

December 2025

Jeffry Alan Frieden

Department of Political Science and
School of International and Public Affairs
Columbia University
New York, NY 10027
<https://blogs.cuit.columbia.edu/jaf81/>
[https://jfrieden.scholars.harvard.edu/
j.frieden@columbia.edu](https://jfrieden.scholars.harvard.edu/j.frieden@columbia.edu)

I. *Education*

Ph.D. Columbia University, October 1984.

B.A. *summa cum laude* Columbia College, June 1979.

II. *Teaching experience*

Department of Political Science and School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University, 2024-

Department of Government, Harvard University, 1995-2024

Department of Political Science, University of California Los Angeles, 1983-1995.

III. *Selected publications*

A. Books

Global Capitalism: Its Fall and Rise in the Twentieth Century (New York: W. W. Norton, 2006). Paperback edition 2007. Spanish edition 2007. Portuguese and Chinese editions 2008. Updated second edition 2020.

Currency Politics: The Political Economy of Exchange Rate Policy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015). Chinese edition 2016.

(with David Lake and Kenneth Schultz) *World Politics: Interests, Interactions, and Institutions* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2010). Second edition 2013. Third edition 2016. Fourth edition 2019. Fifth edition 2022. Sixth edition (with Lake, Schultz, Susan Hyde, and Stephanie Rickard) 2026.

(with Menzie Chinn) *Lost Decades: The Making of America's Debt Crisis and the Long Recovery* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2011). Paperback edition 2012.

Debt, Development, and Democracy: Modern Political Economy and Latin America, 1965-1985 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

Banking on the World: The Politics of American International Finance (New York: Harper and Row, 1987). Paperback edition 1989. British edition 1989. Japanese edition 1991.

B. Other volumes and monographs

Editor (with Jorge Cornick, Mauricio Mesquita Moreira, and Ernesto Stein), *The Political Economy of Trade Policy in Latin America* (Washington: Inter-American Development Bank, 2022)

Editor (with Mark Copelovitch and Stefanie Walter), special issue of *Comparative Political Studies*, “The Political Economy of the Euro Crisis” 47, no. 7 (2016).

(with Michael Pettis, Dani Rodrik, and Ernesto Zedillo), *After the Fall: The Future of Global Cooperation* Geneva Report 14 (London: Center for Economic Policy Research, 2012).

Editor (with David A. Lake and J. Lawrence Broz), *International Political Economy: Perspectives on Global Power and Wealth* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987). Second edition 1991. Third edition 1995. Fourth edition 2000. Fifth edition, W. W. Norton, 2010. Sixth edition, W. W. Norton, 2017.

Editor (with David Austen-Smith, Miriam Golden, Karl Ove Moene, and Adam Przeworski), *Selected Works of Michael Wallerstein: The Political Economy of Inequality, Unions, and Social Democracy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008)

Editor (with Ernesto Stein), *The Currency Game: Exchange Rate Politics in Latin America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001)

Editor (with Barry Eichengreen), *The Political Economy of European Monetary Unification*, special issue of *Economics and Politics* 5, No. 3 (July 1993). Also published with several other essays as *The Political Economy of European Monetary Unification* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994). Second revised edition 2001

Editor (with Manuel Pastor and Michael Tomz), *Modern Political Economy and Latin America: Theory and Policy* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2000)

Editor (with Daniel Gros and Erik Jones), *The New Political Economy of EMU* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 1998)

Editor (with Barry Eichengreen), *Forging an Integrated Europe* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998)

Editor (with Erik Jones and Francisco Torres), *Joining Europe's Monetary Club: The Challenges for Smaller Member States* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998)

Editor (with Barry Eichengreen and Jürgen von Hagen), *Monetary and Fiscal Policy in an Integrated Europe* (New York: Springer, 1995)

Editor (with Barry Eichengreen and Jürgen von Hagen), *Politics and Institutions in an Integrated Europe* (New York: Springer, 1995)

Studies in International Finance: Private Interest and Public Policy in the International Political Economy in series on Foreign Economic Policy of the United States: Outstanding Studies and Dissertations (New York: Garland Publishing, 1993)

(with David G. Becker, Sayre Schatz, and Richard Sklar), *Postimperialism: International Capitalism and Development in the Late Twentieth Century* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1987)

Editor (with Nora Hamilton, Linda Fuller, and Manuel Pastor), *Crisis in Central America: Regional Dynamics and U.S. Policy in the 1980s* (Boulder: Westview, 1988)

C. Articles in scholarly journals

(with Richard Grossman and Daniel Lowery) "Was Freedom Road a Dead End? Socio-economic effects of Reconstruction in the American South," *Economic History Review*, forthcoming

(with Chase Foster) "Compensation, Austerity, and Populism: Labor Market Spending and Voting in 17 Western European Countries," *European Union Politics*, forthcoming

"The end of an era," *LSE Public Policy Review*, forthcoming

(with Arthur Silve) "The political reception of innovations," *Economics and Politics* 35, No. 2 (July 2023): 595-628

"Global trade in the Age of Populism," *Perspectivas - Journal of Political Science* 27 (2023)

"Attitudes, interests, and the politics of trade," *Political Science Quarterly* 137, No. 3 (Fall 2022)

(with Nathaniel H. Leff, Rachael Behr, and Shelby Grossman) "Trust and Envy: The Political Economy of Business Groups in Developing Countries" *Studies in Comparative International Development* 56, No. 3 (2021)

(with Chase Foster) "Economic Determinants of Public Support for European Integration, 1995-2018," *European Union Politics* 22, Issue 2 (June 2021)

(with J. Lawrence Broz and Stephen Weymouth) "Populism in Place: The Economic Geography of the Globalization Backlash," *International Organization* 75, no. 2 (Spring 2021)

(with Stefanie Walter) "Analyzing Inter-State Negotiations in the Eurozone Crisis and Beyond," *European Union Politics* 20 Issue 1 (March 2019)

(with Chase Foster) "Crisis of Trust: Socio-economic determinants of Europeans' confidence in government," *European Union Politics* 18, Issue 4 (December 2017).

(with Stefanie Walter) "Understanding the Political Economy of the Eurozone Crisis," *Annual Review of Political Science* 20 (2017).

"Macroeconomic Rebalancing in China and the G20," *China & World Economy* 24, no. 2016).

"The Governance of International Finance," *Annual Review of Political Science* 19 (2016).

(with Mark Copelovitch and Stefanie Walter), "The Political Economy of the Euro Crisis," *Comparative Political Studies*, 47, no. 7 (2016).

(with J. Lawrence Broz and Maya Duru), "Policy Responses to Balance-of-Payments Crises: The Role of Elections," *Open Economies Review* 27, No. 2 (2016).

"Les futurs financiers: de la Grande Modération au ZIRP et au-delà," *Revue d'Économie Financière* No. 121 (March 2016).

"The Political Economy of Adjustment and Rebalancing," *Journal of International Money and Finance* 52 (January 2015)

"Comment (ne pas) perdre une décennie," *Revue Études Internationales* 44, No. 4 (December 2013)

"Global Economic Governance After the Crisis," *Perspektiven der Wirtschaftspolitik* 13, issue 4 (2012)

(with David Leblang and Neven Valev) "The Political Economy of Exchange Rate Regimes in Transition Economies." *Review of International Organizations* 5, No. 1 (March 2010).

"Global Governance of Global Monetary Relations: Rationale and Feasibility." *Economics* Vol. 3, No. 6 (March 2009).

(with J. Lawrence Broz and Stephen Weymouth) "Exchange-Rate Policy Attitudes: Direct Evidence from Survey Data," *IMF Staff Papers* 55, No. 3 (July 2008)

(with S. Brock Blomberg and Ernesto Stein) "Sustaining Fixed Rates: The Political Economy of Currency Pegs in Latin America," *Journal of Applied Economics* 8, No. 2. (November 2005)

(with David A. Lake) "International Relations as a Social Science: Rigor and Relevance," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 600 (July 2005)

"One Europe, One Vote? The political economy of European Union representation in international organizations," *European Union Politics* 5, No. 2 (2004)

"Real sources of European currency policy: Sectoral interests and European monetary integration," *International Organization* 56, No. 4 (Fall 2002)

"Monetary Populism in Nineteenth-Century America: An Open Economy Interpretation," *Journal of Economic History* 57, no. 2 (June 1997)

(with James Alt, Michael Gilligan, Dani Rodrik, and Ronald Rogowski) "The Political Economy of International Trade," *Comparative Political Studies* 29, No. 6 (December 1996)

"The impact of goods and capital market integration on European monetary politics," *Comparative Political Studies* 29, No. 2 (April 1996)

"International investment and colonial control: A new interpretation," *International Organization* 48, No. 4 (Autumn 1994)

"Exchange rate politics: Contemporary lessons from American history" *Review of International Political Economy* 1, No. 1 (Spring 1994)

"Invested interests: The politics of national economic policies in a world of global finance," *International Organization* 45, No. 4 (Autumn 1991)

"The Economics of Intervention: American Overseas Investments and Relations with Underdeveloped Areas, 1890-1950," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 31, No. 1 (January 1989)

"Classes, sectors, and foreign debt in Latin America," *Comparative Politics*, 21, No. 1 (October 1988)

"Capital Politics: Creditors and the International Political Economy," *Journal of Public Policy*, 8, No. 3/4 (July-December 1988)

"Sectoral Conflict and U.S. Foreign Economic Policy, 1914-1940," *International Organization*, 42, No. 1 (Winter 1988)

"The Brazilian Borrowing Experience: From Miracle to Debacle and Back," *Latin American Research Review*, 22, No. 1 (1987)

"Third World Indebted Industrialization: International Finance and State Capitalism in Mexico, Brazil, Algeria, and South Korea," *International Organization* 35, No. 3 (Summer 1981)

"The Internal Politics of European Communism in the Stalin Era, 1934-1949," *Studies in Comparative Communism* 14, No. 1 (Spring 1981)

D. Other articles and chapters

"Putting Political Economy into Geoeconomics," Comments on Chris Clayton, Matteo Maggiori, and Jesse Schreger, "Putting Economics Back into Geoeconomics," in *NBER Macroeconomics Annual 2025*, volume 40 Eds. John V. Leahy & Valerie A. Ramey (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2026)

"The political economy of policies for structural change: A cautionary note," In *Rethinking Economic Policy: Steering Structural Change* Eds. Pierre-Olivier Gourinchas and Maurice Obstfeld (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2026)

"The Political Economy of International Monetary Arrangements," In *Floating Exchange Rates at Fifty*, Eds. Douglas A. Irwin and Maurice Obstfeld (New York: Columbia University Press, 2024)

"A Place for Politics," *Finance and Development*, March 2024

(with Jorge Cornick and Ernesto Stein) "The Political Economy of Trade Policymaking in Latin America: An Introduction," in *The Political Economy of Trade Policy in Latin America* (Washington: Inter-American Development Bank, 2022)

"International Cooperation in the Age of Populism" in *Economic Globalization & Governance: Essays in Honor of Jorge Braga de Macedo* eds. Maria Eugénia Mata, Miguel Rocha de Sousa and Luís Brites Pereira (Springer: 2021)

(with Jake Schneider) "[Will the virus kill global capitalism?](#)" *Medium*, October 10, 2020

"International Pandemic Politics," *The Political Economist* 16, No. 2 (Fall 2020)

"The Political Economy of Economic Policy," *Finance and Development*, Summer 2020

(with Jorge Cornick and Ernesto Stein) "The Political Economy of Trade Policy: A Balancing Act" in *Trading Promises for Results: What Global Integration Can Do for Latin America and the Caribbean* ed. Mauricio Mesquita Moreira and Ernesto Stein (Inter-American Development Bank, 2019)

"The political economy of the globalization backlash: Sources and implications," in *Meeting Globalization's Challenges* ed. Maurice Obstfeld and Luis Catão (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019)

“The political economy of the Bretton Woods Agreements,” in *The Bretton Woods Agreements*, ed. Naomi Lamoreaux and Ian Shapiro (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019)

“The backlash against globalization and the future of the international economic order,” in *The Crisis of Globalisation* ed. Patrick Diamond (London: I.B. Taurus, 2019)

“The United States in 2018,” *The World in 2018* (Milan: Nomisma, 2018)

“Make friends and influence people: Confronting international financial instability requires cooperation,” in *The Uncertain Future of Globalization* First Year Volume 10 (Washington: Miller Center of Public Affairs, 2017)

“Currency Politics in the Developing World,” *Harvard International Review* 38, 2 (Spring 2017)

“The United States in 2017,” *The World in 2017* (Milan: Nomisma, 2017)

“The crisis, the public, and the future of European integration,” in *After the Crisis: Reform, Recovery, and Growth in Europe* Ed. Francesco Caselli, Mario Centeno, and Jose Albuquerque Tavares (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016)

“The root causes of enduring conflict: Can Israel and Palestine co-exist?” in *Israel and Palestine: Alternate Perspectives on Statehood* Ed. John Ehrenberg and Yoav Peled (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2016)

Lessons for the euro from early American monetary and financial history, Bruegel Essay and Lecture Series (Brussels: Bruegel, 2016)

(with Ron Rogowski) “Modern Capitalism: Enthusiasts, Opponents, and Reformers,” in *The Cambridge History of Capitalism* Ed. Larry Neal and Jeffrey Williamson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

(with J. Lawrence Broz) “The Political Economy of International Monetary Policy Coordination” in *Handbook of Safeguarding Global Financial Stability*, Gerard Caprio et al., editors (UK: Academic Press, 2013).

“America in the World Economy: From the American Century to Globalization.” *The Short American Century*. Ed. Andrew Bacevich (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012).

“The modern capitalist world economy: A historical overview,” *Oxford Handbook of Capitalism* Ed. Dennis Mueller (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012)

(with Menzie Chinn) “The Eurozone in Crisis: Origins and Prospects,” *La Follette Policy Report* 21, No. 2 (Spring 2012)

“The political economy of rebalancing,” in *Rebalancing the Global Economy: A Primer for Policymaking* Eds. Simon Evenett and Bernard Hoekman (World Bank and VoxEU, 2010)

“Rehabilitating macroeconomic sanity,” in *Jobs, industry and opportunity: Growth strategies after the crisis* (London: Policy Network, 2010)

“The crisis and beyond: Prospects for international economic cooperation,” Politics, Economics and Global Governance: The European Dimensions Policy Paper No. 5 (London, December 2009)

“After the crisis: Domestic politics and the challenge of rebalancing,” Politics, Economics and Global Governance: The European Dimensions Brief No. 9 (London, December 2009)

"Global trade in the aftermath of the global crisis," in Richard Baldwin, editor, *The Great Trade Collapse: Causes, Consequences and Prospects*. A VoxEU.org Publication, (London: Centre for Economic Policy Research, 2009)

"Global Imbalances, National Rebalancing, and the Political Economy of Recovery," CFR Center for Geoeconomic Studies Working Paper, October 2009. Republished in *The Economics of Austerity* Ed. Suzanne J. Konzelmann (London: Edward Elgar, 2014).

(with Menzie Chinn), "Reflections on the Causes and Consequences of the Debt Crisis of 2008," *La Follette Policy Report* 19, No. 1 (Fall 2009).

“Globalization and Exchange Rate Policy,” in Ernesto Zedillo, editor, *The Future of Globalization* (New York: Routledge, 2008)

“Global inequality: Trends and remedies,” *Harvard College Economics Review* (Spring 2007)

Will Global Capitalism Fall Again? Bruegel Essay and Lecture Series (Brussels: Bruegel, 2006)

(with Lawrence Broz) “The Political Economy of Exchange Rates,” in Barry Weingast and Donald Wittman, editors, *The Oxford Handbook of Political Economy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006)

“The Political Economy of Dollarization: Domestic and International Factors,” in Eduardo Levy-Yeyati and Federico Sturzenegger, editors, *Dollarization* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2002)

(with Lisa Martin) “International Political Economy: The State of the Sub-Discipline,” in Ira Katznelson and Helen Milner, eds. *Political Science: The State of the Discipline* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2002)

“Inequality: Causes and possible futures,” *Hagar: Intl Social Science Review* 2, no. 1 (2001)

- (with J. Lawrence Broz) "The Political Economy of International Monetary Relations," *Annual Review of Political Science* 4 (2001)
- (with Piero Ghezzi and Ernesto Stein) "Politics and Exchange Rates: A Cross-Country Approach to Latin America", in Jeffrey Frieden and Ernesto Stein, editors, *The Currency Game: Exchange Rate Politics in Latin America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001)
- (with Ernesto Stein)"The Political Economy of Exchange Rate Policy in Latin America: An Analytical Overview", in Jeffrey Frieden and Ernesto Stein, editors, *The Currency Game: Exchange Rate Politics in Latin America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001)
- "Towards a political economy of takings," *Washington University Journal of Law and Policy* 3 (2000)
- "The political economy of the euro as an international currency," in Armand Clesse and Robert Mundell, editors, *The Euro as Stabilizer in the International Economic System* (Norwell, Massachusetts: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2000)
- "Actors and Preferences in International Relations," in David Lake and Robert Powell, Eds., *Strategic Choice in International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999)
- "The Euro: Who Wins? Who Loses?" *Foreign Policy* September 1998.
- (with Erik Jones) "The political economy of European monetary union: A conceptual overview," in Jeffrey Frieden, Daniel Gros and Erik Jones, Eds., *The New Political Economy of EMU* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 1998)
- "The Politics of Exchange Rates," in Sebastian Edwards and Moisés Naím, Eds., *Mexico 1994: Anatomy of an Emerging-Market Crash*. (Washington: Carnegie Endowment 1997)
- "Economic liberalization and the politics of European monetary integration," in Miles Kahler, Ed., *Liberalization and Foreign Policy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997)
- (with Ron Rogowski) "The impact of the international economy on national policies: An analytical overview," in Robert Keohane and Helen Milner, Eds., *Internationalization and Domestic Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)
- "Economic integration and the politics of monetary policy in the United States," in Robert Keohane and Helen Milner, Eds., *Internationalization and Domestic Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)
- "America and the World Economy," in Stanley Kutler, Ed., *Encyclopedia of the United States in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996)

"Labor and the politics of exchange rates: The case of the European Monetary System," in Sanford Jacoby, Ed., *The Workers of Nations: Industrial Relations in a Global Economy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995)

"Making commitments: France and Italy in the European Monetary System, 1979-1985," in Barry Eichengreen and Jeffrey Frieden, Eds., *The Political Economy of European Monetary Unification* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994)

(with Barry Eichengreen), "The political economy of European monetary unification: An analytical introduction," *Economics and Politics* 5, No. 3 (July 1993). Also published in Barry Eichengreen and Jeffrey Frieden, Eds., *The Political Economy of European Monetary Unification* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994); revised version in second edition

"Domestic politics and regional cooperation: The United States, Japan, and Pacific money and finance," in *Regionalism and Rivalry: The United States and Japan in Pacific Asia* Eds. Jeffrey Frankel and Miles Kahler (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993)

"Comments on Alberto Giovannini," in *The Monetary Future of Europe* Eds. Guillermo de la Dehesa, Alberto Giovannini, Manuel Guitián, and Richard Portes (London: CEPR, 1993)

"The dynamics of international monetary systems: International and domestic factors in the rise, reign, and demise of the classical gold standard," in *Coping with Complexity in the International System* Eds. Robert Jervis and Jack Snyder (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993)

"The United States and inter-war money and finance: Lessons for Japan's future from America's past," in *History, The White House, The Kremlin: Statesmen as Historians* Ed. Michael Fry (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991)

(with David Dollar), "The Political Economy of Financial Deregulation in the United States and Japan," in *Structural Change in the American Financial System* Ed. Giacomo Luciani (Rome: Fondazione Olivetti, 1990)

"Oil and the Evolution of U.S. Policy toward the Developing Areas, 1890-1950: An Essay in Interpretation," in *Oil and the Twentieth Century World Economy* Ed. R.W. Ferrier and A. Fursenko (London: Croom Helm, 1989)

"Winners and Losers in the Latin American Debt Crisis: The Political Implications," in *Debt and Democracy in Latin America* Ed. Robert Kaufman and Barbara Stallings (Boulder: Westview Press, 1989)

"International Capital and National Development: A Critique of Postimperialism," in David G. Becker et al., *Postimperialism* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1987)

IV. *Other professional activities*

Chair, Department of Government, Harvard University, 2019-2022

Co-chair (with Kenneth Shepsle), Research Group on Political Institutions and Economic Policy, 2000-2023; (with Nico Voigtländer and Gabriel Lopez-Moctezuma) 2024-

Co-chair (with Jeffrey Frankel), Research Group on the Politics and Economics of International Finance, Harvard University, 2015-

Visiting Senior Research Scholar, Department of Political Science, Columbia University, 2022-2023

Visiting Scholar, Department of Politics, New York University, 2022-2023

Advisory Board, SSRN International Political Economy: Monetary Relations eJournal, 2013-

Co-editor (with Stephen Ansolabehere 2009-2017, with John Patty and Elizabeth Penn, 2017-), Cambridge University Press Series on Political Economy of Institutions and Decisions

Advisory Board, Official Monetary and Financial Institutions Forum 2015-

Advisory Council, Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta Americas Center, 2008-

Associate Fellow, Centre Interuniversitaire de Recherche en Analyse des Organisations (CIRANO, Montréal), 2012-

International Advisory Board, Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP), 2013-

External Advisory Board, Salzburg Centre for European Union Studies Research Project on European Economic and Fiscal Integration (EMU Choices), 2015-2024

External Coordinator, Inter-American Development Bank, Research Project on The Political Economy of Trade Policy in Latin America, 2018-2020

Steering Committee, International Political Economy Society, 2005-2010, 2012-2015

Organizing committee, Research Group on the Political Economy of International Finance, 2000-2013

Chair, Political Economy Section, American Political Science Association, 2006-2008

Committee on Annual Meetings, American Political Science Association, 2008- 2011

External Coordinator, Inter-American Development Bank, Research Project on The Political Economy of Exchange Rate Policy in Latin America and the Caribbean, 1997-2000

Acting Director, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, 2000-2001, 2009-2010, 2013-2014, 2014-2015

Co-chair (with Barry Eichengreen and Andrew Rose), University of California Research Group on the Political Economy of European Integration, 1992-1999

Economic Policy Group, Centre for European Policy Studies (Brussels), 1994-1997

Distinguished Scholar Award, International Political Economy Section, International Studies Association

Career Achievement Award, International Political Economy Society

Social Science Research Council Foreign Policy Fellowship, 1989-1990

German Marshall Fund Research Fellowship, 1989-1990

Member, American Academy of Arts and Sciences

Member, PEN

Member, Authors Guild

Editorial Board, *International Organization*, 1992-1997, 1999-2004, 2006-2011, 2013-2018, 2021-

Editorial Board, *Review of International Political Economy*, 1991-

Editorial Board, *Economics and Politics*, 2022-

Editorial Board, *Economia Internazionale/International Economics*, 2021-

Editorial Advisory Board, *Political Science Quarterly*, 2018-

Editorial Committee, *Études internationales*, 2005-

Editorial Council, *Brazilian Journal of International Relations*, 2012-

International Editorial Board, *European Union Politics*, 1999-2007

V. *Languages*

Fluent in written and spoken French, Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish; marginally competent in Russian.