

MATTHEW ANTHONY EVANGELISTA

President White Professor of History and Political Science
Department of Government, Cornell University

320 White Hall
Ithaca, NY 14853-4601 USA
mae10@cornell.edu
<https://matthewevangelista.com>

Education

- Cornell University, Ph.D., Government, 1986
- Cornell University, M.A., Government, 1984
- Harvard College, A.B., *magna cum laude* in History and Literature (Russia), 1981
- Pushkin Institute, Moscow, Certificate in Russian Language, 1979
- International Institute of Humanitarian Law, Sanremo and Geneva, Certificate, 4th Summer Course on International Humanitarian Law, 2004

Teaching, Research, and Administrative Appointments

- President White Professor of History and Political Science, Department of Government, Cornell University, 2009-present
- Director, Judith Reppy Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies, Cornell University, 2002-2008, 2015-2018
- Director, International Relations Minor, Cornell University, 1996-2001, 2015-2018
- Director of Graduate Studies, Peace Studies and Peace Science, Cornell University, 2011-2018
- Inaugural Guest Professor, Leibniz-Institut Hessische Stiftung Friedens- und Konfliktforschung (HSFK) / Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF), February 2019
- Visiting Fulbright Lecturer, Facoltà di Scienze Politiche, Università degli Studi Roma Tre, Italy, fall semester 2012
- Visiting Scholar, Dipartimento di Sociologia, Università di Trento, Italy, January-February 2011
- Chair, Department of Government, Cornell University, July 2008-June 2011
- Faculty member, Alta Scuola di Economia e Relazioni Internazionali (ASERI), Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milan, Italy, 2003-present
- Faculty member, Master in Diplomazia e Politica Internazionale, Dipartimento di Politica, Istituzioni, Storia, Università di Bologna, Italy, 2005-2014
- Faculty member, Collegio del Dottorato di Scienze Politiche, Università degli Studi Roma Tre, Italy, 2017-present
- *Tutor esterno*, IMT Institute for Advanced Studies, Lucca, Italy, 2007-2009

- Course Director, International School on Disarmament and Research on Conflicts, Winter Courses, Andalo (Trento), Italy, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2011, 2013, 2014
- Telluride Association Summer Program instructor, 2005, 2007
- Visiting Fulbright Lecturer, Dipartimento di Politica, Istituzioni, Storia, and Visiting Professor, Dipartimento di Organizzazione e Sistema Politico (Forlì), Università di Bologna, Italy, 2005-2006
- Jean Monnet Fellow, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute, Florence, Italy, 2002
- Professor, Department of Government, Cornell University, 1998-2009
- Associate Professor, Department of Government, Cornell University, 1996-1998
- Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan, 1991-1996
- Visiting Scholar, Center for Science and International Affairs, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 1993-1995
- Visiting Associate Professor, Wellesley College, 1994
- Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan, 1986-1991
- Faculty Associate and Associate Research Scientist, Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Michigan, 1986-1996
- Faculty Associate, Center for Political Studies, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1991-1993
- Research Fellow, The Brookings Institution, Washington, DC, 1985-1986
- Research Fellow, Center for International Security and Arms Control, Stanford University, 1984-1985
- Research Fellow, Peace Studies Program, Cornell University, 1983
- Research Associate, Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies, 1980-1981

Fellowships, Grants, and Honors

- Grant Program for Digital Collections in Arts and Sciences (Cornell), award for project on The US Nuclear Disarmament Movement in the 1980s and the End of the Cold War (with Agnieszka Nimark and Judith Reppy), 2019-2020
- Inaugural Guest Professor, Leibniz-Institut Hessische Stiftung Friedens- und Konfliktforschung (HSFK) / Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF), February 2019
- Catalytic Workshop Grant, International Studies Association, Just and Unjust Norms: A View from the Social Sciences (with Ariel Colomonos and others), 2018
- Estevan Fuertes Award nominee, Outstanding OADI Faculty Partner, Office of Academic Diversity Initiatives, Cornell University, 2017
- Fulbright Lectureship, Facoltà di Scienze Politiche, Università degli Studi Roma Tre, 2012-2013
- Institute for European Studies (Cornell) Innovation Grant for project on Bombing among Friends, 2012-2013
- Fulbright Inter-Country Travel Grant to visit University of Tampere, Finland, 2012

- Einaudi Center (Cornell) Seed Grant for project on Bombing: How Ethical and Legal Norms Change, 2011
- Brett de Bary Interdisciplinary Mellon Writing Group Award, Violence, Gender, and the Cinematic Nation (Cornell), 2010-2011
- Mellon Foundation Interdisciplinary Writing Group Award, Human Rights and Cosmopolitanism (Cornell), 2008-2009
- Policy Connect-Collaborative Research Program, International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX) grant. Principal Investigator, with Mark Kramer and R. Craig Nation, 2007-2008
- Fulbright Lectureship, Dipartimento di Politica, Istituzioni, Storia, Università di Bologna, Italy, 2006
- LaFeber Research Grants (Cornell), 2007, 2008
- Leading Scholars Program, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milan, 2004, 2006, 2007
- Nominated as one of the 101 Most Dangerous Professors by David Horowitz, 2006
- Institute for European Studies (Cornell) Faculty Research Travel Grants, 2004, 2005-2006
- Government Department (Cornell) Faculty Research Grants, 2004, 2005-2006
- Jean Monnet Fellowship, European University Institute, 2002
- Jervis-Schroeder Prize of the American Political Science Association, 2001, for the best book in international history and politics for *Unarmed Forces: The Transnational Movement to End the Cold War*
- Marshall Shulman Book Prize of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, 2000, for *Unarmed Forces: The Transnational Movement to End the Cold War*
- Carnegie Scholar award for project, Will Russia Go the Way of the Soviet Union? Carnegie Corporation, 2000-2002
- John S. Knight Assignment Sequence honorable mention, for first-year writing seminar (Cornell), Fall 1999
- Smith Richardson Foundation grant for Lessons of the Chechen War, 1998-2000
- Park Foundation Grants, Writing in the Majors Program (Cornell), 1997-1999
- Peace Studies Travel Grant (Cornell), 1997
- Postdoctoral Fellowship, Center for Science and International Affairs, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 1994-1995
- Faculty Recognition Awards, University of Michigan, 1994, 1992, and 1991
- United States Institute of Peace grant, 1992
- National Council for Soviet and East European Research grant for project on transnational relations and Soviet foreign policy, 1991-1993
- National Science Foundation grant for project on Politics of Economic Reform in the Former Communist-Bloc States (with Ronald Rogowski, principal investigator, and Jeffrey Frieden), 1991-1992
- University Council on International Academic Affairs grant, University of Michigan, 1991
- Memorial Phoenix Fund Research Grant, University of Michigan, 1991
- American Council of Learned Societies Travel Grant, 1990

- MacArthur Foundation grant for project on Assessing the Future of U.S.-Soviet Relations (with Philip Stewart, John Gaddis, Paul Kennedy, et al.), 1989-1990
- Research Grant for participation in U.S.-Soviet project on Military Expenditures and Economic Priorities, Council on Economic Priorities, New York, 1989-1990
- Presidential Initiatives Fund, University of Michigan, 1989
- International Affairs Fellowship, Council on Foreign Relations, 1988 (declined)
- Bender Dissertation Prize, Cornell University, 1986
- Foreign Policy Research Fellowship, The Brookings Institution, 1985-1986
- Arms Control Fellowship, Stanford University, 1984-1985
- Dissertation Fellowship, Institute for the Study of World Politics, 1984-1985
- Research Fellowship, Harry S. Truman Library Institute, 1984-1985
- New Faces Conference Participant, Bellagio, Italy, Arms Control Association and International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1984
- Andrew Dickson White Fellowship, Cornell University, 1981-1984

Institutional Grants

- Provost's Internationalization Grants to the Reppy Institute (Cornell), 2015-2018, \$145,000
- Engaged Curriculum Grant for Crime, Prisons, and Justice Minor (Cornell Department of Government), team member, 2015-2018
- Nuclear Governance: Prospects for a Strengthened Nonproliferation Regime, grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York to the International School on Disarmament and Research on Conflicts (Isodarco), Italy, \$50,000, 2014 (with Judith Reppy and Carlo Schaerf)
- Bombing: How Ethical and Legal Norms Change, \$8000 Einaudi Center (Cornell) seed grant, 2011 (with Henry Shue)
- Brett de Bary Interdisciplinary Mellon Writing Group Award, Violence, Gender, and the Cinematic Nation, \$8000, Cornell Society for the Humanities, 2010 (with Anindita Banerjee)
- Human Rights at War: A Comparative Study of the Effectiveness of the Geneva Conventions, \$12,000 Einaudi Center (Cornell) seed grant, 2007 (with Nina Tannenwald)
- Strengthening Scientific and Technical Advice on International Peace and Security Policy, \$1.1 million MacArthur Foundation grant to Cornell Peace Studies Program, 2003-2006 (with Judith Reppy)
- New Wars, New Laws? \$25,000 Carnegie Corporation grant to Peace Studies Program and Cornell Law School for conference and book, 2003 (with David Wippman)

Professional Activities and Service

- American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Chair, Marshall Shulman Book Prize Committee, 2007
- American Friends Service Committee, East-West Program Board, 1988-1989

- American Political Science Association, Chair, Helen Dwight Reid Award committee, 1991
- American Political Science Association, Comparative Politics Section Article Award committee, Luebbert Article Award, 2000
- American Political Science Association, Jervis-Schroeder Book Prize Committee, 2003
- *Annals of the Fondazione Luigi Einaudi*, Editorial Board, 2016-present
- Bristol Studies in International Theory, International Advisory Board, 2019-present
- Cambridge Studies in Gender and Politics, Cambridge University Press, Editorial Advisory Board, 2014-2022
- Cornell University Press, Faculty Editorial Board, 1999-2001
- Copenhagen Cold War Conference, member of Scientific Committee, 2007
- Fondazione Luigi Einaudi (Torino), member of Scientific Committee, 2017-present
- Fulbright Scholar Program, Regional Peer Review Committee (Italy), 2013
- Grawemeyer Award for Ideas Improving World Order, jury member, 2021
- Guerini e Associati publishers (Milano), member of Scientific Committee for book series, *Sguardi sul mondo attuale*, from 2010
- Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies, Board of Directors, 1993-2007
- *International Organization*, Editorial Board, 1995-2000
- IO Foundation, Board of Directors, 1995-2000
- *Journal of International Relations and Development*, Advisory Board, 2004-present
- MacArthur Foundation, Fellowship committee, 1988-1990
- National Council for Eurasian and East European Research, Board of Directors, 1998-2005, Executive Committee, 1999-2005, Chair of the Board, 2000-2001, Vice-President of the Edward L. Keenan Endowment, 2000-2001
- *Occupied Italy*, Editorial Board, 2020-present
- *Open Military Studies*, Editorial Advisory Board, 2020-present
- Osservatorio sui Conflitti, Dipartimento di Scienze Politiche, Università degli Studi di Genova, member of Scientific Committee, 2017-present
- Peter Katzenstein Book Prize: co-founder and co-organizer, 2013-present; selection committee, 2013-2014
- *Problems of Post-Communism*, Editorial Board, 2003-2005
- Program on New Approaches to Russian Security, 1997-2007; Executive Committee, 1998-2001
- Social Science Research Council, Graduate fellowship committee, 1991
- *World Politics*, Editorial Board, 1991-1997

Reviewer

Action Research Journal, American Academy of Arts and Sciences (Committee on International Security Studies); *American Political Science Review*; *Armed Forces and Society*; *Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*; Austrian Science Foundation (*Wissenschaftsfonds*); *British Journal of Political Science*; Brookings Institution Press; Bullfrog Films; Cambridge University

Press; *Carl Beck Papers*; Carnegie Corporation; *Cold War History*, Columbia University Press; Cornell East Asia Series; Cornell University Press; *Demokratizatsiya: Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization*; *East European Politics and Society*; *European Journal of International Relations*; Fulbright Scholar Program; Grawemeyer Award for Ideas Improving World Order (member Distinguished International Jury); John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation; Harvard University Press; Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies; *International Organization*; *International Security*; *International Studies Quarterly*; *International Theory*; *Journal of Cold War Studies*; *Journal of Contemporary History*; *Journal of Conflict Resolution*; *Journal of International Relations and Development*; *Journal of Peace Research*; *Leiden Journal of International Law*; Leverhulme Trust; MacArthur Foundation; Ministero dell'Istruzione, dell'Università e della Ricerca (Italy); *Mondo contemporaneo: Rivista di storia*; National Endowment for the Humanities; National Research Council; National Science Foundation; *Nationalities Papers*; *Occupied Italy*; *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History*; Oxford University Press; Palgrave; Penn State University Press; Peace Research Institute, Oslo; Polish-US Fulbright Commission; *Politics, Groups, and Identities*; *Polity*; *Post-Soviet Affairs*; Princeton University Press; *Problems of Post-Communism*; Research Grants Council (Hong Kong); *Review of International Political Economy*; Routledge; *Russian Review*; *Security Dialogue*; *Security Studies*; Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada; Social Science Research Council; *Social Studies of Science*; University of Michigan Press; Unwin Hyman; *Violence de masse et Résistance - Réseau de recherche* (Sciences Po, Paris); Westview Press; Wissenschaftsrat (German Council for Science and Humanities); *World Politics*

External PhD and Habilitation Defenses

Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, Helsinki University, Institut de Hautes Études Internationales et du Développement (Geneva), Oslo University, Sciences Po (Paris), University of Queensland, Universidad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Università di Roma Tre, University of Toronto

University Service

Cornell University

- *Department of Government*: Chair, 2008-2011; Director of Placement, 2007-2008; Executive Committee, 2007-2008; Search Committees, International Relations, 1996-1997, 1999 (co-chair), 2003, Chinese Politics, 2004; Chair, International Relations A-exam Committees; Graduate Committee, 1999-2001; Undergraduate Committee, 2021.
- *Mario Einaudi Center for International Studies*: Director, International Relations Minor, 1996-2001, 2015-2018; Steering Committee, 1997-2001; Foreign Policy Network; *Cornell International Affairs Review*, Board of Advisors; Advisory Committee, 2017-2018; Communications Committee, 2017-2018; Undergraduate Education Committee, 2017-2018.
- *Judith Reppy Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies* (formerly *Peace Studies Program*): Steering Committee, 1996-present; Acting Director, 1998-1999, 2001; Director, 2002-2008, 2015-2018
- *Institute for European Studies*: Coordinator, Slavic and East European Studies seminar series, 1996-1997; Fulbright interviewer; Faculty Steering Committee, 2017-2021

- *College of Arts and Sciences*: Academic Integrity Board, 2002-2005, Undergraduate Admissions Committee, 2004, 2007; Chairs' Advisory Planning Committee, 2008; Dean's Committee on Slavic Studies, chair, 2010
- *Graduate School*: Director of Graduate Studies, minor field of Peace Studies and Peace Science, 2011-2018
- *University*: Faculty Senate Committee on Affirmative Action, chair, 2004-2005, member, 2007-2008; Faculty Senate Committee on Minority Education, chair, 2004-2005, member, 2007-2008; Law and Society Concentration, adviser, 2007-present; Working Group of the University Diversity Council, liaison to Faculty Senate, 2007-2008; Planning Committee, Summer Institute on Diversity, 2007-2008; University Appeals Panel, 2013-present; Vice-Provost's Committee on a Global Affairs Major, 2013-2014; University Benefits Committee, 2015-present; Justice Rising, faculty adviser, 2015-2016; Department representative to Faculty Senate, 2015-2018; Faculty Advisory Committee, Global Health Program, Dominican Republic, member, 2016-2019; Cornell Cinema Advisory Board, 2018-present

University of Michigan

- *Department of Political Science*: Executive Committee, 1987-88; Search Committee, Chinese Politics, 1988-1989, 1990-1991; Search Committee, International Political Economy, 1991-1992; Graduate Affairs Committee, 1992-1993; Admissions Committee, 1992-1993; World Politics Subfield Coordinator, 1991-1993
- *Center for Russian and East European Studies*: Committee on Soviet Television, 1986-1987; Executive Committee, 1990-1991; Graduate Student Counselor, 1991-1992, 1993; Admissions Committee, 1991-1992
- *Program on International Peace and Security Research*: MacArthur Fellowship Committee, 1988-1992; organized monthly seminar, 1989-1991

Università di Bologna

- Member of Consiglio Scientifico, Master in Diplomazia e Politica Internazionale, 2005-2014

Universities of Florence, Pisa, Siena, and Sant'Anna School of Advanced Studies (Pisa)

- PhD program in Political Science, European Politics and International Relations, member of the international scientific committee, 2015-2018

Università di Roma Tre

- PhD program admissions referee, PhD advisor, Scuola Dottorale in Scienze Politiche, 2012-present

Languages

French, Italian, Russian, German (reading), Spanish (reading)

Publications

BOOKS

- *Allied Air Attacks and Civilian Harm in Italy, 1940–1945: Bombing among Friends* (London: Routledge, 2023).

- *Gender, Nationalism, and War: Conflict on the Movie Screen* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
- *Law, Ethics, and the War on Terror* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2008). Italian translation, *Diritto, etica e guerra al terrore* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2009).
- *The Chechen Wars: Will Russia Go the Way of the Soviet Union?* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2002). Finnish translation, *Tshetshenian sodat - hajoaako Venäjä?* (Helsinki: Like Kustannus, 2004).
- *Unarmed Forces: The Transnational Movement to End the Cold War* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999, paperback, 2002).
- *Innovation and the Arms Race: How the United States and the Soviet Union Develop New Military Technologies* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988; paperback, 1989).

EDITED VOLUMES

- *Toward a Theory of Peace: The Role of Moral Beliefs* by Randall Caroline Watson Forsberg, edited and with an introduction by Matthew Evangelista and Neta C. Crawford (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2019).
- *Italy from Crisis to Crisis: Political Economy, Security, and Society in the 21st Century* (London: Routledge, 2018).
- *Do the Geneva Conventions Matter?* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2017), with Nina Tannenwald.
- *The American Way of Bombing: Changing Ethical and Legal Norms, from Flying Fortresses to Drones* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014), with Henry Shue.
- *Democracy and Security: Preferences, Norms and Policy-Making* (London: Routledge, 2008), with Harald Mueller and Niklas Schoernig.
- *Peace Studies: Critical Concepts in Political Science*, 4 vols. (London: Routledge, 2005).
- *Partners or Rivals? European-American Relations after Iraq* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, distributed by Cornell University Press, 2005), with Vittorio Parsi.
- *New Wars, New Laws? Applying the Laws of War in 21st Century Conflicts* (Ardsley, NY: Transnational Publishers, 2005), with David Wippman.

ARTICLES AND CHAPTERS

- Russia's Warfare by War Crime and US Responsibility, *H-Diplo* Essay 425, Commentary Series on Putin's War, 29 March 2022.
- Wilson's ideas, Carr's critique and the role of Russia in the post-Soviet space, in Enrico Fassi and Vittorio Emanuele Parsi, eds., *Liberal World Order and Beyond* (Milan: Vita & Pensiero, 2021).
- Racism or common humanity? Depictions of Italian civilians under Allied war and occupation, *Occupied Italy*, vol. 1, no. 1 (September 2021).
- Searching for a middle ground? A spectrum of views of causality in qualitative research, *Italian Political Science Review/Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica*, 19 April 2021, with Chiara Ruffa.

- More of the Same, and Worse: Revisiting Donald Trump and the Limits of International Law, *H-Diplo/ISSF Policy Series, America and the World—The Effects of the Trump Presidency*, 2021-10, 4 March 2021.
- The Pitfalls and Promises of Human Rights Claims in the Chechen Wars: Russia at the European Court, *European Review of International Studies*, vol. 7 (2020).
- On the Consequences of Bombing and the Origins of Spaghetti, *H-Diplo Essay Series on Learning the Scholar's Craft: Reflections of Historians and International Relations Scholars*, 14 July 2020.
- Myron Taylor and the Bombing of Rome: The Limits of Law and Diplomacy, *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, vol. 31, no. 2 (June 2020).
- Blurring the Borders of a New Discipline: The Achievements and Prospects of Pugwash History, in *Science, (Anti-)Communism and Diplomacy: The Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs in the Early Cold War*, Alison Kraft and Carola Sachse, eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2019).
- Globalization and International Conflict: An Introduction, *Annals of the Fondazione Luigi Einaudi*, vol. 53, no. 1 (2019).
- Introduction: Randall Forsberg and the Path to Peace, in *Toward a Theory of Peace: The Role of Moral Beliefs* by Randall Caroline Watson Forsberg, edited and with an introduction by Matthew Evangelista and Neta C. Crawford (Ithaca, NY: Mario Einaudi Center for International Studies, 2018).
- Italy in Crisis: *Eppur si muove*, in *Italy from Crisis to Crisis: Political Economy, Security, and Society in the 21st Century*, Matthew Evangelista, ed. (London: Routledge, 2018).
- How the Geneva Conventions Matter, in *Do the Geneva Conventions Matter?* Matthew Evangelista and Nina Tannenwald, eds. (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2017).
- Donald Trump and the Limits of International Law, *H-Diplo/ISSF Policy Series: America and the World - 2017 and Beyond*, 24 May 2017.
- How the 'end of the Cold War' ended, in *Uses of 'the West': Security and the Politics of Order*, Gunther Hellman and Benjamin Herborth, eds. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2016).
- Blockbusters, Nukes, and Drones: trajectories of change over a century, *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*, vol. 14, issue 23, no. 3, 1 December 2016. (French translation: Bombes de gros calibre, armes nucléaires et drones : un siècle de trajectoires d'évolution, *Violence de masse et Résistance - Réseau de recherche*, Sciences Po, 27 January 2017).
- Manipulation and Memory in John Huston's *The Battle of San Pietro*, *Film & History*, vol. 46, no. 1 (Summer 2016).
- Paradoxes of Violence and Self-determination, *Ethnopolitics*, vol. 14, no. 5 (August 2015). Reprinted in *Self-Determination in the Early Twenty First Century: A Double Edged Concept*, Uriel Abulof and Karl Cordell, eds. (New York: Routledge, 2016).
- Explaining the Cold War's end: process tracing all the way down? in *Process Tracing: From Metaphor to Analytic Tool*, Andrew Bennett and Jeffrey T. Checkel, eds. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

- Crisi Ucraina, tra cause e possibili soluzioni (The Ukrainian crisis, between causes and possible solutions), *Vita e Pensiero* (Milan), no. 1 (January-February 2015).
- Introduction: The American Way of Bombing, in *The American Way of Bombing: Changing Ethical and Legal Norms, from Flying Fortresses to Drones*, Matthew Evangelista and Henry Shue, eds. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014).
- A “War on Terror” by any other name...What did Obama change? Publication 2012-02, Mario Einaudi Center for International Studies, Cornell University, September 2012, revised February 2013 (English version of the Epilogue to the ill-fated Arabic translation of *Law, Ethics, and the War on Terror*).
- Revisiting the Helsinki Principles: Are They Still Relevant to European Security? in *Crisis and Change: The Geopolitics of Global Governance*, Simona Beretta and Roberto Zoboli, eds. (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2012).
- Atomic Ambivalence: Italy's Evolving Attitude toward Nuclear Weapons, in *Italy's Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century*, Giampiero Giacomello and Bertjan Verbeek, eds. (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2011).
- Nuclear Abolition or Nuclear Umbrella: Choices and Contradictions in US Proposals, in *Getting to Zero The Path to Nuclear Disarmament*, Catherine McArdle Kelleher and Judith Reppy, eds. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011); reprinted in *Arms Control and Disarmament: 50 Years of Experience in Nuclear Education*, Paolo Foradori, Giampiero Giacomello, and Alessandro Pascolini, eds. (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2018).
- Transnational Organizations and the Cold War, in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, vol. 3, Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad, eds. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- Peace Studies, in *Manuale di studi strategici: Da Sun Tzu alle ‘nuove guerre’* [Manual of strategic studies: From Sun Tzu to the ‘new wars’], Giampiero Giacomello and Gianmarco Badialetti, eds. (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2009, 2nd ed., 2017).
- One or Many? Western Approaches to Security, in *Security in the West: Evolution of a Concept*, Giampiero Giacomello and R. Craig Nation, eds. (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2009).
- I molti vincoli della politica estera americana [The many constraints on American foreign policy], *il Mulino*, n. 1/09 (January-February 2009).
- La Russia può essere di nuovo un nemico? [Could Russia become an enemy again?], *Vita e Pensiero* (Milan), no. 6 (November-December 2008).
- The Chechen Conflict at 18: Historical and International Perspectives, *Quaderni di Relazioni Internazionali*, no. 8 (October 2008).
- Le guerre [The wars], in *Cecenia: Una Guerra e una pacificazione violenta* [Chechnya: A war and a violent pacification], Marco Buttino and Alessandra Rognoni, eds. (Turin: Silvio Zamorani editore, 2008).
- Introduction, chapter 1 in *Democracy and Security: Preferences, Norms and Policy-Making* (London: Routledge, 2008), edited by Matthew Evangelista, Harald Mueller and Niklas Schoernig (co-authored with Harald Mueller).
- Much ado about democracy: some skeptical observations on democracies and war, chapter 9 in *Democracy and Security: Preferences, Norms and Policy-Making* (London:

- Routledge, 2008), edited by Matthew Evangelista, Harald Mueller and Niklas Schoernig (co-authored with Judith Reppy).
- Ethical and Legal Dimensions of International Relations in the 21st Century, in Vittorio Emanuele Parsi and Andrea Locatelli, eds., *Key Challenges to the Global System* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2007).
 - The Dangerous Study of Peace and the Risk to Academic Freedom, *International Studies Perspectives*, vol. 8, issue 4 (November 2007).
 - Which Model for Russia? in Camilla Beria di Argentine, ed., *Sistemi di Welfare a Confronto* (Milan: Giuffrè Editore, 2007).
 - Onu e diritti umani, oltre l'egemonia Usa [The UN and human rights, beyond US hegemony], *Vita e Pensiero* (Milan), no. 2 (March-April 2007).
 - The Power of Precedent: Will American Practice Change the Norms of International Humanitarian Law? *Crossroads*, vol. 6, no. 1 (2006), reprinted in Asifa Begum, ed., *Judicial Precedent: Theory and Practice* (Hyderabad, India: Amicus Books, 2008).
 - Il diritto bellico ai tempi del terrore [Law of war in a time of terror], *Biblioteca della libertà* (Turin), vol. 41, no. 182 (January-March 2006).
 - Is Putin the New de Gaulle? A Comparison of the Chechen and Algerian Wars, *Post-Soviet Affairs*, vol. 21, no. 4, (October-December 2005).
 - Sodan lait terrorismin aikakaudesta [The laws of war in the age of terrorism], *Rauhan Puolesta* (Helsinki), no. 3 (October 2005).
 - Ingushetia as a Microcosm of Putin's Reforms, *Global Dialogue*, vol. 7, nos. 3-4 (Summer/Autumn 2005).
 - La via europea alla sicurezza [The European road to security], *Biblioteca della libertà* (Turin), vol. 40, no. 179 (April-June 2005).
 - Are 'European Values' for Export? in Alessia Casetta, ed., *Increasing Complexity in International Relations: Economy, Politics, and Values* (Milan: ASERI, 2005).
 - Introduction, in Matthew Evangelista, *Peace Studies: Critical Concepts in Political Science*, 4 vols. (London: Routledge, 2005).
 - Il caso Cecenia, Putin e la guerra al terrorismo [The Case of Chechnya, Putin, and the War on Terrorism], *Vita e Pensiero* (Milan), no. 4 (July-August 2004).
 - Zostawcie noże w szatni [Leave the knives in the cloakroom], *Forum* (Warsaw), no. 37, (13-19 September 2004).
 - Explaining the End of the Cold War: Turning Points in Soviet Security Policy, in Olav Njølstad, ed., *The Last Decade of the Cold War: From Conflict Escalation to Conflict Transformation* (London: Frank Cass, 2004).
 - Will Russia Go the Way of the Soviet Union? in Michel Seymour, ed., *The Fate of the Nation State* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004).
 - Turning Points in Arms Control, in Richard K. Herrmann and Richard Ned Lebow, eds., *Ending the Cold War: Interpretations, Causation, and the Study of International Relations* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

- Culture, Identity, and Conflict: The Influence of Gender, in National Research Council, *Conflict and Reconstruction in Multiethnic Societies* (Washington, DC: The National Academies Press, 2003).
- Priorities for Research on Culture, Identity, and Conflict (co-author), in National Research Council, *Conflict and Reconstruction in Multiethnic Societies* (Washington, DC: The National Academies Press, 2003).
- Chechnya's Russia Problem, *Current History* (October 2003).
- Wars Without End, *The Bookpress*, vol. 13, no. 2 (March 2003).
- Teaching Writing about International Relations, in Jonathan Monroe, ed., *Local Knowledges, Local Practices: Writing in the Disciplines at Cornell* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2003).
- Che differenza può fare un giorno: la Russia e l'Occidente dopo l'11 settembre [What a difference a day makes: Russia and the West after September 11th], in V.E. Parsi, ed., *Che differenza può fare un giorno: Guerra, pace e sicurezza dopo l'11 settembre* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2003).
- Scofflaw Diplomacy, *The Bookpress*, vol. 12, no. 7 (November 2002). Revised version published as The Peace Movement's Iraq Problem – and Opportunity, in *Iraq and Beyond: The New U.S. National Security Strategy*, Peace Studies Program Occasional Paper #27 (January 2003).
- Geopolitika i budushchee Rossiiskoi Federatsii [Geopolitics and the Future of the Russian Federation], *Polis: Politicheskie issledovaniia* (Moscow), no. 2 (March) 2002.
- Struttura interna e politica estera [Domestic structure and foreign policy], in G. John Ikenberry and Vittorio Emanuele Parsi, eds., *Teorie e metodi delle Relazioni Internazionali. La disciplina e la sua evoluzione* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 2001).
- Norms, Heresthetics, and the End of the Cold War, *Journal of Cold War Studies*, vol. 3, no. 1 (Winter 2001).
- An Interview with Galina Starovoytova, *Post-Soviet Affairs*, vol. 15, no. 3 (July-September 1999).
- Russia's Fragile Union, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, vol. 55, no. 3 (May/June 1999).
- Domestic Structure and International Change, in G. John Ikenberry and Michael Doyle, eds., *New Thinking in International Relations Theory* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1997). Earlier version in Panayiotis Ifestos, ed., *Cosmos Yearbook 1995: International Relations Theory at a Crossroads* (Crestwood, NY: Aristide Caratzas/Melissa International Publications, 1996).
- Second-Guessing the Experts: Citizens' Group Criticism of the Central Intelligence Agency's Estimates of Soviet Military Policy, *International History Review*, vol. 19, no. 3 (August 1997).
- Historical Legacies and the Politics of Intervention in the Former Soviet Union, in Michael E. Brown, ed., *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996).
- Stalin's Revenge: Institutional Barriers to Internationalization in the Soviet Union, in Robert Keohane and Helen Milner, eds. *Internationalization and Domestic Politics* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

- From Each According to Its Abilities: Competing Theoretical Approaches to the Post-Soviet Energy Sector, in Celeste Wallander, ed., *The Sources of Russian Conduct after the Cold War* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1996).
- Transnational Relations, Domestic Structures, and Security Policy in the USSR and Russia, in Thomas Risse-Kappen, ed., *Bringing Transnational Relations Back In: Non-State Actors, Domestic Structures, and International Institutions* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
- Why Russia Opposes Expansion: NATO Stay Away From My Door, *The Nation*, 5 June 1995.
- The Paradox of State Strength: Transnational Relations, Domestic Structures, and Security Policy in Russia and the Soviet Union, *International Organization*, vol. 49, no. 1 (Winter 1995).
- Internal and External Constraints on Grand Strategy: The Soviet Case, in Richard Rosecrance and Arthur Stein, eds., *The Domestic Bases of Grand Strategy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993).
- Democracies, Authoritarian States, and International Conflict, in Richard Ned Lebow and Barry Strauss, eds., *Hegemonic Rivalry: From Thucydides to the Nuclear Age* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991).
- Sources of Moderation in Soviet Security Policy, in Philip Tetlock, Robert Jervis, et al., eds., *Behavior, Society, and Nuclear War*, vol. 2 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).
- Greece, Turkey, and the Improvement of U.S.-Soviet Relations, in D.C. Constanas, ed., *The Greek-Turkish Conflict in the 1990s: Domestic and External Influences* (London: Macmillan, 1991).
- Soviet Policy toward Strategic Arms Control, in Bruce Parrott, ed., *The Dynamics of Soviet Defense Policy* (Washington, DC: Wilson Center Press, 1990).
- Cooperation Theory and Disarmament Negotiations in the 1950s, *World Politics*, vol. 42, no. 4 (July 1990).
- Arms Races and Arms Control: Soviet Views, in Carl Jacobsen, et al., eds., *Strategic Power: USA/USSR* (New York: St. Martin's, 1990).
- Issue-Area and Foreign Policy Revisited, *International Organization*, vol. 43, no. 1 (Winter 1989). Reprinted in Sheila Jasanoff, ed., *Comparative Science and Technology Policy* (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 1997).
- Economic Reform and Military Technology in Soviet Security Policy, *The Harriman Institute Forum*, vol. 2, no. 1 (January 1989).
- How Technology Fuels the Arms Race, *Technology Review*, vol. 91, no. 5 (July 1988). Reprinted in James M. Henslin, ed. *Social Problems Today: Coping with the Challenges of a Changing Society* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1990).
- Military Influence in Soviet Politics: Red Militarism or National Security Consensus? in David Carlton and Carlo Schaerf, eds., *The Arms Race in the Era of Star Wars* (London: Macmillan, 1988).
- New Thinking in Foreign Policy, *The Nation*, 13 June 1987.
- Sakharov and Gorky, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, vol. 43, no. 3 (April 1987).

- Exploiting the Soviet Threat to Europe, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, vol. 43, no. 1 (January/February 1987).
- Gorbachev's Next Move, *Harper's Magazine*, vol. 274, no. 1640 (January 1987).
- The New Soviet Approach to Security, *World Policy Journal*, vol. 3, no. 4 (Fall 1986). Translated as: La nueva orientacion de la U.R.S.S. en materia de seguridad, *Afers internacionals* [Barcelona], vol. 11 (1987).
- Case Studies and Theories of the Arms Race, *Bulletin of Peace Proposals*, vol. 17, no. 2 (June 1986).
- The Evolution of the Soviet Tactical Air Forces, *The Soviet Armed Forces Review Annual*, vol. 7 (1983).
- Russia Looks West: The Myth of 'Hostage Europe,' *The Nation*, 7 May 1983.
- Stalin's Postwar Army Reappraised, *International Security*, vol. 7, no. 3 (Winter 1982-1983). Reprinted in Sean M. Lynn-Jones, Steven E. Miller, and Stephen Van Evera, eds., *Soviet Military Policy* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989); and in Alexander Dallin, ed., *Soviet Foreign Policy, 1917-1990* (New York: Garland, 1992).
- Soviet People Support Arms, *In These Times* [Chicago], 31 March-6 April 1982.
- Soviet Civil Defense, *PSR Newsletter*, vol. 2, no. 2 (Summer 1981).
- END and a Nuclear Weapon Freeze, *ADIU Report* [Armament and Disarmament Information Unit, Sussex, England], July/August 1981 (coauthor with Randall Forsberg and Mark Niedergang).

REVIEW ESSAYS

- Why We Fight Wars, *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 28 May 2017.
- Is War Too Easy? *Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 14, no. 1 (March 2016).
- Review of Kimberly Marten. *Warlords: Strong-Arm Brokers in Weak States*, in *H-Diplo/ISSF Roundtable Reviews*, vol. 5, no. 1 (2013).
- L'ora di religione, review of *Ritorno dall'esilio: La religione nelle relazioni internazionali*, edited by Pavlos Hatzopoulos and Fabio Petito, *La rivista dei libri* [Italian edition of *New York Review of Books*] (December 2007).
- Review of Andrei Sakharov: *Nauka i svoboda*, by Gennadii Gorelik, and *Sakharov: A Biography*, by Richard Lourie, in *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, vol. 5, no. 3 (Summer 2004).
- Rough-and-Tumble World: Men Writing about Gender and War, review of *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa*, by Joshua Goldstein, in *Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 1, no. 2 (June 2003).
- Coping with Globalization: From Suspended Sovereignty to Continuous Bargaining, review of *Interesse nazionale e globalizzazione: I regimi democratici nelle trasformazioni del sistema post-westfaliano*, by Vittorio Emanuele Parsi, in *International Studies Review*, vol. 3, issue 1 (Spring 2001).
- New Politics in the Soviet Union, *American Political Science Review*, vol. 85, no. 4 (December 1991).

- Why the Soviets Buy the Weapons They Do, *World Politics*, vol. 36, no. 4 (July 1984). Reprinted in Nils Petter Gleditsch & Olav Njølstad, eds., *Arms Races: Technological and Political Dynamics* (London: Sage, 1990).
- Offense or Defense: A Tale of Two Commissions, *World Policy Journal*, vol. 1, no. 1 (Fall 1983).
- Leading the Pact, *Arms Control Today*, October 1982.

REPORTS, REVIEWS, INTERVIEWS, NEWSPAPER ARTICLES, CORRESPONDENCE

- Review of *The Wrecking of the Liberal World Order* by Vittorio Emanuel Parsi, *Journal of Peace Research* book note, 4 February 2022.
- Randall Forsberg and the Nuclear Freeze Movement: Selected Materials from the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies Archive, December 2021, introduction to online digital collection (with Agnieszka Nimark).
- Review of *Soberanía y no intervención: orígenes y evolución* by Francisco Villagrán de León, *Journal of Peace Research* book note, 2 August 2021.
- Rejoining Iran nuclear deal is not easy, interview with Niloofar Adibnia, Iranian Labour News Agency, 18 March 2021.
- Fakhrizadeh assassination deliberately intended to hinder return to JCPOA, interview with Mohammad Mazhari, *Tehran Times*, 8 December 2020.
- Introduction to Forum 25 on the Importance of White House Presidential Tapes in Scholarship, *H-Diplo/ISSF*, 2 November 2020.
- Introduction to roundtable discussion of Randall Caroline Watson Forsberg, *Toward A Theory of Peace: The Role of Moral Beliefs*, *H-Diplo* Roundtable XXII-9, 19 October 2020.
- Only sympathy with the Iranian people not likely to succeed (*sic*), interview with Niloofar Adibnia, Iranian Labour News Agency, 5 October 2020.
- Review of *The Firebird: The Elusive Fate of Russian Democracy* by Andrei Kozyrev, *Journal of Peace Research* book note, 14 August 2020.
- Review of *Law Applicable to Armed Conflict* by Ziv Bohrer, Janina Dill, and Helen Duffy, *Journal of Peace Research* book note, 16 June 2020.
- Cornell University professor says people shouldn't be denied access to medicine, interview, *Tehran Times*, 10 May 2020.
- Chechnya, Yeltsin, and Clinton: The Massacre at Samashki in April 1995 and the US Response to Russia's War in Chechnya, introductory essay and summary of declassified documents, National Security Archive Briefing Book #702, edited with Svetlana Savranskaya, 15 April 2020.
- Europeans have been slow in implementing INSTEX: U.S. professor, *Tehran Times*, 26 February 2020.
- Many of Trump's actions are impulsive and ill-considered, interview with Niloofar Adibnia, Iranian Labour News Agency, 25 February 2020.

- Illegal act that risks increasing conflict in Middle East, interview with Niloofar Adibnia, Iranian Labour News Agency, 11 January 2020.
- Sanctions that limit people's access to medicine are immoral, interview with Niloofar Adibnia, Iranian Labour News Agency, 18 December 2019.
- Stati Uniti cinici, Europa divisa, vince il sovranismo, *Corriere della Sera*, 22 September 2019, discussion with Luigi Einaudi and Viviana Mazza.
- Introduction to The Pugwash Conferences and the Global Cold War: Scientists, Transnational Networks, and the Complexity of Nuclear Histories, *H-Diplo Article Review Forum* 852, 25 April 2019.
- EU is under considerable pressure from the United States regarding SPV, interview with Niloofar Adibnia, Iranian Labour News Agency, 29 January 2019.
- Review of *The Rise of Organised Brutality: A Historical Sociology of Violence*, by Siniša Malešević, *Journal of Peace Research* book note, 7 January 2019.
- Myron Rush, in *Memorial Statements*, Cornell University Faculty 2017-2018, Office of the Dean of the Faculty, Ithaca, New York, 2018, coauthor with Valerie Bunce and Isaac Kramnick.
- Cornell Welcomes Another Torturer, *Cornell Daily Sun*, 20 March 2018.
- A Response to Gregg Herken's review of Daniel Ellsberg, *The Doomsday Machine: Confessions of a Nuclear War Planner*, *H-Diplo*, 1 March 2018.
- Yeltsin's War in Chechnya, *New York Review of Books*, 18 January 2018.
- Resucitar la vieja URSS, interview with Esther Sanz Sieteiglesias, *La Razón* (Madrid), 22 November 2017.
- La venganza por Siria, interview with Esther Sanz Sieteiglesias, *La Razón* (Madrid), 5 April 2017.
- Review of *Europe's Intellectuals and the Cold War: The European Society of Culture, Post-War Politics and International Relations* by Nancy Jachec, *European History Quarterly*, vol. 47, no. 2 (2017).
- On 'Democracy,' Letter to the Editor, *New York Times Book Review*, 21 May 2017.
- Diritti umani, conflitti armati e il diritto internazionale: il ruolo dell'individuo nel contesto europeo [Human rights, armed conflict, and international law: the role of the individual in the European context], *Lectio Magistralis* lecture at the ceremony for the inauguration of academic year, 2016-2017, Università degli Studi Roma Tre, Rome, Italy, 29 November 2016, text published in *Roma Tre News*, vol. 18, no. 3.
- A Lack of Transparency, *Cornell Daily Sun*, 26 January 2016.
- Review of *Crimes of Peace: Mediterranean Migrations at the World's Deadliest Border* by Maurizio Albahari, *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 38 (2016).
- Review of *Libere sempre: Una ragazza della Resistenza a una ragazza di oggi* by Marisa Ombra, *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, vol. 20, no. 4 (2015).

- Review of *Italian Women and International Cold War Politics, 1944–1968* by Wendy Pojmann, *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, vol. 18, no. 5 (2013).
- L'illegalità dei droni [The illegality of drones], *Il Margine* (Trento), vol. 33, no. 3 (2013), interview conducted by Mirco Elena.
- Review of *The United States, International Law, and the Struggle against Terrorism*, by Thomas Michael McDonnell, in *Journal of Cold War Studies*, vol. 15, no. 1 (Winter 2013).
- War and Separatism, interview, *Post-War Watch*, 6 February 2012.
- Coping with 9/11: Alternatives to the War Paradigm, report prepared for the *Costs of War project*, Watson Institute, Brown University, 16 June 2011.
- No és gaire popular als Estats Units dir que la tortura és il·legal [It is not very popular in the United States to say that torture is illegal], *ara.cat* (Barcelona), 15 May 2011, interview conducted by Carme Colomina.
- Più etica contro il terrore [More ethics against terror], *Avvenire* (Milan), 1 December 2009, interview conducted by Alberto Simoni.
- Review of *La sfida nucleare: La politica estera italiana e le armi atomiche 1945–1991*, by Leopoldo Nuti, in *Journal of Cold War Studies*, vol. 11, no. 2 (Spring 2009).
- Some Wars Are More Unequal Than Others (review of Alessandro Colombo, *La guerra ineguale: Pace e violenza nel tramonto della società internazionale*), *International Studies Review*, vol. 9, no. 1 (March 2007).
- Review of *When Stars and Stripes Met Hammer and Sickle*, by Ross Mackenzie, in *Journal of Cold War Studies*, vol. 9, no. 3 (Summer 2007).
- Toward a United, but Plural, West (review of Vittorio Emanuele Parsi, *The Inevitable Alliance: Europe and the United States Beyond Iraq*), *International Studies Review*, vol. 9, no. 1 (Summer 2007).
- Film review, *Deadly Enemies*, directed by Susan Lambert, *Slavic Review*, vol. 65, no. 4 (Winter 2006).
- Teaching Gender, War, and Nationalism, *Newsletter*, Department of Government, Cornell, November 2006.
- Andrei Sakharov, in Jay Winter and John Merriman, eds., *Encyclopedia of Modern Europe, Europe since 1914 - Encyclopedia of the Age of War and Reconstruction*, 2nd ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Son, 2006).
- Chechnya, in Jay Winter and John Merriman, eds., *Encyclopedia of Modern Europe, Europe since 1914 - Encyclopedia of the Age of War and Reconstruction*, 2nd ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Son, 2006).
- Quando la tortura non è più un tabù: una riflessione dopo Abu Ghraib [When torture is no longer a tabu: a reflection after Abu Ghraib], *Corriere del Mezzogiorno* (Naples supplement to *Corriere della Sera*), 16 March 2006, interview conducted by Fabio Petito and Massimo Galluppi.
- L'altra faccia dell'hockey su ghiaccio [The other face of ice hockey], *Avvenire* (Milan), 15 March 2006, interview conducted by Francesca Lozito.

- What is really dangerous in this country? *Socialist Worker*, 24 February 2006, interview.
- Is Putin the New de Gaulle? A Comparison of the Chechen and Algerian Wars, Einaudi Center for International Studies (Cornell) Working Paper # 05.2005.
- Other Voices: When the Times Writes About Covert Operations (Letter to the Public Editor), *New York Times*, 26 June 2005.
- Ingushetiia as a Microcosm of Putin's Reforms, Policy Memo No. 346, Program on New Approaches to Russian Security, November 2004.
- Cecenia, la forza non basta [Chechnya, force is not enough], *La Stampa* (Turin), 30 August 2004.
- Sample Assignments, in Katherine Gottschalk and Keith Hjortshoj, eds., *The Elements of Teaching Writing* (Boston, MA: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2004).
- The Five Hundred Years' Argument (review of Neta Crawford, *Argument and Change in World Politics*), *International Studies Review*, vol. 5, no. 2 (June 2003).
- Just and Unjust Words, *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 82, no. 3 (May/June 2003).
- *Iraq and Beyond: The New U.S. National Security Strategy*, Peace Studies Program Occasional Paper #27 (January 2003), with Maria Fanis, Barry Strauss, and Jonathan Kirshner.
- *The United States and Asian Security*, Peace Studies Program Occasional Paper #26 (May 2002), co-editor with Judith Reppy.
- Chechnya: Anti-Terrorist Operation or Human Rights Disaster? *Arts and Sciences Newsletter* (Cornell), Spring 2002.
- Will Chechnya Keep Russia Out of Europe? working paper for the European Forum of the Robert Schuman Centre, European University Institute, Florence, May 2002.
- Russia's Path to a New Regional Policy, Policy Memo No. 157, Program on New Approaches to Russian Security, October 2000.
- Review of *Cold War Illusions: America, Europe and Soviet Power, 1969-1989*, by Dana H. Allin, in *Journal of Cold War Studies*, vol. 2, no. 1 (Winter 2000).
- Review of *Russia Confronts Chechnya: Roots of a Separatist Conflict*, by John B. Dunlop, in *Slavic Review*, vol. 59, no. 1 (Spring 2000).
- Dagestan and Chechnya: Russia's Self-Defeating Wars, Policy Memo No. 95, Program on New Approaches to Russian Security, October 1999. Also published as Lost in the Caucasus, *The Bookpress*, vol. 9, no. 8 (November 1999).
- Review of *Changing Course: Ideas, Politics, and the Soviet Withdrawal from Afghanistan*, by Sarah Mendelson, in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 564 (July 1999).
- Transnational Contacts between Scientists: A Force for Democracy? in *Science and Democracy* (Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 1999), summary of a paper presented at a workshop in May 1998.
- The End of the Cold War Viewed from Down Under (review of *Why the Cold War Ended: A Range of Interpretations*, Ralph Summy and Michael Salla, eds.) in *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, vol. 5, no. 1 (1999).

- The 'Soviet Threat': Intentions, Capabilities, and Context, *Diplomatic History*, vol. 22, no. 3 (Summer 1998).
- Lessons of the Chechen War: Is There Room for a Gender-Based Explanation? working paper, Program on New Approaches to Russian Security, May 1998.
- *Why Keep Such an Army? Khrushchev's Troop Reductions*, Working Paper No. 19, Cold War International History Project, December 1997.
- Short-Term Compromises and Long-Term Dangers for Russian-American Security Cooperation, Policy Memo, Program on New Approaches to Russian Security, October 1997.
- Review of *Leadership Style and Soviet Foreign Policy: Stalin, Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Gorbachev* by James Goldgeier, and *Khrushchev's Double Bind: International Pressures and Domestic Coalition Politics* by James Richter in *International History Review*, vol. 18, no. 2 (May 1996).
- Women in World-Politics Research: A Selected Bibliography, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan, December 1992, revised November 1993 (co-compiler).
- Soviet Scientists and Nuclear Testing, 1954-1963: The New Archival Evidence and its Limitations, Report to the National Council for Soviet and East European Research, August 1993.
- Transnational Relations, Domestic Structures, and Security Policy in the USSR and Russia, Report to the National Council for Soviet and East European Research, August 1993.
- Review of *War by Other Means: Soviet Power, West German Resistance, and the Battle of the Euromissiles* by Jeffrey Herf, in *International History Review*, vol. 14, no. 4 (November 1992).
- Review of *Disarmament and Security, 1988-1989 Yearbook* by Aleksei Arbatov, et al., in *Slavic Review*, vol. 51, no. 1 (Spring 1992).
- Review of *The Soviet Union and Arms Control: Negotiating Strategy and Tactics* by Paul R. Bennett, in *The Russian Review*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (January 1992).
- Review of *Contemporary Soviet Military Affairs: The Legacy of World War II*, Jonathan R. Adelman and Cristann Lea Gibson, eds., in *Slavic Review*, vol. 50, no. 4 (Winter 1992).
- Review of *Abrüstung in der Sowjetunion* by Jutta Tiedtke, *Slavic Review*, vol. 50, no. 2 (Summer 1991).
- Summary of my conference presentations and comments, in John Tepler Marlin and Paul Grenier, eds., *Soviet Conversion 1991* (New York: Council on Economic Priorities, 1991).
- Commentary: Matthew Evangelista's Response to Villahermosa, *Soviet Observer*, vol. 2, no. 2 (December 1990).
- Review of *Soviet Nuclear Strategy from Stalin to Gorbachev* by Honoré M. Catudal, *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 105, no. 1 (Spring 1990).
- The Dark Side of Soviet Demilitarization, in *Global Economic Reform*, workshop report, University of Michigan, 1990.
- Review of *Soviet Nuclear Weapons Policy*, by William C. Green, *Slavic Review*, vol. 47, no. 2 (Summer 1988).

- Review of *The Soviet Calculus of Nuclear War*, Roman Kolkowicz and Ellen Mickiewicz, eds., *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, vol. 42, no. 10 (December 1986).
- The West German Peace Movement, *International Security*, vol. 11, no. 2 (Fall 1986).
- Review of *Bez voiny*, by Vladimir Lavrinenkov, *Slavic Review*, vol. 45, no. 2 (Summer 1986).
- Discussion: Comparative Perspectives, in *The Economic Consequences of Military Spending in the United States and the Soviet Union*, conference report, Cornell University, 1986.
- Talking Arms Control at Soviet Universities, *November 11th* (newsletter of Cornell chapter of United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War), no. 17 (March 1985).
- What They Fear Across the Ideological Divide, *New York Times*, 13 January 1985.
- Account of UCAM Trip to USSR, December 1984 (United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War, unpublished).
- Soviet Military Machine, *The Atlantic*, August 1983.
- Human Rights Linkage, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, vol. 38, no. 3 (March 1982).
- *Soviet Military Capabilities and Objectives in the Early Postwar Period, 1945-1953*, Occasional Paper, Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies, 1981.
- Military Spending, *Harvard Crimson*, 19 March 1981, coauthor with Tim Gardner and Murray Gold.