

Daniel Bessner

University of Washington | Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies
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Academic Appointments

2016-Present Anne H.H. and Kenneth B. Pyle Assistant Professor in American Foreign Policy
2014-Present Assistant Professor
Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies
University of Washington

Education

Ph.D. Duke University, History, 2013
M.A. Duke University, History, 2010
B.A. Columbia University, History, 2006
B.A. Jewish Theological Seminary, Jewish History, 2006

Books

(2022) *The RAND Corporation: A History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. (under advance contract)
2018 *Democracy in Exile: Hans Speier and the Rise of the Defense Intellectual*. United States in the World Series, edited by Mark Bradley, David Engerman, Amy Greenberg, and Paul Kramer. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. (312 p.)

Edited Volume

(In Progress) *The Decisionist Imagination: Sovereignty, Social Science, and Democracy in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Berghahn Books. Co-edited with Nicholas Guilhot. (under advance contract)

Peer-Reviewed Articles

2017 “The Ghosts of Weimar: The Weimar Analogy in American Thought.” *Social Research* 84, no. 4: 831-855.
2017 “Nazism, Neoliberalism, and the Trumpist Challenge to Democracy.” *Environment and Planning A* 49, no. 6, 1214-1223. Co-authored with Matthew Sparke. (Commentary: Reviewed by editors.)

- 2015 “How Realism Waltzed Off: Liberalism and Decisionmaking in Kenneth Waltz’s Neorealism.” *International Security* 40, no. 2: 87-118. Co-authored with Nicolas Guilhot.
* Reviewed in an H-Diplo/ISSF Roundtable by Campbell Craig (Cardiff University); William Inboden (University of Texas-Austin); Robert Jervis (Columbia University); Robert Vitalis (University of Pennsylvania); and Stephen Walt (Harvard University); also includes authors’ response.
https://issforum.org/articlereviews/59-waltz#_Toc460676623.
- 2015 “Organizing Complexity: The Hopeful Dreams and Harsh Realities of Interdisciplinary Collaboration at the RAND Corporation in the Early Cold War.” *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 51, no. 1: 31-53.
- 2014 “Murray Rothbard, Political Strategy, and the Making of Modern Libertarianism.” *Intellectual History Review* 24, no. 4: 441-456.
*Awarded the Charles Schmitt Prize for Best Essay by a Young Historian International Society for Intellectual History
- 2012 “‘Rather More than One-Third Had No Jewish Blood’: American Progressivism and German-Jewish Cosmopolitanism at the New School for Social Research, 1933-1939.” *Religions* 3, no. 1: 99-129.
- 2012 “Toward a Theory of Civil-Military Punishment.” *Armed Forces & Society* 38, no. 4: 649-668. Co-authored with Eric Lorber.
- 2010 “Karl Heinzen and the Intellectual Origins of Modern Terror.” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 22, no. 2: 143-176. Co-authored with Michael Stauch.

Book Chapters and Non-Peer Reviewed Articles

- (In Progress) “Social Science and the U.S. Cold War.” In *A Companion to U.S. Foreign Relations, Colonial Era to the Present*, edited by Christopher Dietrich. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell.
- (In Progress) “George Kennan and U.S. Foreign Policy.” In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia in American History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 2014 “Weimar Social Science in Cold War America: The Case of the Political-Military Game.” *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 54, *Bulletin Supplement* 10, 91-109.
- 2013 “New School for Social Research.” In *Encyclopedia of Jewish History and Culture, volume 5 (Ly-Po)*, edited by Dan Diner, 354-358. Stuttgart/Weimar: J.B. Metzler’sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. (in German)

- 2012 “Tender Hands: Terrorism, Women, and Emancipation in Karl Heinzen’s Work.”
In *Terrorismus und Geschlecht: Politische Gewalt in Europa seit dem 19. Jahrhundert*, edited by Christine Hikel and Sylvia Schraut, 63-79. Frankfurt: Campus Verlag. (in German)

Longer Book Review

- 2017 “Thinking About the U.S. in the World. Review of *The Cold World They Made: The Strategic Legacy of Roberta and Albert Wohlstetter*, by Ron Robin, and *Worldmaking: The Art and Science of American Diplomacy*, by David Milne.”
Diplomatic History 41, no. 5: 1018-1025.

Prizes

- 2014 Charles Schmitt Prize for Best Essay in Intellectual History by a Young Historian
Awarded to graduate students and those within two years of receiving the Ph.D.
International Society for Intellectual History
- 2013 Finalist, Louis Pelzer Memorial Award for the Best Graduate Student Essay
Organization of American Historians

National Fellowships

- 2015-2016 International Security and U.S. Foreign Policy Postdoctoral Fellowship
Dartmouth College, Dickey Center for International Understanding
- (Spring 2016) Membership in the School of Historical Studies
Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey (declined)
- (10/2015-2/2016) Junior Fellowship
Central European University, Institute for Advanced Study (declined)
- (2014-2015, 2013-2014) International Security and U.S. Foreign Policy Postdoctoral Fellowship
Dartmouth College, Dickey Center for International Understanding (declined)
- 2013-2014 Foreign Policy, Security Studies, and Diplomatic History Postdoctoral Fellowship
Cornell University, Mario Einaudi Center for International Studies
- (2013-2014) Ernest May Postdoctoral Fellowship in History and Public Policy
Harvard University, John F. Kennedy School of Government (declined)
- (2013-2014) Lady Davis Postdoctoral Fellowship
Hebrew University of Jerusalem (declined)
- 2012-2013 Josephine de Kármán Dissertation Completion Fellowship
De Kármán Fellowship Trust

- (2012-2013) Transatlantic Perspectives Dissertation Fellowship
German Historical Institute (declined)
- 2011-2012 George C. Marshall-Baruch Dissertation Fellowship in U.S. Diplomatic History
The Marshall Foundation
- 2011 Samuel Flagg Bemis Dissertation Research Award
Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations
- 2010 Doctoral Fellowship
German Historical Institute
- 2008 Foreign Language Area Studies Fellowship for Arabic
U.S. Department of Education

University of Washington Fellowships and Grants

- 2017-2018 Royalty Research Fund Grant
University of Washington
- 2016-2017 Junior Fellowship
International Policy Institute, Jackson School of International Studies
University of Washington
- 2014-2015 Mini-Mellon Grant
States, Markets, and Societies Project
- 2014 Travel Grant
Center for West European Studies, University of Washington

Popular Writing

- Jan. 2018 “On the Brink. Review of *The Doomsday Machine: Confessions of a Nuclear War Planner*, by Daniel Ellsberg. *Los Angeles Review of Books* (December 12, 2017), <https://lareviewofbooks.org/article/on-the-brink/>.
- Sep. 2017 “The Specter of Liberal Internationalism. Review of *All Measures Short of War: The Contest for the Twenty-First Century and the Future of American Power*, by Thomas J. Wright.” *Dissent* 64, no. 4 (Fall 2017), 160-164, <https://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/specter-liberal-internationalism-brookings-foreign-policy>.
- May 2017 “A Very High Degree of Certainty in Future Military Operations: H.R. McMaster and the Tragedy of American Empire.” *n+1* (May 19, 2017), <https://nplusonemag.com/online-only/online-only/a-very-high-degree-of-certainty-in-future-military-operations/>.

- Apr. 2017 “Democratizing U.S. Foreign Policy: Bringing Experts and the Public Back Together.” *Foreign Affairs* (April 5, 2017), <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2017-04-05/democratizing-us-foreign-policy>. Co-authored with Stephen Wertheim.
* Reprinted in Guy Ziv, *U.S. Foreign Policy in the Age of Trump: Selected Readings* (Dubuque, IA: Kendall Hunt, 2017).
- Mar. 2017 “Don’t Let His Trade Policy Fool You: Trump is a Neoliberal.” *Washington Post* (March 22, 2017), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/posteverything/wp/2017/03/22/dont-let-his-trade-policy-fool-you-trump-is-a-neoliberal/>. Co-authored with Matthew Sparke.
- Feb. 2017 “Why Michael Flynn’s Foreign Policy Will Live On in Trump’s White House. Review of *The Field of Fight: How We Can Win the Global War Against Radical Islam*, by Michael T. Flynn and Michael Ledeen.” *Dissent* (February 15, 2017), https://www.dissentmagazine.org/online_articles/michael-flynn-angry-man-foreign-policy.
- Dec. 2016 “The Weimar Analogy.” *Jacobin* (December 17, 2016), <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2016/12/trump-hitler-germany-fascism-weimar-democracy/>. Co-authored with Udi Greenberg.

Book Reviews

- 2017 “Ari Joskowicz and Ethan B. Katz, eds. *Secularism in Question: Jews and Judaism in Modern Times*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015.” *Journal of Politics, Religion, and Ideology* 17, no. 4: 367-370.
- 2015 “Udi Greenberg. *The Weimar Century: German Émigrés and the Ideological Foundations of the Cold War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014.” H-Diplo Roundtable. https://networks.h-net.org/node/28443/discussions/85233/h-diplo-roundtable-xvii-2-weimar-century-german-%C3%A9migr%C3%A9s-and#_ftn13.
- 2015 “Jeremy Adelman. *Worldly Philosopher: The Odyssey of Albert O. Hirschman*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013.” *Journal of Modern History* 87, no. 2: 419-421.
- 2013 “Philipp von Hilgers. *War Games: A History of War on Paper*, translated by Ross Benjamin. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2013.” *Technology and Culture* 54, no. 2: 395-396.
- 2008 “Rachel E. Utley, ed. *Major Powers and Peacekeeping: Perspectives, Priorities, and the Challenges of Military Intervention*. Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 2005.” *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 8, no. 2: 371-373.
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Additional Affiliations at the University of Washington

2015-Present Adjunct Appointment
Department of History

2014-Present Member
European Studies Faculty; Jewish Studies Faculty; Comparative History of Ideas
Program

2014-Present Co-Founder, Faculty Facilitator
The United States in the World Lecture Series
Jackson School of International Studies

Additional Qualifications

2013 Certificate in Interdisciplinary European Studies, Duke University

2007 Summer Program in German, Middlebury College

Courses Taught

Undergraduate

U.S. in the World (lecture)

U.S. in the World (seminar)

U.S.-Europe Relations

Task Force: U.S. Grand Strategy in the Twenty-First Century

History of the Social Sciences

Graduate

Peace, Violence, and Security Field Seminar

Independent Studies

2016-2017: Three graduate independent studies

2014-2015: Three graduate independent studies; one undergraduate independent study

Advising

Ph.D. Committees Member: Two present students in the Jackson School; one student completed

Master's Advisor: One student in the Jackson School

Master's Committee Member: One student in the Jackson School

Graduate School Representative: One student in the Mathematics Department; One student in the
Political Science Department

McNair Fellow: One student

Duke University Fellowships and Grants (selected)

- 2012-2013 Graduate Fellowship
Kenan Institute for Ethics
- 2012-2013 Perilman Advanced Student Dissertation Fellowship
Center for Jewish Studies
- 2012-2013 Research Scholarship
Center for European Studies, Duke University
- 2011 Jenkins Family Summer Graduate Fellowship
Graduate School of Arts and Sciences
- 2010 Grant to found a seminar on “The Moral and Political Economies of Marxism”
Center for International Studies, Duke University
- 2010-2011 James B. Duke International Fellowship
Graduate School of Arts and Sciences
- 2009 Shore Fellowship in Jewish Studies
Religion Department

Conferences and Workshops Organized

- Aug. 2017 Foreign Encounters and the Remaking of American Democracy
Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH. Co-Organized with Jennifer Miller.
- Apr. 2011 Jewish Émigrés and the Shaping of Postwar Culture
National Humanities Center, Research Triangle Park, NC. Co-Organized with Malachi Hacoheh.
- Apr. 2008 As It Really Was? Senior Thesis Writers Conference
Duke University, Durham, NC

Invited Talks

- Apr. 2016 “The Social Role of the Intellectual Exile.”
Exile and Inequality: German Exile Economists in the U.S. and the Debates over
Inequality in the U.S. and Germany in the pre- and post-War Eras.
New School, New York, NY
- Nov. 2015 “The Intellectual, History, and Strategic Thought.”
Stability at Low Nuclear Numbers: Alternative Framings
Judith Reppy Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies
Cornell University, Ithaca, NY

- Oct. 2015 “Kenneth Waltz, Foreign Policy Decisions, and System Theory.”
Decision, Decisionism, Decision-Making: Making Sovereign Decisions in the 20th
Century. Center for International Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences,
New York, NY (with Nicolas Guilhot)
- Feb. 2014 “The Rise of the Defense Intellectual.”
Judith Reppy Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies
Cornell University, Ithaca, NY
- Nov. 2013 “Organizing Complexity: The Hopeful Dreams and Harsh Realities of
Interdisciplinary Collaboration at the RAND Corporation, 1947-1960.”
Cross-Disciplinary Research Ventures in Post-War American Social Science
Center for International Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences
New York, NY
- May 2013 “The Rise of the Defense Intellectual: Hans Speier, the Public, and the Making of
the Military-Intellectual Complex.”
The Rise of the Decision Sciences
Center for International Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences
New York, NY

Panels Organized

- Jun. 2014 Thinking Foreign Policy: Intellectuals and U.S. Foreign Relations
Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations Annual Meeting
Lexington, KY
- Nov. 2013 Blind Oracles? Policy Intellectuals and U.S. Foreign Policy
from the 1920s to the 1970s
Society for United States Intellectual History Fifth Annual Conference
Irvine, CA

Presentations on *Democracy in Exile*

- Jan. 2017 Inaugural lecture to celebrate the Anne H.H. and Kenneth B. Pyle Professorship
in American Foreign Policy
Seattle, WA
- Nov. 2016 Faculty Research Group, Jackson School of International Studies
Seattle, WA
- Oct. 2016 Society for United States Intellectual History Eighth Annual Conference
Stanford, California
- Oct. 2016 German Studies Association Annual Meeting
San Diego, CA

- Jun. 2016 Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations Annual Meeting
San Diego, CA
- Jan. 2016 Dickey International Relations Faculty Working Group
Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH
- Oct. 2015 Society for United States Intellectual History Seventh Annual Conference
Washington, D.C.
- Sep. 2015 History Department Postdoctoral Seminar
Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH
- Jun. 2015 Society for History of Recent Social Science Annual Meeting
Harvard University, Cambridge, MA
- Apr. 2015 Organization of American Historians Annual Meeting
St. Louis, MO
- Apr. 2015 University of Washington Comparative History of Ideas Program Colloquium
Seattle, WA
- Jan. 2015 University of Washington Communication Department Colloquium
Seattle, WA
- Oct. 2014 University of Washington History Department Colloquium
Seattle, WA
- Jun. 2014 Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations Annual Meeting
Lexington, KY
- Nov. 2013 Society for United States Intellectual History Fifth Annual Conference
Irvine, CA
- Apr. 2013 Kenan Institute for Ethics Monday Seminar Series
Durham, NC
- Feb. 2013 Third Biennial German Jewish Studies Workshop
Duke University, Durham, NC
- Dec. 2012 From Washington to Vienna: German-Jewish Émigrés and the Making of
the Cold War Atlantic
Duke University History Department Colloquium, Durham, NC
- Sep. 2012 Perilman Doctoral Symposium, Duke University Center for Jewish Studies
Durham, NC

- Jun. 2012 German Historical Institute, More Atlantic Crossings?
The Entangled History of the Atlantic World, 1950s-1970s, Washington, D.C.
- Aug. 2011 German Historical Institute, Europe—Migration—Identity Summer Seminar
Minneapolis, MN
- Oct. 2010 Society for United States Intellectual History Third Annual Conference
New York, NY
- Oct. 2010 German Studies Association Annual Conference, Oakland, CA
- Jul. 2010 GHI Doctoral Fellows Seminar, German Historical Institute, Washington, D.C.
- Apr. 2010 Association for the Study of Nationalities World Convention
Columbia University, New York, NY
- Mar. 2010 University of Heidelberg Center for American Studies, Heidelberg, Germany

Other Presentations

- Sep. 2017 “Trump and the World: A Historical Perspective.”
Trump and the World: International Implications of the Trump Presidency
University of Washington, Seattle, WA.
- Aug. 2017 “Liberalism and the Confrontation with Tyranny in U.S. History.”
Foreign Encounters and the Remaking of American Democracy
Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH.
- Oct. 2015 “The Responsibility of the Historians.”
U.S. and the Rise of Asia: Celebrating the Career of Kenneth B. Pyle
Jackson School of International Studies, Seattle, WA
- Feb. 2015 “How Realism Waltzed Off: Kenneth Waltz’s Theory of International Politics and
the Ideological Modernization of IR Theory.” (with Nicolas Guilhot)
International Studies Association, New Orleans, LA
- Oct. 2014 “Commenter on Daniel Chirot’s ‘Purifying Islam: The Muslim Reaction Against
the Western Enlightenment.’” Department of Sociology’s Seminar on Cultural,
Organizational, Political, and Economic Sociology, University of Washington,
Seattle, WA
- Apr. 2013 “Murray Rothbard, Political Strategy, and the Making of Modern Libertarianism
in the 1970s.” Refiguring the 1970s: New Narratives in U.S. and International
History, University of Chicago, Chicago, IL

- Sep. 2012 “‘We Shall Repeal the Twentieth Century’: Murray Rothbard and the Making of Modern Libertarianism.” Triangle Legal History Seminar, National Humanities Center, Research Triangle Park, NC
- Sep. 2012 “Commenter on Joshua Kertzer’s ‘Resolve in International Politics.’” Triangle Institute for Security Studies Thirteenth Annual New Faces Conference, Durham, NC
- Oct. 2010 “Commenter on Rosemary Kelanic’s ‘No Oil for War: The Coercive Potential of Energy.’” Triangle Institute for Security Studies Eleventh Annual New Faces Conference, Durham, NC
- Oct. 2009 “Karl Heinzen and the Intellectual Origins of Modern Terrorism.” With Michael Stauch. German Studies Association Annual Conference, Washington, D.C.
- Sep. 2009 “Commenter on T. N. Pegahi’s ‘Dangerous Deterrent? The Strategic Consequences of Nuclear Acquisition.’” Triangle Institute for Security Studies Tenth Annual New Faces Conference, Durham, NC

Workshops

- Oct. 2017 Reassessing Threat Assessments from the Early Nuclear Era (invited)
Tobin Project
Cambridge, MA
- Aug. 2017 Foreign Encounters and the Remaking of American Democracy (co-organized)
Dartmouth College, NH
- Jun. 2016 Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations Summer Institute
Culture, Propaganda, and Intelligence in Foreign Relations
Leiden, the Netherlands
- Jun. 2012 German Historical Institute, More Atlantic Crossings?
The Entangled History of the Atlantic World, 1950s-1970s
Washington, D.C.
- Aug. 2011 German Historical Institute, Europe—Migration—Identity Summer Seminar
Washington, D.C.
- Mar. 2010 University of Heidelberg Center for American Studies Spring Academy
Heidelberg, Germany

- Dec. 2009 Tobin Project National Security Conference
America and the World: Power Through Its Prudent Use
Charlotte, NC
- May 2009 Summer Institute on Conducting Archival Research
George Washington University, Washington, D.C.

Public Outreach

- Multiple Appearances Radio commentator on Midday News on KOMO Radio.
- Jan. 2018 Guest on podcast “Champaign Sharks,”
<https://soundcloud.com/champagnesharks/cs-063-rise-of-the-defense-intellectual-feat-daniel-bessner-dbessner-1282018>
- Jan. 2018 Guest on podcast “The Nostalgia Trap,”
<http://nostalgiastrap.libsyn.com/nostalgia-strap-episode-85-daniel-bessner>
- Jan. 2018 Great Decisions at the Library Public Lecture on “The Waning of Pax Americana,” Bainbridge Island, WA
- Jan 2018 Conversation with Daniel Ellsberg for Town Hall Seattle,
<https://townhallseattle.org/event/daniel-ellsberg-with-daniel-bessner/>.
- Jul. 2017 Participant in discussion on Bloggingheads.tv,
<https://bloggingheads.tv/videos/47060>.
- Jun. 2017 Participant in discussion on Bloggingheads.tv,
<https://bloggingheads.tv/videos/46436>.
- May 2017 Television commentator on King 5 Seattle News.
- Feb. 2017 Participant in “Three Opinions” forum on “How Should We Approach the Post-Truth Era?” *Jewish in Seattle Magazine* (February/March 2017),
<https://mag.jewishinseattle.org/articles/2017/2/9/how-should-we-approach-the-post-truth-era>.
- Jan. 2017 Participant in “From Neoliberalism to Nazi Analogies to What? How Can We Better Come to Terms with Trumpism Using Historical and International Analysis?”
University of Washington
- Nov. 2016 Participant in mini-forum titled “Dark Days Ahead: American Professors on Trump Presidency.” KUOW.Org. <http://kuow.org/post/dark-days-ahead-american-professors-trump-presidency>.

- Nov. 2016 Jewish Intellectuals and U.S. Foreign Policy from Weimar to Washington
Stan Tobin Lecture Series
Washington State Jewish Historical Society Annual Meeting
Seattle, WA
- Jan. 2015 How German Exiles Shaped the Cold War in the United States
JewDub Talks, Stroum Center for Jewish Studies, University of Washington
Seattle, WA

Peer Reviewer

University Presses: Oxford University Press; Manchester University Press; Routledge Press

Journals: *Journal of American History*; *Diplomatic History*; *International Security*; *Cold War History*; *History of the Human Sciences*; *Journal of Global Security Studies*

Granting Organizations: Israel Science Foundation

Service at the University of Washington

- 2016-2018 Member, Jackson School of International Studies, Faculty Council (elected by the department)
- 2017-2018 Member, 200 Series Curriculum Committee, Jackson School of International Studies; Chair, Peace, Violence, and Security Committee, Jackson School of International Studies; Member, Jackson School Journal, Faculty Advisory Board, Jackson School of International Studies; Member, Master's of Applied International Studies Admissions Committee, Jackson School of International Studies; Member, FLAS Committee, Center for West European Studies, Jackson School of International Studies
- 2016-2017 Member, Ph.D. Program Committee, Jackson School of International Studies; Member, Ph.D. Program Subcommittee Concerning Ph.D. Funding; Member, 200 Series Curriculum Committee, Jackson School of International Studies; Selection Committee for the Hazel D. Cole Postdoctoral Fellowship in Jewish Studies, Stroum Center for Jewish Studies; Member, Lecturer Renewal Committee, Jackson School of International Studies; Member, FLAS Fellowship Committee, Center for Global Studies.
- 2014-2015 Member: Ph.D. Program Committee, Jackson School of International Studies; Steering Committee, Applied Qualitative Methods Initiative; Curriculum Committee, Stroum Center for Jewish Studies; Executive Committee, Center for Global Studies and International Studies Program