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University of Rochester

Department of Political Science

Harkness Hall 337

Rochester, NY 14627-0146

Academic Appointments

Professor, University of Rochester. March 2020 –

Research Associate in the Center for Economic Research

Associate Professor, University of Rochester. July 2010 – March 2020.

Assistant Professor, University of Rochester. January 2004 – July 2010.

Assistant Professor, Duke University. September 1996 – December 2003; denied tenure.

Administrative Appointments

Director, Peter D. Watson Center for Conflict and Cooperation, May 2017 –

Chair, Steering Committee, the executive committee of the faculty of Arts, Science and Engineering, June 2019 – June 2020

Member, Steering Committee, June 2018 – June 2019; June 2020 –

Member, Faculty Council, *ex officio* June 2019 – 2020, August 2016 – August 2018

Education

Ph.D., University of Chicago Political Science Department, December 1995.

M.A., School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University. International Economics and Global Theory and History, May 1987. The Bologna Center, Italy, 1985 – 86; Washington D.C., U.S.A., 1986 – 87.

M.A. & B.A., University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, 1977 – 86. Doctorandus (M.A.) in International Law, August 1986. Kandidaatsexamen (B.A.) in Law, December 1979.

Fellowships and Visiting Appointments

Visiting Professor, Columbia University, New York. August 2014 – August 2015

CISAC Fellow, Stanford University, California, Summer 2011.

Edward Teller National Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, California 2000 – 2001.

National Security Fellow, The Olin Institute, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, 1995 – 1996.

Research Intern, RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California, Summer 1994.

Honors and Prizes

Lijphart/Przeworski/Verba Dataset Award, 2014, sponsored by the American Political Science Association's section on Comparative Politics. *Archigos: A Data Base on Leaders 1875–2004*, co-authored with Giacomo Chiozza and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch.

Joseph S. Levgold Prize, 2012. Best book in International Relations in 2011, sponsored by Georgetown University's Mortara Center for International Studies. *Leaders and International Conflict*, co-authored with Giacomo Chiozza.

Research

Books

Leaders and International Conflict. Co-authored with Giacomo Chiozza. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

War and Punishment: The Causes of War Termination and the First World War, Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Articles

"Built on Borders: The Institution Liberalism (Thought It) Left Behind." 2021. Co-authored with Beth Simmons. The 75th Anniversary Issue 75(2) of *International Organization*, 387-410.

"Aims, Claims, and the Bargaining Model of War." 2019. Co-authored with Kenneth A. Schultz. *International Theory*. Volume 11 (3) November: 344-374.

"International Trade and Coordination: Tracing Border Effects." 2018. Co-authored with David B. Carter. *World Politics*, 70 (1), January: 1-52.

"The Politics of Territorial Disputes: A Geo-Spatial Approach applied to Africa." 2017. Co-authored with Kenneth A. Schultz. *International Organization*, 71 (1), Winter: 31-64.

"Multi-Method Research: The Case for Formal Theory." 2016. Co-authored with William Spaniel. *Security Studies*, 25 (1), January: 25-33. Multi-Method Symposium special issue.

"Coups and Democracy." 2014. Co-authored with Nikolay Marinov. *British Journal of Political Science*, 44 (4), October: 799-825

"The Temporal Dynamics of New International Borders." 2014. Co-authored with David B. Carter. *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 31 (3), July: 285-302.

"The Making of the Territorial Order: New Borders and the Emergence of Interstate Conflict." 2011. Co-authored with David B. Carter. *International Organization*, 65 (2), Spring: 275-309

"Regime Type, the Fate of Leaders and War." 2010. Co-authored with Alexandre Debs. *American Political Science Review*, 104 (3), August: 430-445.

"Putin's Peers." 2010 (January). Chapter 7 in Timothy J. Colton, Timothy Frye, and Robert Legvold, eds. *The Policy World Meets Academia: Designing U.S. Policy toward Russia*, <https://www.amacad.org/publication/policy-world-meets-academia-designing-us-policy-toward-russia/section/11>.

"Introducing *Archigos*: A Data Set of Political Leaders." 2009. Co-authored with Kristian Skrede Gleditsch and Giacomo Chiozza. *Journal of Peace Research* 46 (2) March: 269-283.

"Risky but Rational: War as an Institutionally Induced Gamble." 2009. Co-authored with Mark Fey. *Journal of Politics*. 71 (1), January: 35-54.

"Which Way Out? The Manner and Consequences of Losing Office." 2008. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 53 (6), December: 771-794.

"International Conflict and the Tenure of Leaders, Is War Still *Ex Post* Inefficient?" 2004.

Co-authored with Giacomo Chiozza. *American Journal of Political Science* 48 (3), July: 604–619.

“Avoiding Diversionary Targets.” 2004. Co-authored with Giacomo Chiozza. *Journal of Peace Research*. 41 (4), July: 423–443.

“Peace Through Insecurity: Tenure and International Conflict.” 2003. Co-authored with Giacomo Chiozza. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 47 (4), August: 443–467.

“Fighting for Survival: The Fate of Leaders and the Duration of War.” 2000. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 44 (5), October: 555–579.

Book Chapters

“Contentious Issues.” 2021. Co-authored with Paul Hensel. Chapter 1 in the 4th edition of John Vasquez and Sara Mitchell (eds.), *What do we know about war?* Rowman & Littlefield.

“War Termination.” in Robert A. Denemark (ed.), *The International Studies Association Compendium Project*. Blackwell Publishing, Ltd. 2009

“Bounded Communities: Territory, Territorial Attachment and Conflict.” Chapter 2 in *Territoriality and Conflict in an Era of Globalization*, Miles Kahler and Barbara Walter, editors. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

“Do Elites Experience Ambivalence Where Masses Do Not?” Co-authored with R. Michael Alvarez and John Brehm, Chapter 9 in Alvarez and Brehm, *Hard Choices, Easy Answers; values, information and American public opinion*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. August 2002.

Data Sets

Archigos: A Data Base on Leaders. H. E. Goemans, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch and Giacomo Chiozza. Version 4.1, updated to 31 December 2015 and the accompanying case description file – currently almost 900 pages – are available at: <http://www.rochester.edu/college/faculty/hgoemans/data.htm>. Kristian Skrede Gleditsch maintains this page dedicated to the *Archigos* data project: <http://ksgleditsch.com/archigos.html>.

Working Papers

“Historical Territorial Claims as Reference Points.” Co-authored with Andi Zhou (graduate student at Harvard University) and Michael Weintraub, unpublished manuscript. November 2020.

“Maps to Die For?”, Co-authored with Andi Zhou (graduate student at Harvard University) and Michael Weintraub, unpublished manuscript. November 2020.

“Bargaining with Private Information over Preferences.” Co-authored with Mark Fey.

“Bringing Schoolbooks to the Fight: The origins of territorial disputes in Latin America.” Book manuscript.

Book Reviews

The Cartographic State. Jordan Branch. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014. *Journal of Politics*, 78 (4). Published online September 7, 2016. <http://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/full/10.1086/688357>

Peace Time – Cease-Fire Agreements and the Durability of Peace. Virginia Page Fortna.

Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005. *Japanese Journal of Political Science*; 6 (1), 137–9.

What Do We Know About War? John A. Vasquez (ed.), Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield 2000. *American Political Science Review* 96 No.1 (March) 2002: 273–4.

Grants

2016. University of Rochester, Retention Research Grant: The Homeland. \$60,000.-

2019. National Science Foundation. URF Award No. AWD00003078: Fighting for the Homeland. \$75,000.-

Professional Presentations

“Maps to Die For.” Presented at the University of Texas at Austin, November 2019; the George Washington University, December 2019; the 2018 Borders and Boundaries Conference, University of Pennsylvania; FLASCO-ISA, Quito, Ecuador, July 27, 2018; University of Pennsylvania, Conference on Borders and Boundaries, May 4, 2017.

“Aim, Claims and the Bargaining Model of War,” Presented at the Department of Political Science, University of Central Florida, August 2017; Department of Political Science, UCSD, March 31, 2016; Conference on Empirical Work on the Bargaining Model, Princeton, March 2015.

“Territorial Claims in theory and practice.” Presented at the Economics Department, University of Groningen, the Netherlands, May 23, 2014; Political Science Department, University of Wisconsin-Madison, May 6, 2014. University of California, San Diego, March 31, 2015. Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Texas, November 2, 2016.

“Leaders and International Conflict.” Presented at GUITARS, at Georgetown University, November 30, 2009, the Pennsylvania State University, March 20, 2009; Duke University, April 25, 2008; Harvard University, February 25, 2008; Stanford University, February 19, 2008; Rutgers University, November 6, 2007; Princeton University, November 5, 2007; Yale University, April 20, 2007; The University of Texas at Austin, March 30, 2007; UC Berkeley, May 19, 2006; UCLA, May 18, 2006; The Program on International Politics, Economics, and Security (PIPES), The University of Chicago, May 4, 2006; Peace Studies Program, Cornell University, 13 October 2005.

“The Making of the Territorial Order: How Borders Are Drawn.” Presented at Yale University, October 29, 2009 and the Annual APSA Convention, Philadelphia, PA, August 30 – September 3, 2006; August 31.

“Leaders in Comparative Politics and International Relations: *Archigos*,” presented at the Workshop on data sets in Comparative Politics at Duke University, April 24–25, 2009.

“What happened to the Coup d’État? International Responses to the Seizure of Executive Power.” Presented at the annual International Studies Association Convention, San Francisco, March 26–31, 2008.

“Why Do Weak States Fight?” Presented at the annual International Studies Association Convention, San Francisco, March 26–31, 2008.

“Optimal Gambles.” Presented at the Annual APSA Convention, Philadelphia, PA, August 30 – September 3, 2006; September 1.

“The Homeland.” Paper presented at Cornell University, 13 October, 2005; the International

Studies Association annual convention, New Orleans, March 23-27, 2002; The University of Washington, Seattle, April 26, 2002; PISP seminar, University of Chicago, May 14, 2002; Annual APSA Convention, Boston, 2002.

“Civil War, Tenure and Interstate Conflict.” Paper presented at the Annual ISA Convention, Hawaii, March 2005; and the APSA Convention, Chicago, 2004.

“Four Rivers, Gaul, Natural Frontiers and the Hexagon: Where and What is France?” Paper presented at at the conference on the Enduring Significance of Territory, University of California, San Diego, January 16-18, 2004; Columbia University, October 2003; the Olin Institute, Harvard University, November 2003.

“Avoiding Diversionary Targets.” Paper presented at the Annual APSA convention, 27-31 August 2003. Philadelphia, PA., and at Dartmouth University, April 3, 2003.

“Peace through Insecurity: The Reciprocal Relation between Tenure and International Conflict.” (with Giacomo Chiozza). Presented the Olin seminar, Harvard University, April 8, 2002; Princeton University April 19, 2002.

“Bargaining and Complex Preferences: Examining the Case of the Israeli Electorate.” Scott de Marchi & Hein Goemans. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, 2001; The Political Economy of Conflict Conference at Yale University, March 23-24, 2001.

“Looking for Diversionary Leaders.” Hein Goemans & Giacomo Chiozza. paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 31-September 3, 2000, Washington D. C.; The PIPES seminar, the University of Chicago, 1 June 2000.

“Border Proximity and National Identity.” John Brehm, Hein Goemans and Krista Wiegand. Paper presented at the 2000 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 31-September 3, Washington, D. C.; the Twenty-Third Annual Scientific Meeting of the International Society of Political Psychology; 1-4 July 2000 Seattle, Washington.

“Do Elites Experience Ambivalence Where Masses Do Not,” with Michael Alvarez and John Brehm. Paper presented at the Twenty-Second Annual Meeting of the International Society of Political Psychology, 18-21 July 1999, Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

“The Study of War Termination: Strengths, Weaknesses and Potential Solutions.” Paper presented at the Millennium Conference on War Endings: Reasons, Strategies, and Implications, 11-12 September 1997, London.

“The Democratic Peace and Civil War.” Paper presented at the 1997 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 26-31, 1997, Washington, D.C.

“How Military Strategic Choices Affect War Termination.” Paper presented at the conference *Opening Up the Black-Box of War: Studies of War Outcome, Duration and Process*, University of California at Davis, June 6 - 7, 1997.

“War and Punishment, A Comparative Analysis of War Termination and the Fate of Political Leaders.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 27 - September 1, 1996, San Francisco.

“War Termination and the Fate of Political Leaders.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, The Palmer House Hilton, August 31 - September 4, 1995, Chicago.

“Domestic Politics and Deterrence Failure.” RAND manuscript, The RAND Corporation, September 1994, Santa Monica, CA.

“Domestic Politics and War Aims.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Security Studies Section of the International Studies Association, Air War College, Maxwell AFB, Alabama, October 15-17, 1993.

“Germany and the Termination of the First World War.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, The Washington Hilton, September 2-5, 1993, Washington D.C..

“The Causes of War Termination.” Paper presented at the Program on International Politics, Economics, and Security, University of Chicago, December 10, 1992.

“Bipolar Stability: The Carthaginian Perspective.” with Craig M. Koerner. Paper presented at the Program on International Politics, Economics, and Security, University of Chicago, November 29, 1990.

“Fear Thy Neighbor: State Motivations to Expand in the Works of Nicolo Machiavelli.” Qualifying Paper, The University of Chicago, April 1990.

Media

The war in Ukraine has made my research and reasoning on war termination highly relevant. I have been interviewed by many media outlets all over the world, including

- The New Yorker (<https://www.newyorker.com/culture/annals-of-inquiry/how-the-war-in-ukraine-might-end>)
- The Monkey Cage (<https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/03/24/prospects-negotiated-peace-ukraine-are-bleak/>)
- The BBC’s The Inquiry (<https://www.bbc.co.uk/sounds/play/w3ct39tm>)
- The University of Rochester’s News Center (<https://www.rochester.edu/newscenter/how-to-end-the-ukraine-war-514522/>)
- Der Spiegel (<https://www.spiegel.de>)
- Die Welt (<https://www.welt.de/Wie-wird-der-Ukraine-Krieg-enden.html>)
- Die Zeit (Fkonfliktforschung-krieg-wladimir-putin)
- Algemeen Dagblad (<https://www.ad.nl/dossier/onrust-in-oekraïne~d2cd4c064-3f5c-4b8a-9602->
- Ejaz Haider’s InFocus (Pakistan) (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Sd2AbxYx0aw&t=13s>)
- The Financial Times (<https://www.ft.com/content/b3f7ea51-dcc2-4011-b3ac-45faabdc35c7>)
- On television on Cable News CBC, Euronews, CNN Portugal, France 24, TV3 Estonia, Kabel 1, CTV News Channle, TVBS-N Taiwan, SBS Australia.

Conferences Organized

Conference on Empirical Tests of International Relations Theories. Duke University, 22-25 January 1998. (With Christopher Gelpi.)

New Faces in International Security. Triangle Institute for Security Studies, 22-23 September 2000; 28-29 September 2001; 27-28 September 2002; 12-3 September 2003. The Annual New Faces Conference invites between eight and ten promising students in History, International Relations and Public Policy in their final year in their Ph.D. program and offers them an opportunity to present their work as an "off-Broadway" job talk.

Courses Taught

Theories of Conflict. (Graduate, with Mark Fey)
Field Seminar in International Relations. (Graduate, with Randall Stone)
Theory and History of International Relations. (Graduate)
War and the Nation State. (Graduate and Undergraduate)
Territory and Group Conflict. (Graduate and Undergraduate)
Mechanisms of International Politics. (Undergraduate)
Introduction to International Relations. (Undergraduate)
Honors Seminar. (Undergraduate)
Designing Political Research. (Graduate)

Reviewer

American Political Science Review
American Journal of Political Science
Journal of Politics
World Politics
International Organization
International Security
International Studies Quarterly
Journal of Conflict Resolution
Journal of Peace Research
Journal of Military History
National Science Foundation
Public Choice
Cambridge University Press
Harvard University Press
Michigan University Press
Princeton University Press

Other Professional Activities

2015 Program Chair, International Security Section, 74th Annual MPSA Conference
2005 Program Chair, International Security Division, American Political Science Association