

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

Coordinator, Peace and Justice Studies Program, 1997-2001, 2003-2005

Assistant Professor, 1995-1999

University of Puget Sound

Assistant Professor, 1993-94

Whitman College

Assistant Professor, 1989-91

Ithaca College

Assistant Professor, 1987-89

Short-term Faculty Appointments

National Center for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Otago

Feb.-May 2016

Universitat Jaume I, International Master in Peace, Conflict, and Development

May-July 2012

Part-time Faculty Appointments

Antioch University–Seattle, Global Studies Program

April-June 1992 & Jan.-March 1993

Sonoma State University, Department of Political Science

Summer 1991

Cornell University, Department of Government

Fall 1986 and Spring 1987

Ithaca College, Department of Politics

Fall 1986 and Spring 1987

Temple University, Department of Political Science

Fall 1981

Courses Taught

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

Other Professional Positions

Senior Policy Analyst, Foreign Policy in Focus, Institute for Policy Studies, 2007-2017

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

Founding 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

National Endowment for the Humanities, 1995 to participate in Summer Seminar for College Teachers “Reimagining Societies: The Middle East and Central Asia” at 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

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 9-11, 2015

James Lawson Institute in the Strategic Evaluation of Nonviolent Civil Resistance, Vanderbilt University, August 18-21, 2014

Summer Institute for the Advanced Study on Nonviolent Conflict, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, June 15-19, 2014

James Lawson Institute in the Strategic Evaluation of Nonviolent Civil Resistance, Vanderbilt University, August 17-24, 2013

Summer Institute for the Advanced Study on Nonviolent Conflict, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, June 16-20, 2013

Seminar in Nonviolent Action, Universidad de Rosario (Colombia), April 16-19, 2012

School for Authentic Journalism (Mexico), March 22-27, 2012

Allen Guest-in Residence, University of Illinois, February 13-17, 2012

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, 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

Chair, Committee of Academic Advisors, International Center on Nonviolent Conflict, 2006-2015

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

Post-Sabbatical Merit Award, University of San Francisco, 2017

Dean's Scholar Award, College of Arts & Sciences, University of San Francisco, 2014-2015

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

Books

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

Nonviolent Resistance to Military Coups, Washington: International Center on Nonviolent Conflict, 2017

People-powered and non-violent social movements: Forcing gradualist democratic reforms in authoritarian societies, Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2013

The United States and the Kurds: A Brief History, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, 2007

The United States and Lebanon: A Meddlesome History, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, 2006

The Israel Lobby: How Powerful is it Really?, Washington: Institute for Policy Studies, 2006

Why the United States Supports Israel, 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

"Sexism, Militarism, and Foreign Policy in the 2016 Campaign," in Laura Finley and Matthew Johnson, eds., *Trumpism: The Politics of Gender in a Post-Propitiuous America*, Cambridge Scholars Press [forthcoming]

"U.S. Middle East Policy," in Anders Jägerskog, Michael Schulz, and Ashok Swain, eds., *Routledge Handbook on Middle East Security* [forthcoming]

"The Limits to U.S. Hegemonic Aspirations in the Middle East and North Africa," in Raymond Hinnebusch, ed., *Ashgate Research Companion on Middle East Politics*, Ashgate Publishing [forthcoming]

"The United States and the Arab Nonviolent Revolts," in Jorgen Johansen, ed., *Beyond Celebrations: Analysing Impacts of the Nonviolent Arab Revolutions*, Routledge [forthcoming]

"Complicating the Moral Case of Responsibility to Protect: Kosovo and Libya," in C. A. J. Coady, Ned Dobos, and Sagar Sanyal, eds., *Challenges for Humanitarian Intervention: Ethical Demand and Political Reality*, Oxford University Press, 2018

"The U.S. anti-occupation struggle: prospects and pitfalls," *Moment of Truth: Tackling Israel-Palestine's Toughest Questions*, OR Books, 2018

- “U.S. Leadership in the Prevention of Genocide: The Need for Consistency and a Principled Foreign Policy,” in Samuel Totten, ed. *‘Last Lectures’ on Genocide: Scholars of Humanitarian Intervention, Human Rights and Genocide*, Routledge, 2017
- “U.S. Support for Israeli Violations of International Humanitarian Law,” in Anthony Chase, ed., *Handbook on Human Rights and the Middle East and North Africa*, Routledge, 2017
- “Strategic Nonviolent Action: Waging Constructive Conflicts against Authoritarianism,” in Bruce W. Dayton and Louis Kriesberg, ed., *Perspectives in Waging Conflict Constructively: Cases, Concepts, and Practice*, Roman & Littlefield, 2016
- “Civil Insurrections in North Africa: History and Prospects,” in Yahia Zoubir and Gregory White, eds, *North African Politics: Change and Continuity*, Routledge, 2015
- “The U.S. and North Africa,” [with Yahia Zoubir], in Yahia Zoubir and Gregory White, eds, *North African Politics: Change and Continuity*, Routledge, 2015
- “Identity, Agency and Indeterminacy: Moroccan Settlers in the Western Sahara and the Politics of Naming,” [with Jacob Mundy] in Oded Haklai and Neophytos Loizides , eds., *Settlers in Contested Lands: Territorial Disputes and Ethnic Conflict*, Stanford University Press, 2015
- “The Israel Cables” [with Peter Certo], in John Feffer, ed. *The Wikileaks Guide*, Verso, 2015
- “Social Movements and the Transformation of Authoritarian Rule,” in Yahia Zoubir and Gregory White, eds, *North Africa: Change and Continuity*, Routledge, 2015
- “Strategic Nonviolent Action in the Arab World: History and Prospects,” in Jorgen Johansen, ed., *Beyond Celebrations: Analysing Impacts of the Nonviolent Arab Revolutions*, Routledge, 2014
- “Western Sahara: From Armed Exiles to Internal Resistance” [with Jacob Mundy], in Veronique Dudouet, ed., *Civil Resistance and Conflict Transformation: Transitions from Armed Struggle to Civil Resistance*, Routledge, 2014
- “South Africa: The Townships Rise Up,” in Veronique Dudouet, ed., *Civil Resistance and Conflict Transformation: Transitions from Armed Struggle to Civil Resistance*, Routledge, 2014
- “Questions of Strategy: South Africa and Western Sahara,” in Maia Carter Hallward and Julie M. Norman, eds., *Understanding Nonviolence: Contours and Contexts*, Polity, 2014
- “Dorothy Day’s Active Nonviolence,” in Erin Bringham, ed., *Dorothy Day: Her Life and Legacy*, Lane Center, 2014
- “Supporting Unarmed Civil Insurrection in Syria,” in Nader Hashemi and Danny Postel, eds., *The Syria Dilemma*, MIT Press, 2013
- “Support for Nonviolent Action in Pro-democracy Struggles,” in Randall Amster and Elavie Ndura, eds., *Exploring the Power of Nonviolence: Peace, Politics, and Practice*, Syracuse University Press, 2013
- “The United States and the Arab Spring: The Case of the Egyptian Revolution,” in Ralph Carter, ed., *Contemporary Cases in U.S. Foreign Policy: From Terrorism to Trade*, fifth edition, Congressional Quarterly Press, 2013
- “The United States: A Hegemon Challenged,” in Tareq Ismael, ed, *International Relations of the Middle East Today*, Routledge, 2013
- “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, 2012
- “Nonviolent Struggle and Democratization in the Middle East,” in Jorgen Johansen and Charles Webel, eds., *Reader in Peace and Conflict Studies*, Routledge, 2012
- “Peace Movements and the Middle East: The 1991 Gulf War and Aftermath,” in Marc Pilisuk and Michael N. Nagler, eds., *Peace movements worldwide: History, Psychology, and Practices* Volume II: *Players and Practices in Resistance to War* Praeger, 2011

- “Nonviolent Resistance to the ‘Other Occupation:’ Western Sahara and Aminatou Haidar,” in Matt Meyer, Elavie Ndura, and Judith Atiri, eds., *Seeds Bearing Fruit: Pan African Peace Action for the 21st Century*, Africa World Press, 2010
- “Western Sahara: Self-Determination, Decolonization and Human Rights,” in Neville Botha, Michele Olivier, and Delaney van Tonder, eds., *Western Sahara: Multilateralism and International Law*, UNISA 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
- “Terrorism and Security in a Post-9/11 World,” in 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
- “Nonviolent Action, Pro-Democracy Struggles, and Western Interventionism,” in Luc Reyhler, Julianne Funk Deckard, and Kevin H.R. Villanueva, eds., *Building Sustainable Futures: Enacting Peace and Development*, University of Deusto Press, 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 Poverta: 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
- “Friends of Apartheid: U.S. Corporations in South Africa,” Grant McClellan, ed., *Southern Africa*, H.W. Wilson Co., 1979 (Vol. 51, Number 3 of *The Reference Shelf* series)

Journal Articles

- “The Friends Central Controversy and Palestinian Peace Activism,” *Quaker Higher Education*, Volume 11: Issue 2 (November 2017)
- “Overcoming Militarism through Strategic Nonviolent Action,” *Global Prospects*, Vol. III (2017)
- “Europe’s Refugee Crisis, Terrorism, and Islamophobia,” *Peace Review*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (January-March 2017)
- “Nonviolent Civil Resistance in Islamic Countries Prior to the Arab Spring,” *Peace Review*, Vol. 28; No.3 (July-September 2016)

- “Hillary the Hawk: How a Clinton Presidency Would Bring a More Militaristic Approach to U.S. Middle East Policy,” *The Cairo Review of Global Affairs*, Winter 2016, No. 20
- “Western Sahara, Resources and International Accountability,” *Global Change, Peace & Security* Vol. 27; No. 3 (2015)
- “U.S.-Georgian Relations and the 2008 Conflict with Russia,” *Peace Review*, Vol. 27; No. 4 (October-December 2015)
- “Nonviolent Action in Anti-Imperialist Struggles,” *Peace Review* Vol. 26; No. 2 (April-June 2014)
- “Lessons and False Lessons from Libya,” *Peace Review*, Vol. 25; No. 4 (October-December 2013)
- “Bahrain’s Arrested Revolution,” *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 35, No. 2 (Spring 2013)
- “Nonviolent Revolution in the Middle East,” *Peace Review*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (October-December 2011)
- “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, No. 1 (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 and Encyclopedias

- Renee Marlin-Bennett, ed. *The International Studies Encyclopedia*, second edition, Wiley-Blackwell, 2016
Nonviolent Action [with Hardy Merriman and Maria Stephan]
- Study guide for documentary “Egypt: Revolution Interrupted?” York-Zimmerman Productions, 2016
- Joseph Rudolph, ed., *Encyclopedia of Modern Ethnic Conflicts*, second edition, ABC-CLIO Greenwood, 2016
East Timor
Western Sahara
- Henry Louis Gates and Emmanuel Akyeampong, *Dictionary of African Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2011
Aminatou Haidar
- Robert Denemark, ed., *The International Studies Encyclopedia*, Blackwell, 2010
Nonviolent Action [with Hardy Merriman and Maria Stephan]
- Spencer Tucker, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Modern Middle East Wars: A Social, Political, and Military History*, ABL-CLIO, 2010
Antonio Taguba
- 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 Hallward]
George Tenet/Tenet Plan
Anthony Zinni/Zinni Plan
Madeline Albright
George McGovern
- 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 in a Unipolar World
Global Economic Justice
- 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, 1981-82
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
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- “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 (plenary)
- “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

- Discussant, panel on “Security Dimensions of the Refugee Crisis,” International Studies Association, Asia-Pacific, Hong Kong, June 17, 2017
- Chair, panel on “Democracy and Democratization in East Asia,” International Studies Association, Asia-Pacific, Hong Kong, June 16, 2017
- Discussant, panel on “The Rights of Children,” International Studies Association, Baltimore, MD February 22, 2017
- Organizer and discussant, panel on “New Insights into Civil Resistance Strategies,” International Studies Association, Baltimore, MD February 23, 2017
- Chair, plenary panel on “European-Middle Eastern Relations,” European Peace Research Association, University of Tromsø, September 3, 2015 (plenary)
- Chair, panel on “The UN, peacekeeping, and nonviolence,” European Peace Research Association, University of Tromsø, September 3, 2015
- Roundtable Participant, “Understanding Nonviolence: Contours and Contexts,” International Studies Association, New Orleans, LA February 19, 2015
- Discussant, “Human Rights and Humanitarian Intervention,” International Studies Association, New Orleans, LA February 18, 2015

Chair, "Unarmed Civil Insurrections: Successes and Challenges," International Studies Association, Toronto, Ontario, Canada March 26, 2014

Chair and Discussant, "Democracy's Ambivalent African Trajectories," African Studies Association, Baltimore, MD November 22, 2013

Discussant, "Nonviolent Conflict: The Internal-External Nexus," International Peace Research Association, Tsu, Japan November 26, 2012

Chair, "Now What? Consolidating the Liberal Gains of Non-Violent Social Movements in Postcommunist Europe, the Middle East and North Africa," International Studies Association, San Diego, CA April 3, 2012

Chair, "Strategic Nonviolent Action in Africa," African Studies Association, Washington, DC November 18, 2011

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, Aug 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, 2008

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

Contributing Editor, *Tikkun*, 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

Advisory Board, *Encyclopedia of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004-2007
Associate Editor for the Middle East and North Africa, *Foreign Policy in Focus*, 1998-2007

Selected Essays

- “Trump’s Dangerous Appointment to Key Civil Rights Position” *The Progressive*, November 3, 2017
- “Resistance Builds to Proposed Israeli Boycott Bill,” *The Progressive*, August 1, 2017
- “Trump’s Support for Punishing Qatar Is Misguided,” *The Progressive*, June 16, 2017
- “Adding Fuel to Fire: How U.S. military strikes in Yemen are feeding the rise of al Qaeda,” *Sojourners*, June 2017
- “Erdogan Can Celebrate the Turkish Referendum—For Now,” *The Progressive*, April 20, 2017
- “Trump’s Dangerous and Cynical Attack on Syria,” *The Progressive*, April 7, 2017
- “The Bipartisan Effort against Campaigns for Corporate Responsibility,” *The Progressive*, March 22, 2017
- “Trump’s Frightening Picks for U.S. Policy in the Middle East,” *The Progressive*, December 22, 2017
- “Overcoming Bitterness and No Longer Assuming the Worst of Democrats,” *Tikkun Online*, November 2, 2017
- “How U.S. Exaggerations of Palestinian Belligerency Undermined the Peace Process,” *Tikkun*, Fall 2016
- “Millennial Apathy and a Possible President Trump,” *The Progressive*, Sept. 28, 2016
- “Putin’s U.S. Defenders,” *The Progressive*, Sept. 15, 2016
- “Islam Karimov: The Death of One of Washington’s Favorite Tyrants,” *The Progressive*, Sept. 7, 2016
- “Western Sahara-Morocco dispute remains stalemated as federation proposal advanced,” *The New Arab*, Aug. 9, 2016
- “‘Most Progressive Dem Platform in History’ Hawkish on Foreign Policy,” *The Progressive*, July 27, 2016
- “The Good News and the Bad News About Turkey’s Attempted Coup,” *The Progressive*, July 19, 2016
- “The Chilcot Report on Iraqi WMDs and the Missing Question,” *The Progressive*, July 13, 2016
- “Fight the Real Enemy: Terrorism, Not Immigration,” *The Progressive*, June 29, 2016
- “Pick Your Poison: Clinton Vs. Trump on Foreign Policy,” *The Progressive*, June 14, 2016
- “Defending Israel’s Attacks on Civilians: A Harbinger for the Clinton Presidency?” *The Progressive*, May 26, 2016
- “Turkey’s Creeping Authoritarianism: Is the Resistance Enough?” *The Progressive*, May 13, 2016
- “Hillary and Bernie Part Ways on Israel,” *The Progressive*, April 18, 2016
- “Syria after the Ceasefire,” *Boston Review*, March 2, 2016
- “What We Can Expect From Hillary Clinton on Israel/Palestine,” *Truthout*, Dec. 5, 2015
- “Nobel Peace Prize spotlights National Dialogue Quartet,” *National Catholic Reporter*, Nov. 20, 2015
- “Obama’s Escalation in Syria,” *The Progressive*, Nov. 5, 2015
- “Why Netanyahu Needs Holocaust Revisionism,” *The Progressive*, Oct. 27, 2015
- “Europe’s Refugee Crisis,” *National Catholic Reporter*, Oct. 8, 2015
- “Alternatives to War from the Bottom Up,” *Tikkun*, Summer 2015
- “Hardliners on All Sides Undermining Iran’s Nuclear Talks,” *The Progressive*, April 5, 2015
- “Netanyahu Still Swaying U.S. Congress,” *The Progressive*, March 4, 2015
- “The U.S. and ISIS,” *The Progressive*, August 26, 2014
- “The United States’ Tragic Role in Iraq,” *The Progressive*, June 20, 2014
- “Eight Arguments Against Going to War With Syria,” *Truthout*, September 4, 2013

“Restless Nation: The Real Meaning of Iran’s Elections,” *Yes!*, August 2013
 “Israel, Syria and the United States,” *Truthout*, May 13, 2013
 “Hillary Clinton’s Legacy as Secretary of State,” *Truthout*, February 7, 2013
 “Occupy fizzled, but made 99% a force,” *CNN Opinion*, September 17, 2012
 “Obama, Palestine, and the United Nations,” *Tikkun*, Spring 2012
 “Protests Alone are Not a Movement,” *New York Times*, October 7, 2011
 “Netanyahu’s Speech and the Democrats’ Embrace of Extremism,” *Truthout*, June 3, 2011
 “What About Qaddafi?” *Sojourners*, May 2011
 “Principles Before Politics,” *Tikkun*, Winter 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
 “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;

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

Monthly foreign affairs column for the *National Catholic Reporter*

Periodic op-ed articles for the *Christian Science Monitor*, *Washington Post*, *Newsday*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the *Seattle Times*, the *San Jose Mercury News*, the *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, the *Monterey Herald* 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, Truthout, and Huffington Post

Selected Guest Lectureships

“Psychological and Ideological Barriers to Israeli-Palestinian Peace,” University of California-Santa Cruz, February 22, 2018

“The Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process: Too Late for a Two-state Solution?,” Colorado College. October 17, 2017

“Anti-Coup Resistance: Nonviolent Action to Reverse Armed Seizures of Governments,” Rutgers University-Newark, April 20, 2017

“Quakers Addressing Israel/Palestine – Advocacy or Reconciliation?” 2017 Stephen G. Cary Memorial Lecture, Pendle Hill, April 3, 2017

“U.S. Policy towards Israel/Palestine Under Trump,” Duke University, March 30, 2017

“U.S. Policy towards Israel/Palestine and Fading Hopes for a Two-State Solution,” University of North Carolina, March 29, 2017

“What drives U.S. foreign policy on the Palestine Israel conflict?” Wake Forest University, March 28, 2017

“Western Sahara: Nonviolent Resistance and International Legal Implications,” National Centre of Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Otago, May 10, 2016

“The United States and the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process: Why It Has Failed,” University of Otago, April 12, 2016

“Western Sahara: International Law and Global Responsibility,” University of Sydney Law School, April 6, 2016

“The Role of External Actors in Pro-Democracy Civil Insurrections,” National Centre of Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Otago, March 9, 2016

“The Syrian Tragedy: Causes, Consequences, and Options,” University of Redlands, October 21, 2015

“Civil Disobedience within Liberal Democracies and Strategic Nonviolent Action within Authoritarian Rule,” University of Massachusetts, Amherst, October 13, 2015

“Non-Violent Civil Resistance: Successes and Failures,” Fletcher School for Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, October 7, 2015

“Israel-Palestine: International Law, Human Rights, and U.S. Policy,” John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, October 5, 2015

“Western Sahara and International Responsibility,” University of Oslo, September 18, 2015

“Syria and Western Sahara: Contrasting Resistance and International Response,” University of Bergen, September 10, 2015

“Western Sahara: European and U.S. Policy,” University of Tromso, September 1, 2015

“Yemen, ISIS, and Middle East Mayhem: What Americans Should Know,” University of San Francisco, April 16, 2015

“Peace or Pax Americana? The U.S. Role in the Israeli-Palestine,” University of Redlands, April 8, 2015

“U.S. Policy in the Caribbean and Latin America: Hegemony and Resistance,” Sonoma State University, February 4, 2015

“Israel, Palestine, and the United States: The Failure of Governments and the Hope from Civil Society,” University of California-Santa Cruz, November 13, 2014

“The United States and the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process: Help of Hindrance?” Colorado College, November 11, 2014

“The United States and the Middle East: Intervention, Reaction, and Hope for Change,” Gustavus Adolphus College, October 28, 2014

“Overcoming Repression through Nonviolent Resistance: The Ultimate Asymmetrical Warfare,” Stanford University, May 30, 2014

“The Role of Strategic Nonviolent Action in Global Democratization,” Syracuse University, April 18, 2014

“The United States and the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process: Lessons from Recent History,” Reppy Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies, Cornell University, April 17, 2014

“Middle East Democracy Uprisings: Victories and Setbacks,” Ithaca College, April 16, 2014

“Iran and the Nuclear Question,” Cornell University, April 15, 2014

“U.S. Options in Syria,” Wake Forest University, April 9, 2014

“The United States and Ukraine: Issues and Options,” Guilford College, April 8, 2014

“Syria: Are There Still Nonviolent Alternatives?” University of North Carolina, April 7, 2014

“The Kerry Initiative: Hope for Resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict?” The Hinckley Institute, University of Utah, March 21, 2014

“The United States and the Middle East Peace Process: Help of Hindrance,” Oberlin College, March 18, 2014

- “The Struggle for Democracy in the Middle East: Civil Insurrections and U.S. Policy,” University of California-Santa Barbara, May 29, 2013
- “What to do About Syria?” Colorado College, April 29, 2013
- “Libya, Mali, and the Crises of North Africa,” University of California-Berkeley, April 2, 2013
- “Building a Human Rights Agenda for US Middle East Policy,” University of Oregon, February 15, 2013
- “The Arab Spring: Two Years Later,” Korbel School for International Studies, University of Denver, February 11, 2013
- “The Election and Implications for the Middle East,” California State University—Monterey Bay, November 7, 2012
- “Nonviolent Action and the Arab Revolutions” and related themes at:
- University of Wyoming, March 11, 2013
 - Stanford University, October 17, 2012
 - Carnegie-Mellon University, March 31, 2012
 - Monash University, March 19, 2012
 - Louisiana State University, March 5, 2012
 - Gettysburg College, March 1, 2012
 - Earlham College, February 20, 2012
 - Payap University, January 19, 2012
 - Thommasat University, January 17, 2012
 - World Affairs Council of Sonoma County, December 8, 2011
 - 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
- “The ‘Clash of Civilizations’ and U.S. Policy in the Islamic World,” American Institute for International Studies, October 25, 2012
- “The United States, Israel, and Iran: Nuclear Proliferation, Repression and the Threat of War,” Colorado College, April 26, 2012
- “The Global Reach of the Arab Spring,” University of California—Santa Barbara, April 22, 2012
- “Power to the Peaceful? The Utility of Violence in Social Movements,” Lewis & Clark College, April 10, 2012
- “Contemporary Issues in Nonviolence,” Kennesaw State University, March 31, 2012
- “Nonviolent Struggles and Democratization,” Thommaset University, January 18, 2012
- “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,” Tempo 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

“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 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

- “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
- “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, 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, Nov. 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,” 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,” Cornell University, Sept. 30, 1987
- “Revolution Without Arms: Prospects for Nonviolent Change in the Third World,” Ithaca College, Sept. 24, 1987
- “Patriotism and the Left: National Identification in American Social Movements,” Cornell University, May 6, 1987
- “The Iran-Contra Scandal and its Implications for U.S. Foreign Policy,” 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 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