

Curriculum Vitae

ROBERT L. PFALTZGRAFF, JR.

EDUCATION

Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, University of Pennsylvania
M.A. in International Relations; Ph.D. in Political Science

Wharton Graduate Division, University of Pennsylvania, M.B.A.
Major Field: International Business, with studies in Finance, Marketing, Accounting, Business Administration, and Economics

Swarthmore College, B.A. with Honors
Major Field: Political Science
Minor Fields: History and Spanish Literature

CURRENT POSITIONS

Shelby Cullom Davis Professor of International Security Studies
The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, Medford, MA

Founder and President
The Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Cambridge, MA, and Washington, DC

PREVIOUS APPOINTMENTS

Member, International Security Advisory Board (ISAB), U.S. Department of State, 2006-2009. This board provides advice to the Secretary of State and the Undersecretary of State for International Security and undertakes studies as requested.

- Task Force Member, *Report on Discouraging a Cascade of Nuclear Weapons States*, October 2001
- Task Force Member, *Report on U.S. Space Policy*, April 2007
- Task Force Member, *Report on the Review of the 2002 National Strategy to Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction*, November 2006

Honorary Professor, Department of International Relations
University of St. Andrews, St. Andrews, Scotland, 1992-1997

Co-Director, International Summer Course
Christian-Albrechts-University of Kiel, Federal Republic of Germany, 1982-1993

Director, International Security Studies Program, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, 1981-1989

Visiting Professor, National Defense College, Tokyo, Japan, Spring, 1981

President, United States Strategic Institute, 1981-1989

Director, Foreign Policy Research Institute, 1973-1976

Editor, *Orbis*, 1973-1976

George C. Marshall Professor, College of Europe, Bruges, Belgium, 1981-1982

Deputy Director, Foreign Policy Research Institute, 1971-1973

Visiting Lecturer, Foreign Service Institute, Dept. of State, 1970-1971

Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Pennsylvania, 1964-1970

Consultant, Department of Defense, Department of State, United States Information Agency; National Security Council (various times)

PROFESSIONAL HONORS

Scholarship, Swarthmore College

Penfield Fellowship, University of Pennsylvania, for doctoral dissertation research: Great Britain and the European Economic Community: A Study of the Development of British Support for Common Market Membership between 1956 and 1961

John Simon Guggenheim Fellowship

Relm Foundation Grant

Honorary Degree, Doctor of Laws, Nichols College, Dudley, Massachusetts

PRINCIPAL AREAS OF PROFESSIONAL INTEREST

International Security Studies

International Relations Theory

Foreign Policy and National Security

- Proliferation/Counterproliferation
- European and Asia-Pacific Regional Security
- Alliance Relations/Security Cooperation
- Crisis Management
- Homeland Security
- Missile Defense
- Weapons of Mass Destruction

OTHER ACTIVITIES

Member, Board of Advisors to the President of the Naval War College, Newport, RI, 2011-

Member, National Council of Advisors of the Center for the Study of the Presidency and Congress, Washington, D.C.

Member, Board of Advisors, Nonproliferation Policy Education Center, Arlington, VA

Advisory Board, Greater Valley Forge World Affairs Council

Board of Directors, World Affairs Council of Boston, 1993-1999

Member, Board of Advisors to the President of the Naval War College, Newport, RI, 1987-1989

Member of the Editorial Board of "Studies in International Security" for Westview Press, 1987-1989

Advisory Board, College Research Center, Defense Intelligence College, Washington, DC, 1987-1989

Member, Presidential Transition Team, 1980-1981

Fellow, Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society, 1975-1980

Short-term Academic Grantee, Department of State and United States Information Agency, 19/4-19/5
 Member, Advisory Board on European Affairs, Department of State, 1971-1973
 Public Member, Board of Selection, United States Information Agency, Autumn 1969
 Member, Committee on Developed Countries, Policy Planning Council, Department of State, 1966-1969

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

International Institute for Strategic Studies, London
 Council on Foreign Relations
 Churchill Centre

BOOKS

Anticipating a Nuclear Iran: Challenges for U.S. Security (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013) co-author

Relações Internationalais as Teorias em Confronto (Lisbon: Gradiva, 2003, Portuguese edition of *Contending Theories of International Relations*, fifth edition) co-author

Contending Theories of International Relations (fifth edition) (New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 2001) co-author

Strategy and International Politics: Essays in Memory of Werner Kaltefleiter (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2001, English translation of *Kieler Schriften zur politischen Wissenschaft*), co-editor

Strategy and International Politics (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Europäischer Verlag der Wissenschaften, 2000) co-editor and contributor

The Role of Naval Forces in 21st Century Operations (Washington, DC: Brassey's, 2000) co-editor and contributor

War in the Information Age (Washington, DC: Brassey's, 1997) co-editor and contributor

Security in Southeastern Europe and the U.S.-Greek Relationship (Washington, DC: Brassey's, 1997) co-author

Contending Theories of International Relations (fourth edition) (New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 1997) co-author

Arms and Technology Transfers: Security and Economic Considerations Among Importing and Exporting States (Geneva: United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research, 1995) co-editor and contributor

Roles and Missions of SOF in the Aftermath of the Cold War (U.S. Special Operations Command, 1995) co-editor and contributor

Ethnic Conflict and Regional Instability: Implications for U.S. Policy and Army Roles and Missions (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College Press, 1994) co-editor and contributor

Naval Expeditionary Forces and Power Projection: Into the 21st Century (Quantico, VA; Marine Corps University, 1994) co-editor and contributor

Naval Future Presence and the National Military Strategy (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1993) co-editor and contributor

The Future of Air Power in the Aftermath of the Gulf War (Montgomery, AL: Air University Press, 1993) co-editor and contributor

Transatlantic Relations in the 1990s: The Emergence of New Security Architectures (Washington, DC: Brassey's (US), Inc., 1993) co-author

The United States Army: Challenges and Missions for the 1990s (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Co., 1991) co-editor and contributor

National Security Decisions: The Participants Speak (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Co., 1990) co-author

Contending Theories of International Relations: A Comprehensive Survey (New York: Harper and Collins, Third Edition, 1990) co-author

U.S. Defense Policy in an Era of Constrained Resources (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1989) co-editor and contributor

Guerrilla Warfare and Counter-insurgency: U.S.-Soviet Policy in the Third World (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1988) co-editor and contributor

Protracted Warfare—The Third World Arena: A Dimension of U.S. Soviet Conflict (Lexington, MA.: Lexington Books, 1988) co-author

Emerging Doctrines & Technologies: Implications for Global and Regional Political-Military Balances (Lexington, MA.: D.C. Heath, 1981) co-editor and contributor

Selling the Rope to Hang Capitalism?: The Debate on West-East Trade and Technology Transfer (Washington, D.C.: Pergamon-Brasseys, 1987) co-editor and contributor

American Foreign Policy: FDR to Reagan (New York: Harper & Row, 1986) co-author

The Peace Movements in Europe and the United States (Kent, England: Croom Helm Ltd., 1985) co-editor and contributor

Shattering Europe's Defense Consensus: The Anti-Nuclear Protest Movement in Western Europe (Elmsford, N.Y.: Pergamon-Brasseys, 1985) co-editor and contributor

Hydra of Carnage: International Linkages of Terrorism and Low Intensity Operations (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1985) co-editor and contributor

Security Commitments and Capabilities: Elements of an American Global Strategy (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1985) co-editor and contributor

National Security Policy: The Decision-Making Process (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1984) co-editor and contributor

International Security Dimensions of Space (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1984) co-editor and contributor

Die atlantische Gemeinschaft in der Krise: Eine Neudefinition der transatlantischen Beziehungen (Stuttgart, FRG: Klett-Cotta, 1982) Co author

The U.S. Defense Mobilization Infrastructure: Problems and Priorities (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1983) co-editor and contributor

Projection of Power: Perspectives, Perceptions and Problems (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1982) co-editor and contributor

Intelligence Policy and National Security (London: Macmillan Company, 1981) co-editor and contributor

Contending Theories of International Relations: A Comprehensive Survey (New York: Harper and Row, 1981, Second Edition) co-author

The Atlantic Community: A Complex Imbalance (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1969) author

Politics and the International System (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1969; Second Edition, 1972)

Britain Faces Europe, 1951-1961 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1969) author

MONOGRAPHS

A Near-Term Strategy to counter the EMP Threat, Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis White Paper, 2014, co-author

Countering the EMP Threat: The Role of Missile Defense, Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis White Paper, 2010, co-author

Frequently Asked Questions about Ballistic Missile Defense: A Guide, Independent Working Group on Post-ABM Missile Defense and the Space Relationship (Cambridge, MA: Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, 2010) co-author and co-editor

Report on A New NATO, Euro-Atlantic Security, and the Greek-American Partnership Conference, co-author (Cambridge, MA: Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, 2010) co-author and co-editor

Missile Defense, the Space Relationship, and the Twenty-First Century, Report of the Independent Working Group on Missile Defense (Cambridge, MA: Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis for the Independent Working Group, updated 2009) co-author and co-editor

Updating U.S. Deterrence Concepts and Operational Planning, Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis White Paper, 2009, co-author

Space and U.S. Security: A Net Assessment, Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, 2009, principal investigator

Iran with Nuclear Weapons: Anticipating Consequences for U.S. Security, Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, October 2008, co-author

Missile Defense, the Space Relationship, and the Twenty-First Century, Report of the Independent Working Group on Missile Defense (Cambridge, MA: Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis for the Independent Working Group, 2006) co-author and co-editor

Consequence Management in NATO since 9/11, Volume One: *Emerging Threats, Planning, and Responses* and Volume Two: *NATO and European Union Organizational Dimensions and Country Profiles* (Cambridge, MA: Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, 2005) co-author

An Analytical Assessment of Recent Literature on Perception and Misperception: New Avenues and Opportunities for Deception and Counter-Deception (Washington, DC: National Strategy Information Center, 2003) co-author

Strategic Plan for Safeguarding the Commonwealth of Massachusetts against Terrorist and Related Threats for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts (Cambridge, MA: Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, 2003) principal author

European Security Institutions: Ready for the 21st Century? (Washington, DC: Brassey's, 2000) co-author

NATO and Southeastern Europe: Security Issues for the Early 21st Century (Washington, DC: Brassey's, 2000) co-editor

Security Strategy and Missile Defense (Cambridge, MA: Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Special Report, December 1995) editor

Long-Range Bombers and the Role of Airpower in the New Century (Cambridge, MA: Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, National Security Paper, May 1995) co-author

Taiwan in a Transformed World, (Washington, DC: Brassey's, 1995) co-editor

Transatlantic Relations in the 1990s: The Emergence of the New Security Architectures (Washington, DC: Brassey's (US), Inc., 1993) co-author

Canada and the United States in the 1990s: An Emerging Partnership (Washington, DC: Brassey's (US), Inc., 1991) co-author

The Soviet Union After Perestroika: Change and Continuity (Washington, DC: Brassey's (US), Inc., 1991) co-author

The South Pacific: Emerging Security Issues and U.S. Policy (Washington, DC: Brassey's (US), Inc., 1990) co-author

After Tiananmen Square: Challenges for the Chinese-American Relationship (Washington, DC: Brassey's, Inc., 1990) co-author

The INF Controversy: Lessons for NATO Modernization and Transatlantic Relations (Washington, D.C.: Pergamon-Brassey's, April 1989) co-author

Security Perspectives of the West German Left: The SPD and the Greens in Opposition (Washington, DC: Pergamon-Brassey's, January 1989) co-author

British Security Policy and the Atlantic Alliance: Prospects for the 1990s, Special Report (Washington, DC: Pergamon-Brassey's, September 1987) co-author

The Red Army on Pakistan's Border: Policy Implications for the United States. Special Report. (Washington, DC: Pergamon-Brassey's, July 1986) co-editor

National Security: Ethics, Strategy, and Politics, A Layman's Primer. Foreign Policy Report (Washington, DC: Pergamon-Brassey's, February 1986)

Strategic Defense and Extended Deterrence: A New Transatlantic Debate. National Security Paper (Cambridge, MA: Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, February 1986) co-author

World Energy Supply and International Security. Special Report (Cambridge, MA: Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, October 1983)

The Atlantic Alliance and U.S. Global Strategy. Special Report (Cambridge, MA: Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, October 1983) co-author

The Greens of West Germany: Origins, Strategies, and Transatlantic Implications, Special Report. (Cambridge, MA: Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, August 1983) co-author

Power Projection and the Long-Range Combat Aircraft: Missions, Capabilities and Alternative Designs, Special Report (Cambridge, MA: Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, 1981) co-author

Energy Issues and Alliance Relationships: The United States, Western Europe, and Japan, Special Report (Cambridge, MA: Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, 1980)

The Soviet Union and Ballistic Missile Defense. Special Report (Cambridge, MA: Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, 1980) co author

SALT II and US-Soviet Strategic Forces. Special Report. (Cambridge, MA: Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, July 1979) co-author

Soviet Strategic-Military Thought and Force Levels: Implications for American Security, Special Report (Cambridge, MA: Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, 1979) co-author

Soviet Theater Strategy in Europe: Implications for NATO, Special Report (United States Strategic Institute, 1978)

The Cruise Missile: Bargaining Chip or Defense Bargain? Special Report (Cambridge, MA: Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, 1977) co-author

SALT II: Promise or Precipice. Monographs in International Affairs (Miami, FL: Center for Advanced International Studies, University of Miami, 1976) co-author

Japanese-American Relations in a Changing Security Environment. Foreign Policy Paper No. 1 (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1975) co-author

Soviet Military Trends: Implications for U.S. Security (American Enterprise Institute and Foreign Policy Research Institute, June 1971)

The British Common Market Decision and Beyond (Foreign Policy Research Institute, 1966)

RECENT JOURNAL ARTICLES AND OP-EDS

“International Security Studies: Looking Back and Looking Ahead,” *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs* (2013), co-author

“Deterrence by Denial,” *Journal of International Security Affairs*, Symposium: Modern Missile Defense at 30, Spring Summer 2013, Number 24

“A Dangerous Gap in Our Defenses? An EMP Attack Is a Terrible Threat that could be Countered Now,” op-ed in *National Review Online*, December 14, 2010

“The Last Line of Defense,” *Journal of International Security Affairs*, Fall/Winter 2010, Number 19, co-author

“Don’t Ignore Sea, Space-Based Missile Defense,” Defense News, October 22, 2007, co-author

“The Future of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty,” *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs* 30, no. 3 (2006)

“Lost in Space,” op-ed in *The Wall Street Journal*, Monday, August 28, 2006

“The Next Frontier,” The Journal of International Security Affairs, Spring 2006, Number 10,
<http://www.securityaffairs.org/issues/2006/10/pfaltzgraff.php>.

ARTICLES AND OP-EDS IN THE FOLLOWING JOURNALS

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| <i>ABC Blanco y Negro</i> | <i>International Security Review</i> |
| <i>Air University Review</i> | <i>International Studies Quarterly</i> |
| <i>American Behavioral Scientist</i> | <i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i> |
| <i>The American Spectator</i> | <i>The Journal of International Security Affairs</i> |
| <i>The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science</i> | <i>Korea & World Affairs</i> |
| <i>Arms Control and Security</i> | <i>Korean Journal of Defense Analysis</i> |
| <i>Army Magazine</i> | <i>National Guard Magazine</i> |
| <i>Astronautics & Aeronautics</i> | <i>National Review Online</i> |
| <i>Atlantic Community Quarterly</i> | <i>The New Republic</i> |
| <i>Central Europe Journal</i> | <i>Nexus: A Journal of Opinion</i> |
| <i>Commonsense</i> | <i>Orbis</i> |
| <i>Cornell International Law Journal</i> | <i>Perspectives on Warfighting</i> |
| <i>Current History</i> | <i>Political Science Reviewer</i> |
| <i>Defence Yearbook 1977-78</i> | <i>Politique Internationale</i> |
| | <i>Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science</i> |

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| <i>Defense News</i> | <i>The Sejong Review</i> |
| <i>Europa-Archiv</i> | <i>Signal Magazine</i> |
| <i>Europe/America Letter</i> | <i>South-East Asian SPECTRUM</i> |
| <i>Finest Hour</i> | <i>Special Warfare</i> |
| <i>The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs</i> | (the Professional Bulletin of the John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center and School) |
| <i>Freedom and Union</i> | |
| <i>Freedom at Issue</i> | |
| <i>Freedom Review</i> | <i>Lo Spettatore Internazionale</i> |
| <i>Harvard International Review</i> | <i>Strategic Review</i> |
| <i>Horizons USA</i> | <i>Tufts Magazine</i> |
| <i>Intercollegiate Review</i> | <i>Trends</i> |
| <i>International Affairs</i> | <i>The Wall Street Journal</i> |
| <i>International History Review</i> | <i>The World and I</i> |
| <i>International Security</i> | |

BOOK CHAPTERS (SINCE 1980)

“International Relations Theory and Spacepower,” chapter in *Toward a Theory of Spacepower: Selected Essays* (Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 2011). This paper was also presented at the National Defense University Symposium *Toward a Theory of Spacepower: The Influence of Spacepower on History and Implications for the Future*, held at Fort Lesley J. McNair, Washington, D.C. on April 25, 2007.

“Dealing with the Nuclear Threat in the Struggle Against Terror,” chapter in *Legal Issues in the Struggle Against Terror*, John Norton Moore and Robert Turner, eds., (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2010)

“Counterproliferation Challenges,” in *Taking on Tehran: Strategies for Confronting the Islamic Republic*, edited by Ilan Berman (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007)

“William R. Van Cleave: Scholar, Teacher, and Strategist,” contribution to Festschrift presented on May 12, 2007

“Bulgaria in a New Southeastern Europe,” *Bulgaria in Europe: Charting a Path toward Reform and Integration*, Dimitris Keridis, Charles M. Perry, and Monica R. P. d’Assunção Carlos, eds. (Dulles, VA: Potomac Books, Inc., 2006), in association with The Kokkalis Program on Southeastern and East-Central Europe of Harvard University and The Kokkalis Foundation

“Historical Development of the Study of International Relations,” in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 2002) updated and revised

“Theorie der internationalen Beziehungen und die Praxis und Analyse von Aussenpolitik,” in *Realistische Perspektiven internationaler Politik* (Germany: Leske & Budrich, Opladen 2001)

“International Security: Policy and Strategy,” in *International Strategy and Policy* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Europäischer Verlag der Wissenschaften, 2000)

“The Spectrum of Conflict: Symmetrical or Asymmetrical Challenge?” with Stephen Wright in *The Role of Naval Forces in 21st Century Operations* (Washington, DC: Brassey’s, 2000)

Working Group Chairman. Played an extensive role in the development of the Final Report of the study, *U.S. Nuclear Policy in the 21st Century: A Fresh Look at National Strategy and Requirements* (Washington, DC: U.S. National Defense University and Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, 1998)

“Future Actors in a Changing Security Environment,” in *War in the Information Age* (Washington, DC: Brassey’s, 1991)

“Future Use of Military Power,” in Richard Shultz, Roy Godson, and George H. Quester (eds.), *Security Studies for the 21st Century* (Washington, DC: Brassey’s, Inc., 1997)

“Sources of Instability: Implications for Special Operations Forces,” in *Roles and Missions of SOF in the Aftermath of the Cold War* (September 1995)

“Dimensions of the Post-Cold War World,” in *Ethnic Conflict and Regional Instability: Implications for U.S. Policy and Army Roles and Missions* (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College Press, 1994)

“Continuity and Change in Future Conflict and War,” in *Naval Expeditionary Forces and Power Projection: Into the 21st Century* (Quantico, VA: U.S. Marine Corps Association, 1994)

“Change and Continuity in the 1990s,” in *Naval Forward Presence and the National Military Strategy* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1994)

“Nuclear Weapons: Doctrine, Proliferation, and Arms Control,” in Richard Shultz, Roy Godson, and Ted Greenwood (eds.), *Security Studies for the 1990s* (McLean, VA: Brassey’s (US), Inc., 1993)

“The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe,” in *Freedom in the World: Political Rights & Civil Liberties 1991-1992* (New York City: Freedom House, 1992)

“Institutional Dilemmas in a Changing Euroatlantic Security Setting” in *Transatlantic Relations in the 1990s: The Emergence of the New Security Architectures* (Washington, DC: Brassey’s (US), Inc., 1992)

“Canada and the United States: Issues for the 1990s” in *Canada and the United States in the 1990s: An Emerging Partnership* (Washington, DC: Brassey’s (US), Inc., 1991)

“The Future of U.S.-Soviet Relations: Strategic Options for the United States” in *The Soviet Union After Perestroika: Change and Continuity* (Washington, DC: Brassey’s (US), Inc., 1991)

“Sino-American Relations Since Tiananmen Square” in *After Tiananmen Square: Challenges for the Chinese-American Relationship* (Washington, DC: Brassey’s (US), Inc., 1990)

“U.S. Policy Toward the South Pacific in *The South Pacific: Emerging Security Issues and U.S. Policy* (Washington, DC: Brassey’s, Inc., 1990)

“The Meaning of Geopolitics in Modern Strategic Thinking” in *Conflict Options Strategies in a Threatened World* (Institute of Political Science, Christian-Albrechts-University, Kiel, FRG, May 1990 and 1989)

“The Asian-Pacific Area and Western Europe: A Seamless Security Web,” *Impact of Pacific Century on Euro-Asian Relations* (Department of Political Science, National Taiwan University, April 1989)

“The West German Left: Implications for U.S. Policy,” *Security Perspectives of the West German Left: The SPD and the Greens in Opposition* (Special Report, Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, 1988)

“The U.S.-Korean Alliance into the 1990s: Policy Options for the United States,” *The U.S.-Korean Security Relationship: Prospects and Challenges for the 1990s* (Special Report, Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, 1988)

“Britain and the Atlantic Alliance: Implications for U.S. Policy,” in *British Security Policy and the Atlantic Alliance: Prospects for the 1990s* (Special Report, Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, 1987)

“Global Trends in the Military Balance” and “China: An Emerging Power Center?” in *Conflicts, Options, Strategies in a Threatened World*, edited by Werner Kaltefleiter and Ulrike Schumacher (Institute of Political Science, Christian-Albrechts-University, Kiel, FRG, 1986)

“Soviet Military Strategy and Force Levels,” in *Soviet Impact on World Politics* (new edition by Kurt L. London, 1980)

LECTURES AND MAJOR CONFERENCES (SINCE 1997)

The Capitol Hill Conference on *Aegis Sea-based Missile Defense: Present Status and Future Requirements*, held by the Independent Working Group on Missile Defense and the Space Relationship on June 26, 2014, in Washington, DC

The Capitol Hill Conference on *Defending the Homeland: The Role of Missile Defense* held by the Independent Working Group on Missile Defense and the Space Relationship on June 25, 2013, in Washington, DC

40th IFPA-Fletcher Conference on National Security Strategy and Policy entitled *Positioning Special Operations Forces for Global Challenges* convened in support of U.S. Special Operations Command on June 5-6, 2013, in Washington, DC

The Capitol Hill Conference on *U.S. National Security Strategy & the New Strategic Triad* held by the Independent Working Group on Missile Defense and the Space Relationship on April 20, 2012, in Washington, DC

“Europe and the United States in the New World Order,” Presented at the 10th Anniversary of The Constantine G. Karamanlis Chair in Hellenic and European Studies, The Fletcher School, Tufts University, October 28, 2011

39th IFPA-Fletcher Conference on National Security Strategy and Policy entitled *The Marine Corps: America’s Expeditionary Force in Readiness*, cosponsored by the Commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps, convened April 14-15, 2011, in Washington, DC

“Liberal Education and Patriotism,” presented at the 25th Bradley Graduate and Post-Graduate Fellowship Anniversary: *Liberal Democracy and Liberal Education*, in Chicago on April 15, 2011

The Capitol Hill Conference on *New START, Nuclear Modernization, and Missile Defense* was held by the Independent Working Group on Post-ABM Treaty Missile Defense and the Space Relationship on July 20, 2010, in Washington, DC

38th IFPA-Fletcher Conference on National Security Strategy and Policy entitled *Air, Space, and Cyberspace Power in the 21st Century*, cosponsored by the Chief of Staff of the Air Force's Strategic Studies Group and the Defense Threat Reduction Agency, convened January 20-21, 2010, in Washington, DC

The Capitol Hill Conference on *Emerging Threats and Homeland/National Security: The Role of Missile Defense* was held by the Independent Working Group on Post-ABM Treaty Missile Defense and the Space Relationship on June 23, 2009, in Washington, DC

A New NATO, Euro-Atlantic Security, & the Greek-American Partnership, organized and co-sponsored by the Defence Analyses Institute of the Hellenic Ministry of National Defense, the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, the Konstantinos G. Karamanlis Foundation, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, held on April 28-29, 2009, in Washington, DC

“An Iran with Nuclear Weapons,” presented at *Foreign Policy Challenges for the New Administration: Iran and the Middle East*, The Fares Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies, Tufts University, March 6, 2009

“Boost-Phase Missile Defense,” *Boost Phase Missile Defense: Present Challenges, Future Prospects*, held at The Capitol Hill Club, on April 3, 2009 in Washington, DC

“China–U.S. Strategic Stability,” paper presented to *The Nuclear Order – Build or Break*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace on April 6, 2009, in Washington, DC

“Missile Defense: Implications of the February 2008 Satellite Intercept,” presented at the Capitol Hill Forum, *The Shoot-Down of the Failing NRO Satellite: Implications for ICBM Missile Defense*, October 9, 2008 Washington, DC

“Crisis Management: Looking Back and Looking Ahead,” presented at *The Crisis Management Conference: Athena 2008*, organized by The Hellenic Ministry of National Defence, July 2, 2008

Panelist in Session I: “Risks or Threats to Our Common Security?” presented at *Missile Defence after the Bucharest NATO Summit: European and American Perspectives*, organized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic, May 5, 2008, Czernin Palace, Prague

“Foreign Policy and Presidential Campaigns,” *Opening Remarks for WorldBoston International Visitors’ Seminar on Presidential Primaries and Elections*, held at The Fletcher School, Tufts University, on February 13, 2008

Chair, *Workshop on The United States and 21st-Century Space Strategy: Vulnerabilities, Competitors, and Priorities*, December 14, 2007, Washington, DC

37th IFPA-Fletcher Conference on National Security Strategy and Policy entitled *A New Maritime Strategy for Twenty-First-Century National Security*, cosponsored by the Naval War College and the Defense Threat Reduction Agency, convened September 26-27, 2007, in Washington, DC

“Space and Missile Defense,” presented at *Missile Defense and Space Security*, organized by the Federalist Society and held at the National Press Club, Washington, DC, June 20, 2007.

“Weapons in Space,” presented to the Boston Council on Foreign Relations, June 18, 2007.

“Karamanlis and the Euroatlantic Relationship,” presented at *Konstantinos Karamanlis in the Twentieth Century*, in Athens, Greece, on June 5-9, 2007.

“International Relations Theory and Spacepower,” presented at the National Defense University Symposium *Toward a Theory of Spacepower: The Influence of Spacepower on History and Implications for the Future*, held at Fort Lesley J. McNair, Washington, DC on April 25, 2007. This paper was also published in 2011 in *Toward a Theory of Spacepower: Selected Essays* (Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 2011), the completed volume of the National Defense University Spacepower Theory Study, which was commissioned by the Office of the Secretary of Defense.

Independent Working Group (IWG) Congressional and Other Capitol Hill Missile Defense Briefings:

- Senator Jon Kyl, December 14, 2007
- Senior National Security Advisor to Governor Mitt Romney (in preparation for his presidential candidacy, (in Boston) September 5, 2007
- Senators Joe Lieberman and Lamar Alexander, July 10, 2007
- Former Senator Fred Thompson (in preparation of his presidential candidacy), April 25, 2007
- Congressman Eric Cantor (R-VA), February 8 and March 8, 2007
- Senator John McCain (R-AZ), March 7, 2007

“Leadership Portrait: Winston Churchill,” presentation at The Fletcher School for the course, *Seminar on Leadership Challenges*, taught by Professor William Martel, September 8, 2006

Working Group Participant, *Forging an Iran Strategy*, convened by the American Foreign Policy Council and McCormick Tribune Foundation at Cantigny Park, Wheaton, Illinois, August 15, 2006. Report published of same name published by McCormick Tribune Foundation (Chicago, 2006)

Chair, *Workshop on The Way Ahead with Iran: A Libya in Waiting, a Nuclear Pariah, or Something in Between?* held in Washington, DC, for the U.S. Department of State, August 1, 2006

“Geopolitics and the International Landscape: Implications for Nonviolent Conflict,” presented to the Fletcher Summer Institute, July 24, 2006

Chair, *Workshop on Dissuading, Deterring, and Defeating the Suicide Bomber Threat*, at the Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center, held in Washington, DC, for U.S. Central Command and the Defense Threat Reduction Agency, June 28, 2006

Organizer and Panel Member, *Churchill’s “Sinews of Peace” Speech Sixty Years On*. Discussion organized by the ISSP, the New England Churchillians, and the English Speaking Union, and held at The Fletcher School on May 17, 2006

Organizer and Panel Member, *Winston Churchill: The Gathering Storm and His Finest Hour*, a symposium for high school teachers. Presented “Churchill’s Relevance Today.” Organized by the ISSP, the Churchill Center, and the New England Churchillians and held at The Fletcher School, April 29, 2006

36th IFPA-Fletcher Conference on National Security Strategy and Policy entitled *Nuclear and Non-Nuclear Forces in 21st-Century Deterrence: Implementing the New Triad*, cosponsored by U.S. Strategic Command, the National Nuclear Security Administration of the Department of Energy, the Defense Threat Reduction Agency, and the Office of the Secretary of Defense (Policy), convened December 14-15, 2005, in Washington, D.C.

Organizer and Moderator, *The Mexican-U.S. Partnership: Enhancing our Common Security*, held December 9, 2005, in Washington, DC

Member, panel entitled “Major Challenges Facing the Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime,” at the seminar entitled *Non-proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction: Current Challenges and New Approaches*, held at The Fletcher School on October 21, 2005

Participant in Panel Discussion, *American Foreign Policy Issues*, at the National Heritage Museum, Lexington, Massachusetts, October 16, 2005

Panel Chairman, Second Session, Senior Conference XLII: *Special Operations Forces and the War on Terror*, held at U.S. Military Academy at West Point, June 3, 2005.

Organizer and Moderator, NATO Parliamentary Assembly Visit, The Fletcher School, April 28, 2005.

Organizer and Moderator, *The Canada-U.S. Partnership: Enhancing Our Common Security*, sponsored by the Embassy of Canada in the United States, and held in Washington, D.C., March 14, 2005.

Presentation at Singapore Military Forces Staff College, January 5, 2005.

Speaker, *Total Defender* Policy Workshops, sponsored by U.S. Army Space and Missile Defense Command (SMDC) and held November 19, 2004 in Arlington, Virginia, and December 16, 2004 in Huntsville, Alabama.

35th IFPA-Fletcher Conference on National Security Strategy and Policy: Planning for and Responding to Threats to the U.S. Homeland, sponsored by United States Northern Command and Defense Threat Reduction Agency and held October 28-29, 2004, in Washington, D.C.

Mutual Assured Destruction and Missile Defense, presented to Marshall Institute seminar at the Army & Navy Club, Washington, D.C., October 15, 2004.

Foreign Policy and the 2004 Presidential Election, presented to the Greater Valley Forge World Affairs Council, September 10 2004.

“European Elections: Implications for Transatlantic Relationships,” presented at The Fletcher School as part of a panel organized by the Karamanlis Chair in Hellenic and Southeast European Studies, April 5, 2004.

“U.S. Military Transformation and Operation Iraqi Freedom,” September 4, 2003, presented to Fletcher Alumni.

Conference entitled *Nuclear Energy and Science for the 21st Century: Atoms for Peace Plus Fifty*, was convened with the cosponsorship of the Department of Energy and the Dwight D. Eisenhower Library &

Museum in Washington, D.C., on October 22, 2003. The conference also provided the setting for the presentation of the Enrico Fermi Prize, a Presidential Award which recognizes the contributions of distinguished members of the scientific community for a lifetime of exceptional achievement in the science and technology of nuclear, atomic, molecular, and particle interactions and effects.

34th IFPA-Fletcher Conference on National Security Strategy and Policy: Security Planning and Military Transformation after Iraqi Freedom, with the cosponsorship of the U.S. Navy and the Defense Threat Reduction Agency, convened in December 2-3, 2003, Washington, D.C.

“Space-Based Missile Defense: The Agenda Ahead” presented at the American Foreign Policy Council’s 2003 Conference on *Missile Defenses and American Security* on December 15, 2003, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

“Assessment of Recent Literature on Perception and Misperception: New Avenues and Opportunities for Deception and Counter Deception” presented to the *Colloquium on Foreign Strategic Denial and Deception*, Washington, D.C.

“Perception/Misperception Studies Related to Denial and Deception,” presented to the *Colloquium on Foreign Strategic Denial and Deception*, Washington, D.C., on February 28, 2003.

33rd IFPA-Fletcher Conference on National Security Strategy and Policy, with the cosponsorship of the U.S. Marine Corps and the Defense Threat Reduction Agency, convened in Washington, D.C., on October 16-17, 2002.

“Ballistic Missile Defenses,” presented to the 2002 Harvard Duma Program, September 16, 2002.

Luncheon Address presented at the conference, *Bulgaria in Europe*, held in Sofia, Bulgaria, and sponsored by The Kokkalis Program on Southeastern and East-Central Europe of Harvard University and the Kokkalis Foundation, July 15, 2002.

32nd IFPA-Fletcher Conference on National Security Strategy and Policy, entitled *Meeting the Homeland Defense Challenge: Maritime and Other Critical Dimensions*. Co-organized by the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis and the International Security Studies Program with the sponsorship of the U.S. Coast Guard and the Defense Threat Reduction Agency in Cambridge, Massachusetts, March 25-26, 2002

“The United States and Missile Defense,” presented at Harvard University *U.S.-Russian Officers Symposium* on February 19, 2002.

Participant, *38th Munich Conference on Security Policy (Vebrkunde)*, Munich, Germany, on February 2-4, 2002.

31st Annual IFPA-Fletcher Conference entitled *National Security for a New Era – Focusing National Power*. Co-organized by the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis and the International Security Studies Program with the sponsorship of the U.S. Army and the Office of the Secretary of Defense for Net Assessment. Held in Washington, DC, on November 14-15, 2001.

Conference entitled *Defending the Northeast, the Nation, and America’s Allies from Ballistic Attack*. Organized by the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis. Held in Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, on June 28-29, 2001.

Developed, organized, and conducted (with Richard H. Shultz, Jr.) simulation exercise on crisis in the Gulf, *Seminar on Crisis Management*, United Arab Emirates and gave several lectures, June 9-13, 2001.

“Present Missile Threat to Europe and the U.S.,” presented at the conference entitled *Trans-Atlantic Missile Defense and Security Cooperation* for the Prague Institute for National Security in Prague, The Czech Republic, on April 27, 2001.

“Major Trends Shaping the World of the Early 21st Century,” presented at Philadelphia University on March 29, 2001.

Conference entitled *Expeditionary Solutions for a Gordian World*, Co-organized by the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis and the International Security Studies Program with the sponsorship of the U.S. Marine Corps. Thirtieth annual conference, held in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on March 26-27, 2001.

Participant, *37th Munich Conference on Security Policy (Vebrkunde)*, Munich, Germany, on February 1-3, 2001.

“Winston Churchill in 1940,” presented to the New England Churchillians in Waltham, Massachusetts on November 30, 2000.

Participant in workshop on *Nuclear Issues for the Transition Year*, organized by SAIC, McLean, Virginia, on November 17, 2000.

Conference entitled *National Strategies and Capabilities for a Changing World*. Co-organized by the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis and the International Security Studies Program with the sponsorship of the U.S. Army and the Office of the Secretary of Defense for Net Assessment. Twenty-ninth annual conference, held in Washington, D.C., on November 15-16, 2000.

“Strategy and Policy,” presented to U.S. Marine Corps Command and Staff College in Quantico, Virginia, on September 25, 2000.

Consultant for and participant in *Total Defender Wargame*, sponsored by Space and Missile Defense Command Battle Lab and held in Arlington, Virginia, on September 11, 2000.

“European Security Challenges for the Early 21st Century,” presented on June 23, 2000; consultant for and participant in Conflict Management Exercise as part of the *International Leadership and Economic Development* seminar, sponsored by the Kokkalis Foundation and the Kokkalis Program on Southeastern and East-Central Europe of Harvard University and held in Athens, Greece, on June 21-24, 2000.

“The Growing Ballistic Missile Threat: Europe and the United States,” presented at the Workshop on Ballistic Missile Defense, Forschungsinstitut der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik, in Berlin, Germany, on June 21, 2000.

Member of U.S.-Russia Relations Study Group (Military Security Panel), Washington, D.C., May 15, 2000, in preparation for a symposium held on June 5-6, 2000.

“Where Does Russia Want to Go as a Military Power and Can They Afford It?” presented on June 6, 2000 to study group entitled *Russia: Its Place in the Twenty-First Century and the Implications for the United States*, Organized by The Hudson Institute, Washington, D.C., and convened on May 15, 2000 and June 5-6, 2000.

“Winston Churchill and Statecraft,” presented at the Boston Public Library and sponsored by the New England Churchillians, May 10, 2000.

“Winston Churchill and Statecraft,” special lecture at The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, March 29, 2000; March 26, 1999; March 10, 1998; and March 26, 1997.

“A Summary of the Threat to the United States,” presented at conference entitled *Defending California, the Nation, and America’s Allies from Ballistic Missile Attack*. Long Beach, CA, February 26, 2000.

“U.S. National Security Issues for the Early 21st Century.” Valley Forge World Affairs Council, Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, February 11, 2000.

Participant, *Munich Conference on Security Policy (Vehrkunde)*, Munich, Federal Republic of Germany, February 8-10, 2000.

“Kosovo: Implications for the Euro-Atlantic Relationship in the Early 21st Century.” The Wellesley Club, Wellesley, Massachusetts, January 31, 2000.

Organizer and Chairman. Workshop on *Planning for the Future: Assuring U.S. Critical Skills and Staffing*. National Defense University, Washington, D.C., December 17, 1999.

“The United States and a European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI),” as part of a discussion panel entitled “United States-European Union Relations in the 21st Century: Partners or Rivals?” Sponsored by the British-American Security Information Council and the Monet-Madison Institute at The Fletcher School, December 1, 1999.

Panel chairman and speaker. Conference on *America’s Front Line States and Japan: Briefing on Missile Defense*, Honolulu, Hawaii, November 8, 1999.

Major organizer and co-chairman of conference entitled *Strategic Responsiveness: Early and Continuous Joint Effectiveness—Across the Spectrum*. Co-sponsored by the International Security Studies Program and the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Washington, D.C., twenty-eighth annual conference, November 2-3, 1999.

Organizer and Chairman. Weapons of Mass Destruction Curricular Working Group. National Defense University, Washington, D.C., June 25, 1999.

“The Transatlantic Partnership in the 21st Century,” presented at the *Fifth Transatlantic Forum*, Herbert Quandt Stiftung, Gut Ising, Federal Republic of Germany, June 19, 1999.

“The Significance of Theory for the Conduct and Analysis of Policy,” presented to colloquium at Ludwigs Maximilian University, Munich, Federal Republic of Germany, June 18, 1999.

“America’s Crisis Management Strategy and Kosovo,” presented at Amerika Haus, Munich, Federal Republic of Germany, June 18, 1999.

Presentation as member of Kosovo Panel for Alumni Weekend, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, May 22, 1999.

Participant in *USACOM Senior Leadership Forum with Industry*, Williamsburg, VA, April 8-10, 1999.

“European Security Issues,” presented to Air War College Class of 1999, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama, March 29, 1999.

“Europe and America in the 21st Century,” presented to Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Carlisle, Pennsylvania. March 8, 1999.

Chairman and Moderator, Boston Committee on Foreign Relations Program for Dr. Roland Wegener, Deputy Secretary General, Western European Union, January 14, 1999, January 14, 1999.

Chairman and Organizer. Weapons of Mass Destruction Working Group. National Defense University, Washington, D.C. Presentation/briefing entitled “U.S. Nuclear Strategy and Policy in the 21st Century,” December 10-11, 1998.

Participant in Liberty Fund Colloquium: *Winston Churchill and the Tradition and Practice of Liberty*, Hotel Viking, Newport, Rhode Island, November 19-22, 1998.

Major organizer and co-chairman of Twenty-Seventh Annual Conference of The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, entitled *The United States as a 21st Century Aerospace Power: Strategic Control and National Security*, November 18-19, 1998. Presented paper entitled “Alternative Paradigms and National Security.”

“Why the United States Needs a National Missile Defense,” presented at symposium on *Star Wars II: Should the United States Deploy a National Missile Defense?* at Nichols College, Dudley, Massachusetts, November 5, 1998.

“The Missile Threat to the United States,” presented at symposium on *Security in the Missile Age*. Chaired by Congressman Floyd Spence, Chairman, House National Security Committee, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina, September 14, 1998.

“The Role of the Last Superpower: The United States,” presented to the *Summer Course on International Security*, Christian-Albrechts University, Kiel, Federal Republic of Germany, August 6, 1998.

Speaker at conference entitled *Alaska’s Assets and American Security*. Institute of the North, Alaska Pacific University. Anchorage, Alaska. Presentation: “Emerging Missile Proliferation: Implications for U.S. Security.” Panel participant: “Alaska and the Debate over a National Missile Defense,” June 29-30, 1998.

Chairman and Moderator. Working group meeting on project entitled *Strategic Paradigms 2025*, Washington, D.C., June 26, 1998.

Briefing of Strategy/Policy Subgroup Final Report at plenary meeting of the project entitled *U.S. Nuclear Policy in the 21st Century: A Fresh Look at National Strategy and Requirements*, National Defense University, April 29, 1998.

Addressed a workshop on *Commercial Space and Military Information Dominance: Assessing Security on the New Frontier*. Russell Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C., April 29, 1998.

Chaired panel on "How a Ballistic Missile Defense Would Protect America," at conference entitled *The Defense of the West*, at the Richard Nixon Library, Yorba Linda, CA, and co-sponsored by the Claremont Institute, March 28, 1998.

The Future of American Policy in Europe, course on European Regional Strategic Appraisal, Department of National Security and Strategy, U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, PA, March 2, 1998.

Briefing of Strategy/Policy Interim Report of the project entitled *U.S. Nuclear Policy in the 21st Century: A Fresh Look at National Strategy and Requirements*, National Defense University, February 26, 1998

"Alternative Futures and Missile Defense," opening presentation for the symposium entitled *Exploring Future U.S. Missile Defense Requirements: Where Are We and Where Do We Need to Go?* Madison Hotel, Washington, D.C., January 22-23, 1998.

"Spectrum of Conflict: Symmetrical or Asymmetrical Challenge?" presented to the Twenty-Sixth Annual Conference of The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, entitled *The Role of Naval Forces in 21st Century Operations*, November 19-20, 1997.

Co-chairman, *Select Workshop on Future U.S. Military Space Requirements: Exploring the Policy and the Technological Ramifications*, held in the Dirksen Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C., October 22, 1997

The Emerging Global Political-Security Environment, Global Senior Managers Program, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, October 20, 1997

Co-chairman of Conference entitled *Preparing Now: Alternative Paths to Military Capabilities for an Uncertain Future*. Co-sponsored by the International Security Studies Program, Washington, D.C., October 2-3, 1997.

"The Emerging Global Security Environment, the Role of Nuclear Weapons in the 21st Century, and Deterrence: a Reassessment," presented to the *Warfighter's Conference*, Armed Forces Staff College, Norfolk, VA, September 19, 1997.

"Euroatlantic Security: Issues for the 21st Century," presented to several hundred Greek political and other leaders in the Old Parliament Building in Athens. This meeting was held to highlight publication of a Greek translation of the publication co-edited from May 1996 conference entitled *Security in Southeastern Europe and the U.S.-Greek Relationship*, August 29, 1997.

"The Role of the Last Superpower: The United States," *Summer Course on International Security*, Christian-Albrechts University, Kiel, Federal Republic of Germany, July 31, 1997.

Co-chairman of a workshop entitled *National Missile Defense: A Candid Examination of Political Limits and Technological Challenges*, held in the Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C., June 19, 1997.

"Alternative Futures and U.S. Defense Options," presented to the National Defense Panel, Washington, D.C., June 13, 1997.

Co-chairman (with General Henry M. Shelton, then Commander-in-Chief, Special Operations Forces) of a high-level workshop at the Pentagon entitled *The Role of Special Operations Forces in Preventing WMD Proliferation: Improving Capabilities for Early Intervention and Pre-Crisis Response*, June 10, 1997.

Testified on “U.S. Missile Defense Requirements” before the House National Security Subcommittee on Military Research and Development. The focus of the testimony was on IFPA study, just completed, entitled *Exploring Missile Defense in 2010; What are the Policy and Technological Challenges?* As a result of the testimony, the Chairman and Ranking Minority Member have signed a “Dear Colleague” letter that will be sent with a copy of the study to all members of the House and Senate, May 7, 1997.

Chaired meeting of the Working Group on *The Development of Post-Cold War Academic Curriculum for Nuclear and Other WMD-Related Issues*, National Defense University, Washington, D.C., April 17-18, 1997.

Co-chaired Meeting on *Missile Threats and Their Technological Challenge to an Effective Missile Defense*, Washington, D.C. Organized by the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis. Participants included the Chairman of the House National Security Subcommittee on Military Research and Development, staff members of Congress, industry representatives, and senior members of the missile and missile defense community, March 7, 1997.

Participant in Panel Discussion on NATO Enlargement issues, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, February 25, 1997.

“Global Stability in a Uni-Polar World,” presented to *Energy Policy Seminar*, Energy Policy Foundation of Norway, Sanderstolen, Norway, February 5, 1997.

“The Emerging Global Political-Security Environment,” presented to Global Senior Managers Program, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, May 13, 1997 and October 14, 1996.