

J. Stephen Zunes

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EDUCATION

PhD. Cornell University, Department of Government, 1990
M.A. Cornell University, Department of Government, 1986
M.A. Temple University, Department of Political Science, 1983
B.A. Oberlin College, Department of Government, 1979

TEACHING AND RESEARCH POSITIONS

Full-time Faculty Appointments

University of San Francisco
Professor, 2004-
Coordinator, Middle Eastern Studies Program, 2007-
Associate Professor, 1999-2004
Assistant Professor, 1995-1999
Coordinator, Peace and Justice Studies Program, 1997-2001, 2003-2005

University of Puget Sound
Assistant Professor, 1993-94

Whitman College
Assistant Professor, 1989-91

Ithaca College
Assistant Professor, 1988-89
Instructor, 1987-88

Part-time Faculty Appointments

Antioch University–Seattle, Winter 1993 and Spring 1992
Sonoma State University, Summer 1991
Cornell University, Fall 1986 and Spring 1987
Ithaca College, Fall 1986 and Spring 1987
Temple University, Fall 1981

Courses Taught

Politics of Peace and Conflict	The American Presidency and the Political Economy
U.S. Foreign Policy	Nonviolent Social Movements
Global Conflict Resolution	Senior Seminar: Freedom
Nonviolence in Theory and Practice	Introduction to Comparative Politics
Politics of War and Peace	Revolution and Counterrevolution in the Third World
Global Economic Justice	Senior Seminar: Power and Powerlessness
Government and Politics of the Middle East	Political Economy of Globalization
International Relations of the Middle East	Introduction to U.S. Politics
The World Since 1945	U.S. Military Policy
U.S. Middle East Policy	Introduction to Global Studies
The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict	Freshman Writing Seminar
The Politics of America in the Sixties	International Conflict
Latin American Politics	International Law and Organization
Revolution and Reaction in Latin America	The Nuclear Arms Race
African Politics and Development	Introduction to International Relations

Other Professional Positions

Senior Policy Analyst, Foreign Policy in Focus, Institute for Policy Studies, 2007-
Fellow, Center for Law and Global Justice, University of San Francisco, 2006-2007
Research Associate, Center for Global International and Regional Studies, University of California–Santa Cruz,
2001-2003
Senior Policy Analyst, Interhemispheric Resource Center, 2001-2002
Associate Scholar, Institute for Global Security Studies, 1994-1995
Director, Institute for a New Middle East Policy, 1991-1993
Academic Council, Beacon College, 1983-1984
Research Associate, Institute for Policy Studies, 1982-1983

Research Fellowships

Human Rights Research Fellowship, Center for Law and Global Justice, University of San Francisco, 2006-2007
for research on U.S. Middle East policy and international humanitarian law
Fellowship, National Endowment for the Humanities, 1995
to participate in Summer Seminar for College Teachers “Reimagining Societies: The Middle East and
Central Asia,” Dartmouth College
Joseph J. Malone Fellowship in Arab and Islamic Studies, 1991-1992
for travel and research on economic and political development in the Arab Gulf states and U.S. policy in
the Persian Gulf region
Solicited Grant, United States Institute of Peace, 1990-1991
for travel and research on the role of international and regional organizations in conflict resolution, with
emphasis on the Western Sahara conflict

Short-term Visiting Lectureships

Summer Institute for the Advanced Study on Nonviolent Conflict, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, June 21-26, 2011

School for Authentic Journalism (Mexico), May 12-21, 2011

Academic Teacher Training in Strategic Nonviolent Conflict (Turkey), July 25-27, 2010

Summer Institute for the Advanced Study on Nonviolent Conflict, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, June 21-25, 2010

Academic Teacher Training in Strategic Nonviolent Conflict, Emory University, May 19-22, 2010

School for Authentic Journalism (Mexico), February 8-13, 2010

Summer Institute for the Advanced Study on Nonviolent Conflict, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, June 24-27, 2009

Faculty of Political Science, University of Belgrade (Serbia), October 23-29, 2008

Summer Institute for the Advanced Study on Nonviolent Conflict, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, June 25-28, 2008

Summer Program on Public Policy and Nuclear Threats, University of California – San Diego Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, July 18-19, 2007

North American-European Summer Academy, Zentrum Für Wissenschaft Und Weiterbildung (Austria), July 16-17, 2007

Summer Institute for the Advanced Study on Nonviolent Conflict, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, June 25-27, 2007

Seminar on Nonviolent Civic Strategies, Ibn Khaldun Center for Development Studies (Egypt), May 20-24, 2007

Seminar on Strategic Nonviolent Action, Fondo Nacional Para la Paz (Guatemala), April 20-22, 2007

Middle East Orientation Course, U.S. Air Force Special Operations School, Hurlburt Field, March 15-16, 2007

Summer Institute for the Advanced Study on Nonviolent Conflict, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, July 23-30, 2006

People Power and Pedagogy: A Workshop for Educators, Colorado College, June 5-8, 2006

Dow Visiting Scholar in Middle East Studies, Saginaw Valley State University, November 18-20, 2002

Positions in Professional Organizations

Associate, Transnational Foundation for Peace and Future Research, 2009-

Chair, Committee of Academic Advisors, International Center on Nonviolent Conflict, 2006-

Chair, Commission on Law and Peace in the Middle East, Toda Institute, 2002-2003

Governing Council, International Peace Research Association, 2000-2002

Convener, Nonviolence Section, International Peace Research Association, 1998-2000

Commission on Peace Building in the Middle East, International Peace Research Association, 1992-1994

Awards

College Media Award, College of Arts & Sciences, University of San Francisco, 2003-2004

Peace Scholar of the Year, Peace and Justice Studies Association, 2002

College Service Award, College of Arts & Sciences, University of San Francisco, 1999-2000

PUBLICATIONS AND PRESENTATIONS

Books

- The Ties that Bind: The Strategic, Economic and Cultural Sources of the U.S.-Israel "Special Relationship"* [with Steve Niva] Berkeley: University of California Press [forthcoming]
- Western Sahara: War, Nationalism and Conflict Irresolution in Northwest Africa* [with Jacob Mundy], Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2010
- Consistently Opposing Killing: From Abortion to Assisted Suicide, the Death Penalty and War* [with Rachel MacNair], (edited) Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2008
- Tinderbox: U.S. Middle East Policy and the Roots of Terrorism*, Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 2003
- Nonviolent Social Movements: A Geographical Perspective* [with Lester Kurtz and Sara Beth Asher] (edited), Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1999

Monographs

- The Long History of Nonviolent Action throughout the Islamic World*, Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press [forthcoming]
- The United States and the Kurds: A Brief History*, Foreign Policy in Focus Policy Report, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, 2007
- The United States and Lebanon: A Meddlesome History*, Foreign Policy in Focus Policy Report, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, 2006
- The Israel Lobby: How Powerful is it Really?*, Foreign Policy in Focus Policy Report, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, 2006
- Why the United States Supports Israel*, Foreign Policy in Focus Policy Report, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, 2002
- The Struggle for Democracy in Indonesia and East Timor: A Report on the May 1997 Parliamentary Elections and Prospects for Democracy* [with Medea Benjamin, Joshua Lee and John Roosa], San Francisco: Global Exchange, 1997

Chapters in Edited Volumes

- "Unarmed Insurrections in the Middle East," in Roddy Brett and Freddy Cante, eds., *The Indomitable Will: Theoretical Foundations of Collective Action and Conflict*, University of Rosario Press [forthcoming]
- "Nonviolent Struggle and Democratization in the Middle East," in Jorgen Johansen and Charles Webel, eds., *Reader in Peace and Conflict Studies*, Routledge, [forthcoming]
- "Peace Movements and the Middle East: The 1991 Gulf War and Aftermath," in Marc Pilisuk and Michael N. Nagler, *Peace movements worldwide: History, psychology, and practices* Praeger, 2011
- "Nonviolent Resistance to the 'Other Occupation: Western Sahara and Aminatou Haidar," in Matt Meyer, Elavie Ndura, and Judith Atiri, *Seeds Bearing Fruit: Pan African Peace Action for the 21st Century*, Africa World Press, 2010
- "The United States and the Undermining of the Nonproliferation Regime," in David Krieger, *The Challenge of Abolishing Nuclear Weapons*, Transaction Publishers, 2009
- "The Role of External Actors," [with Saad Eddin Ibrahim] in Maria Stephan, *Civilian Jihad: Nonviolent Struggle, Democratization, and Governance in the Middle East*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2009
- "Western Sahara," [with Salka Barca] in Maria Stephan, *Civilian Jihad: Nonviolent Struggle, Democratization, and Governance in the Middle East*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2009

- “East Timor and Western Sahara: A Comparative Analysis on Prospects for Self-Determination,” in Karin Arts and Pedro Pinto Leite, *International Law and the Question of Western Sahara*, International Platform of Jurists, 2007
- “Human Rights and U.S. Policy toward Israel/Palestine,” in Stefan August Lütgenau, *Human Rights and the Middle East Peace Process*, Studien Verlag, 2007
- “U.S. Support for Israel’s Summer 2006 Offensive,” in Nubar Hovsepian, *The War on Lebanon: A Reader*, Interlink Publishers, 2007
- “U.S. Foreign Policy Determinants and Decision-Making,” in Rick Fawn and Raymond Hinnebusch, *The Iraq War: Perspectives and Consequences*, Lynne Rienner Press, 2006
- “Defending Israel While Challenging its Policies,” in Alan Dershowitz, *What Israel Means to Me*, John Wiley & Sons, 2006
- “The Influence of the Christian Right in U.S. Middle East Policy,” in Naim Ateek, Cedar Duaybis and Maurine Tobin, *Challenging Christian Zionism: Theology, Politics and the Israel-Palestine Conflict*, Melisinde, 2005
- “A Critique of U.S. Counter-Terrorism Policies,” in Majid Tehranian and Kevin Clements, *America and the World: The Double Bind*, Transaction Publishers, 2005
- “The Democratic Party’s Shift to the Right on Foreign Policy,” in Charles Reskin, David Reskin and Marie Estelle Spike, *Outcry: American Voices of Conscience, Post 9/11*, Universal Publishers, 2005
- “The Middle East and the Search for Security,” in Brian Loveman, *Strategy for Empire: U.S. Regional Security Policy in the Post-Cold War Era*, Scholarly Resources, 2004
- “The Ongoing U.S. War with Iraq,” in Tareq Ismael and William Haddad, *Iraq: The Human Cost of History*, Pluto Press, 2003
- “The Case Against War,” *At Issue: Is Military Action Against Nations That Support Terrorism Justified?*, Greenhaven Press, 2003
- “U.S. Middle East Policy,” in John Feffer, *Power Trip: U.S. Global Strategy after September 11*, Seven Stories Press, 2003
- “American Perspectives on Gulf Security,” in Majid Tehranian, *Bridging a Gulf: Peacebuilding in West Asia*, I.B. Taurus, 2002
- “Ten Things to Know about U.S. Policy in the Middle East,” in Jee Kim, *Another World is Possible: Conversations in a Time of Terror*, New Mouth Books, 2002
- “Between the Arms Race and Political Lobbyists: How Pax Americana Threatens Middle East Peace,” in J. W. Wright, *Structural Flaws in the Middle East Peace Process: Historical Contexts*, Palgrave MacMillan, 2002
- “Ten Things to Know about the Middle East” in Don Hazen, *After 9/11: Solutions for a Saner World*, Independent Media Institute, 2002
- “U.S. Policy and Political Islam” in Roger Burbach and Ben Clarke, *September 11 and the U.S. War: Beyond the Curtain of Smoke*, City Lights Books, 2002
- “East Timor: Reluctant Support for Self-Determination,” [with Ben Terrall] in Ralph Carter, *Contemporary Cases in U.S. Foreign Policy: From Terrorism to Trade*, Congressional Quarterly Press, 2001
- “Indigestible Lands? Comparing the Fates of the Western Sahara and East Timor,” in Brendan O’Leary, Ian Lustick and Thomas Callaghy, *Rightsizing the State: The Politics of Moving Borders*, Oxford University Press, 2001
- “Economic Liberalization, Globalization and World Hunger: New Opportunities and Challenges,” in Maria Pia Bonasso, *Disoccupazione e Povertà: Cause e Rimedi*, Inail, 2001

- “Human Rights in U.S. Middle East Policy,” in David Forsythe, *The United States and Human Rights: Looking Inward and Outward*, University of Nebraska Press, 2000
- “Continuing Storm: The U.S. Role in the Middle East,” in Thomas Barry and Martha Honey, *Global Focus: U.S. Foreign Policy at the Turn of the Millennium*, St. Martin’s Press, 2000
- “Nonviolent Movements in the Middle East,” in Zunes, Kurtz, and Asher, *Nonviolent Social Movements: The Geography of Nonviolence*, Blackwell Publishers, 1999
- “People Power in the Philippines,” in Zunes, Kurtz and Asher, *Nonviolent Social Movements: The Geography of Nonviolence*, Blackwell Publishers, 1999
- “The Role of Nonviolence in the Downfall of Apartheid,” in Zunes, Kurtz, and Asher, *Nonviolent Social Movements: The Geography of Nonviolence*, Blackwell Publishers, 1999
- “Israeli Foreign Policy and the New World Order,” in Manochehr Dorraj, *The Middle East at the Crossroads: A Survey of Contemporary International Relations*, University Press of America, 1999
- “U.S. Policy towards North Africa: The Search for Coherency,” [with Yahia Zoubir] in Yahia Zoubir, *North Africa in the Post-Cold War Era*, University of Florida Press, 1999
- “Democratic Trends in African Liberation Struggles,” in Robert Elias and Jennifer Turpin, *Rethinking Peace*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994
- “The Middle East in the World System: U.S. Perspectives and Impacts,” in Elise Boulding, *Peace Building in the Middle East: Challenges for States and for Civil Society*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994
- “The United States in the Sahara War: A Case of Low-Intensity Intervention,” in Daniel Volman and Yahia Zoubir, *International Dimensions of the Western Sahara Conflict*, Greenwood Press, 1993
- “The Persian Gulf Crisis: Implications for American Policy Choices,” in Greg Bates, *Mobilizing Democracy: Changing the U.S. Role in the Middle East*, Common Courage Press, 1991

Journal Articles

- “Nonviolent Revolution in the Middle East,” *Peace Review*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (October-December 2011) [forthcoming]
- “Congress’s War on Lebanon,” *Middle East Policy*, Vol. XVII; No. 4 (Winter 2010)
- “Aminatou Haidar and the Struggle for Western Sahara,” *Gandhi Marg Journal*, Vol. XXXI, No. 4 (March 2010)
- “Congress, the Gaza War, and International Humanitarian Law,” *Middle East Policy*, Vol. XVII; No. 2 (Spring 2010)
- “Peace or Pax Americana: U.S. Middle East Policy and the Threat to Global Security,” *International Politics*, Vol. 46; No. 5 (September 2009)
- “The U.S. Invasion of Iraq: The Military Side of Globalization,” *Globalizations*, Vol. 6; No. 1 (January 2009)
- “The United States and the Undermining of the Non-Proliferation Regime,” *Peace and Policy*, Vol. 13; No. 1 (2007)
- “The Attack on Dissident Intellectuals,” *Peace Review*, Vol. 19; No. 4 (Winter 2008)
- “The United States in Iraq: The Consequences of Occupation,” *International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies*, Vol. 1; No. 1 (January 2007)
- “Democracy and Human Rights: The Limits of U.S. Support,” *Global Dialogue*, Vol. 8; No. 3-4 (Summer/Autumn 2006)
- “The Influence of the Christian Right on Bush Administration Policy toward Israel and Palestine,” *Middle East Policy*, Vol. XII, No. 3 (July 2005)

- “The United States Reaction to the International Court of Justice Ruling on Israel’s Separation Barrier,” *Middle East Policy*, Vol. XII, No1 (January 2005)
- “International Law, the United Nations and Middle Eastern Conflicts” *Peace Review*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (September 2004)
- “President Bush at the United Nations: Rewriting History and International Law,” *Bridges: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, Vol. 11, No. 1-2 (Spring/Summer 2004)
- “U.S. Policy toward Syria and the Triumph of Neoconservatism,” *Middle East Policy*, Vol. XI, No. 2 (March 2004)
- “The United States and the Failure of Camp David,” *Peace Review*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (March 2003)
- “The Swing to the Right in U.S. Policy toward Israel and Palestine,” *Middle East Policy*, Vol. IX, No. 3 (Sept 2002)
- “Redefining Security in the Face of Terrorism,” *Peace Review*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (August 2002)
- “The U.S. Role in the Breakdown of the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process,” *Middle East Policy*, Vol. VIII, No. 4 (December 2001)
- “The United States and Bolivia: The Taming of a Revolution, 1953-57,” *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 5 (September 2001)
- “Foreign Policy by Catharsis: The Failure of U.S. Policy toward Iraq” *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Autumn 2001)
- “The Failure of U.S. Policy toward Iraq and Proposed Alternatives,” [with Phyllis Bennis and Martha Honey], *Middle East Policy*, Vol. VIII, No. 3 (September 2001)
- “U.S. Counter-Terrorism Policy in the Middle East,” *Global Dialogue*, Vol. 2, No. 4, Autumn 2000
- “Nonviolent Action and Human Rights,” *P.S.: Political Science and Politics*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 2, June 2000
- “East Timor’s Tragedy and Triumph,” *Peace Review*, Vol. 12, No. 2, May 2000
- “NATO’s Rush to War in Yugoslavia,” *Peace Review*, Vol. 11, No. 3, September 1999
- “The Role of Nonviolent Action in the Downfall of Apartheid,” *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (March 1999)
- “Are Iraqi Sanctions Immoral?” *Foreign Service Journal*, Vol. 76, No. 2, February 1999
- “Confrontation with Iraq: The Bankruptcy of U.S. Policy,” *Middle East Policy*, Vol. VI, No. 1 (June 1998)
- “New Hope for Western Sahara,” *Peace Review*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (April 1998)
- “The American Peace Movement and the Middle East,” *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 20; No. 1 (Winter 1998)
- “The United States and the Western Sahara Peace Process,” *Middle East Policy*, Vol. VI; No. 1 (February 1998)
- “The Function of Rogue States in U.S. Middle East Policy,” *Middle East Policy*, Vol. V; No. 2 (June 1997)
- “Nonviolent Action in African Liberation Struggles,” *Social Alternatives*, Vol. 16; No. 2 (April 1997)
- “U.S. Middle East Policy: The Hazards of Hegemony,” *Current History*, January 1997
- “The Strategic Functions of U.S. Aid to Israel,” *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (October 1996)
- “Western Sahara: Peace Derailed,” *Current History*, May 1996
- “The U.S. Response to Middle East Terrorism,” *Peace Review*, Vol. 7; No. 3-4 (Winter 1995-96)
- “The Roots of Political Islam,” *Peace Review*, Vol. 7; No. 1 (Summer 1995)
- “Algeria, the Maghreb Union, and the Western Sahara Stalemate,” *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 17; No. 3 (Summer 1995)

- “The Israeli-Jordanian Peace Agreement: Peace or Pax Americana?” *Middle East Policy*, Vol. III; No. 4 (Spring 1995)
- “The Evolution of U.S. Policy towards Jerusalem,” *Middle East Policy*, Vol. III; No. 2 (Fall 1994)
- “Unarmed Insurrections against Authoritarian Government in the Third World: A New Kind of Revolution,” *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 15; No. 3 (Fall 1994)
- “Democratic Trends in African Liberation Struggles,” *Peace Review*, Vol. 3; No. 4 (Fall-Winter 1991-1992)
- “Disenchantment With the New World Order: U.S.-Syrian Relations in the Post-Gulf War Era,” *International Journal*, Vol. XLIX; No. 2; Spring 1994 [with Meredith Sarkees]
- “Zionism, Anti-Semitism and Imperialism,” *Peace Review*, Vol. 6; No. 2 (Spring 1994)
- “Israeli-Syrian Peace: The Long Road Ahead,” *Middle East Policy*, Vol. II; No. 3 (Winter 1993-94)
- “U.S.-Israeli Relations and the Dilemma of Middle East Peace Making,” *Peace Research*, Vol. 25; No. 3 (August 1993)
- “The United States and the Gulf Cooperation Council: A Fragile Alliance,” *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 2; No. 1 (Summer 1993)
- “The Roots of the U.S.-Israeli Relationship,” *New Political Science*, Nos. 21-22 (Spring-Summer 1992)
- “Arab Nationalism and the Persian Gulf Conflict,” *Peace Review*, Vol. 3; No. 2 (Spring 1991)
- “Participatory Democracy in the Western Sahara: A Study of Polisario Self-Governance,” *Scandinavian Journal of Development Alternatives*, Vol. 7; Nos. 2-3 (June-September 1988)
- “Nationalism and Non-Alignment: The Non-Ideology of the Polisario,” *Africa Today*, Vol. 34; No. 3 (Feb. 1988)
- “The United States and Morocco: The Sahara War and Regional Interests,” *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 9; No. 4 (Autumn 1987)

Reference Books Entries

- Henry Louis Gates and Emmanuel K. Akyeampong, *Dictionary of African Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2011 [forthcoming]
Aminatou Haidar
- Robert Denemark, ed., *The International Studies Encyclopedia*, Blackwell, 2010
Nonviolent Action [with Hardy Merriman and Maria Stephan]
- Cheryl Rubenberg, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2010
United States policy
Anti-Semitism
United Nations
George W. Bush/Bush Doctrine
George Mitchell/Mitchell Plan
Palestinian Non-Violent Resistance [with Maia Carter Hallward]
George Tenet/Tenet Plan
Anthony Zinni/Zinni Plan
Madeline Albright
George McGovern
- Spencer Tucker, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Modern Middle East Wars: A Social, Political, and Military History*, ABL-CLIO, 2010
Antonio Taguba
- Mark Rushefsky, ed., *Encyclopedia of Issues in U.S. Public Policy*, Gale Thomson Publishers, 2009
U.S.-Iranian Relations

- Julie B. Garber, Julie, B. Welling Hall, Joseph Liechty, and Timothy McElwee, eds. *Peace, Justice, and Security Studies: A Curriculum Guide*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2009
 U.S. Foreign Policy
 Globalization
 Terrorism and Security
- Spencer Tucker, ed., *Encyclopedia of U.S. Military History*, ABL-CLIO, 2009
 Congress and the Iraq War
 Vietnam Syndrome
- Gary L. Anderson and Kathryn Herr, eds., *Encyclopedia of Activism and Social Justice*, Sage Publications, 2007
 Golan Heights Druze Resistance, 1981-1982
 United for a Fair Economy
 Mubarak Awad
 Medea Benjamin
- Spencer Tucker, ed., *United States at War: Understanding Conflict and Society*, ABL-CLIO, 2005
 Aswan Dam project
 Human Rights (Middle East)
 Iraqi Elections, 2005
 Israeli Barrier Wall
 Israeli settlements and loan guarantees
 Nuclear Weapons (Middle East)
 Oslo Accords
 Roadmap to Peace
 Terrorism (Middle East)
 US aid to Israel
 US-Led Coalitions (Middle East)
- Maryanne Cline Horowitz, ed., *The New Dictionary of the History of Ideas*, Charles Scribner's Sons, 2004
 Middle East Terrorism
- John S. Resch, ed., *Americans at War: Society, Culture, and the Homefront*, MacMillan Library Reference, 2004
 Stereotypes and Fears of Muslims
- David Wishart, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Great Plains*, University of Nebraska Center for Great Plains Studies, 2004
 George McGovern
- Joseph Rudolph, ed., *Encyclopedia of Ethnicity*, Greenwood Publishers, 2003
 East Timor
 Western Sahara
- Alexander Motyl, ed., *Encyclopedia of Nationalism*, Academic Press, 2001
 North Africa [with Yahia Zoubir]
- Daniel C. Thomas and Michael Klare, eds., *Peace and World Order Studies: A Curriculum Guide*, Westview Press, 1989
 Politics of Nonviolent Action

Book Reviews

- John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt's *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy* for *International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies*, Vol. 2; No. 3 (2008)
- Tim Semmerling's *Israeli and Palestinian Postcards: Presentations of National Self*, in *Political Communication*, Vol. 23; No. 3 (July-September 2006)
- Cheryl Rubenberg's *The Palestinians: Search for a Just Peace*, in *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Spring 2004 (No. 131)

- Alan Dershowitz' *Why Terrorism Works: Understanding the Threat, Responding to the Challenge* and Phyllis Bennis' *Before and After: U.S. Foreign Policy and the September 11th Crisis*, in *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Summer 2003 (No. 128)
- Noam Chomsky's *The Fateful Triangle: Israel, the United States, and the Palestinians*, in *Fellowship*, November-December 2002
- Robert S. Litwick's *Rogue States and U.S. Foreign Policy: Containment after the Cold War in Middle East Policy*, Vol. IX, No. 1 (January 2001)
- Neta Crawford and Audie Klotz' *How Sanctions Work: Lessons from South Africa* in *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 3 (September 2000)
- Liam Mahony and Luis Enrique Eguren's *Unarmed Bodyguards: International Accompaniment for the Protection of Human Rights* in *Peace Review*, Vol. 11; No. 1 (March 1998)
- Constancio Pinto and Matthew Jardine's *East Timor's Unfinished Struggle: Inside the Timorese Resistance* in *Peace Review*, Vol. 9; No. 3 (Fall 1997)
- Souad Dajani's *Eyes Without Country: Searching for a Palestinian Strategy of Liberation* in *Peace Review*, Vol. 8, No. 1; March 1996
- Peter Ackerman and Christopher Kruegler's *Strategic Nonviolent Conflict: The Dynamics of People Power in the Twentieth Century* and Glenn Paige's *To Nonviolent Political Science: From Seasons of Violence*, in *New Political Science*, Spring 1996 (No. 35)
- Naseer Aruri's *The Obstruction of Peace: The U.S., Israel and the Palestinians* in *Middle East Policy*, Vol. IV, No. 3 (March 1996)
- Don Peretz' *Palestinians, Refugees, and the Peace Process*, in *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 3; August 1995
- Camille Mansour's *Beyond Alliance: Israel and U.S. Foreign Policy*, in *Middle East Policy*, Vol. III, No. 4 (Spring 1995)
- Abraham Ben-Zvi's *The United States and Israel: The Limits of the Special Relationship*, in *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (February 1995)
- Merrill Simon's *Jerry Falwell and the Jews*, in *Journal of Palestine Studies*, No. 57, Winter 1984-85

Policy Papers

- Lessons and False Lessons from Libya*, New York: Huffington Post, September 1, 2011
- Netanyahu's Speech and the Democrats' Embrace of Extremism*, Truthout, June 3, 2011
- Yemen on the Edge*, Foreign Policy in Focus, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, May 13, 2011
- Libya: Was Armed Revolt and Western Intervention the Only Option?* New York: Huffington Post, March 31, 2011
- Credit the Egyptian People for the Egyptian Revolution*, New York: Huffington Post, February 18, 2011
- Why Egypt Will Not Turn Into Another Iran*, Foreign Policy in Focus Policy Report, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, February 10, 2011
- The United States and the Prospects for Democracy in Islamic Countries*, Foreign Policy in Focus Policy Report Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, January 21, 2011
- Tunisia's Democratic Revolution*, New York: Huffington Post, January 20, 2011
- Egypt's Fraudulent Elections and U.S. Support for Mubarak's Dictatorship*, Foreign Policy in Focus Policy Report, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, December 3, 2010
- Upsurge in Repression Challenges Nonviolent Resistance in Western Sahara*, London: Open Democracy, November 17, 2010

Senate Again Undermines Obama's Middle East Peace Efforts, Foreign Policy in Focus Policy Report, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, October 4, 2010

The Other Oil Spill, Foreign Policy in Focus Policy Report, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, September 7, 2010

U.S. Lawmakers Support Illegal Annexation, Foreign Policy in Focus Policy Report, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, April 5, 2010

Obama and the Denial of the Armenian Genocide, Foreign Policy in Focus Policy Report, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, March 11, 2010

Yemen: The Latest U.S. Battleground, Foreign Policy in Focus Policy Report, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, January 11, 2010

How Communism Fell, New York: Alternet, November 20, 2009

Bipartisan Attack on International Humanitarian Law, Foreign Policy in Focus Policy Report, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, November 4, 2009

The Goldstone Report: Killing the Messenger, Foreign Policy in Focus Commentary, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies October 7, 2009

The Honduras Coup: Showdown in "Tegucigolpe," Foreign Policy in Focus Policy Report, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, July 10, 2009

Iran's History of Civil Insurrections, New York: Huffington Post, June 19, 2009

Serbia: 10 Years Later, Foreign Policy in Focus Policy Report, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, June 17, 2009

How the Clinton Administration and Congressional Democrats Enabled Israel's Settlements Expansion, San Francisco: Alternet June 06, 2009

The War on Yugoslavia: 10 Years Later, Foreign Policy in Focus Policy Report, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, April 6, 2009

The Budget's Foreign Policy Handcuffs, Foreign Policy in Focus Policy Report, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, March 20, 2009

The U.S. and the Afghan Tragedy [with Khushal Arsala], Foreign Policy in Focus Special Report, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, Feb. 18, 2009

Obama Gathering a Flock of Hawks to Oversee U.S. Foreign Policy, San Francisco: Alternet, January 30, 2009

Congress Defends Israeli War Crimes in Gaza, San Francisco: Alternet, January 13, 2009

America's Hidden Role in Hamas's Rise to Power, San Francisco: Alternet. January 4, 2009

The U.S. Attack on Syria: Implications for the Next Administration, San Francisco: Alternet, December 8, 2008

The Power of Protest in the Maldives, London: Open Democracy, December 2, 2008

Aminatou Haidar's Nonviolent Struggle in Western Sahara, Foreign Policy in Focus Policy Report, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, October 7, 2008

Assessing the Republican Party Platform, Foreign Policy in Focus Annotation, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, September 15, 2008

The 2008 Democratic Party Platform and the Middle East, Foreign Policy in Focus Annotation, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, September 5, 2008

The United States and Georgia, Foreign Policy in Focus Policy Report, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, August 4, 2008

Washington's Hypocrisy Over African Dictatorships, Foreign Policy in Focus Policy Report, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, July 1, 2008

Congressional Intrusion in Lebanon's Internal Crisis, Foreign Policy in Focus Policy Report, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, June 10, 2008

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The Foreign Policy Agenda of the Democratic Front-Runners: Comparisons on Some Key Issues, Portland, ME: Common Dreams News Center, January 25, 2008

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The U.S. and Israeli Role in the Rise of Hamas, Foreign Policy in Focus Policy Report, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, June 25, 2007

The Democrats' Support for Bush's War, Foreign Policy in Focus Policy Report, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, May 31, 2007

The U.S. Role in the Lebanon Debacle, Foreign Policy in Focus Policy Report, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, May 18, 2007

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Somalia Returns as a Military Target, Foreign Policy in Focus Policy Report, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, January 14, 2007

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Congressional Legislation Aimed at Isolating Hamas is Likely to Backfire, Foreign Policy in Focus Policy Report, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, June 14, 2006

The United States, Israel, and the Possible Attack on Iran, Foreign Policy in Focus Special Report, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, April 28, 2006

Iraq Three Years after "Liberation," Foreign Policy in Focus Policy Report, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, April 21, 2006

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The Bush Administration's False Iraqi WMD Claims: Why Were they Taken Seriously? Foreign Policy in Focus Policy Report, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, Nov. 12, 2005

Bombings and Repression in Egypt Underscore Failures in U.S. Anti-Terrorism Strategy, Foreign Policy in Focus Policy Report, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, August 11, 2005

The U.S. and Iran—Democracy, Terrorism, and Nuclear Weapons, Foreign Policy in Focus Policy Report, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, July 26, 2005

Bush Administration Stokes Dangerous Arms Race on Indian Subcontinent, Foreign Policy in Focus Policy Report, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, July 21, 2005

Israeli Human Rights Abuses and the U.S. Attack on the United Nations and the NGO Community, Foreign Policy in Focus Policy Report, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, June 30, 2005

Iraq: Two Years Later, Foreign Policy in Focus Discussion Paper, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies (March 2005)

Recognizing the Power of Nonviolent Action, Foreign Policy in Focus Policy Report, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies (March 30, 2005)

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How Much Power Will the New Iraqi Government Really Have? Foreign Policy in Focus Policy Report, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies (January, 2005)

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The U.S. Invasion of Iraq: The Military Side of Globalization? Foreign Policy in Focus Policy Report, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies (October 26, 2004)

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The Release of Mordechai Vanunu and U.S. Complicity in the Development of Israel's Nuclear Arsenal, Foreign Policy in Focus Policy Report, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies (June 28, 2004)

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U.S. Travesty, Terrorist Atrocity, and UN Tragedy, Foreign Policy in Focus Global Affairs Commentary, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies (August 26, 2003)

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U.S. Security Assistance to Israel, Foreign Policy in Focus Brief, Vol. 7, No. 3 Washington: Institute for Policy Studies (May 2002)

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Yemen, the United States, and Al-Qaida, Foreign Policy in Focus Global Affairs Commentary, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies (December 19, 2001)

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U.S. Policy Toward Political Islam, Foreign Policy in Focus Brief, Volume 6, Number 24 Washington: Institute for Policy Studies (June 2001)

Overview of Self-Determination Issues in the Middle East, Foreign Policy in Focus Special Report #14, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies (June 2001)

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The Gulf War: Eight Myths, Foreign Policy in Focus Special Report #12, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies (January 2001)

U.S. Resistance to International Criticism of Israel, Information Brief No. 58, Washington: Center for Policy Analysis on Palestine (December 2000)

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U.S. Failure to Pressure Israel Scuttled Camp David Peace Talks, Information Brief No. 42, Washington: Center for Policy Analysis on Palestine (August 2000)

U.S. Policy Toward Syria: Contending with the Post-Assad Era, Information Brief No. 38, Washington: Center for Policy Analysis on Palestine (July 2000)

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The U.S., Greece and Turkey, Foreign Policy in Focus Policy Report, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies November 1999

Time for Detente Towards Iran, Foreign Policy in Focus Brief, Vol. 4, No. 28, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies (November 1999)

Morocco and Western Sahara, Foreign Policy in Focus Brief, Vol. 3, No. 42, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies (December 1998)

Conference Papers

“Missing Case Histories in the Field of Strategic Nonviolence: Priorities for Research,” Workshop for the Collective Behavior and Social Movements Section of the American Sociological Association, University of Nevada—Las Vegas, August 19, 2011

“Autonomous Strategic Actors in the Egyptian Civil Insurrection,” Symposium on the Non-violent Revolution in Egypt: Learned Lessons, Cairo University, June 8, 2011

“U.S. Hegemony and Threat Perceptions: Political and Military Implications,” Conference on the Strategic Balance in the Middle East, Beirut, Lebanon October 29, 2010 (plenary)

“The Evolution of Sahrawi Resistance to Moroccan Occupation,” Conference on Western Sahara, Algiers, Algeria September 25, 2010

“Nonviolent Resistance for Independence in Western Sahara,” World Congress for Middle Eastern Studies, Barcelona, Spain July 23, 2010

“Defense of Israeli Human Rights Abuses by Progressives in the U.S. Congress,” Meeting of the International Peace Research Association, Sydney, Australia, July 7, 2010

“Self-Determination: Fifty Years Later,” Meeting of the International Peace Research Association, Sydney, Australia, July 6, 2010 (plenary)

- “U.S. Middle East Policy and the Undermining of International Humanitarian Law,” Joint Conference of the Human Rights Sections of the American Political Science Association and the International Studies Association, Chicago, IL June 18, 2010 (plenary)
- “Western Sahara and the United Nations. A definitive commitment to decolonization,” Conference on Western Sahara, Madrid, Spain May 26, 2010 (plenary)
- “The Role of the United States in Encouraging Pro-Democracy Movements,” Conference of the Center for the Study of Islam and Democracy, Washington, DC April, 28, 2010
- “The Role of Strategic Nonviolent Action in Bolivia’s 1977-1982 Democratic Revolution,” Meeting of the International Studies Association, New Orleans, LA February. 17, 2010
- “Self-determination, Decolonization and Human Rights with Reference to the Western Sahara,” Conference on Multilateralism and International Law, University of Pretoria, South Africa December 5, 2008 (plenary)
- “The Role of Nonviolent Action in Democracy Promotion,” Meeting of the International Peace Research Association, Leuven, Belgium July 18, 2008
- “The Legacy of Gene Sharp in the Study and Promotion of Nonviolent Action,” Meeting of the International Peace Research Association, Leuven, Belgium July 17, 2008 (plenary)
- “The International Community and Military Occupation: Western Sahara in a Comparative Perspective,” International Studies Association, San Francisco, CA March 28, 2008
- “Peace or Pax Americana? U.S. Middle East Policy and the Threat to Global Security,” International Conference on Europe and Asia between Islam and the United States, University of Melbourne, December 6, 2007
- “The Emergence of Strategic Nonviolent Conflict as a Force for Regime Change,” International Studies Association, Chicago, IL March 1, 2007
- “The Study of U.S. Middle East Policy: Scholarship, Ideology and Anti-Intellectualism,” International Studies Association, Chicago, IL March 1, 2007
- “Mobilizing Civic Action to Fight Corruption,” [with Shaazka Beyerle], International Anti-Corruption Conference, Guatemala City, Guatemala November 15, 2006
- “East Timor and Western Sahara: A Comparative View,” International Law and the Question of Western Sahara, Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, Netherlands October 27, 2006
- “Western Influence in the ‘Color Revolutions’ and other Pro-Democracy Movements,” Meeting of the Peace and Justice Studies Association, New York, NY October 6, 2006
- “East Timor: The Triumph of Human Rights Movements over Realpolitik,” Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA August 31, 2006
- “U.S. Middle East Policy and Implications for International Humanitarian Law,” Meeting of the International Peace Research Association, Calgary, Canada June 29, 2006
- “The Prospects for Democracy in the Middle East and North Africa: Comparing Internal and External Influences,” Meeting of the International Studies Association, San Diego, CA March 22, 2006
- “Democracy, Nuclear Non-Proliferation, and U.S. Policy in the Middle East,” keynote paper for the Conference on Middle East and Central Asian Politics, Economics, and Society, University of Utah September 9, 2005
- “New Challenges in U.S. Middle East Policy,” plenary paper for the Conference on War, Peace, and the Media, Portland State University, Portland, OR July 9, 2005
- “The Two Faces of American Policy Generator of Anti-American Attitudes in the Middle East and North Africa,” Meeting of the International Studies Association, Honolulu, HI March 2, 2005
- “The Shift to the Right in U.S. Policy toward Israel,” Conference on Middle East and Central Asian Politics, Economics, and Society, University of Utah September 10, 2004

- “Unipolarity and the Search for Security: The Case of Iraq,” Meeting of the International Studies Association, Montreal, Quebec, Canada March 18, 2004
- “The U.S. Role in the Expansion of Israeli Settlements,” Conference of the Center for Policy Analysis on Palestine, Washington, DC January 23, 2003
- “The Evolution of U.S. Policy Towards Iraq,” World Conference on Middle East Studies, University of Mainz, Germany September 10, 2002
- “Redefining Middle East Security,” Meeting of the International Peace Research Association, Suwon, South Korea July 3, 2002
- “U.S. Support for Israel: Ethnic Politics of Pax Americana?” Meeting of the International Studies Association, New Orleans, LA March 25, 2002
- “The United States’ Role in the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process,” 2001: A Peace Odyssey, Hofstra University, Hempstead, NY Nov. 9, 2001
- “The American Peace Movement and the Israeli Occupation,” Concurrent Conference of the Consortium of Peace Research, Education and Development and the Peace Studies Association, Evergreen State College, Olympia, WA Oct. 5, 2001
- “Neo-Liberalism and the Challenge of World Hunger,” Conference on the Periphery and the Center in the Globalization Era in Genoa, Italy June 28, 2001
- “Economic Liberalization, Globalization and World Hunger: New Opportunities and Challenges,” International Symposium on the Causes and Remedies of Poverty, Rome, Italy Sept. 6, 2000
- “Security Versus Pseudo-Security in the Persian Gulf,” Meeting of the International Peace Research Association, Tampere, Finland Aug. 8, 2000
- “The Mobilization and Antecedents of the People Power Movement in the Philippines,” Meeting of the International Peace Research Association, Tampere, Finland Aug. 6, 2000
- “The Gulf Security Regime and U.S. Policy,” Persian Gulf Security Forum, Limassol, Cyprus May 28, 2000
- “The U.S. Role in the Israeli-Syrian Peace Process,” Concurrent Conference of the Consortium of Peace Research, Education and Development and the Peace Studies Association, Austin, TX April 1, 2000
- “The Globalization of Nonviolent Action: Transnational Movements Against the WTO,” Concurrent Conference of the Consortium of Peace Research, Education and Development and the Peace Studies Association, University of Texas, Austin, TX March 31, 2000
- “NATO’s Rush to War in Yugoslavia,” Conference on Transitional Justice Conference, University of San Francisco, Oct. 29, 1999
- “Reversing the Irreversible: The Potential for State Contraction by Morocco and Indonesia,” Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA September 4, 1998
- “The United States and the Lebanese-Israeli Peace Process,” Meeting of the International Peace Research Association, Durban, South Africa June 22, 1998
- “The Role of Nonviolent Action in the Downfall of Apartheid,” Meeting of the International Peace Research Association, Durban, South Africa June 21, 1998
- “Questions in Contemporary Research on Nonviolent Movements,” Concurrent Conference of the Consortium of Peace Research, Education and Development and the Peace Studies Association, Bethel College, North Newton, KS April 11, 1998
- “Post-Gulf War U.S. Conflicts With Iraq as a Function of the Rogue State Doctrine,” Concurrent Conference of the Consortium of Peace Research, Education and Development and the Peace Studies Association, Bethel College, North Newton, KS April 10, 1998
- “Territorial Expansionism and its Impediments: A Comparison of Western Sahara and East Timor,” Meeting of the International Studies Association, Minneapolis, MN March 20, 1998

- “People Power Movements: Nonviolent Action Against Authoritarian Regimes,” Symposium on Democracy and Self-Determination, Santa Maria de Feira, Portugal July 23, 1997
- “U.S. Policy Towards Indonesia in the Post-Cold War Era,” International Symposium on Indonesia and East Timor, University of Oporto, Porto, Portugal July 20, 1997
- “The Pro-Democracy Movement in Indonesia: Its Prospects and Challenges,” International Symposium on Indonesia and East Timor, University of Oporto, Porto, Portugal July 18, 1997
- “How Pax Americana Threatens Peace and Development in the Middle East,” Joint Conference of the Consortium of Peace Research, Education and Development and the Peace Studies Association, Georgetown University, Washington, DC June 6, 1997
- “U.S. Human Rights Policy and the Middle East: The Absence of Debate,” Hendricks Symposium on the United States and Human Rights, University of Nebraska--Lincoln September 20, 1996
- “Unarmed Insurrections in Pro-Democracy Movements in Africa,” Meeting of the International Peace Research Association, Brisbane, Australia July 10, 1996
- “The Role of Pariah States in U.S. Middle East Policy,” Meeting of the International Peace Research Association, Brisbane, Australia July 9, 1996
- “U.S. Policy Towards Jerusalem and International Law,” Meeting of North American NGOs on the Question of Palestine, United Nations, New York, NY June 26, 1996
- “Radical Islam and the U.S. Response,” Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA March 15, 1996
- “U.S.-Israeli Relations: Ongoing Strategic Imperatives in the Post-Cold War Era,” Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Washington, DC December 8, 1995
- “The U.S. Role in the Western Sahara Peace Process,” Conference on Future U.S. Foreign Policy: Engagement and Disengagement in the New Global Order, International Studies Association's Foreign Policy Analysis Section and the University of Maryland's Harrison Program on the Future Global Agenda, College Park, MD Nov. 3, 1995
- “The American Peace Movement and the Middle East,” Conference of the Consortium on Peace Research, Education and Development, Salem, OR August 11, 1995
- “The United States and the United Nations: Superpower Imperatives in the Community of Nations,” Conference on the United Nations at Fifty, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada March 2, 1995
- “Decisions on Intervention: U.S. Response to Iranian and Egyptian Nationalism in the 1950s,” Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Phoenix, AZ November 1994
- “Conflict in the Maghreb in the Post-Cold War Era,” Meeting of the International Studies Association--West, Seattle, WA October 14, 1994
- “U.S. Non-Proliferation Policy in the Post-Cold War World,” Conference of the Peace Studies Association, San Francisco, CA April 10, 1994
- “U.S.-Israeli Relations in the Coming Decade: Opportunities and Challenges,” Conference on Israel in the 1990s, Ben Gurion University, Beersheva, Israel January 7, 1994
- “Unarmed Insurrections in the Middle East,” Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Research Triangle Park, NC Nov. 11, 1993
- “The Enforcement of International Law in the Post-Cold War Era,” Meeting of the Washington State Bar Association, Seattle, WA May 27, 1993
- “U.S. Aid to Africa in a Changing World Order,” Meeting of the African Studies Association, Seattle, WA Nov. 22, 1992
- “The Rise and Potential Fall of the U.S. Alliance with the Gulf Monarchies,” Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Portland, OR Oct. 29, 1992

- “The Myth of Democratic Party Weakness on Foreign Policy,” Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL Sept. 3, 1992
- “The United States Middle East Policy in the Post-Cold War World,” Meeting of the International Peace Research Association, Kyoto, Japan July 27, 1992
- “Nonviolent Insurrections against Third World Authoritarian Regimes,” International Conference on Democracy and Democratization in the Third World, Nassau, The Bahamas Nov. 19, 1991
- “Analyzing Contemporary People Power Movements,” Meeting of the International Studies Association, Vancouver, BC, Canada March 23, 1991
- “Factors Shaping the U.S.-Israeli Alliance,” Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA Aug 31, 1990
- “Nonviolent Resistance to Apartheid in Contemporary South Africa,” Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL April 7, 1990
- “The Intifadah and its Impact on Palestinian Nationalism,” Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA Sept. 3, 1989
- “Participatory Democracy in Third World Nationalist Movements: The Decline of Leninism?” Third World Conference, Chicago, IL April 8, 1989
- “The United States in the Sahara War: Strategic Priorities in the Maghreb,” Conference on the Superpowers and North Africa, American University, Washington, DC March 4, 1988
- “The Polisario and the United States: A Non-Aligned Movement Confronts a Bi-polar World View,” Meeting of the African Studies Association, Denver, CO Nov. 21, 1987
- “Resistance Without Arms: Nonviolent Action in Israeli Occupied Territories,” Meeting of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates, Arlington, VA Nov. 20, 1987
- “People Power in the Philippines: The Roots of the Marcos Overthrow,” Meeting of the Northeastern Political Science Association, Nov. 15, 1986
- “The United States and Morocco: The Dynamics of a Special Relationship,” International Conference on Moroccan American Relations, Old Dominion University, Norfolk, VA Nov. 13, 1986
- “Egypt After Sadat: Domestic Consequences,” Delaware Valley conference of the International Studies Association, Widener College, Chester, PA Dec. 5, 1981

Other Conference Presentations

- Roundtable Participant, “Nonviolent Strategies and Tactics,” American Sociological Association, Las Vegas, NV August 23, 2011
- Chair, “Social Roots of Revolt,” Symposium on the Non-violent Revolution in Egypt: Learned Lessons, Cairo University, June 7, 2011
- Roundtable Participant, “The Revolution and Transition to Democracy in Egypt: Why and How?,” Center for the Study of Islam and Democracy, Washington, DC April 15, 2011
- Chair and Discussant, “Strategic Nonviolent Resistance and Political Change,” International Studies Association, Montreal, Quebec, Canada March 17, 2011
- Roundtable Participant, “Civil Resistance Countering Extreme Violence,” Wilton Park Conference on Civil Resistance, Wiston House, United Kingdom, April 1, 2011
- Chair, “Popular movements Challenging Oppression in the Middle East and Africa,” Wilton Park Conference on Civil Resistance, Wiston House, United Kingdom, March 31, 2011
- Roundtable Participant, “The Legacy of Bill Sutherland: Pan-Africanist and Pacifist,” African Studies Association, San Francisco, CA November 20, 2010

Chair, "Peace: Tactics and International Contexts," International Peace Research Association, Sydney, Australia
July 9, 2010

Discussant, "Driving Up the Costs of Repression: The Anti-Apartheid Movement in South Africa," International
Peace Research Association, Sydney, Australia July 6, 2010

Discussant, "Rediscovering Nonviolent History: Civil Resistance Beneath Eulogized Violence in Struggles for
National Independence and Liberation," Association for the Studies of Nationalities, New York, NY
April 16, 2010

Roundtable Participant, "Facing the Challenge from Iran," Frank Church Symposium on International Affairs,
Idaho State University, March 4, 2010

Roundtable Participant, "Nonproliferation and Security in the Middle East," Frank Church Symposium on
International Affairs, Idaho State University, March 3, 2010

Roundtable Participant, "Change and Advancement of Human Rights in the Middle East," Frank Church
Symposium on International Affairs, Idaho State University, March 3, 2010

Discussant, "Issues in Obama's Mediation Approach to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict," International Studies
Association, New Orleans, LA Feb. 17, 2010

Chair, "The Role of Strategic Nonviolent Action in Civil Resistance Movements," International Studies
Association, New Orleans, LA Feb. 17, 2010

Discussant, "War and Peace by Other Means," American Sociological Association, San Francisco, CA August
11, 2009

Chair and Discussant, "Citizenship and Social Capital," World Congress of Political Science, Santiago, Chile
July 13, 2009

Chair and Discussant, "Nonviolent Action in Latin America," Joint Conference of the International Studies
Association and the Brazilian Association of International Relations, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil July 23,
2009

Discussant, "Nonviolent Action: From Local Civil Resistance to Third Party Intervention," International Studies
Association, New York, NY February 18, 2009

Roundtable Participant, "Fragmented Tyrannies: The Nexus of Corruption and Extreme Violence," International
Anti-Corruption Conference, Athens, Greece November 1, 2008

Roundtable Participant, "Civil Resistance in the Modern World," Forum 2000 Conference, Prague, Czech
Republic October 13, 2008

Plenary Panel, "Strategic Nonviolent Action," Meeting of the Peace and Justice Studies Association, Portland, OR
September 13, 2008

Roundtable Participant, "The Consistent Pro-Life Movement," Meeting of the Peace and Justice Studies
Association, Portland, OR September 12, 2008

Panel Discussant, "From Dictatorship to Democracy: The Role of Strategic Nonviolent Movements,"
International Studies Association, San Francisco, CA March 26, 2008

Roundtable Participant, "Globalization, State Building, and the Occupation of Iraq," International Studies
Association, San Francisco, CA March 26, 2008

Panel Chair, "Between Soft and Hard Power: Contemporary Applications of Nonviolent Conflict," International
Studies Association, Chicago, IL March 1, 2007

Panel Discussant, "Israel-Palestine Peace and Conflict - Quo Vadis," International Studies Association, Chicago,
IL March 2, 2007

Roundtable Participant, "What Will Washington Take to Heart? Implications for U.S. Policy," Conference on the
War in Iraq: Regional Implications," Massachusetts Institute of Technology, November 12, 2006

Roundtable Participant, "Anti-Intellectualism and Academic Freedom," Meeting of the Peace & Justice Studies Association, New York, NY October 6, 2006

Roundtable Participant, "U.S. Foreign Policy in the Global South," Meeting of the International Studies Association, San Diego, CA March 22, 2006

Panel Discussant, "US-Iran Relations: Rhetoric and Ideology in International Affairs," Conference on Middle East and Central Asian Politics, Economics, and Society, University of Utah September 10, 2005

Roundtable Participant, "New Directions for Authoritarianism and Democracy in the Middle East and Central Asia," Conference on Middle East and Central Asian Politics, Economics, and Society, University of Utah September 9, 2005

Roundtable Participant, "Solutions for the Sahara: The Western Sahara Question in the Geopolitical Dynamics of the Maghreb Region," Conference of the European Institute for the Mediterranean, Miraflores de la Sierra, Spain June 4, 2005

Roundtable Participant, "Perspectives on the Post-9/11 World," Conference on Middle East and Central Asian Politics, Economics, and Society, University of Utah September 10, 2004

Panel Discussant, "Thoughts on Terrorism and State Violence," Conference on Middle East and Central Asian Politics, Economics, and Society, University of Utah September 10, 2004

Roundtable Participant, "Nonviolent Pro-Democracy Movements in Eastern Europe," Conference on War, Peace, and the Media, Portland State University, Portland, OR July 9, 2005

Panel Discussant, "Rhetoric and Realities of Human Rights," Conference on Middle East and Central Asian Politics, Economics, and Society, University of Utah September 9, 2004

Roundtable Participant, "Kurdish Futures: Conflicts and Possibilities," Conference on Kurdish Human Rights, California Institute of Integral Studies, San Francisco, CA September 4, 2004

Roundtable Participant, "The Future of Iraq," Socialist Scholars Conference, Cooper Union, New York, NY March 14, 2004

Roundtable Participant, "The U.S. and the World," Toda Institute Annual Conference, University of Hawaii, February 7, 2004

Roundtable Participant, "Safeguarding Academic Freedom," Meeting of the Peace & Justice Studies Association, Evergreen State College, Olympia, WA October 10, 2003

Roundtable Participant, "American Foreign Policy and Globalization," Frank Church Symposium on International Affairs, Idaho State University, February 21, 2003

Roundtable Participant, "The Role of Intergovernmental and Non-governmental Organizations in the Promotion of Human Rights," Frank Church Symposium on International Affairs, Idaho State University, February 20, 2003

Roundtable Participant, "Alternatives to War in the Struggle Against Terrorism," Meeting of the International Peace Research Association, Suwon, South Korea July 4, 2002

Roundtable Participant, "The American Peace Movement in the Aftermath of September 11," Conference on Peace and Globalization, University of Oregon, Oct. 13, 2001

Roundtable Participant, "Nonviolent Responses to Terrorism," Concurrent Conference of the Consortium of Peace Research, Education and Development and the Peace Studies Association, Evergreen State College, Olympia, WA Oct. 5, 2001

Roundtable Participant, "Prospects for Conflict Resolution in Western Sahara," Hague Appeal for Peace, The Hague, Netherlands, May 8, 1999

Roundtable Participant, "The Future of Jerusalem," Hague Appeal for Peace, The Hague, Netherlands, May 7, 1999

- Roundtable Participant, "Conscientious Objection to War: Its History and Evolution," Hague Appeal for Peace, The Hague, Netherlands, May 6, 1999
- Roundtable Participant, "The Rise of Global Nonviolent Action," Hague Appeal for Peace, The Hague, Netherlands, May 5, 1999
- Roundtable Participant, "Problems of Regional Peace, Security and Cooperation," Persian Gulf Security Forum, Istanbul, Turkey, March 7, 1999
- Roundtable Chair and Participant, "Prospects for Conflict Resolution in East Timor," Meeting of the International Peace Research Association, Durban, South Africa June 23, 1998
- Roundtable Chair and Participant, "After Thirty Years of Occupation: Prospects for Peace in Israel/Palestine," Concurrent Conference of the Consortium of Peace Research, Education and Development and the Peace Studies Association, Georgetown University, Washington, DC June 5, 1997
- Panel Discussant, "Global Democratization: Regional Patterns," Meeting of the International Studies Association –West, Seattle, WA October 15, 1994
- Panel Chair, "Nuclear Weapons," Conference of the Peace Studies Association, San Francisco, CA April 10, 1994
- Panel Chair and Discussant, "Sovereignty Issues: Ethnicity, Boundaries, and Population Movements," Meeting of the International Peace Research Association, Kyoto, Japan July 29, 1992
- Resource Person, COPRED Conference on the Study of Nonviolence in Higher Education, George Mason University, Fairfax, VA Jan. 12-13, 1990
- Panel Organizer and Chair, "Nonviolent Movements in the Third World," Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA Sept. 3, 1989
- Panel Discussant, "Contending Perspectives on Democracy and Development," Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA Sept. 2, 1989

Editorial Positions

- Advisory Board, *Encyclopedia of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004-2007
- Associate Editor, *Peace Review*, 1995-
 Special Editor for issue on Israel and Palestine, Vol. 15, No. 1 (March 2003)
 Special Editor for issue on national self-determination [with Teresa Walsh], Vol. 10, No. 2 (June 1998)
- Associate Editor for the Middle East and North Africa, *Foreign Policy in Focus*, 1998-2007

Selected Essays

- "What About Qaddafi?," *Sojourners*, May 2011
- "The Democrats' Attack on Goldstone," *Tikkun*, November-December 2009
- "Weapons of Mass Democracy," *Yes!*, Fall 2009
- "To Be Truly Pro-Israel," *Yes!*, June 2008
- "The Limits of the Moroccan Autonomy Proposal," *Middle East Journal*, May 2008
- "The Israel Lobby: A Progressive Critique of Mearsheimer and Walt," *Tikkun*, November-December 2007
- "Western Sahara's Struggle for Freedom," *Win*, Fall 2007
- "The Iranian Nuclear Threat: Myth and Reality," *Tikkun*, January-February 2007
- "America's Military Proxy," *Tikkun*, November-December 2006
- "Is the Israel Lobby Really That Powerful?" *Tikkun*, July-August 2006
- "The Other Occupation: Morocco and Western Sahara," *Tikkun*, January-February 2006

"How the Hawk Kills the Dove," *New Internationalist*, September 2005
 "Old Wine in New Bottles: Bush Administration Attacks Amnesty International," *Fellowship*, September-October 2005
 "Challenging Occupation in an Election Year," *Tikkun*, July-August 2004
 "Defending Zionism in a Time of Occupation and Repression," *Tikkun*, March-April 2004
 "Attacks on Dean Expose Democrats' Shift to the Right," *Tikkun*, November-December 2003
 "Humanitarian Intervention," *The Nation*, July 14, 2003
 "Israel and the United Nations," *Tikkun*, May/June 2003
 "Iraq, Israel and the Jews," *Tikkun*, March/April 2003
 "Understanding the U.S.-Israeli Relationship," *Fellowship*, January-February 2003
 "Six Arguments for Everybody against the Invasion of Iraq," *Fellowship*, November-December 2002
 "U.S. Double Standards," *The Nation*, October 28, 2002
 "The Case against War with Iraq," *The Nation*, September 16, 2002
 "Nonviolent Resistance and Islam," *The Nonviolent Activist*, January-February 2002
 "Challenging Aid to Israel," *Middle East Insight*, April-May 2001
 "The Israeli-Syrian Impasse," *Tikkun*, November 2000
 "Cuba's New Revolution," *Designer/Builder*, August 2000 [recognized as #12 Top Censored Story of the Year 2000, Project Censored, Sonoma State University]
 "Anti-Semitism in U.S. Middle East Policy," *Z*, March 1995
 "The Greening of Cuba: Innovative Solutions in a Collapsing Economy," *In Context*, Spring 1995
 "Americans Didn't Predict How Apartheid Would Fall," *The Nonviolent Activist*, September-October 1994
 "The Hebron Massacre and the American Connection," *Z*, April 1994
 "Washington's Hard Line: The U.S. as Obstacle to Israeli-Palestinian Peace," *The Progressive*, March 1994
 "U.S.-Syrian Relations in a New Era," *In These Times*, February 7, 1994
 Interview with George McGovern, *The Progressive*, October 1993
 "The Great Middle East Debate that Didn't Happen," *The Progressive*, July 1992
 "Democratic Candidates Lose on Mideast Policy Issues," *In These Times*, April 15, 1992
 "Is U.S. Overstaying Its Gulf Welcome?," *In These Times*, February 26, 1992
 "Behind the Fundamentalist Upsurge in Algeria," *In These Times*, January 29, 1992
 "The Western Sahara Plebiscite and the American Response," *In These Times*, January 15, 1992
 "The Peace Movement and the Gulf War: Its Message and Impact," *Fellowship*, January 1992
 "Bush Policy Guarantees More Mideast Turmoil," *In These Times*, November 6, 1991
 "Iraq on the Eve of the War: A Sense of Invulnerability and a Willingness to Endure," *In These Times*, January 30, 1991
 "Israel's Blank Check: Congressional Liberals and Palestinian Human Rights," *The Progressive*, November 1989
 "The Historic Context of U.S.-Israeli Relations," *In These Times*, September 14, 1988
 "U.S. Military Aid to Israel: Balancing Security and Human Rights," *In These Times*, May 4, 1988
 "The Political Economy of the Grenadian Revolution: A PostMortem," *The Progressive*, January 1984

“Palestinians and the Islamic Right,” *The Progressive*, October 1982

“Strange Bedfellows: Menachem Begin and the Christian Right,” *The Progressive*, November 1981

“Israel's Draft Resisters,” *The Progressive*, October 1981

“The Student Movement Today: New Tactics, New Priorities,” *Fellowship*, January 1981

“General Motors and South Africa,” *Oberlin Alumni Magazine*, January 1980

“Friends of Apartheid: U.S. Corporations in South Africa,” *The Progressive*, February 1979; reprinted in Grant McClellan, ed., *Southern Africa*, (New York: H.W. Wilson Co., 1979, as Vol. 51, Number 3 of *The Reference Shelf* series)

“Seabrook: A Turning Point in the Anti-Nuclear Power Movement,” *The Progressive*, September 1978

periodic opinion articles in the *National Catholic Reporter*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, the *Washington Post*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the *Seattle Times*, the *San Jose Mercury News* and other daily newspapers, as well as national syndication through the Progressive Media Project and Global Beat and the web-based Common Dreams News Center, AlterNet, Truthout and the Huffington Post

Selected Guest Lectureships

“Nonviolent Action and the Arab Revolutions” and related themes at:

- Guilford College, September 15, 2011
- Coventry University, June 11, 2011
- Oxford University, June 10, 2011
- Heythrop College, University of London, June 9, 2011
- Colorado College, May 9, 2011
- San Jose State University, May 2, 2011
- University of Arizona, April 22, 2011
- Rutgers University-Newark, April 13, 2011
- Cornell University, March 15, 2011
- Georgetown University, March 14, 2011
- National Defense University, March 14, 2011
- Commonwealth Club of California, March 10, 2011
- Stanford University, March 8, 2011
- Hastings Law School, University of California, February 19, 2011

“Human Rights in the Middle East,” University of San Francisco, November 11, 2010

“Building a U.S. Movement for Israeli-Palestinian Peace,” Earlham College, November 8, 2010

“Oil and U.S. Foreign Policy in the Middle East,” Oberlin College, November 6, 2010

“U.S. Policy toward Israel/Palestine and Human Rights,” Oberlin College, November 5, 2010

“U.S. Policy toward Lebanon,” American University of Beirut, October 28, 2010

“The Nonviolent Resistance Campaign in Western Sahara,” University of Sydney, July 16, 2010

“Conflict Resolution in the Struggle for Self-Determination: The Case of Western Sahara,” Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Sydney, July 7, 2010

“U.S. Middle East Policy under Obama,” Griffith University, June 28, 2010

“Obama's Challenge on Israel and Palestine,” Colorado College, May 6, 2010

“Israel, Palestine and Reflections on Human Rights and International Law,” Marian University, April 24, 2010

“U.S. Policy on the Israel/Palestine Conflict,” Earlham College, April 22, 2010

“Unarmed Insurrections for Democracy and Self-determination,” Rutgers University-Newark, April 15, 2010

“U.S.-Israeli Relations in Historical Perspective,” Hofstra University, April 15, 2010

“Afghanistan: How We Got In, Can We Get Out?” University of Missouri, April 13, 2010

“Nonviolent Action and the Overthrow of Milosevic,” University of California – Santa Cruz, January 26, 2010

“U.S. Foreign Policy toward Israel: Which Way to Go?,” Plymouth State University, October 27, 2009

“Nonviolent Resistance to Authoritarian Regimes,” Irish School of Ecumenics, October 23, 2009

“The United States and Israel/Palestine: Peace Maker or Peace Breaker?” Trinity College – Dublin, October 22, 2009

“The Backlash against Pro-Democracy Movements,” U.S. Institute of Peace, October 13, 2009

“Foreign Policy of the Obama Administration,” Center for North American Studies, Economic University of Bratislava, April 8, 2009

“The Other Occupation: The Struggle Over Western Sahara,” Mt. Holyoke College, March 10, 2009

“Palestine, Israel and Human Rights,” University of San Francisco, February 20, 2009

“U.S. Middle East Policy: Challenges for the Obama Administration,” Earlham College, February 24, 2009

“U.S. Policy in Iraq and the Middle East,” Manchester College, February 23, 2009

“After the Gaza War: Human Rights, International Law and U.S. Policy toward Israel and Palestine,” Swarthmore College, February 19, 2009

“Building a Popular U.S. Movement for Peace in the Middle East,” Clark University, February 18, 2009

“U.S. Policy toward Afghanistan and Pakistan,” University of Tennessee, February 4, 2009

“U.S. Foreign Policy under an Obama Administration,” University of Belgrade, October 27, 2008

“Civil Insurrections, Democratization and Hegemonic Aspirations,” University of Bologna, October 15, 2008

“How the Grenada Invasion Paved the Way to Iraq: On the 25th Anniversary,” University of California – Davis, October 22, 2008

“U.S., Iraq, and the Struggle for Democracy,” California State University – Long Beach, October 1, 2008

“US Policy in Iraq and the Middle East: Challenges for the Next Administration,” Elon University, September 24, 2008

“The Bush Legacy in the Middle East and Beyond,” Bradford University, September 16, 2008

“The Strategic Impact of Civil Insurrections,” Nottingham Trent University, September 15, 2008

“Nonviolent Action, US Foreign Policy & the Struggle for Democracy,” L’Ecole de la Paix – Grenoble, July 31, 2008

“Nonviolent Action and the Color Revolutions of Eastern Europe,” Lorenzo di Medici – Firenze, July 29, 2008

“La nonviolenza come strumento di globalizzazione dal basso,” Tiempo de la Pace – Firenze, July 28, 2008

“U.S. Foreign Policy and Pro-Democracy Movements: People Power or Imperialism?” University of Pisa, July 25, 2008

“Strategic Nonviolent Action in Conflict Resolution and Democratic Change”, Bonn International Center for Conversion, July 22, 2008

“Unarmed Insurrections and the Corresponding Role of the West,” Deutsches Institut fur Internationale Politik , July 21, 2008

“Unarmed Insurrections against Autocratic Regimes: Democracy or Hegemony,” Conflict Analysis Research Centre, University of Kent – Canterbury, July 10, 2008

“US Foreign Policy and the Struggle for Democracy: People Power or Imperialism?” Centre for the Study of Democracy, University of Westminster, July 7, 2008

“The Mess Bush Leaves Behind: Challenges for the Next Administration,” Colorado College, May 8, 2008
 “Strategic Nonviolent Conflict in the Promotion of Democracy,” Guilford College, April 10, 2008
 “The Western Sahara Conflict and International Law,” University of Melbourne School of Law, Dec. 7, 2007
 “The Politics of the Middle East: U.S. Policy and its Implications for Europe, Asia and Australia,” University of Melbourne, Dec. 5, 2007
 “The U.S.-Israeli Relationship: Causes and Consequences,” Deakin University, Dec. 5, 2007
 “Strategic Nonviolent Action in Regime Change,” University of California—Berkeley, Oct. 25, 2007
 “Iraq: How the U.S. Got In and How We Can Get Out,” Colorado College, May 3, 2007
 “U.S. Middle East Policy, Terrorism, and Democratic Change,” Colorado College, May 2, 2007
 “Pax Americana: United States Middle East Policy and the Roots of Terrorism,” University of California – Davis, March 8, 2007
 “The Fire this Time: Understanding the Israel-Lebanon Conflict,” Central Florida University, September 14, 2006
 “Is Peace Possible in the Israel-Palestine Conflict?,” Central Florida University, September 14, 2006
 “The United States and Iran: An Assessment of U.S. Policy,” Harvard University School of Law, April 25, 2006
 “Israel and Palestine: Is Peace Possible?” College of Marin, April 6, 2006
 “How anti-Arab and anti-Jewish Prejudices Influence U.S. Middle East Policy,” Grinnell College, March 2, 2006
 “Can the United States be a Global Good Neighbor?” University of California-Berkeley, February 7, 2006
 “The United States and the Iraq War: How We Got In and How We Can Get Out,” Siena College, February 2, 2006
 “Pro-Israel and Pro-Palestine: Building a Progressive Third Way in the Middle East,” World Social Forum, Caracas, Venezuela, January 27, 2006
 “Nonviolent Struggle as a Vehicle for Regime Change,” World Social Forum, Caracas, Venezuela, January 26, 2006
 “Occupations and Resistance: Old and New,” The Evergreen State College, December 8, 2005
 “U.S. Middle East Policy: The Quest for Security,” World Affairs Council, Hilton Head Island, SC October 7, 2005
 “What Everyone Needs to Know about the Middle East for Successful Dialogue,” Gavilan College, September 25, 2005
 “The Role of Nonviolent Action in Pro-democracy Movements,” Institute for International Studies, Stanford University, Aug. 11, 2005
 “The United Nations and International Terrorism,” San Francisco State University, May 19, 2005
 “The U.S. Role in the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process: Help or Hindrance,” University of California-Irvine, April 13, 2005
 “U.S. Middle East Policy and the Struggle for Democracy,” Weber State University, April 8, 2005
 “U.S. Middle East Policy and Social Justice,” Salt Lake Valley State College, April 7, 2005
 “Peace and Freedom in the Middle East: Is U.S. Policy Working?,” Hinckley Institute of Politics, University of Utah, April 7, 2005
 “Israeli Human Rights Abuses and U.S. Policy,” University of North Carolina, April 6, 2005
 “Prospects for Israeli-Palestinian Peace,” University of Michigan, March 10, 2005
 “What Next in the Middle East?” Wayne State University, March 9, 2005

“Reforming the United Nations Security Council,” San Francisco State University, February 25, 2005

“Afghanistan, Iraq, and the U.S. War on Terror,” World Forum, Ohlone College, February 24, 2005

“Human Rights and U.S. Middle East Policy,” Austrian Center for Peace and Conflict Resolution, February 6, 2005

“New Approaches to a Middle East Peace Process,” Diplomatic Academy of the Vienna School of International Relations, February 3, 2005

“Philippine-U.S. Relations following the Pullout of Philippine Troops from Iraq,” University of San Francisco, November 15, 2004

“Nonviolent Insurrections against Autocratic Governments,” University of California—Davis, May 4, 2004

“A Clash of Interests: U.S. Foreign Policy and Human Rights in the Middle East,” Sacramento State University, May 4, 2004

“Accomplishments and Dilemmas of Contemporary Nonviolent Social Movements,” University of California—Berkeley, April 7, 2004

“U.S. Middle East Policy and the Challenge of Sustainability,” The Evergreen State College, February 20, 2004

“U.S. Policy toward Israel and Palestine,” Presidential Lecture Series on the Search for Peace in the Middle East, The Evergreen State College, February 19, 2004

“U.S. Security Policy in the Middle East,” California State University – San Diego, February 10, 2004

“Christian Zionism and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict,” University of California – Santa Cruz, February 8, 2004

“Democracy as a Bludgeon: How Our Cherished Values Became Tools of Domination,” UCR-Mellon Lecture Series on the Abuse of Ideas, University of California – Riverside, February 3, 2004

“Towards a New Middle East Policy,” University of Nevada, January 23, 2004

“Conflict Resolution in the Middle East,” Truckee Meadows Community College, January 23, 2004

“Nonviolent Action: A Force More Powerful,” University of California – Santa Cruz, January 22, 2004

“The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and U.S. Policy,” Monterey Institute of International Studies, November 2, 2003

“Responding to Terrorism,” Peace and Justice Lecture Series, College of St. Scholastica, October 28, 2003

“The American Left Post-9/11,” University of California – Santa Cruz, October 25, 2003

“The United States, the Middle East, and the Search for Peace,” Earlham College, October 17, 2003

“U.S. Human Rights Policy in the Middle East,” Human Rights Lecture Series, Ohio University, October 16, 2003

“U.S. Middle East Policy and the Search for Security,” Annual Salem Peace Lecture Series, Willamette University, October 9, 2003

“The U.S. Role in the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process,” Commonwealth Club of California, August 18, 2003

“Legal Issues of Occupation in Iraq,” John F. Kennedy University School of Law, Aug. 2, 2003

“Consequences of War and Occupation,” University of District Columbia, June 14, 2003

“U.S. Policy in the Middle East,” California State University – Sacramento, May 13, 2003

“Why the U.S. Presence in Iraq,” University of California – San Francisco, April 28, 2003

“The United States and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Peace or Pax Americana?” Oberlin College, April 26, 2003

“The United States and Post-Invasion Iraq: Is the World More Secure?” Michigan State University, April 25, 2003

“The Bush Doctrine and International Law,” University of California – Santa Barbara, April 17, 2003

- “The Case against War with Iraq” and related themes at:
 Tulane University, March 18, 2003
 Southern Oregon University, March 8, 2003
 North Carolina State University, March 1, 2003
 University of California–Irvine, February 27, 2003
 University of Hawaii, January 30, 2003
 Seattle University, January 22, 2003
 University of Michigan, January 11, 2003
 San Diego State University, December 5, 2002
 University of California–Riverside, December 3, 2002
 Long Beach State University, December 3, 2002
 University of Washington, November 25, 2002
 University of New Mexico, Nov. 17, 2002
 University of California-Santa Cruz, November 14, 2002
 Portland State University, November 1, 2002
 Elon University, October 30, 2002
 Duke University, October 29, 2002
 Guilford College, October 28, 2002
 West Chester University, October 23, 2002
 Georgetown University, October 23, 2002
 College of Marin, October 19, 2002
 Colorado College, October 8, 2002
- “The United States, Iraq, and the Search for Peace in the Middle East,” Shepard and Ruth K. Broad International Lecture Series, Florida State University, March 20, 2003
- “U.S. Relations with the Islamic World,” Presidential Seminar on the Middle East, Auburn University, March 19, 2003
- “U.S. Global Overreach and Prospects for Social Change,” University of California – Santa Cruz, March 10, 2003
- “The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: International Law, U.S. Policy and the Search for Peace,” Seattle University School of Law, January 22, 2003
- “Educating for Justice in Time of War,” Seattle University, January 22, 2003
- “New Directions in U.S. Foreign Policy,” St. Cloud State University, October 9, 2002
- “U.S. Middle East Policy and Islamic Terrorism,” University of North Carolina, February 23, 2002
- “Alternatives to War in the Struggle against Terrorism,” Guilford College, February 22, 2002
- “The Roots of Anti-Americanism in the Middle East,” University of the Pacific, November 19, 2001
- “The War on Terrorism and the Impact to Public Health,” San Jose State University, November 12, 2001
- “Reconciliation, Development and the Need for a New Middle East Policy,” San Francisco State University, November 8, 2002
- “U.S. Middle East Policy and the Roots of Terrorism,” Gavilan College, October 29, 2001
- “Human Rights and Arms Control: The Missing Elements in U.S. Middle East Policy,” University of Oregon, October 19, 2001
- “The United States and Afghanistan: A Historical Overview,” Chabot College, October 12, 2001
- “The Roots of Islamic Terrorism,” Mills College, September 20, 2001
- “The Ethical Challenges of Globalization,” Gonzaga University, August 12, 2001
- “The Shift in U.S. Policy towards the Status of Jerusalem,” Center for Policy Analysis on Palestine, Washington, DC, July 26, 2001

“Self-Determination, Human Rights, International Law and the U.S. Media,” San Francisco State University, April 28, 2001

“U.S. Middle East Policy in the New Administration,” Hamline University, March 3, 2001

“The Growth of Nonviolent Social Movements Worldwide,” University of Turin, February 11, 2001

“The Study of Nonviolence in Higher Education,” University of Florence, February 9, 2001

“The Roots of U.S. Aid to Israel,” Center for Policy Analysis on Palestine, January 26, 2001

“The U.S. Role in the Israeli-Syrian Peace Process,” Commonwealth Club of California, Nov. 14, 2000

“The Growing Power of Nonviolence,” University of California--Berkeley, Oct. 31, 2000

“American Culpability in the Israeli-Palestinian Violence,” University of California--Santa Cruz, Oct. 24, 2000

“The Legacy of the War against Iraq,” University of California--Santa Cruz, June 1, 2000

“The U.S. Role in the Middle East Peace Process,” University of California--Santa Cruz, May 18, 2000

“Challenges to Democracy in the Arab World,” Pacific University, March 25, 2000

“The War in Kosovo and the Ethics of Humanitarian Intervention,” College of Notre Dame, December 7, 1999

“U.S. Culpability in the Tragedy of East Timor,” Center for Southeast Asian Studies, University of California--Berkeley, Sept. 29, 1999

“Kosovo, Yugoslavia and NATO: How, Why and What Next,” Oberlin College, May 30, 1999

“The Roots of the War Over Kosovo,” San Francisco State University, May 12, 1999

“The Rise of Global Nonviolence,” Antioch College, April 13, 1999

“Crisis and Liberalization in Mexico,” World Affairs Council of Sonoma County, Santa Rosa, CA Dec. 7, 1998

“A Critical Assessment of U.S. Policy in the Gulf,” California State University--Stanislaus, Sept. 25, 1998

“The Bankruptcy of U.S. Policy Toward Iraq,” Dominican College, Sept. 8, 1998

“The Roots of the U.S.-Iraq Crisis,” University of Texas at Austin, Feb. 20, 1998

“U.S. Middle East Policy Today,” University of California at Berkeley, Oct. 14, 1997

“Western Sahara: Failure of the Peace Process,” Commonwealth Club of California, San Francisco, CA Sept. 10, 1996

“Challenges to U.S. Policy in the Middle East: A Regional Approach,” Seattle University, March 16, 1996

“U.S. Policy and Israeli-Palestinian Peace,” Evergreen State College, Jan. 19, 1996

“Cuba in the Post-Cold War Era,” University of Puget Sound, April 27, 1995

“The Evolution of U.S. Security Interests in Middle East,” University of Washington, November 15, 1994

“The U.S. Role in the Middle East Peace Process,” Humboldt State University, Oct. 26, 1994

“U.S. Middle East Policy Under Clinton,” University of Wisconsin, Jan. 21, 1994

“The Evolution of the U.S. Military Role in the Persian Gulf,” University of Utah, April 9, 1993

“Post-War Iraq and the U.S. Response,” Weber State University, April 8, 1993

“The Roots of U.S. Middle East Policy,” Temple University, March 16, 1992

“Foreign Policy and the 1992 Election,” University of Pennsylvania, March 14, 1992

“The Direction of U.S. Middle East Policy,” Stanford University, Oct. 15, 1991

“Political Language in the Gulf Crisis,” Cornell University, June 17, 1991

“The Future of U.S. Middle East Policy,” St. Cloud State University, May 2, 1991

"U.S. Middle East Policy: New Issues and Challenges," Gustavus Adolphus College, May 1, 1991
 "Stereotypes of Arabs and Islam and its Impact on U.S. Middle East Policy," Emory University, March 21, 1991
 "Lessons and False Lessons from the Gulf War," University of Montana, March 9, 1991
 "The Gulf War and the Post-War Middle East," Stanford University, Feb. 21, 1991
 "U.S. Middle East Policy: The Gulf War and Beyond," University of San Francisco, Feb. 21, 1991
 "The Gulf War: Myths and Realities," University of California-Berkeley, Feb. 20, 1991
 "Motivations for U.S. Intervention in the Gulf," Lewis & Clark College, Feb. 13, 1991
 "The Ethical and Political Contexts of the Gulf War," Walla Walla College, Feb. 5, 1991
 "The U.S. Role in the Gulf: Rhetoric and Reasoning," Gonzaga University, Jan. 25, 1991
 "Conflict and Cooperation in the Middle East," Washington State University, Jan. 24, 1991
 "Israel and the Intifadah: Options for the Future," Ithaca College, Nov. 2, 1988
 "Sahrawi Exiles in Algeria: Development Strategies in a Refugee Situation," Rural Sociology Department, Cornell University, March 15, 1988
 "The U.S. Role in the 1954 Guatemala Coup: Cold War Psychosis in the Foreign Policy Establishment," Cornell University, Feb. 23, 1988
 "The Western Sahara: Nation-Building during Wartime," Africana Studies and Research Center, Cornell University, Sept. 30, 1987
 "Revolution Without Arms: Prospects for Nonviolent Change in the Third World," Faculty Colloquium, Ithaca College, Sept. 24, 1987
 "Patriotism and the Left: Issues of National Identification in American Social Movements," Cornell University, May 6, 1987
 "The Iran-Contra Scandal and its Implications for U.S. Foreign Policy," Politics Department Colloquium, Ithaca College, April 14, 1987
 "Patriarchy and Institutional Violence: The Feminist Critique of Militarism and its Implications for Analysis of U.S. Foreign and Military Policy," Oberlin College, April 15, 1985
 "Post-War Indochina and Post-War Korea: Development, Repression, and U.S. Policy," Cornell University, Dec. 5, 1984
 "The Philippines and East Timor: U.S. Response to Insurgency in Southeast Asia in the Post-Vietnam Period," Cornell University, Dec. 3, 1984
 "The Rise and Fall of the Grenadian Revolution: Implications for U.S. Foreign Policy and Third World Development", Ithaca College, Oct. 24, 1984
 "U.S. Policy in Northwest Africa: Surrogate Strategy in the 1980's," Massachusetts Institute of Technology, March 13, 1984
 "The United States and the Philippines: A Study in Neo-Colonialism," Massachusetts Institute of Technology, March 6, 1984
 "The War in Western Sahara: The United States Response," Institute for Policy Studies, Jan. 27, 1983
 "Cognitive Barriers to Israeli-Palestinian Peace," American University, Sept. 3, 1982
 "The War in Lebanon: Implications for World Order," Center for International Development, University of Maryland, June 22, 1982
 "Palestinian Politics in the West Bank after 15 Years of Israeli Occupation," North Carolina State University, April 14, 1982
 "Israeli-American Relations in the 1980s: Building a Strategic Consensus," Shaw University, April 14, 1982