

## **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-
- Founder and Coordinator, Middle Eastern Studies Program, 2007-2017
- 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

February-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
Building Nonviolent Social Movements	Senior Honors Seminar

## **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, 2002-2003

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

2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2013, 2014, and 2015

James Lawson Institute in the Strategic Evaluation of Nonviolent Civil Resistance

2013, 2014, 2017, 2018, 2020, and 2021

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

School for Authentic Journalism (Mexico)

2010, 2011, and 2012

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

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

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

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

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

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 (revised and expanded second edition, 2022)

*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**

*Sudan's 2019 Revolution: The Power of Civil Resistance*, Washington: International Center on Nonviolent Conflict, 2021

*Civil Resistance Against Coups: A Comparative and Historical Perspective*, Washington: International Center on Nonviolent Conflict, 2017

*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**

"Between Arms Control and Arms Transfer: The US Arms Policy Toward the Middle East," for *The Arms Race in the Middle East*, Springer, forthcoming

"Palestine and Western Sahara: Comparative Occupations, Resistance, and International Response," in Sabella Aidid's *Palestine, Taiwan, and Western Sahara: Statehood, Sovereignty, and the International System*, Rowman & Littlefield/Lexington Books, 2023

"Implications of U.S. Recognition of Morocco's Annexation of Western Sahara," in Katlyn Thomas, Clive Symmons, and Pedro Pinto Leite, in *Justice on Trial: Law, Politics and Western Sahara*, IPJET, 2022

"The Limits to U.S. Hegemonic Aspirations in the Middle East and North Africa," in Raymond Hinnebusch and Jamsine K. Gani, eds., *The Routledge Handbook to the Middle East and North African State and States System*, Routledge, 2020

"U.S. Middle East Policy," in Anders Jägerskog, Michael Schulz, and Ashok Swain, eds., *Routledge Handbook on Middle East Security*, 2019

"Sexism, Militarism, and Foreign Policy in the 2016 Campaign," in Laura Finley and Matthew Johnson, eds., *Trumpism: The Politics of Gender in a Post-Propitious America*, Cambridge Scholars Press, 2018

"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

"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 Reychler, 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 911: 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 Power and Value of Strategic Nonviolent Action,” *Journal of Pacifism and Nonviolence*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (2023)
- “People-powered and non-violent social movements: Forcing gradualist democratic reforms in authoritarian societies,” *Frontiers in Political Science*, February 2022
- “The Promise and Pitfalls of the U.S. Pro-Palestinian Movement,” *Peace Review*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (2021)
- “The Role of Civil Resistance in Bolivia’s 1977-1982 Pro-Democracy Struggle,” *Middle Atlantic Review of Latin American Studies*, Vol. II, No. 1 (2018)
- “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, 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, Encyclopedias, and Study Guides

- Renee Marlin-Bennett, ed., *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*, Oxford University Press, 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  
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A list of approximately 250 policy papers prepared for the Institute for Policy Studies, the International Center for Nonviolent Conflict, *Foreign Policy*, *Open Democracy*, and elsewhere available [here](#)

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