

## **George A. Lopez**

Senior Fellow, Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies  
Professor, Political Science

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### **Academic Appointments**

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2007 - The Theodore M. Hesburgh, CSC, Chair in Peace Studies, Kroc Institute

2000-04 Director of Policy Studies, Kroc Institute

1997 Interim Executive Director, The Educational Foundation for Nuclear Science  
publisher of The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, Chicago

1992-93 The John M. Regan, Jr. Acting Director, Joan B. Kroc Institute for International  
Peace Studies; and Professor of Political Science, University of Notre Dame

1986-92, Faculty Fellow and Director of Undergraduate Peace Studies, Joan B. Kroc  
95-00, 05- Institute

1975-86 Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, Department of Political Science (1975-86);  
Department Chair (1980-82); Director, Peace & Global Studies (1978-79, 1981-86)

### **Educational Background**

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1975 Ph.D., Syracuse University, International Relations

1974 M.A. , Syracuse University, International Relations

1972 A.B., St. John Fisher College, Rochester, N.Y., History

### **Teaching and Research Interests**

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International Relations and Peace Research with special reference to:

- global violence, terrorism, economic sanctions
- ethics and the use of force
- human rights, their monitoring and measurement

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## Offices in Professional Associations and Journals

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Chair, Board of Directors, The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, July, 1998 - June 2003.

Chair, Selection Committee, Grants in Research & Writing for Individuals, The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, January 1988 - September 1997.

Editorial Boards of Journals/Presses:

Peacekeeping and Development, Founding Member, January 2003 - present.

Peace and Conflict Studies, January 2003 - present.

Human Rights Quarterly, September 1994 - present.

The University of Notre Dame Press, September 1993 - August 1997.

American Journal of Political Science, September 1993 - 1999; Executive Committee, 1993-1996.

The Mershon Review of International Studies, Founding member, February 1993. Executive Council, February 1993 - February 1998.

Peace Review, October 1992 - present.

The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, June 1991 - 2000; Chair, 1996-98.

Peace and Change: A Journal of Peace Research, October 1980 - 1999. Executive Board, October 1982 - 1987.

Global Justice Center of Rights Development, University of Denver, March 1991 - 1998.

Sixth Edition, Peace & World Security Studies: A Curriculum Guide. Lynne Rienner, 1993.

Fifth Edition, Peace & World Order Studies: A Curriculum Guide. Westview Press, 1989.

Chair, Peace Studies Section, International Studies Association, March 1989 - March 1992.

Midwest Consortium for International Security Studies Program Governing Council, 1987 - 1994. Executive Committee, June 1989 - June 1991.

International Studies Association. Secretary-Treasurer, Midwest Section, October 1980 - October 1987.

Indiana Consortium for Security Studies. Executive Committee, Spring 1980 - Spring 1986.

Indiana Consortium for International Programs, Executive Committee. January 1980 - June 1981. Program Chair of four ICIP Conferences 1980-1984.

Midwest Political Science Association. Section chair, International Relations: 1977, 1987.

Consortium for Peace Research, Education and Development (COPRED). Coordinator, University Education Network, October 1978 - October 1985; Chairperson, Nominating Committee, 1979 and 1984; Executive Committee, October 1978 - October 1981.

Consortium for International Studies Education (CISE) of the International Studies Association. Executive Committee, January 1978- June 1986.

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### Professional Honors

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Recipient, Second Annual 'Media Legend' Award. Presented by the University of Notre Dame Office of News and Information to the Faculty Member making the most significant contribution to the projection of the University in national news.

Recipient, Outstanding Undergraduate Teaching Award in Political Science, The American Political Science Association and Pi Sigma Alpha, September 2005.

Recipient, Kaneb Award for Outstanding Undergraduate Teaching in the College of Arts and Letters, May 2005, University of Notre Dame. One of the few faculty members to receive this award a second time (1999 first award).

Senior Fellow, The Kaneb Center for Teaching, University of Notre Dame, 2004-05. Named in recognition of outstanding and innovative teaching at the University.

Recipient, Award conferred by the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, Mexico, for service to the United Nations, August, 2004.

Recipient, Reinhold Niebuhr Award, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, IN, May 2003. In recognition of outstanding international service and ethical leadership on public policy issues.

Recipient, Outstanding Humanitarian Achievement Award, St. John Fisher College, Rochester, New York, May 2002. In recognition of 25 years of distinguished contributions to peace and human rights.

Senior Research Associate, Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs, July 2001 - July 2002. In addition to research on ethics in the war on terror, assisted with Council's New York public programs responding to 9-11, and co-directed their summer institute, Brown University.

Recipient, *Choice* Outstanding Academic Title Award for The Sanctions Decade: Assessing UN Strategies in the 1990s, January 2001 (with David Cortright).

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## Other Significant Professional Activities

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Testimony "UN Sanctions After Oil-for-Food: Still a Viable Diplomatic Tool?"

Hearings of the Sub-committee on National Security, Emerging Threats and International Relations House of Representatives Committee on Government Reform One Hundred Ninth Congress, Tuesday, May 2, 2006

Testimony "The Volcker Interim Report on the United Nations Oil-for-Food Program" to the US House of Representatives Committee on International Relations, February 9, 2005.

Monthly columnist on foreign affairs, *La Opinion*, June 2004 - June 2006 (most columns listed p. 17).

Keynote address at the national conference, *The University Thinks About Peace*, "University Peace Studies and the Problem of Peace" Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Bogota, Colombia, October 27, 2000.

The Ford Foundation Visiting Scholar in Contemporary Conflict, The Program in Peace and World Security Studies (PAWSS) of the Five College Consortium, March 7-10, 1999.

The Rudin-Driscoll Distinguished Visiting Lectureship Iona College, "Reconciling Rights and Resolution: Do Good Things Really Go Together?" November 1997.

Research Associate, Human Rights Monitoring Project, The Center for the Study of Social Conflict (PIOOM) University of Leiden, Netherlands April, 1990 - 1999.

Selection Committee, Special Grants and Programs, United States Institute of Peace, 1990-1991.

Advisory Committee, Human Rights Education, Amnesty International-USA, October 1988 - October 1991; October 1994 - present.

Special Task Force on Human Rights Education in the U.S. for Amnesty International, USA. October 1986 - October 1988.

Creator and Series Editor, *Dilemmas in World Politics* - a series of monographs in international relations for Westview Press, March 1988 - December 2002.

Series Creator and Co-editor, *State Violence, State Terror and Human Rights*, a series of scholarly books on governmental violence in its various forms, March 1989 - March 1996.

Advisory Board, University of Dayton Center for International Studies, 1987-1989.

Screening Committee for Social Science Research Council/MacArthur Foundation Fellowship Program on International Peace and Security, Spring 1985; Committee Chair, 1986-1988.

Lambert Committee for International Studies Education, American Council on Education, October 1986 - June 1987.

Seminar Leader in International Education. Lilly Endowment Workshop on the Liberal Arts, 1985 - 1995.

Materials Development Consultant, Consortium of International Studies Education "Global Issues Project." Funded by Exxon Education Foundation, 1980-1982.

Testimony for the United States Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution. June 30, 1980. 11 pp.

United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) and COPRED Consultation on First Special Session on Disarmament. Co-convener and Rapporteur, February 1979.

### **Major Consultancies**

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Arsenault Family Foundation, January - July 2002. Provided background research and policy advice at the start-up stage of family foundation committed to funding in peace and security concerns.

The peacemaking team of Catholic Relief Services strategic planning summit, Tampa, Florida, October 8-13, 2000.

Special Working Group, Human Rights and US Foreign Policy: A Twenty Year Assessment, United States Institute of Peace, January 1999 - May 2001.

The Committee to Create the Kroc Institute, University of San Diego. Autumn, 1997.

Working Group on Nigeria, Center for Preventive Action, The Council on Foreign Relations, New York. March 1996 - December 1997.

Special Review Committee of the Educational Foundation for Nuclear Science, Chicago, Illinois. November 1996 - June 1997.

Expert Study Group on Sanctions and US Foreign Policy, The Council on Foreign Relations, Washington, D.C. April 1996 - December 1997.

External evaluator for study of the humanitarian impacts of sanctions, Department of Humanitarian Affairs, United Nations, January - March 1996.

Sanctions Study Group, The Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, April 1995 - September 1996.

Office of International Peace & Justice, U.S. Catholic Conference, for preparation of the 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary document commemorating The Challenge of Peace, November 1992 - November 1993. Consultant on sanctions policy, April 1996 - present.

National Research Council- U.S. Agency for International Development project on Democracy and Human Rights, 1991-1992.

American Association for the Advancement of Science project on Statistics and Human Rights, 1986 - 1988; 1992 - 1994.

"Developing Peace and Conflict Resolution Materials for Secondary Schools," a joint project of the United States Institute of Peace and the Mershon Center for International Affairs, The Ohio State University, January 1992 - July 1993.

The Benjamin V. Cohen Memorial Peace Fellowship, Ball State University, Muncie, Indiana, April 1991 - 1995.

Staff of the Christian Science Monitor for their special issue on "Teaching Peace", January 1986.

Indiana Catholic Conference, for dissemination and public discussion of the US Catholic Bishops Pastoral Letter, "The Challenge of Peace." 1983-1985.

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### **Grants Authored and Received**

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The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Netherlands, "Increasing Compliance with United Nations Counter-terrorism Mandates" with David Cortright and Alistair Millar, June 2005 - July 2006. \$52,600.

The Foreign Ministry of Japan. "Assessing UN Progress in Counter-terrorism since September, 2001". With David Cortright and Alistair Millar, June 2005 - October 2005. \$40,000.

The United Nations Foundation, "Assessing US and UN Institutional Capacity for Combating Terrorism," with the Georgetown University, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), January - December 2005. \$20,000.

The United States Institute of Peace, "Targeting Terror: Enhancing the UN Counter-Terrorism Program", with David Cortright and Alistair Millar, March 2004 - July 2005. \$50,000.

The Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Copenhagen, Denmark, "Assessing Future Options for the UN Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC)", with David Cortright and Alistair Millar, December 2003 - July 2004. \$150,000.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Stockholm, Sweden, "Making Targeted Sanctions Effective," with David Cortright, December 2001 - December 2002. \$10,000

- The Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Oslo, Norway, "Studying the Options for Smart Sanctions on Iraq" with Alistair Millar and David Cortright, July 1, 2000 - March 31, 2001. \$30,000
- The Canadian Foreign Ministry and the International Peace Academy, New York, "Assessing Sanctions Reform in the United Nations System" with David Cortright, May 1, 2000 - November 15, 2001. \$40,000.
- The Canadian Foreign Ministry and the International Peace Academy, New York, "The Sanctions Decade: Assessing United Nations Sanctions in the 1990s" with David Cortright, May 1, 1999 - March 15, 2000. \$40,000.
- The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation. "Smart Sanctions" with David Cortright, March 1 - December 31, 1999. \$50,000.
- The United States Institute of Peace. "Smart Sanctions" with David Cortright, March 1 - December 31, 1999. \$30,000.
- The United States Institute of Peace. "Assessing the Humanitarian Impact of Economic Sanctions." September 1, 1996 - June 30, 1997, with David Cortright, Thomas Weiss and Larry Minear. \$37,000.
- The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation. "The Sword, the Sacred and Global Security: A Video Project," with Scott Appleby, April 1 - December 31, 1998. \$10,000.
- The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation. "Economic Sanctions and Humanitarian Action: Toward Improving United Nations Capacity for Action Without Harming Innocent Civilians," with David Cortright, Thomas Weiss and Larry Minear. January 1, 1997 - December 31, 1997. \$40,000.
- The Department of Humanitarian Affairs and the United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force. "Assessing the Humanitarian Impact of Economic Sanctions" with David Cortright, Thomas Weiss and Larry Minear. September 1, 1996 - June 30, 1997. \$65,000.
- The Joyce Mertz-Gilmore Foundation, Program in Human Rights. July 1, 1995 - June 30, 1997. "Protecting Human Rights: A Survey of Transnational Non-Governmental Organizations Working for Human Rights" with Ron Pagnucco and Jackie Smith, \$50,000.
- Rockefeller Foundation. "Bombs, Carrots and Sticks" with David Cortright. January 1 - December 31, 1994. \$50,000.
- W. Alton Jones Foundation. "Bombs, Carrots and Sticks" with David Cortright. July 1, 1993 - June 30, 1995. \$100,000.
- The United States Institute of Peace. "Assessing NGO Activities in New Conflict Environments" (co-author) July 1, 1994 - June 30, 1995. \$ 40,000.

Social Science Research Council, "International Institutions and Transnational Social Movements" June, 1993 - May, 1994, Co-investigator with Janie Leatherman, Ron Pagnucco and Jackie Smith, \$7,500 for authors workshop at Notre Dame.

The John D. & Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, "Economic Sanctions & International Relations," Spring, 1993, Co-investigator with David Cortright, \$20,000.

Lilly Education Endowment. Course Development Grant, "Teaching International Relations as if Students Mattered". Summer, 1990. \$5,000.

Midwest Consortium for International Security Studies: "The Ethical Dimensions of the Changing Use of Force in International Affairs", 1989-1991. \$23,000.

Indiana Committee on the Humanities. "Outside of a Small Circle of Friends: Citizens and Their Governments as Bystanders in a World of Genocide, Terror and Gross Violations of Human Rights." Summer, 1986. \$4,000 (co-investigator).

Fulbright Committee. Curriculum Consultant for Undergraduate Education: Latin American Studies. Earlham College. 1984-1985, \$38,000 (co-author).

The Joyce Mertz-Gilmore Foundation. "Creating a 'Second Generation' Peace Studies Program," 1982-1983. \$25,000.

Exxon Education Foundation. "Curriculum and Faculty Development in International Education" 1981-1982. \$45,000 (co-author).

Indiana Committee on the Humanities. "Great Decisions Program in Richmond, Indiana," Winter 1981. \$2,000.

United States Office of Education, International Division. "Improving the Undergraduate International Studies Curriculum," July 1980-June 1982. \$94,000.

United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare. "Assessing the Needs of the Elderly and Soon-to-be-Retired." Two grants spanning Spring 1976 - Fall 1978. \$26,000.

Ford Foundation. Dissertation Fellowship for Mexican-Americans. September 1974 - June 1975. Graduate Fellowship for Mexican-Americans, July 1973 - August 1974.

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### **Significant Notre Dame Responsibilities and Roles**

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Currently:

- elected at-large social science representative to the College (A&L) Council '05-'07.
- elected to the Committee on Appointments and Promotions, Political Science, 06-07.
- Academic Director of the University Washington DC Program, 2003 - 2007.

- serve on four major committees at the Kroc Institute including the Executive Committee
- serve as Field Chair of International Relations, Political Science, 2005-07
- Academic Advisor to Most Senior Theses in Department of Political Science, 2000-2007, including three award winners of annual prize

Over the Past 20 Years:

- 16 of 20 years served as Director of Undergraduate Peace Studies, Kroc Institute
- 8 of 20 years elected to serve on Committee for Appointments and Promotion, Department of Political Science
- elected to two, three year terms in the Faculty Senate, elected to executive committee, 1991-94.
- appointed to and served on four university committees for diversity issues
- elected to serve on College of Arts & Letters Tenure Appeal Board

## Publications

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### A. Books

#### 1. In Press and in process

Uniting Against Terrorism. Co-edited and co-authored with David Cortright. The MIT Press, July, 2007.

Putting Teeth in the Tiger: Creating Effective Arms Embargoes. Edited ms. which compiles the two year research project on arms embargoes undertaken with the Bonn International Center for Conversion. Co-edited and co-authored with Michael Brozka, Ms completed by April, 2007. Publisher still under consideration for U.S. Published in Germany by the Thyssen Foundation, Summer, 2006.

Ethics, Force and International Action. A collection of my own new and previously published essays on the ethical dimensions of terrorism, just war, economic sanctions and Iraq. Ms. completed December 2006. Prospectus under consideration.

The Peace Puzzle. A commissioned monograph for universities and the general public on how to deal with various forms of contemporary violence. A *Millenium Series* Book for Rowan & Littlefield. Ms. due for completion, Fall 2007.

#### 2. Published

Sanctions and the Search for Security: Challenges to UN Action. Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002. (Co-author with David Cortright).

Towards Smart Sanctions: Targeting Economic Statecraft. Rowman & Littlefield, 2002. (Co-editor and co-contributor with David Cortright).

The Sanctions Decade: Assessing UN Security Council Sanctions in the 1990s. Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000. (Co-author with David Cortright) A *Choice* award Winner for 2000.

Peace and Security: The Next Generation. Readings from The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists. Rowman & Littlefield, 1997 (contributor; co-editor with Nancy J. Myers).

Civilian Pain and Political Gain: Assessing the Humanitarian Impact of Economic Sanctions. Rowman & Littlefield, 1997. (Co-editor and contributor with David Cortright, Thomas Weiss and Larry Minear).

Economic Sanctions: Panacea or Peace-building in the Post-Cold War World? Westview Press, 1995. (co-editor with David Cortright, contributor).

Dependence, Development and State Repression. Greenwood Press, Westport, 1989. (contributor, co-editor with Michael Stohl).

International Relations: Contemporary Theory and Practice Congressional Quarterly Press, 1989. (co-author with Michael Stohl).

Liberalization and Redemocratization in Latin America. Greenwood Press, 1987. (co-editor with Michael Stohl and contributor).

Terrible Beyond Endurance? The Foreign Policy of State Terrorism. Greenwood Press, 1987. (co-editor with Michael Stohl).

Government Violence and Repression: An Agenda for Research. Greenwood Press, 1986. (co-editor with Michael Stohl and contributor).

The State as Terrorist: The Dynamics of Governmental Violence and Repression. Greenwood Press, 1984. (co-editor with Michael Stohl and contributor).

## **B. Significant Policy Reports**

With David Cortright, "The Smarter U.S. Option: A Full Summit With Iran," Kroc Institute Policy Brief, June, 2006.

With David Cortright et al. Standards and Best Practices for Improving States' Implementation of United Nations Counter-terrorism Mandates. Prepared for the Netherlands' Ministry of Foreign Affairs, May, 2006.

With David Cortright, Alistair Millar, Linda M. Gerber, Recommendations for Improving the United Nations Counter-Terrorism Committee's Assessment and Assistance Coordination Function, Kroc Institute/Fourth Freedom Forum Policy Brief (September 2005).

With David Cortright, Alistair Millar, Linda M. Gerber, An Action Agenda for Enhancing the United Nations Program on Counter-Terrorism, Kroc Institute/Fourth Freedom Forum Policy Brief (September 2004).

With David Cortright, Alistair Millar, Linda M. Gerber, Toward a More Secure America: Grounding U.S. Policies in Global Realities, Kroc Institute/Fourth Freedom Forum Policy Brief (October 2003).

With David Cortright and Alistair Millar, Winning Without War: Sensible Security Options for Dealing With Iraq Kroc Institute-Fourth Freedom Forum Policy Brief F5 (October 2002).

With Alistair Miller and David Cortright, "Sanctions, Inspections and Containment: Viable Policy Options in Iraq," in David Little and Gerhard Beestermöller (eds.) Iraq: Threat and Response, Hamberg, LitVerlag Publishers, 2003, pp. 127-149.

With David Cortright and Alistair Millar, Sanctions, Inspections and Containment: Viable Policy Options in Iraq. Kroc Institute-Fourth Freedom Forum Policy Brief F3 (May 2002).

With David Cortright and Alistair Millar, Smart Sanctions: Restructuring UN Policy on Iraq Kroc Institute-Fourth Freedom Forum Policy Brief F1 (May 2001).

With David Cortright et al. Toward More Humane and Effective Sanctions: Enhancing the Capacity of the United Nations System. Occasional Paper # 31, The Watson Institute, February 1998, 90 pages.

"The United Nations Special Session on Disarmament: A Report of a COPRED/UNITAR Consultation." Consortium on Peace Research, Education and Development, March 1980, 33 pp.

### **C. Journals (Guest Editor)**

The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, "Globalization at Century's End," vol. 51, no. 4, July/August 1995. Guest editor and contributor.

The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists. "Economic Sanctions: Do They Work?" vol. 49, no. 9, November 1993. Guest editor and contributor (with David Cortright).

THE ANNALS. "Peace Studies: Past and Future," July 1989. (editor and contributor).

Journal of Legislation. "The Strategic Defense Initiative." January 1989. (editor and contributor).

Chitty's Law Journal. "Terrorism and The State", vol 34. March 1986. (co-editor with Michael Stohl and contributor).

### **D. Articles and Book Chapters Published**

### **Economic Sanctions and the Use of Force**

With David Cortright, "UN Security Council Sanctions," in Thomas G. Weiss and Sam Daws, eds., The Oxford Handbook on the United Nations. Oxford University Press, forthcoming, 2007.

With David Cortright and Linda Gerber, "The Sanctions Era: Themes and Trends in United Nations Security Council Sanctions Since 1990", eds., The Security Council and War. Oxford University Press, forthcoming, 2007.

With Kathryn Stuhldreher, "Condemnation without Action: The Failure to Impose Sanctions on Darfur" in Samuel Totten, ed., Action Against Genocide. Routledge, 2007.

"Get Out Now," *Foreign Policy*, May/June 2005.

With David Cortright, "Bombs, Carrots and Sticks: The Use of Incentives and Sanctions," *Arms Control Today*, March 2005.

"La Reforma al Consejo de Seguridad" in Maria Celia Toro Hernandez, ed., Las Naciones Unidas Rumbo sus 60 Anos de Fundacion. El Colegio de Mexico, 2005, 235 - 245.

With David Cortright, "Containing Iraq: Sanctions Worked," *Foreign Affairs*, July/ August, 2004, 90-103.

With David Cortright, "'War on Terror' or Real Security," *Sojourners Magazine*, January 2004, vol. 33, no 1, 30-34.

With David Cortright, "A Sanctions Coordinator: Options for Enhancing Compliance," in Peter Wallensteen (ed.), Between Words and War: The New Challenge of International Sanctions. (London: Frank Cass, 2005), pp. 65-74.

With David Cortright and Linda Gerber, "The Role of International Agencies and Regional Organizations in Sanctions Implementation." in Peter Wallensteen (ed.), Between Words and War: The New Challenge of International Sanctions. (London: Frank Cass, 2005), pp. 144-158.

With David Cortright, "Learning, Adaptation, and Reform in Security Council Sanctions," in David M. Malone, ed. The UN Security Council in the Post-Cold War Era. Oxford University Press, 2003.

With David Cortright, "Disarming Iraq: Nonmilitary Strategies and Options," Arms Control Today, September, 2002, vol. 32, no. 7, pp. 3 - 7.

With David Cortright, "Smarting Under Sanctions: Targeted Sanctions and Zimbabwe" World Today, March 2002, pp. 1-3.

- With David Cortright, "The Limits of Coercion," Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, November/December 2000, pp.18-20.
- With David Cortright, "Learning from the Sanctions Decade," Global Dialogue, vol. 2, no. 3, Summer 2000, pp. 11-24.
- With David Cortright, "Sanctions as Instruments of Global Governance," in Raimo Väyrynen, ed. New Thinking in Global Governance: U.S. and Canadian Perspectives. Roman & Littlefield, 1999.
- With David Cortright, "Trouble in the Gulf: Pain and Promise," The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, vol 54, no. 3 (May/June 1998), pp. 39 - 43.
- With David Cortright, "Carrots, Sticks and Cooperation: Economic Tools of Statecraft," in Barnett Rubin, ed. Preventive Action in International Affairs. A Twentieth Century Fund Book, 1997, pp. 113 - 134.
- With David Cortright, "Finanzielle Sanktionen: der Schlüssel zu einer Strategie 'Intelligenter' Sanktionen" (Financial Sanctions: The Key to a 'Smart' Sanctions Strategy), Die Friedens-Warte, vol. 22, no. 4 (December 1997), pp. 327 - 336.
- With David Cortright, "The Sanctions Era: An Alternative to Military Intervention," The Fletcher Forum on World Affairs, vol. 19, no. 2, Summer/Fall, 1995, pp. 65 - 86.
- With David Cortright, "Economic Sanctions in Contemporary Global Relations," in George A. Lopez and David Cortright, (eds.) Economic Sanctions: Panacea or Peace-building in the Post-Cold War World? Westview Press, 1995, pp. 2 - 19.
- With David Cortright, "Research Needs and Policy Concerns in an Era of Sanctions," in George A. Lopez and David Cortright, (eds.) Economic Sanctions: Panacea or Peace-building in the Post-Cold War World? Westview Press, 1995, pp. 201 - 209.
- "International Relations Research and World Order Modeling: Square Pegs and Round Holes?" Peace & Change: A Journal of Peace Research, Spring 1978, pp. 48-55.

### **Ethical Issues and the Use of Force**

- "Descending into Dirty Harry Ethics," *America*, September 11, 2006
- "Ethics Outflanked," *America*, March 6, 2006
- "Counting the Cost: Telling the Truth About Civilians Killed", *Sojourners Magazine*, vol. 34, no. 2 (February 2005) p 9.
- "Just? Unjust? The morality of pre-emptive war" *Sojourners Magazine*, vol. 33, no. 5 (May 2004) pp. 20-25.

- "A Quagmire: Vietnam, Iraq and other analogies" *Commonweal*, January 16, 2004, 11-12.
- "Iraq & Just War Thinking" *Commonweal*, September 27, 2002, pp. 14 -15.
- "The Style of the New War: Making the Rules as We Go Along" *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol. 16, no 1, (Winter 2001), pp. 21-27. Slight revision printed as "Ethics and Law in a New Type of War," in Peace Colloquy, Kroc Institute, Fall 2002.
- "After September 11: How Ethics Can Help" *America*, October 8, 2001, pp. 20 - 24.
- With David Cortright, "Toward More Effective and More Ethical Sanctions," *America*, November 25, 2000, pp. 18-22.
- "A More Ethical than Not: Sanctions as Surgical Tools", *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol 13 (Spring 1999), pp. 143-148. (reprinted excerpt) in Henry J. Steiner and Philip Alston, eds. INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS IN CONTEXT: LAW, POLITICS, MORALITY. 2nd ed. Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 670-672.
- With David Cortright, "Sanctions and Contending Views of Justice: The Problematic Case of Iraq," *Journal of International Affairs*, vol 52, no 2 (Spring 1999), pp. 735-755.
- "The Sanctions Dilemma: Hype Doesn't Help" *Commonweal* September 11, 1998, pp. 10 - 12.
- With David Cortright, "What to do about Iraq? The moral dilemma of sanctions" *Sojourners*, March-April, vol 27, no 2 (1998), pp. 12 - 13.
- "Making Theory Safe for Nonviolent Action" A review of Burgess et al. Justice Without Violence, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994. *The Mershon International Studies Review*, (1995), pp. 311-314.
- With Ron Pagnucco and Jackie Smith, "The Global Tide," *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, vol. 51, no. 4, July/August 1995.
- "Ethics in the Gulf War: Not So Clean," *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, vol 47, no. 6., September 1991, pp. 30 - 35.
- "Bringing People Together: The Literature of Dispute Settlement and Conflict Resolution," *CHOICE*, November 1984, pp. 383 - 392.
- "Lessons for the Disarmers," *Christian Science Monitor*, Friday, June 18, 1982, p. 22.
- "News from COPRED" in Hylke Tromp (ed.) *The UNESCO Yearbook on Peace and Conflict Studies*, 1980. Greenwood Press, 1981, pp. 292-297.

### Human Rights, State Terror and Terrorism

With Shannon Drysdale Walsh, "New thinking about measuring human rights," A solicited book review/essay for *Human Rights Quarterly*, May, 2007.

With Neve Gordon, "Terrorism in the Arab-Israeli Conflict," in Andrew Vallis, ed., New Thinking in Ethics and International Affairs. Boulder, Colorado: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000, pp. 99 - 116.

"Sanctions and Genocide" in Neal Riemer, ed. Protection Against Genocide. Westport. Ct.: Greenwood Press, 2000, pp. 67 - 84.

With Jackie Smith and Ron Pagnucco, "Globalizing Human Rights: The Work of Transnational Human Rights NGOs in the 1990s," *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 20, no. 2 (May 1998), pp. 379 - 412.

With Michael Stohl and Clair Apodaca, "Moving Norms to Political Reality: Institutionalizing Human Rights Standards through the United Nations System" in Chad Alger, ed. The Future of the United Nations System. Tokyo: The United Nations University Press, 1998, pp. 185 - 220.

With David Cortright, "Economic Sanctions and Human Rights: Part of the Solution or Part of the Problem?" *The International Journal of Human Rights*, vol. 1, no. 2 (May 1997) pp. 1 - 25.

"Terrorism and Peace Studies" *Peace Review*, vol. 7. no. 3, December 1995, pp. 261 - 266.

"Cooperation in Human Rights Analysis in the 1990s: Can We Do a Better Job?" Global Justice, vol. 2 # 5, January - February 1992, pp. 1 - 5.

With David Pion-Berlin, "Of Victims and Executioners: Argentine State Terror, 1975-1979," *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 35, no. 1, March 1991, pp. 63 - 86.

"Data Needs and Data Sources in Human Rights Monitoring" in Alex Schmid (ed). Monitoring Human Rights Observance. PIOOM: Leiden, Netherlands, 1991, pp. 47 - 62.

With Michael Stohl, "Problems of Concept and Measurement in the Study of Human Rights", in R. Claude and T. Jabine (eds.) Statistics and Human Rights: Setting the Record Straight. University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991, pp. 216 - 234.

"Why the Generals Wage War on the People" *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, vol 46, no. 4, May 1990, pp. 30 - 34.

"Terrorism in Latin America," in Michael Stohl (ed). The Politics of Terrorism. 3rd ed. Marcel Dekker, 1987, pp. 497 - 524.

With Michael Stohl, David Carleton and Stephen Samuels, "State Violation of Human Rights: Issues and Problems of Measurement," *Human Rights Quarterly*. November 1986, pp. 592 - 606.

With Chris Mitchell, Michael Stohl and David Carleton, "State Terrorism: Issues of Concept and Measurement" in Stohl and Lopez (eds.) Government Violence and Repression: An Agenda for Research, pp. 1 - 26.

"Ideology, the National Security State and Government Terror," in Government Violence and Repression: An Agenda for Research, pp. 73 - 96.

"State Terror: From the Reign of Terror to Nineteen Eighty-Four," (co-author with Michael Stohl) in special issue "The State and Terrorism" of *Chitty's Law Journal*, vol 34 (March 1986), pp. 14 - 32.

"Terrorism and World Order: A Policy Approach," Whole Earth Papers, Global Education Associates, East Orange, New Jersey. October 1983. 17pp. Reprinted in various collections, most recently Terrorism and Political Violence 1992/93. Annual Editions Series, Duskin Press, 1993.

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"Named" and invited lectures delivered, program development and evaluation, and curriculum consultations for over 100 colleges, universities and institutes since 1980.

Various confidential review panels for major grant making foundations and agencies, as well as various consultant engagements in peace or international affairs.

## **F. Critical and Anonymous Reviews**

### **Academic and Professional Journals:**

The ANNALS, American Political Science Review, Armed Forces and Society, The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, Journal of Peace Research, Journal of Conflict Resolution, Peace & Change: A Journal of Peace Research, The Review of Politics, International Studies Quarterly, Political Methodology, Maryland Journal of International Law, American Journal of Political Science, International Interactions, Comparative Political Studies, Conflict Quarterly, Terrorism: An International Journal, Terrorism, Violence and Insurgency, Human Rights Quarterly, The Mershon Review of International Studies

### **Presses:**

University: Harvard, Cornell, Notre Dame, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Syracuse, Johns Hopkins; Indiana.

Other: Congressional Quarterly, Westview Press, McGraw-Hill, Random House, Rowman & Littlefield; Brooks-Cole, St. Martin's Press, Palgrave-MacMillan, Greenwood Press, Duskin Press, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Sage Publications, Inc., Wadsworth Press

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