

## **BENJAMIN O. FORDHAM**

January 2022

Department of Political Science  
Binghamton University (SUNY)  
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### **EDUCATION**

#### **University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Department of Political Science**

Ph.D., 1994

M.A., 1990

#### **Georgetown University, School of Foreign Service**

B.S.F.S., *magna cum laude*, 1988

### **ACADEMIC POSITIONS**

#### **Binghamton University, State University of New York**

Professor of Political Science, 2009-

Associate Professor of Political Science, 2004-09

#### **Princeton University, Niehaus Center for Globalization and Governance**

Visiting Research Scholar, 2019-20

#### **Library of Congress, John W. Kluge Center**

Henry Alfred Kissinger Scholar in Foreign Policy and International Relations, 2010-11

#### **University at Albany, State University of New York**

Associate Professor of Political Science, 2001-04

Assistant Professor of Political Science, 1996-2001

#### **Harvard University, Department of Government**

Visiting Associate Professor of Government, 2002-03

#### **Princeton University, Center of International Studies**

Post-doctoral fellowship, 1995-96

#### **Triangle Institute for Security Studies**

Post-doctoral fellowship, 1994-95

### **RESEARCH AND PUBLICATION**

#### **Book**

Fordham, Benjamin O. 1998. *Building the Cold War Consensus: The Political Economy of U.S. National Security Policy, 1949-1951*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

#### **Articles in Refereed Journals**

Fordham, Benjamin O., and Katja B. Kleinberg. 2020. "Too Pacifist in Peace, Too Bellicose in War: Political Information and Foreign Policy Opinion." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 64(10): 1828-1856.

- Abouharb, M. Rodwan, and Benjamin O. Fordham 2020. "Trade and Strike Activity in the Postwar United States." *Social Sciences* 9(11), 198. <https://www.mdpi.com/2076-0760/9/11/198>.
- Fordham, Benjamin O. 2020. "History and Quantitative Conflict Research: A Case for Limiting the Historical Scope of Our Theoretical Arguments." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 37(1): 3-15. Adapted from 2018 Presidential Address to the Peace Science Society (International).
- Fordham, Benjamin O. 2019. "The Domestic Politics of World Power: Explaining Debates over the United States Battleship Fleet, 1890-91." *International Organization* 73(2): 435-68.
- Kleinberg, Katja B., and Benjamin O. Fordham. 2018. "Don't Know Much about Foreign Policy: Assessing the Impact of 'Don't Know' and 'No Opinion' Responses on Inferences about Foreign Policy Attitudes." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 14(3): 429-48.
- DiCicco, Jonathan, and Benjamin O. Fordham. 2018. "The Things They Carried: Generational Effects of the Vietnam War on Elite Opinion." *International Studies Quarterly* 62(1): 131-44.
- Cappella Zielinski, Rosella, Benjamin O. Fordham, and Kaija Schilde. 2017. "What Goes Up, Must Come Down? The Asymmetric Effects of International Threat and Economic Growth on Military Spending." *Journal of Peace Research* 54(6): 791-805.
- Fordham, Benjamin O. 2017. "Protectionist Empire: Trade, Tariffs, and U.S. Foreign Policy, 1890-1914." *Studies in American Political Development* 31(2): 170-92.
- Flynn, Michael E., and Benjamin O. Fordham. 2017. "Economic Interests and Threat Assessment in the U.S. Congress, 1890-1914." *International Interactions* 43(5): 744-70.
- Clark, David H., Benjamin O. Fordham, and Timothy Nordstrom. 2016. "Political Party and Presidential Decisions to Use Force: Explaining a Puzzling Non-Finding." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 46(4): 791-807.
- Fordham, Benjamin O. 2016. "Historical Perspective on Public Support for the Draft: War Costs and Military Service." *Journal of Global Security Studies* 1(4): 303-22.
- Fordham, Benjamin O., and Paul Poast. 2016. "All Alliances are Multilateral: Rethinking Alliance Formation." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60(5): 840-65.
- Kleinberg, Katja B., and Benjamin O. Fordham. 2013. "The Domestic Politics of Trade and Conflict." *International Studies Quarterly* 57(3): 605-19.
- Fordham, Benjamin O., and Katja B. Kleinberg. 2012. "How Can Economic Interests Affect Support for Free Trade?" *International Organization*, 66(2): 311-28.
- Fordham, Benjamin O. 2011. "Who Wants to be a Major Power?" *Journal of Peace Research* 48(5): 587-603.
- Allen, Michael A., and Benjamin O. Fordham. 2011. "From Melos to Baghdad: Explaining Resistance to Militarized Challenges by More Powerful States." *International Studies Quarterly* 55(4): 1025-45.
- Fordham, Benjamin O., and Katja B. Kleinberg. 2011. "International Trade and United States Relations with China." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 7(3): 217-36.

- Clark, David H., Benjamin O. Fordham, and Timothy Nordstrom. 2011. "Preying on the Misfortune of Others: When Do States Exploit Their Opponents' Domestic Troubles?" *Journal of Politics* 73(1): 248-64.
- Fordham, Benjamin O. 2010. "Trade and Asymmetric Alliances." *Journal of Peace Research* 47(6): 685-96.
- Kleinberg, Katja B., and Benjamin O. Fordham. 2010. "Trade and Foreign Policy Attitudes." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 54(5): 687-714.
- Cutrone, Ellen A., and Benjamin O. Fordham. 2010. "Commerce and Imagination: The Sources of Concern about International Human Rights in the United States Congress." *International Studies Quarterly* 54(3): 633-55.
- Fordham, Benjamin O. 2008. "Power or Plenty? Economic Interests, Security Concerns, and American Intervention." *International Studies Quarterly* 52(4): 737-58.
- Fordham, Benjamin O. 2008. "Economic Interests and Congressional Voting on American Foreign Policy." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52(5): 623-40.
- Fordham, Benjamin O. 2008. "Economic Interests and Public Support for American Global Activism." *International Organization* 62(1): 163-82.
- Fordham, Benjamin O. 2007. "The Evolution of Republican and Democratic Positions on Cold War Military Spending: A Historical Puzzle." *Social Science History* 31(4): 603-35.
- Fordham, Benjamin O. 2007. "Revisionism Reconsidered: Exports and American Intervention in World War I." *International Organization* 61(2): 277-310.
- Fordham, Benjamin O., and Victor Asal. 2007. "Billiard Balls or Snowflakes? Major Power Prestige and the International Diffusion of Institutions and Practices." *International Studies Quarterly* 51(1): 31-52.
- Fordham, Benjamin O., and Thomas C. Walker. 2005. "Kantian Liberalism, Regime Type, and Military Resource Allocation: Do Democracies Spend Less?" *International Studies Quarterly* 49(1): 143-59.
- Fordham, Benjamin O. 2005. "Strategic Conflict Avoidance and the Diversionary Use of Force." *Journal of Politics* 67(1): 132-53.
- Fordham, Benjamin O. 2004. "A Very Sharp Sword: The Influence of Military Capability on Decisions to Use Force." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48(5): 632-56.
- Fordham, Benjamin O. 2003. "The Political and Economic Sources of Inflation in the American Military Budget." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 47(5): 574-93.
- Fordham, Benjamin O., and Timothy J. McKeown. 2003. "Selection and Influence: Interest Groups and Congressional Voting on Trade Policy." *International Organization* 57(3): 519-49.
- Fordham, Benjamin O. 2002. "Another Look at Parties, Voters, and the Use of Force Abroad." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46(4): 572-96.
- Fordham, Benjamin O. 2002. "Domestic Politics, International Pressure, and the Allocation of American Cold War Military Spending." *Journal of Politics* 64(1): 63-88.
- Fordham, Benjamin O., and Christopher C. Sarver. 2001. "Militarized Interstate Disputes and United States Uses of Force." *International Studies Quarterly* 45(2): 455-66.

- Aguilar, Edwin E., Benjamin O. Fordham, and G. Patrick Lynch. 2001. "The Foreign Policy Beliefs of Political Campaign Contributors: A Post Cold War Analysis." *Social Science Quarterly* 82(1): 90-105.
- Brandt, Patrick T., John T. Williams, Benjamin O. Fordham, and Brian Pollins. 2000. "Dynamic Modeling for Persistent Event-Count Time Series." *American Journal of Political Science* 44(4): 823-43.
- Cronin, Patrick, and Benjamin O. Fordham. 1999. "Timeless Principles or Today's Fashion? Testing the Stability of the Linkage between Ideology and Foreign Policy in the Senate." *Journal of Politics* 61(4): 967-98.
- Fordham, Benjamin O. 1998. "The Politics of Threat Perception and the Use of Force: A Political Economy Model of U.S. Uses of Force, 1949-1994." *International Studies Quarterly* 42(3): 567-90.
- Fordham, Benjamin O. 1998. "Partisanship, Macroeconomic Policy, and U.S. Uses of Force, 1949-94." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42(4): 418-39.
- Fordham, Benjamin O. 1998. "Economic interests, party, and ideology in early Cold War era U.S. foreign policy." *International Organization* 52(2): 359-95.
- Aguilar, Edwin E., Benjamin O. Fordham, and G. Patrick Lynch. 1997. "The Foreign Policy Beliefs of Political Campaign Contributors." *International Studies Quarterly* 41(2): 355-66.
- Fordham, Benjamin O. 1997. "Domestic Politics, International Pressure, and Policy Change: The Case of NSC 68." *Journal of Conflict Studies* 17(1): 126-47.

### **Book Chapters**

- Fordham, Benjamin O. 2018. "More than Mixed Results: What We Have Learned from Quantitative Research on the Diversionary Hypothesis." *Oxford Encyclopedia of Empirical International Relations Theory*, vol. 2. New York: Oxford University Press. 549-64.
- Fordham, Benjamin O. 2015. "The Legacy of Military Spending during the Truman Administration." In *Origins of the National Security State and the Legacy of Harry S. Truman*, edited by Mary Ann Heiss and Michael Hogan. Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press. 68-93.
- Fordham, Benjamin O. 2010. "Die wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Folgen der amerikanischen Militärausgaben." ["The Social and Economic Effects of Cold War Military Spending in the United States."] Translated into German by Felix Kurz. In *Ökonomie im Kalten Krieg*, edited by Bernd Greiner, Christian Th. Muller, and Claudia Weber. Hamburg, Germany: Hamburger Edition. 213-33.
- Fordham, Benjamin O. 2009. "The Limits of Neoclassical Realism: Additive and Interactive Approaches to Explaining Foreign Policy Preferences." In *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy*, edited by Steven E. Lobell, Norrin M. Ripsman, and Jeffrey W. Taliaferro. New York: Cambridge University Press. 251-79.
- Fordham, Benjamin O. 2007. "Paying for Global Power: The Costs and Benefits of Cold War Military Spending." In *The Long War*, edited by Andrew J. Bacevich. New York: Columbia University Press. 371-404.

Fordham, Benjamin O. 2001. "Military Interests and Civilian Politics: The Influence of the Civil-Military 'Gap' on Peacetime Military Policy." In *Soldiers and Civilians: The Civil-Military Gap and American National Security*, edited by Peter Feaver and Richard Kohn. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. 355-85.

## Reviews

Andrew Payne, "Presidents, Politics, and Military Strategy: Electoral Constraints during the Iraq War." *International Security* 44(3): 163-203, H-DIPLO/ International Security Studies Forum article review 146, 8 December 2020, <https://issforum.org/articlereviews/146-electoral>.

Anand Toprani, "'Our Efforts Have Degenerated into a Competition for Dollars': The 'Revolt of the Admirals', NSC-68, and the Political Economy of the Cold War." *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 30:4 (2019): 881-706, H-DIPLO article review 958, 18 June 2020. <https://hdiplo.org/to/AR958>.

Andrew Z. Katz, *When Democracies Choose War: Politics, Public Opinion, and the Marketplace of Ideas* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2017), *Perspectives on Politics* 16(4), December 2018, 1236-1237.

Lloyd C. Gardner, *The War on Leakers* (New York: The New Press, 2016), H-DIPLO Roundtable XVIII(14), <https://networks.h-net.org/system/files/contributed-files/roundtable-xviii-14.pdf>, 23 January 2017.

Dale Copeland, *Economic Interdependence and War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), International Security Studies Forum, <https://issforum.org/roundtables/8-11-economic-interdependence>, 29 February 2016.

Rebecca U. Thorpe. *The American Warfare State: The Domestic Politics of Military Spending* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), *Michigan War Studies Review*, online journal available at <http://www.miwsr.com/2014-109.aspx>, 30 October 2014

Paul A.C. Koistinen. *State of War: The Political Economy of American Warfare, 1945-2011* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2012), *Journal of American History* 100(3), December 2013, 899.

Jonathan Kirshner, *Appeasing Bankers* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), *International Studies Review* 10(2), June 2008: 335-7.

Andrew Kohut and Bruce Stokes, *America Against the World: How We Are Different and Why We Are Disliked* (New York: Times Books, 2006), *American Diplomacy*, online journal available at <http://www.americandiplomacy.org/>, June 2007.

Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, *Balancing Risks: Great Power Intervention in the Periphery* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), *Comparative Political Studies* 38(4), May 2005: 450-3.

Thomas Borstelman, *The Cold War and the Color Line* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), *Perspectives on Politics* 1(1), March 2003: 227-8.

Shawn J. Perry-Giles, *The Rhetorical Presidency, Propaganda, and the Cold War, 1945-1955* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002), *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 32(3), September 2002: 619-20.

- David P. Auerswald, *Disarmed Democracies: Domestic Institutions and the Use of Force* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), *Armed Forces & Society* 28(1), Fall 2001: 161-4.
- Aaron Friedberg, *In the Shadow of the Garrison State: America's Anti-Statism and Its Cold War Strategy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), *American Political Science Review* 94(4), December 2000: 989-90.
- John Kenneth White, *Still Seeing Red: How the Cold War Shapes the New American Politics* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998), *Peace & Change* 25(4), October 2000: 550-2.
- Paul G. Pierpaoli, Jr., *Truman and Korea: The Political Culture of the Early Cold War* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1999), *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 3(2), Summer 2000: 283-5.
- Michael J. Hogan, *A Cross of Iron: Harry S. Truman and the Origins of the National Security State* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), H-NET Humanities and Social Sciences On-Line, <http://www.h-net.msu.edu>, 1999.
- Randolph M. Siverson, ed., *Strategic Politicians, Institutions, and Foreign Policy* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), *Journal of Politics* 61(2), May 1999: 597-9.
- William Blanchard, *Neocolonialism, American Style* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), *Peace & Change* 23(1), January 1998: 99-101.

### **Other Publications**

- DiCicco, Jonathan M., and Benjamin O. Fordham. 2018. "Fifty years ago, American troops abandoned Khe Sanh. Here's how the U.S. got over "Vietnam syndrome." *Washington Post*, (The Monkey Cage), 5 July 2018. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/07/05/vietnam-syndrome-was-real-but-it-ended-with-the-cold-war-heres-why-and-why-it-matters/>.
- Fordham, Benjamin O. 2015. "Understanding Foreign Policy Ambition." *Border Crossings* 1(1): 10-11. [http://issuu.com/diploflying/docs/bordercrossing-ole\\_odgaard/1](http://issuu.com/diploflying/docs/bordercrossing-ole_odgaard/1).
- Fordham, Benjamin O. 2012. "International Economic Institutions and Great Power Peace." Blog post for Global Trends 2030, a project of the National Intelligence Council. <https://globaltrends2030.wordpress.com/2012/08/15/international-economic-institutions-and-great-power-peace/>
- Entries on the Atomic Energy Commission, "Atoms for Peace," the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Mutual Security Act, the National Security Act, the National Security Agency, the National Security Council, and the Strategic Air Command, in *The Encyclopedia of U.S. Foreign Relations*, edited by Bruce W. Jentleson and Thomas G. Patterson. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

### **RECENT PAPERS AND PRESENTATIONS**

#### **Invited Presentations**

- "The Persistence of Republican Opposition to Multilateral Rules in American Foreign Policy." Presentation to Bavarian Center for Transatlantic Relations, Munich, Germany, June 30, 2020. Presentation online via Zoom.

- "Everything Old is New Again: The Persistence of Republican Opposition to Multilateralism in American Foreign Policy." Invited presentation to the Department of Political Science, Rutgers University, September 26, 2019, and to the International Relations Faculty Colloquium, Princeton University, October 21, 2019.
- "History and Quantitative Conflict Research: A Case for Limiting the Historical Scope of Our Theoretical Arguments." Presidential address to the annual meeting of the Peace Science Society (International), November 10, 2018.
- "The Domestic Politics of World Power: Explaining Debates over the United States Battleship Fleet, 1890-1900." Invited presentation at School of Global Policy & Strategy, University of California, San Diego, April 26, 2018.
- "The Domestic Politics of World Power: Explaining Debates over the United States Battleship Fleet, 1890-1900." Paper presented to the Conference on the Political Economy of Power Projection, Center of International Studies, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California, November 11-13, 2016.
- "Partner, Rival, or Something in Between? Politics, Economics, and the Development of U.S. Elite Opinion about China." Invited Paper for IO Conference on Economics and Security Reconsidered, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, June 22-24, 2016.

### **Conference Papers**

- "Race, Trade, and the Demise of Southern Support for Multilateralism, 1945-62." Paper presented to the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, Nashville, Tennessee, March 24, 2022.
- "Too Pacifist in Peace, Too Bellicose in War: Political Information and Foreign Policy Opinion." Paper presented to the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, September 1, 2018.
- "The Malady of Democratic States: Isolationism in Mid-Century Thinking about Public Opinion." Paper presented to the annual meeting of the Peace Science Society (International), Tempe, Arizona, November 4, 2017. (With Katja Kleinberg.)
- "The Malady of Democratic States: Isolationism in Mid-Century Thinking about Public Opinion." Paper presented to the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, September 1, 2017. (With Katja Kleinberg.)

### **GRANTS AND ACADEMIC HONORS**

- President, Peace Science Society (International), 2017-18
- Henry Alfred Kissinger Chair in Foreign Policy and International Relations, John W. Kluge Center, Library of Congress, 2010-11
- National Science Foundation Political Science Program Grant SES-1022546, "The Domestic Politics of World Power, 1890-1945," 2010-11 (\$120,864)

### **UNIVERSITY AND PROFESSIONAL SERVICE**

#### **Binghamton University Service**

- Chair, Department of Political Science, 2009-10, 2013-16

Director of Graduate Studies, Department of Political Science, 2006-09  
Director of Undergraduate Studies, Department of Political Science, 2005-06  
Member, Harpur College Academic Honesty Committee, 2021-  
Member, Faculty Senate Executive Committee, 2012, 2016-18  
Member, Educational Policy and Priorities Committee, Faculty Senate, 2005-10  
Co-coordinator, Harpur Dean's Workshop Series on Challenges to World Order, 2017-18  
Co-coordinator, Harpur Dean's Workshop Series on the Political Economy of International  
Conflict, 2011-14  
Co-coordinator, Harpur Dean's Workshop on Social Science Perspectives on the Past, 2006-08

### **Disciplinary and Other Professional Service**

Chair, Scientific Study of International Processes Section, International Studies Association,  
2021-23  
Member, Long-Range Planning Committee, International Studies Association, 2020-22  
Co-organizer, Boston University Online Workshop on the Political Economy of Security, 2020-  
Member, Editorial Board, *International Interactions*, 2019-2024  
President, Peace Science Society (International), 2018-19  
Member, Committee on Research, Scholarship, and Education, Harry S. Truman Library  
Institute, 2018-  
Associate Editor, *International Interactions*, 2013-18  
Member, Nominations Committee, International Studies Association, 2017-19  
Editorial board member, *International Studies Quarterly*, 2009-13  
Editorial board member, *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 2007-2015  
Council member, Peace Science Society (International), 2004-2008  
Program organizer for Conflict Processes section, 2008 annual meeting of the American Political  
Science Association  
Program organizer for Foreign Policy section, 2006 annual meeting of the Midwest Political  
Science Association