

## GARY GERSTLE

UK Address:



US Address:



### EDUCATION

PhD Harvard University, 1982, American History  
MA Harvard University, 1978, American History  
BA Brown University, 1976, *magna cum laude*, History  
London School of Economics, 1974-1975 (non-degree program)

### SELECT PROFESSIONAL APPOINTMENTS

Paul Mellon Director of Research in American History, University of Cambridge, 2021-2024  
Paul Mellon Professor of American History Emeritus, University of Cambridge, 2021-  
Paul Mellon Professor of American History, University of Cambridge, 2014-2021  
Vice-Master, Sidney Sussex College, University of Cambridge, 2020-2021  
Fellow, Sidney Sussex College, University of Cambridge, 2014-2021 (Emeritus Fellow, 2021- )  
James G. Stahlman Professor of American History, Vanderbilt University, 2007-2014  
Professor of History, Vanderbilt University, 2006-2007  
Chair, History Department, University of Maryland, 2003-2006  
Professor of History, University of Maryland, 2000-2006  
Associate Professor of History, Catholic University of America, 1992-1998  
Assistant Professor of History, Catholic University of America, 1991-1992  
Assistant Professor of History, Princeton University, 1983-1990  
Lecturer in Social Studies, Harvard University, 1982-1983

### AWARDS, HONORS, RECOGNITION, FELLOWSHIPS

*A Financial Times* Best Book of 2022 for *The Rise and Fall of the Neoliberal Order*  
*A Prospect Magazine* Best Book of the Year (2022) for *Neoliberal Order*  
*A De Tijn* (the Netherlands) Best Non-Fiction Book of the Year (2022) for *Neoliberal Order*  
*A ThePrint* (India) Most Loved Book of the Year (2022) for *Neoliberal Order*  
*A Majority Report* Best Podcast of the Year (2022) for discussion of *Neoliberal Order*  
*A Capitalism 't* Best Book of 2022  
*An Orion Best Book for a Progressive Bookshelf*, 2022-2023  
Shortlist, *Financial Times* Best Business Book of the Year Award, for *Neoliberal Order* (2022)  
2022 Editors' Choice, *New York Times Book Review* for *Neoliberal Order*; also chosen for  
*New York Times* Paperback Row, September 2023  
Fellow of the British Academy, 2017-  
2016 Ellis W. Hawley Prize for *Liberty and Coercion* (given by Organization of American Historians for  
best book on political economy, politics, or institutions of the US)  
2016 Editors' Choice, *New York Times Book Review*, for *Liberty and Coercion*  
Fellow, Royal Historical Society, 2015-  
Jeffrey Nordhaus Award for Excellence in Undergraduate Teaching in the Social Sciences, College of  
Arts and Science, Vanderbilt University, 2013

Harmsworth Professor of American History, University of Oxford, 2012-2013  
 Goldman Sachs Visiting Scholar, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian, 2012  
 Organization of American Historians, Distinguished Lecturer, 2007-  
 Member, Society of American Historians, 2006-  
 2001 Theodore Saloutos Memorial Book Award for *American Crucible* (given by Immigration and Ethnic History Society); NPR selected *American Crucible* as a “Best Book for a Transformative 2008”  
 Fellow, Davis Center for Historical Studies, Princeton University, 2001-2002  
 Visiting Professor, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris, January 2001  
 John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Fellowship, 1995-96 (held 1997-98)  
 Russell Sage Foundation Fellowship, 1997-98 (declined)  
 Fellowship for University Teachers, National Endowment for the Humanities, 1995-96  
 Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars Fellowship, 1995-96 (declined)  
 Annenberg Visiting Associate Professorship, University of Pennsylvania, 1992-93  
 Member, Institute for Advanced Study, School of Social Science, 1990-91  
 National Academy of Education Spencer Fellow, 1988-89  
 Charles Warren Center Fellowship, Harvard University, 1987-88  
 National Historical Society Award and Phi Beta Kappa, Brown University, 1976

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Books

- The Rise and Fall of the Neoliberal Order: America and the World in the Free Market Era* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022); paperback 2023; Spanish and Japanese translations published in 2023; Italian and Korean translations due in 2024; Chinese translation halted by Chinese censors
- Liberty and Coercion: The Paradox of American Government from the Founding to the Present* (Princeton University Press, 2015); paperback 2017; Spanish translation, 2017
- American Crucible: Race and Nation in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton University Press, 2001; paperback, 2002); new edition with new last chapter, 2017
- Working-Class Americanism: The Politics of Labor in a Textile City, 1914-1960* (Cambridge University Press, 1989; paperback, 1990; reissued by Princeton University Press, with a new preface, 2002)
- A Cultural History of Democracy in the Modern Age*, co-edited with Eugenio Biagini (Bloomsbury Press, 2021)
- States of Exception in American History*, coedited with Joel Isaac (University of Chicago Press, 2020)
- Beyond the New Deal Order: U.S. Politics from the Great Depression to the Great Recession*, coedited with Nelson Lichtenstein and Alice O'Connor (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019)
- Ruling America: A History of Wealth and Power in a Democracy*, co-edited with Steve Fraser (Harvard University Press, 2005; hardcover and paperback; translated into Arabic, 2007)
- E Pluribus Unum? Contemporary and Historical Perspectives on Immigrant Political Incorporation*, co-edited with John Mollenkopf (Russell Sage, 2001; paperback 2005)

*The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order, 1930-1980*, co-edited with Steve Fraser (Princeton University Press, 1989; paperback, 1990)

*Liberty, Equality, Power: A History of the American People*, co-authored with John Murrin, Pekka Hamalainen, Denver Brunsman, Paul Johnson, James McPherson, Alice Fahs, Emily Rosenberg, and Norman Rosenberg (Cengage, 8 Editions, 1996-2023). I write the 1880-1940 chapters.

*America Transformed: A History of the United States Since 1900*, co-authored with Emily and Norman Rosenberg (Harcourt Brace, 1999)

### Select Articles, Book Chapters, Essays (\* indicates peer-reviewed)

“Race, Ethnicity, and Democracy in the Twentieth Century,” co-authored with Saul Dubow, in Eugenio Biagini and Gary Gerstle, eds., *A Cultural History of Democracy in the Modern Age* (Bloomsbury 2021), 149-170

\*“Spaces of Exception in American History,” co-authored with Desmond King, in Gary Gerstle and Joel Isaac, eds., *States of Exception in American History* (University of Chicago Press, 2020), 313-40

\*“America’s Neoliberal Order,” in Gary Gerstle, Nelson Lichtenstein, and Alice O’Connor, eds., *Beyond the New Deal Order: U.S. Politics from the Great Depression to the Great Recession* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019), 257-278

\*“The Rise and Fall (?) of America’s Neoliberal Order,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (2018), 241-64

“Democracy and Money in America: An Intimate History,” *Third Eccles Centre for American Studies Lecture* (British Library 2018) 25pp.; [www.bl.uk/eccles-centre](http://www.bl.uk/eccles-centre)

\*“Civic Ideals, Race, and Nation in the Age of Obama,” in Julian Zelizer, ed., *The Presidency of Barack Obama: A First Historical Assessment* (Princeton University Press, 2018), 261-280

“The Age of Obama, 2000-2016,” new chapter for new edition of *American Crucible: Race and Nation in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton University Press, 2017), 375-426

\*“The Civil War and Statebuilding: A Reconsideration,” *Journal of the Civil War Era* (March 2017), <http://journalofthecivilwarera.org/forum-the-future-of-reconstruction-studies/the-civil-war-and-state-building/>

\*“The Reach and Limits of the Liberal Consensus,” in Robert Mason and Iwan Morgan, eds., *The Liberal Consensus Reconsidered: American Politics and Society in the Postwar Era* (University of Florida Press, 2017), 52-66

“Inclusion, Exclusion, and American Nationality,” in Ronald Bayor, ed., *The Oxford Handbook on American Immigration and Ethnicity* (Oxford University Press, 2016), 144-165

\*“The Contradictory Character of American Nationality: A Historical Perspective,” in Nancy Foner and Patrick Simone, eds., *Fear, Anxiety, and National Identity: Immigration and Identity in North America and Western Europe* (Russell Sage Foundation, 2015), 33-59

“Acquiescence or Transformation? Divergent Paths of Political Incorporation in America,” in

Jennifer Hochschild, Michael Jones-Correa, Claudine Gay, and Jennifer Chattopadhyay, eds., *Immigrant Political Incorporation: A Handbook* (Oxford University Press, 2013), 306-320

- “The Political Incorporation of Immigrant Groups: A Historical Perspective on the American Experience,” *International Labor and Working-Class History* (Fall 2010), 110-117
- \*“Minorities, Multiculturalism, and the Presidency of George W. Bush,” in Julian Zelizer, ed., *The Presidency of George W. Bush: A First Historical Assessment* (Princeton University Press, 2010), 252-281
- “A State Both Strong and Weak,” *American Historical Review* 115 (June 2010), 779-85
- \*“The Resilient Power of the States Across the Long Nineteenth Century: An Inquiry into a Pattern of American Governance,” Desmond King and Lawrence Jacobs, eds., *The Unsustainable American State* (Oxford University Press, 2009), 61-87
- “America’s Encounter with Immigrants,” in Michael Kazin, ed., *In Search of Progressive America* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 37-53. Translated into Dutch and French.
- “Race and Nation in the Thought and Politics of Woodrow Wilson,” in John Milton Cooper, Jr., ed., *Reconsidering Woodrow Wilson: Progressivism, Internationalism, War, and Peace* (Woodrow Wilson Center Press and Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 93-124
- \*“Race and Nation in the United States, Cuba, and Mexico, 1880-1940,” in Don H. Doyle and Marco A. Pamplona, eds., *Nationalism in the Americas* (University of Georgia 2006), 272-304; translated into Portuguese.
- “The Political Incorporation of Immigrant Groups: A Historical Perspective on the American Experience,” in Philippa Strum, ed., *American Arabs and Political Participation* (Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2006), 27-40
- \*“In the Shadow of Vietnam: Liberal Nationalism and the Problem of War,” in Michael Kazin and Joseph McCartin, eds., *Americanism: New Perspectives on the History of an Ideal* (University of North Carolina, 2006), 128-152; translated into Portuguese.
- \*“The Immigrant as Threat to American Security: A Historical Perspective,” in John Tirman, ed., *The Maze of Fear: Security and Migration after 9/11* (The New Press, 2004), 87-108; translated into French.
- “Immigration and Ethnicity in the American Century,” in Harvard Sitkoff, ed., *Making Sense of the Twentieth Century* (Oxford University Press, 2000), 275-95
- \*“Theodore Roosevelt and the Divided Character of American Nationalism,” *Journal of American History* 86 (December 1999), 1280-1307. Anthologized.
- \*“Liberty, Coercion, and the Making of Americans,” *Journal of American History* 84 (September 1997), 524-558; with responses from David Hollinger and Donna Gabaccia, and a response from Gerstle. Anthologized and translated into Spanish.

“Race and the Myth of the Liberal Consensus,” *Journal of American History* 82 (September 1995), 579-86

\*“The Protean Character of American Liberalism,” *American Historical Review* 99 (October 1994), 1043-1073

“Racism and the Working Class: Broaden the Focus,” *International Labor and Working-Class History* 44 (Fall 1993), 33-40

“The Politics of Patriotism: Americanization and the Formation of the CIO,” *Dissent* (Winter 1986), 84-92

### **Select Keynote, Endowed, Inaugural, and Distinguished Lectures**

“The Decline of the Warren Court and the Rise of the Neoliberal Order,” Constitution Day Lecture, Kinder Institute, University of Missouri/State Historical Society of Missouri, September 2023

“The Rise and Fall of the Neoliberal Order,” Lecture followed by symposium to mark the publication of the Japanese translation of the book, Tokyo, Japan, August 2023

"Beyond Neoliberalism: Rethinking the Role of the State in a New Global Age," Keynote Roundtable with Thomas Piketty and Felicia Wong, Conference on American Capitalism, Paris, May 2023

“The Rise and Fall of the Neoliberal Order,” Nugent Lecture, Queen’s University, Kingston, Canada, March 2023; Ralph Miliband Lecture, London School of Economics, October 2022; Keynote Lecture to American Studies Association of Italy (AISNA), Rome, September 2022; Bolt Lecture, University of Kent, February 2020; Keynote to conference, “The Trump Presidency,” Oxford, June 2019; Keynote to University of Chicago Neoliberalism conference May 2017

Symposium on *The Rise and Fall of the Neoliberal Order*, Columbia University Law School, September 2022

“Bringing the (Pandemic) State Back In,” Keynote Lecture to “Pandemics, Public Health, and Statecraft in Twentieth-Century U.S. History” conference, University College London, July 2022

“Spaces of Exception in American History: The Racial Dimension,” Keynote to conference, “Racial Democracy Conference, Roosevelt Institute, Middleburg, Netherlands, May 2020

“American Soft Power: Past, Present, and Future,” 70<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Address to Franco-American Fulbright Program, US Embassy, Paris, November 2018

“The Rise and Fall (?) of America’s Neoliberal Order,” Royal Historical Society, London, May 2017

“Democracy and Money in America: An Intimate History,” Robert H. Smith Lecture, Benjamin Franklin House and Eccles Center for American Studies, British Library, London, May 2016; Keynote Address, European Association of American Studies,” Constanta, Romania, April 2016; Keynote to “Contested Democracy” conference, Université Sorbonne Nouvelle, Paris, Sept 2012

“Race and Nation in the Age of Obama,” Endowed Lecture in Civil Rights and Resistance, University of Leeds, March 2016

“Liberty and Coercion: Writing the History of the American State,” Mellon Professorship Inaugural Lecture, University of Cambridge, November 2015; Keynote for the Historians of the Twentieth-Century United States Annual Conference, Norwich, June 2015

“Paradoxes of Public Power in America,” Keynote Address, XI Encontro Internacional da ANPHLAC, Universidade Federal Fluminense, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, August 2014; Vyvyan Harmsworth Professorship Inaugural Lecture, University of Oxford, November 2012; Distinguished Annual Lecture, University of Nottingham, Nottingham, October 2012; Distinguished Lecture, Trinity College, Dublin, October 2012

“A Nation at Risk? Struggles over Immigration in Post-9/11 America,” Keynote Address to the Korean Association for American Studies, Seoul, Korea, September 2011

### **Other Lectures and Talks, Recently Delivered (2022-2023)**

“Thinking Beyond Neoliberalism,” Remarks to working group of the Berggruen Institute, Venice, Italy, June, 2023

“Authoritarianism and Oligarchic Republicanism in America,” Conference on “Autocracy v. Democracy: A New Political Landscape in France, Europe, and the United States,” The Tocqueville Society, American University of Paris, France, June 2023

“Political Orders and Kuhnian Paradigms: Connections and Reflections,” Conference on The Sociology of Paradigm Change, MIT, May 2023

“The End of Neoliberalism and How Paradigms Change,” Panel Discussion with Franklin Foer, Rana Foroohar, and Felicia Wong, New Common Sense Conference, Hewlett Foundation, San Francisco, CA, March 2023

“Can a New Economic World Order Emerge?,” Address to Reform Club, London, February 2023

“How Paradigms Change,” Discussion with Senior Leadership, Open Society Foundations, London, January 2023

Panel Discussion of Rana Foroohar’s *Homecoming*, “Connecting the Dots Conference,” Columbia Law School, October 2022

“The Rise and Fall of the Neoliberal Order,” Rothermere American Institute, University of Oxford, October 2022

### **Popular Writing and Podcasting**

My popular writing and essays have appeared in *The Guardian*, *The Atlantic*, *The Nation*, *Dissent*, *The New York Review of Books*, *The New Statesman*, *Unherd*, and *Die Zeit*. I have done about 25 podcasts for *The Rise and Fall of the Neoliberal Order*, and another 25 podcasts with *Talking Politics*, hosted by David Runciman between 2017 and 2020. I appear frequently on BBC Radio 4, BBC World Service, and NPR. For BBC World Service, I wrote and narrated a four-part series in 2017, *America: Laboratory of Democracy*. For full lists of my popular writing, podcasting, and media work, consult my webpage, [garygerstle.com](http://garygerstle.com).

**PROFESSIONAL SERVICE (Brief Summary)**

I have supervised 20 PhD students during my 9 years at Cambridge, and another 20 at US universities at which I had previously taught. At Cambridge, I have supervised about 40 MPhil students (about 4 per year). I have convened major research seminars at Maryland, Vanderbilt, and Cambridge, hosting about 150 presenters at Cambridge alone. I have served on numerous university committees while also chairing the Department of History at Maryland (2003-2006) and serving as Vice-Master of Sidney Sussex, my Cambridge college, across the most difficult pandemic year (2020-2021). I have served on the editorial boards of *Past & Present*, the *American Historical Review*, the *Journal of American History*, the *Journal of American Ethnic History*, and the *Journal of American Studies*. I have coedited a major book series for Princeton University Press, *Politics and Society in Modern America*, that has been operating since 2001 and has published more than 50 books during that span.