy* 21, no. 1 (Jan. 2010).
- “What Were They Thinking,” with Seth Colby, *The American Interest* 5, no. 1 (Sept.-Oct. 2009).
- “Reconceptualizing Democracies and Empowering Them to Deliver,” in Alexander T. J. Lennon, ed., *Democracy in U.S. Security Strategy: From Promotion to Support* (Washington, DC: CSIS, 2009).
- “International Institutional Transfer,” in Kenneth A. Reinert and Ramkishan S. Rajan, eds., *The Princeton Encyclopedia of the World Economy* (Princeton University Press, 2009).
- “Challenges to World Order after September 11,” in I. William Zartman, ed., *Imbalance of Power: US Hegemony and International Order* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2009).
- “State-Building in Solomon Islands,” *Pacific Economic Bulletin* 23 (No. 3, 2008).
- “The Latin American Experience,” *Journal of Democracy* 19 (October 2008).
- “Soft Talk, Big Stick,” in Melvyn Leffler and Jeffrey Legro, eds., *To Lead the World: American Strategy After the Bush Doctrine* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).
- “Development and the Limits of Institutional Design,” in Natalia Dinello and Vladimir Popov, eds., *Political Institutions and Development: Failed Expectations and Renewed Hopes* (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2007).

- "The New Nationalism and the Strategic Architecture of Northeast Asia," *Asia Policy* (No. 3, Jan. 2007).
- "Should Democracy be Promoted or Demoted?" (with Michael McFaul), *Washington Quarterly* 31(1), 2007.
- "A Quiet Revolution" (review essay of Michael Reid, *Forgotten Continent: The Battle for Latin America's Soul*), *Foreign Affairs* (Nov.-Dec. 2007).
- "Identity and Migration," *Prospect* (no. 131, Feb. 25, 2007).
- "A Proposal for Modernizing the Regulation of Human Biotechnologies" (with Franco Furger), *Hastings Center Report* 37 (no. 7, July-August 2007).
- "Liberalism versus State-Building," *Journal of Democracy* 18 (No. 3, July 2007).
- Forward to Eduardo Lora, ed., *The State of State Reform in Latin America* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press/IDB, 2007).
- "Identity, Immigration, and Liberal Democracy" (the 2005 Seymour Martin Lipset Lecture), *Journal of Democracy* (vol. 17, no. 2, April 2006).
- Forward to the new paperback edition of Samuel P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).
- Response to the symposium on the Bush Doctrine, *Commentary* 100 (no. 11), Nov. 2005.
- Response to the symposium on "The Sources of American Conduct," *The American Interest* (vol. 1, no. 1, Fall 2005).
- "Still Disenchanted? The Modernity of Postindustrial Capitalism," in Victor Nee and Richard Swedberg, eds., *The Economic Sociology of Capitalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).
- "Fighting the War on Terrorism," in Norton Garfinkle and Daniel Yankelovich, eds., *Uniting America: Restoring the Vital Center to American Democracy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).
- "Human Biomedicine and the Problem of Governance," *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine* 48 (no. 2, Spring 2005).
- "Facing the Perils of Presidentialism?" (with Björn Dressel and Boo-Seung Chang) *Journal of Democracy* 16 (no. 2, April 2005).

- “Economic, Political, and Cultural Consequences of Changes in Generational Relations,” in Mary Ann Glendon, ed., *Intergenerational Solidarity, Welfare and Human Ecology* (Vatican City: Proceedings of the Tenth Plenary Session of the Pontifical Academy of the Social Science, 2005).
- “‘Stateness’ First,” *Journal of Democracy* (Vol. 16, no 1, Jan. 2005).
- “Re-Envisioning Asia,” *Foreign Affairs* (vol 84, no. 1, Jan-Feb. 2005).
- “Does ‘the West’ Still Exist?” in Tod Lindberg, ed., *Beyond Paradise and Power: Europe, America, and the Future of a Troubled Partnership* (New York: Routledge, 2004).
- “Why There is No Science of Public Administration,” *Journal of International Affairs* 58, no. 1 (Fall 2004).
- “Transhumanism,” *Foreign Policy* (September-October 2004).
- “The Neoconservative Moment,” *The National Interest* (no. 76, Summer 2004).
- "The Imperative of State-Building," *Journal of Democracy* 15 no. 2, April 2004.
- “Nation-Building 101,” *The Atlantic Monthly* 293 (Jan.-Feb. 2004).
- “Has History Restarted Since September 11? (The Nineteenth Annual John Bonython Lecture)”, Centre for Independent Studies Occasional Paper no. 81, August 2002.
- "Social Capital and Development: The Coming Agenda," *SAIS Review* 21, (Winter-Spring 2002).
- "Can Any Good Come of Radical Islam?" (with N. Samin), *Commentary* 114 (Sept.-Oct. 2002).
- “Holes in Our Gene Policy,” *Bloomberg Personal Finance* (Sept. 2002).
- "In Defense of Nature, Human and Non-Human," *World Watch Magazine* (July-August 2002): 30-32.
- “The Ground and Nature of Human Rights”(with William Schulz and Robin Fox), *The National Interest* no. 68 (Summer 2002).
- "Gene Regime," *Foreign Policy* (March-April 2002).

- “Life, but Not as We Know It,” *New Scientist* (April 20, 2002).
- “How to Regulate Science,” *The Public Interest*, no. 146 (Winter 2002).
- “Culture and Economic Development,” in N. J. Smelser and Paul B. Baltes, eds., *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences* (Oxford: Pergamon, 2001).
- “The Limits of Liberal Democracy,” in Joel Krieger, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World* (Oxford University Press, 2001).
- “Differing Disciplinary Perspectives on the Origins of Trust,” *Boston University Law Review* 81 (No. 3, June 2001).
- “Natural Rights and Human History,” *The National Interest* no. 64 (Summer 2001).
- “Social Capital, Civil Society, and Development,” *Third World Quarterly* 22 (no. 1, 2001).
- “Comparing East Asia and Latin America: Dimensions of Development” (with Sanjay Marwah), *Journal of Democracy*, October 2000. Reprinted in Laurence Whitehead, ed., *Emerging Market Democracies: East Asia and Latin America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002). A longer unpublished version of this paper exists as [“Economic and Political development in east asia and latin america: discerning differences”](#).
- “Social Capital,” in Lawrence Harrison and Samuel P. Huntington, eds., *Culture Matters*, Basic Books, 2000.
- “Don’t Do It, Britannia,” *Prospect*, May 2000. (Essay and review of Tom Nairn, *After Britain*.)
- “Der unprogrammierte Unmensch,” in *Die Gegenwart der Zukunft* (Berlin: Verlag Klaus Wagenbach, 2000).
- [“Social Capital and Civil Society,”](#) IMF Working Paper WP/00/74, April 2000.
- Comment on “American Power—For What?” *Commentary*, January 2000.
- “Asian Values, Korean Values, and Democratic Consolidation,” in L. Diamond and D. C. Shin, eds., *Institutional Reform and Democratic Consolidation in Korea* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2000).
- “The March of Equality,” *Journal of Democracy* 11 (January 2000).

- “Military Organization in the Information Age: Lessons from the World of Business” (with A. N. Shulsky) in Zalmay Khalilzad and John P. White, eds., *The Changing Role of Information Warfare* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand, 1999).
- “The Politics of Women,” in Sian Griffiths, ed., *Predictions: 30 Great Minds on the Future* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
- “Asian Values in the Wake of the Asian Crisis,” *The Review of Korean Studies* 2, Sept. 1999.
- “How to Remoralize America,” *The Wilson Quarterly*, July 1999.
- “Asian Values and the Current Crisis,” *Development Outreach* 1, no. 1, Summer 1999.
- “Second Thoughts: The Last Man in a Bottle,” *The National Interest*, Summer 1999.
- “The Great Disruption: Human Nature and the Reconstitution of Social Order,” *The Atlantic Monthly*, May 1999.
- “Women and the Evolution of World Politics,” *Foreign Affairs* 77 no. 5 (Sept.-Oct. 1998).
- Response to Sebastian Mallaby, *The National Interest* (Summer 1998).
- "Falling Tide: Global Trends and US Civil Society," *Harvard International Review* 20, no. 1 (Winter 1997-98).
- “Asian Values and the Asian Crisis,” *Commentary* (February 1998).
- "Is It All In the Genes?" *Commentary* (September 1997).
- Comment on "Is There a Worldwide Conservative Crackup?" *The Weekly Standard* (Aug.25-Sept. 1, 1997).
- “The Illusion of Exceptionalism,” *Journal of Democracy*, July 1997.
- Comment on "The Future of Conservatism," *Commentary*, February 1997.
- “Trust Still Counts in a Virtual World,” *Forbes ASAP*, Dec. 2, 1996.
- Comment on “The National Prospect,” *Commentary*, November 1995.

- “Social Capital and the Global Economy,” *Foreign Affairs* 74 no. 5 (Sept./Oct. 1995).
- “On the Possibility of Writing a Universal History,” in Arthur M. Melzer, Jerry Weinberger, and M. Richard Zinman, eds., *History and the Idea of Progress* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995).
- “Virtue and Prosperity,” *National Interest*, No. 40 (Summer 1995).
- “Immigration,” in Lamar Alexander and Chester E. Finn, Jr., eds., *The New Promise of American Life* (Indianapolis, IN: Hudson Institute, 1995).
- “Confucianism and Democracy,” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 6, no. 2 (April 1995).
- “The Primacy of Culture,” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 6, no. 1 (Jan. 1995).
- “Die Zukunft des Krieges” (“The Future of War”), *Frankfurter Allgemeine Magazin*, no. 772, Dec. 16, 1994.
- “Reflections on 'The End of History' Five Years Later,” in Timothy Burns, ed., *After History: Francis Fukuyama and His Critics* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1994).
- “Against the New Pessimism,” *Commentary*, Vol. 96, no. 2, February 1994.
- “Great Planes,” *The New Republic*, September 6, 1993.
- “Immigrants and Family Values,” *Commentary*, Vol. 95, no. 5, May 1993.
- “The Modernizing Imperative,” *The National Interest*, No. 31, Spring 1993.
- “Neyasnost' Natsional'nogo Interessa (The Ambiguity of National Interest),” *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* (Moscow), October 16, 1992; published also in S. Sestanovich, ed., *Rethinking Russia's National Interests* (Washington: CSIS, 1994).
- Comment on Ghia Nodia, *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 3, no. 4, October 1992.
- Comment on Stankevich, *The National Interest*, No. 28, 1992.
- “The Beginning of Foreign Policy,” *The New Republic*, August 17 and 14, 1992.

“Capitalism and Democracy: The Missing Link,” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 3, no. 3, July 1992.

Comment on "Is America on the Way Down?" *Commentary*, May 1992.

“Democratization and International Security,” in *New Dimensions in International Security*, Adelphi Paper No. 266, London, International Institute for Strategic Studies.

“Liberal Democracy as a Global Phenomenon,” *Political Science*, December 1991.

“The Next South Africa,” *The National Interest*, No. 18, Summer 1991.

“A Reply to My Critics,” *The National Interest*, No. 16, Winter 1989-90.

“The End of History?” *The National Interest*, Summer 1989.

“Discord or Cooperation in the Third World?” in *Coping with Gorbachev's Soviet Union*, Washington, D.C., CSIS Significant Issues Series, Vol. X, No. 9, 1988.

“The Political Character of the Overseas Empire,” in Henry Rowen and Charles Wolf, eds, *The Future of the Soviet Empire* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987).

“Soviet Military Power in the Middle East; or, Whatever Became of Power Projection?” in S. Spiegel, M. Heller, and J. Goldberg, eds., *The Soviet-American Competition in the Middle East* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1987).

“The Cycles of Soviet Third World Policy,” *Problems of Communism*, September - October 1987.

“Asia in a Global War,” *Comparative Strategy*, Vol. 6, no.4, 1987.

“A Systematic Soviet Strategy for the Third World?” in Dennis Bark ed., *The Red Orchestra*, Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1986 (also published as RAND P-6965, February 1984).

“Gorbachev and the Third World,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 64, no.4, Spring, 1986.

“Soviet Experience with Cooperative Forces,” in Charles Wolf and Katherine Watkins, eds., *Developing Cooperative Forces in the Third World*,

Lexington, MA, Lexington Books, 1986 (also published as RAND N-2325-USDP, June 1985).

- “Military Aspects of the U.S.-Soviet Competition in the Third World,” in Marshall D. Shulman, ed., *East-West Tensions in the Third World*, Norton, 1986 (also published as RAND P-7164, 1985).
- “The Rise and Fall of the Marxist-Leninist Vanguard Party,” *Survey*, Vol. 29, No. 2, Summer 1985.
- “U.S.-Soviet Interactions in the Third World,” in Arnold L. Horelick, ed., *U.S.-Soviet Relations: The Next Phase*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY, 1986 (also published as RAND OPS-004, March 1985).
- “The New Marxist Leninist States and Internal Conflict in the Third World,” in Uri Ra'anani et. al., *Third World Marxist-Leninist Regimes: Strengths, Vulnerabilities, and U.S. Policy*, Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis Special Report, September 1985 (also published as RAND P-7020, 1984).
- “Escalation in the Middle East and Persian Gulf,” in Graham Allison, Albert Carnesale, and Joseph Nye (eds.), *Hawks, Doves, and Owls*, Norton, 1985 (also published as RAND P-7021, September 1984).
- “New Directions for Soviet Middle East Policy: Implications for the Atlantic Alliance,” in Steven L. Spiegel, ed., *The Middle East and the Western Alliance*, George Allen and Unwin, 1982 (also published as RAND P-6443, February 1980).
- “Pakistan Since the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan,” in Shirin Tahir-Kheli, ed., *U.S. Strategic Interests in Southwest Asia*, Praeger, 1982.
- “The USSR and the Middle East,” *Middle East Contemporary Survey*, Vol. IV, 1981 (with A.S. Becker).
- The Security of Pakistan: A Trip Report*, RAND Corporation N-1584-RC, September 1980.
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- “Nuclear Shadowboxing: Soviet Intervention Threats in the Middle East,” *Orbis*, Fall 1981 (also published as RAND N-1577-FF, June 1980).

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The Soviet Threat to the Persian Gulf, RAND Corporation P-6596, March 1981.

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Political Science Quarterly:

Rajan Menon, *Soviet Power and the Third World*, Summer, 1987.

The Journal of Democracy:

Mark Juergensmeyer, *A New Cold War? Religious Nationalism Confronts the Secular State*, October 1993

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Tony Judt with Timothy Snyder, *Thinking the Twentieth Century*, Feb. 5, 2012.
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Ruth Ben-Ghiat, *Strongmen: Mussolini to the Present*, Nov. 10, 2020.
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- Robert D. Kaplan, *The Ends of the Earth*, April 1996.
Stephanie Gutmann, *The Kinder, Gentler Military*, February 2000.
George Gilder, *Telecosm*, October 2000.
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William Greider, *One World, Ready or Not: The Manic Logic of Global Capitalism*, Jan. 27, 1997.

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Jane Jacobs, *Dark Age Ahead*, May 2004.

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Wangari Maathai, *The Challenge for Africa*; Dambisa Moyo, *Dead Aid*, May 4, 2009.

The National Interest:

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American Spectator:

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Andrew Cockburn, *The Threat*
James Fallows, *National Defense*
Curtis Cate, *The Ides of August*
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Ian Morris, *War! What's It Good For?*, July-August 2014.

H-Diplo:

Andrew Lambert, *Seapower States: Maritime Culture, Continental Empires and the Conflict That Made the Modern World* (July 22, 2020).

Op-eds have appeared in *The Wall Street Journal*; *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, *New York Newsday*, *The Washington Post*, *Guardian* (UK), *Telegraph* (UK), *Financial Times* (UK), *Times* (UK), *Le Point* (France), *Le Monde* (France), *Le Figaro* (France), *Mondo Economico* (Italy), *La Stampa* (Italy), *Il Sole 24 Ore* (Italy), *La Repubblica* (Italy), *Yomiuri Shimbun* (Japan), *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (Germany), *Die Zeit* (Germany), *Suddeutsche Zeitung* (Germany), *Australian Financial Review* (Australia), *El Pais* (Spain), *El Mundo* (Spain), *Mainichi Shimbun* (Japan), *Sankei Shimbun* (Japan), *Global Business* (Japan), *NRC Handelsblad* (Netherlands) *De Groene Amsterdamer* (Netherlands), *Chosun Ilbo* (Korea), *Kyung Hyang Daily News* (Korea) and *Joong An Daily News* (Korea).

SELECTED INVITED LECTURES

The Tanner Lectures, Brasenose College, Oxford, May 1997.

The John Bonython Lecture, Melbourne, Australia, August 2002.

The Sir Ronald Trotter Lecture, Wellington, New Zealand, August 2002.

The Messenger Lectures, Cornell University, February 2003.

The Castle Lectures, Yale University, April 2005.

The Seymour Martin Lipset Memorial Lecture, Toronto and Washington, Oct.-Nov. 2005.

LANGUAGES

Fluent in French; reading knowledge of Spanish, Russian, Attic Greek, Latin

November 2023

Francis Fukuyama