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CURRENT POSITION

University Research Professor in Global Political Thought
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PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS

Security Beyond the State: Private Security in International Politics
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011 [Co-authored with Rita Abrahamsen].

Culture and Security: Symbolic Power and the Politics of International Security
London: Routledge, 2007.

Realism Reconsidered: Hans Morgenthau and International Relations
Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. [Editor]

The Realist Tradition and the Limits of International Relations
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

International Relations Theory and the Politics of European Integration
London: Routledge, 2000 [Co-edited with Morten Kelstrup].

Critical Security Studies: Concepts and Cases
Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997 [Co-edited with Keith Krause].

SPECIAL ISSUE JOURNAL EDITORSHIPS

Classical Realism Meets Critical Theory. *Journal of International Political Theory*, 12(4) 2016
[Co-edited with H. Behr].

Security in an Urban Age. Special Issue of *Security Dialogue*, 40(4/5) 2009
[Co-edited with R. Abrahamsen and D. Hubert].

Security Privatization in Contemporary Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*, 35(118)
2008. [Co-edited with R. Abrahamsen and D. Hubert].

Security Beyond the State. *International Relations*, 21(3) 2007
[Co-edited with R. Abrahamsen].

ARTICLES IN REFEREED JOURNALS

The Darkness at the End of History: A dialogue with Francis Fukuyama. *Polity*, 54(4) 2022: 794-801.

From Critique to Reaction: The new right, critical theory, and international relations. *Journal of International Political Theory*, 18(1) 2022: 23-45 [co-author Jean-François Drolet].

The radical right, realism, and the politics of conservatism in post-war international thought. *Review of International Studies* 47(3) 2021: 273-293 [co-author Jean-François Drolet].

Confronting the International Political Sociology of the New Right. *International Political Sociology* 14(1) 2020: 94-107
(co-authors R Abrahamsen, J-F Drolet, A Gheciu, K Narita, S Vucetic).

America First: Paleoconservatism and the ideological struggle for the American Right. *Journal of Political Ideologies* 25(1) 2020: 28-50 [co-author Jean-François Drolet].

The view from MARS: US paleoconservatism and ideological challenges to the liberal world order. *International Journal*, 74(1) 2019: 15–31 [co-author Jean-François Drolet].

International Relations in the Age of the Image. *International Studies Quarterly*, 62, 2018: 880-891.

Radical conservatism and global order. *International Theory*, 10(3) 2018: 285-313. [co-author Jean-François Drolet].

Interlocuting classical realism and critical theory: Negotiating divides in international relations theory. *Journal of International Political Theory*, 12(4) 2016: 1-15 [co-author Hartmut Behr].

Reviving the Rhetoric of Realism: Politics and Responsibility in Grand Strategy. *Security Studies*, 24(1) 2015: 37-60 [co-author Vibeke Schou Tjalve].

Rethinking the Logic of Security: Liberal Realism and the Recovery of American Political Thought. *Telos*, 170 2015: 1-22 [co-author Vibeke Schou Tjalve].

Securitization as Political Theory: The Politics of the Extraordinary. *International Relations*, 28(4) 2014: 19-25.

In the Beginning: The International Relations enlightenment and the ends of International Relations theory. *European Journal of International Relations*, 19, 2013: 647-665.

The New Economy of Security. *Global Crime* 13(4) 2012: 312-19.

- Securitization and the liberalism of fear. *Security Dialogue*, 42(4/5) 2011: 453-463.
- The legacies of *raison d'état*: A brief commentary on R. Harrison Wagner's *War and the State*. *International Theory*, 2(2) 2010: 306-316.
- The Public, the Private, and the Evolution of Security Studies. *Security Dialogue*, 41(6) 2010: 623-630.
- Waltz, Realism, and Democracy. *International Relations*, 23(3) 2009: 328-340.
- Guest Editors' Introduction. *Security Dialogue*, 40(4/5) 2009: 363-372 [co-authors Rita Abrahamsen and Don Hubert].
- Security Beyond the State: Global Security Assemblages in International Politics. *International Political Sociology*, 3(1) 2009: 1-17 [co-author Rita Abrahamsen].
- Public/Private, Global/Local: The Changing Contours of Africa's Security Governance. *Review of African Political Economy*, 35(118) 2008: 539-553 [co-author Rita Abrahamsen].
- The Bush Doctrine and the Iraq War: Neoconservatives vs. Realists. *Security Studies*, 17(2) 2008: 1-30 [co-author Brian Schmidt].
- Introduction: The Privatization and Globalization of Security in Africa. *International Relations*, (21) 2007: 131-141 [co-author Rita Abrahamsen].
- Securing the City: Private Security Companies and Non-State Authority in Global Governance. *International Relations*, (21) 2007: 237-253 [co-author Rita Abrahamsen].
- Security sector reform: bringing the private in. *Conflict, Security, and Development*, 6(1) 2006: 1-23 [co-author Rita Abrahamsen].
- What is the National Interest?: The Neoconservative Challenge in IR Theory. *European Journal of International Relations*, 11(3) 2005: 303-337.
- Why Ideas Matter in International Relations: Hans Morgenthau, Collective Identity, and the Moral Construction of Power Politics. *International Organization*, 58(4) 2004: 633-666.
- Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics. *International Studies Quarterly*, 47(4), 2003: 511-31.
- The Discipline of the Democratic Peace: Kant, Liberalism, and the Social Construction of Security Communities. *European Journal of International Relations* 7(4), 2001: 525-553.
- From Alliance to Security Community: NATO, Russia, and the Power of Identity. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 29(2), 2000: 357-87 [co-author Iver B. Neumann].

The Myths of Europe: Legitimacy, Community and the “Crisis” of the EU.
Journal of Common Market Studies 37(2) 1999: 233-49 [co-author Lene Hansen].

The Practices of Security: Critical Contributions (a reply to Eriksson).
Cooperation and Conflict 34(3) 1999: 381-84.

Identity and the Politics of Security. *European Journal of International Relations* 4(2) 1998: 207-228.

Modernity, Identity and Security: a Comment on the ‘Copenhagen Controversy’.
Review of International Studies 24, 1998: 433-437.

The Institution of ‘Security’: Elements of a Theory of Security Organizations.
Cooperation and Conflict 32(3) 1997: 287-307.

Hobbes and International Relations: a reconsideration.
International Organization 50(2) 1996: 213-36.

Broadening the Agenda of Security Studies?: Politics and Methods.
Mershon Review of International Studies 40, 1996: 229-54 [co-author Keith Krause].

Neo-Realism and the Future of Strategy.
Review of International Studies 19(2) 1993: 103-122.

Reason and Realpolitik: Kant's ‘Critique of International Politics’.
Canadian Journal of Political Science 25(1) 1992: 99-119.

Rethinking the ‘Logic’ of Deterrence. *Alternatives* 17(1) 1992: 67-94.

Rousseau, Realism and Realpolitik.
Millennium: Journal of International Studies 18(2) 1989: 188-204

BOOK CHAPTERS

International Institutions and the Radical Right. In Michael Barnett and Duncan Snidal, eds.
The Oxford Handbook of International Institutions. Oxford University Press, forthcoming.

Writing the Right: Radical Conservative Narratives of World Order. In John Ikenberry, Karoline Postel-Vinay and Daniel Deudney, eds., *Narratives of World Order*, forthcoming.

Historical Realism. In Christian Reus-Smit, et.al., eds., *The Oxford Handbook of History and International Relations*. Oxford University Press, forthcoming.

Conservatism, Civility, and the Challenges of International Political Theory. In Vassilios Paipais, ed., *The Civil Condition and World Order: Beyond Tragedy and Utopianism*. Bristol: University of Bristol Press, 2022. 160-177.

Aesthetic Realism. In Nicolas Guilhot and Brian Schmidt, eds., *Historiographical Investigations in International Relations*. London: Palgrave, 2019. 51-7.

Security and Modernity. In Alexandra Gheciu and William Wohlforth, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of International Security*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018. 14-28 [co-author Keith Krause].

Realist Exceptionalism: philosophy, politics, and foreign policy in America's 'second modernity'. In Jean-Francois Drolet and James Dunkerley, eds., *American Foreign Policy: Studies in Intellectual History*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018. 96-116 [co-author Vibeke Schou Tjalve].

Golden assemblages: security and development in Tanzania's gold mines. In Paul Highgate and Mats Utas, eds., *Private Security in Africa*. London: Zed Books, 2017. 15-31 [co-author Rita Abrahamsen].

Global Policing and the Nation-State. In Ian Loader, et. al. eds. *Sage Handbook of Global Policing*. London: Sage, 2016, 179-92.

Global Security Assemblages. In Rita Abrahamsen and Anna Leander, *Handbook of Private Security Studies*. London: Routledge, 2016.

A Dialogue with Thomas Hobbes. In Richard Ned Lebow and Hidemi Suganami, eds., *The Return of the Theorists*. London: Palgrave, 2016.

A neoHobbesian Future? In Ken Booth and Toni Erskine, eds. *International Political Theory Today*, 2nd ed. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2016.

Publics, Practices, and Power. In Jacqueline Best and Alexandra Gheciu, *The Return of the Public in Global Governance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014: 243-256.

Tracing Global Assemblages, Bringing Bourdieu to the Field: A Conversation with Rita Abrahamsen and Michael Williams. In Michele Acuto and Simon Curtis, eds., *Reassembling International Theory: Assemblage Thinking and International Relations*. London: Palgrave, 2014: 25-32.

Power, Culture, Practice. In Rebecca Adler-Nissen, ed., *Bourdieu in International Relations: Rethinking Key Concepts in IR*. Routledge: 2012: 131-147

"The Potential and Perils of Opposition. In Shannon Brincat, Laura Lima, Joao Nunes, eds., *Critical Theory in International Relations and Security Studies*. Routledge, 2012: 197-206.

Privatization in Practice" in Vincent Pouliot and Emmanuel Adler, eds., *International Practices*. Cambridge University Press, 2011: 310-331 [co-author Rita Abrahamsen].

Rethinking the 'Hobbesian Tradition' in International Relations. In Raia Prokhovnik and Gabriella Slomp eds., *International Political Theory After Hobbes*, London: Palgrave, 2011: 147-167.

The Politics of Theory: Waltz, Realism and Democracy. In Ken Booth, ed., *Realism and World Politics*. London: Routledge, 2011: 50-63.

The Continuing Evolution of Securitization Theory. In Thierry Balzacq, ed., *Securitization Theory: How Security Problems Emerge and Dissolve*. London: Routledge, 2011: 212-222.

Securing the City: Private Security Companies and Non-State Authority in Global Governance. In Bryan Mabee and Alex Colas, eds., *Mercenaries, Pirates, Bandits and Empires: Private Violence in Historical Context*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2011: 213-235 [co-author Rita Abrahamsen].

Identity and the Politics of Security. In Barry Buzan and Lene Hansen, eds., *International Security: Key Readings*. London: Routledge, 2007 [reprint].

Introduction. In Michael C. Williams, ed., *Realism Reconsidered: The Legacy of Hans Morgenthau in International Relations*. Oxford University Press, 2007: 1-17.

Morgenthau Now: Neoconservatism, National Greatness, and Realism Today. In Michael C. Williams, ed., *Realism Reconsidered: The Legacy of Hans Morgenthau in International Relations*. Oxford University Press, 2007: 216-240.

The 'Hobbesian Theory of International Relations': Three Traditions. In Beate Jahn, ed., *Rereading the Classics in International Relations*. Cambridge University Press, 2006: 253-276.

Privatisation, globalization, and the politics of protection in South Africa. In Jef Huysmans, ed., *The Politics of Protection*. Routledge, 2006: 34-47 [co-author Rita Abrahamsen].

The Postmodern Politics of the New World Order. In B. Hansen and B. Heurlin, eds., *Theories of the New World Order*. Macmillan, 2000: 81-111.

Introduction: International Theory in the New Europe. In Morten Kelstrup and Michael C. Williams, eds., *International Relations Theory and European Integration*. Routledge, 2000 [co-author Morten Kelstrup].

From Strategy to Security: Foundations of Critical Security Studies. In Keith Krause and Michael C. Williams, eds., *Critical Security Studies*. University of Minnesota Press, 1997: 1-23 [co-author Keith Krause].

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

A new approach is needed to blunt the appeal of far-right movements.

Globe and Mail, 16 February 2022, A16.

“Forward” to Vibeke Schou Tjalve, ed., *Geopolitical Amnesia: The Rise of the Right and the Crisis of Liberal Memory*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2019.

“Forward” to Hans J. Morgenthau, *La Notion du Politique et la Théorie des Différends Internationaux*, [Librairie Recueil Sirey, Paris 1933], edited by Hartmut Behr and Felix Rösch, translated by M. Vidal. (London, Palgrave: 2012): ix-x.

“Privatizing Africa’s Everyday Security. *openDemocracy*.
July 1, 2010. <http://www.opendemocracy.net/opensecurity/rita-abrahamsen-michael-c-williams/privatising-africas-everyday-security> [co-author Rita Abrahamsen]

“Cape Town: Private Security and Public Space”. In *Human Security for an Urban Century*. Ottawa: Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 2008 [co-author Rita Abrahamsen].

“Beyond the Privatized Military: The Growth of Global Private Security” [co-author Rita Abrahamsen]. *Human Security Bulletin* [electronic version]. Vancouver: Canadian Consortium for Human Security, March 2008]

“Selling Security: Assessing the impact of military privatization” [co-author Rita Abrahamsen]. *Review of International Political Economy* 15(1), 2008: 131-146.

‘Security Privatization and Human Security: Trends and Implications’ [co-author Rita Abrahamsen]. Baseline Study (35pp.), Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Government of Canada. March, 2007.

CASE Collective (contributor), “Critical Approaches to Security in Europe: A Networked Manifesto”, *Security Dialogue* 37 (4), 2006: 443-87.

“Briefing: The Politics of Private Security in Kenya” [co-author Rita Abrahamsen]. *Review of African Political Economy* 104(5), 2005: 425-431.

“The Globalization of Private Security” ISP/NSC Briefing Paper 05/02 [co-author Rita Abrahamsen]. *The World Today*, Royal Institute for International Affairs [Chatham House] (November 2005): 5-7.

“Country Report: Kenya” [co-author Rita Abrahamsen], *Private Security Research Project*, Economic and Social Research Council UK / University of Wales, Aberystwyth. January, 2005.

“Country Report: Nigeria” (with R. Abrahamsen), *Private Security Research Project*, Economic and Social Research Council UK / University of Wales, Aberystwyth. January, 2005.

“Critical Security Studies”, entry in: *Encyclopedia of International Relations and Global Politics*, edited by Martin Griffiths. Routledge, 2005: 145-47.

“NATO, Russia and Future of European Security” (with Iver B. Neumann) in Peter Burgess and Ola Tunander, *European Security Organisations: Two Europes, Two Philosophies* PRIO Report no. 1/2000. January 2000. Oslo, Norway.

RESEARCH GRANTS AND AWARDS

- 2021 Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada
Standard Research Grant (co-investigator, with A. Gheciu).
Project: *A Community of Values? NATO in a Post-Pandemic World*. \$137,102
- 2020 Rockefeller Foundation. Rockefeller Archival Research Center Research Grant.
New York, New York. USA. \$3,000.
- 2020 Hoover Institution. Silas Palmer Fellowship for Archival Research.
Stanford University, Palo Alto, California. USA. \$5,000
- 2017 Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada
Standard Research Grant (Principal investigator, with R. Abrahamsen, A. Gheciu, S. Vucetic). Research project: *The World of the Right*. \$221,000
- 2017 Visiting Research Fellow. United States Studies Center.
University of Sydney, Australia. \$17,000
- 2015 Danish Council for Independent Research. Senior Researcher.
Research Project: *Images in International Relations*.
[Principal investigator, Prof. Lene Hansen, University of Copenhagen].
\$80,000 / Total grant \$800,000.
- 2012 Leverhulme Foundation, International Network Grant.
Classical Realism Meets Critical Theory: Crisis, Modernity, and the
Return of Humanity (one of five Investigators). £97,888. \$152,000
- 2011 Norwegian Research Council. Research Grant (with R. Abrahamsen)
Research Project: *Urban Governance and Global Governance*. \$60,000
- 2010 Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada
Standard Research Grant (with R. Abrahamsen)
Research Project: *Private Security and the Resource Curse in Africa*.
\$109,166
- 2006 Member, Organizing Group, ESRC Seminar Series 2007-08: *The New
Economy of Security: Contemporary Insecurities and the Pluralization of
Coercive Force* [Primary organizer, Ian Loader, Oxford University]. £14,000.

- 2004 Economic and Social Research Council, UK
New Security Challenges Research Program
Major Research Grant (with R. Abrahamsen)
Research Project: *The Globalisation of Private Security*. £125,488
- 2004 British Academy, International Conference Grant
Reconsidering Realism: The Legacy of Hans Morgenthau in International Relations. £1995
- 2002 British Academy, Small Research Grant (with R. Abrahamsen)
Research Project: *The Globalization of Private Security*. £3,800
- 2002 University of Wales, Aberystwyth.
University Research Fund (with R. Abrahamsen)
Research Project: *The Globalization of Private Security*. £2,500
- 1997 Copenhagen Research Project on European Integration,
Copenhagen, Denmark. Personal Research Grant. DKK 300,000
- 1997 Copenhagen Research Project on European Integration,
Copenhagen, Denmark. Conference grant, with M. Kelstrup. DKK 125,000
- 1993 Cooperative Security Research Program, Department of External
Affairs, Government of Canada (with K.Krause). Research and
Conference grant. \$CDN 25,000
- 1992 Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada
Postdoctoral Fellowship (declined).
- 1991 Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security
Doctoral Fellowship.
- 1989 Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada,
Doctoral Fellowship

VISITING PROFESSORSHIPS AND FELLOWSHIPS

Visiting Senior Research Fellow, Center for Global Cooperation Research.
University of Duisburg-Essen, Germany. January-June 2021.

Visiting Research Fellow, United States Studies Center.
University of Sydney, Australia. February – May 2017.

Velux Visiting Professor, Department of Political Science.
University of Copenhagen, Denmark. January – June 2016.

Visiting Professor, CERI/SciencesPo-Paris
Paris, France. January - May 2015.

Visiting Senior Research Fellow, Center for Advanced Security Theory.
University of Copenhagen, Denmark. May-June 2010.

Senior Research Associate, INEX Project.
Peace Research Institute Oslo, Oslo, Norway. May-June 2009.

Visiting Fellow, Department of Politics and International Studies
University of Queensland. Brisbane Australia. January-April 2009.

Visiting Fellow, Department of Law
European University Institute. Florence, Italy. 2007.

Visiting Fellow, Graduate Institute of Humanities,
University of Cape Town, South Africa. 2003.

Visiting Research Associate, Department of Political Science
University of Copenhagen, Denmark, 1997.

PREVIOUS POSITIONS

Professor, Department of International Politics. University of Wales, Aberystwyth.
2002-2008.

Senior Lecturer, Department of International Politics. University of Wales, Aberystwyth.
1998-2002.

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science. University of Southern Maine, USA.
1992-1998.

ACADEMIC QUALIFICATIONS

Ph.D. in Political Science, York University, Toronto, Canada. 1992.

M.A. in Political Science. Queen's University, Kingston, Canada. 1985.

B.A. (honours). University of Victoria, Victoria, Canada. 1984.