

July 13, 2024

VITA AND BIBLIOGRAPHY OF JOHN MUELLER

Professor Emeritus, Department of Political Science; Woody Hayes Senior Research Scientist and Woody Hayes Chair of National Security Studies Emeritus, Mershon Center for International Security Studies; Ohio State University

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INTERNAL LINKS

BOOKS AND MONOGRAPHS

PUBLICATIONS IN POLITICAL SCIENCE: ARTICLES, SELECTED PAPERS

GRANTS, FELLOWSHIPS, AND HONORS IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

SHORTER ARTICLES AND OPINION PIECES THROUGH 2008

OTHER RELATED ACTIVITIES IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

AWARDS, HONORS IN DANCE AND FILM

DVDS PRODUCED

FILMS PRODUCED AND DIRECTED

SCRIPTS FOR MUSICAL COMEDIES

PUBLICATIONS IN DANCE, FILM, AND MUSICAL THEATER: ARTICLES

GRANTS FROM THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

OTHER RELATED ACTIVITIES IN DANCE AND FILM

BOOK REVIEWS

ENCYCLOPEDIA ARTICLES

EXTERNAL LINKS

Biography [pdf](#)

Papers, lectures, seminars in political science since 1986 [pdf](#)

Courses [html](#)

Dance Film Archive [html](#)

Terror Predictions, May 2012 [pdf](#)

Trends in public opinion on terrorism, 2019 [pdf](#)

Hitler on Peace [pdf](#)

Notes on Dance Films [html](#)

Appearance on The Daily Show with Jon Stewart, Halloween 2006 [html](#)

Profile in *U.S. News & World Report*, May 22, 1989 [html](#)

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Citizenship: USA Born: St. Paul, Minnesota

Marital Status: Married, three children

EDUCATION

A.B., 1960 University of Chicago

M.A., 1963 UCLA, Political Science

Ph.D., 1965 UCLA, Political Science

USPHS Fellow, 1962-1965

M.A. THESIS

The Politics of Fluoridation in Seven California Cities

Related working documents on pdf: [Long Beach](#) [Los Banos](#) [Pomona](#) [Palo Alto](#)

Ph.D. DISSERTATION

Reason and Caprice: Ballot Patterns in California

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Foreign and defense policy, international relations, dance as an art form, public opinion, the war in Vietnam, dance history and film, choreography of Fred Astaire, perspectives on war and peace, change in post-Communist countries, terrorism, counterterrorism

PROFESSIONAL HISTORY

1965-69 Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Rochester

1969-72 Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Rochester

1972-2000 Professor of Political Science, University of Rochester

1983-2000 Professor of Film Studies, University of Rochester

February-June 1994 Visiting Professor, Institute of International Relations, Comenius University, Bratislava, Slovakia

January 1997 Distinguished Visiting Professor, University of Alberta

February-March 1997 Guest Scholar, Brookings Institution, Washington, DC

April-May 1997 Visiting Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University

2000-2011 Woody Hayes Chair of National Security Studies, Mershon Center for International Security Studies, and Professor of Political Science, Ohio State University

2000- Courtesy faculty appointment, Department of Dance, Ohio State University

February-June 2001 Senior Guest Researcher, Norwegian Nobel Institute, Oslo, Norway

2011-14 Ralph D. Mershon Senior Research Scientist, Mershon Center for International Security Studies, and Adjunct Professor, Department of Political Science, Ohio State University

2014-20 Woody Hayes Senior Research Scientist, Mershon Center for International Security Studies, and Adjunct Professor, Department of Political Science, Ohio State University

2011- Cato Senior Fellow, Cato Institute, Washington, DC

2021- Professor Emeritus, Department of Political Science, Ohio State University

BOOKS

The Stupidity of War: American Foreign Policy and the Case for Complacency. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2021. [information about this book](#) [pdf](#)

(ed.) *Terrorism Since 9/11: The American Cases* (Mershon Center for International Security Studies, November 2020, 1084 pages). A web book, available free online in [pdf](#), consisting of case studies of Islamist extremist terrorism written by Ohio State University Honors students and by Cato Institute interns, each introduced and edited by John Mueller. Previous editions: 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019. [information about this book](#)

(with Mark G. Stewart) *Are We Safe Enough? Measuring and Assessing Aviation Security* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2018). [information about this book](#) [pdf](#)

(with Mark G. Stewart) *Chasing Ghosts: The Policing of Terrorism* (New York: Oxford University Press 2016). An expansion of the approach in *Terrorism, Security, and Money* to deal with risk aversion and with the cost-effectiveness of policing and intelligence counterterrorism measures. [information about this book](#) [pdf](#)

Edited with Christopher A. Preble, *A Dangerous World? Threat Perception and U.S. National Security* (Washington, DC: Cato Institute, 2014). [information](#)

(with Mark G. Stewart) *Terror, Security, and Money: Balancing the Risks, Benefits, and Costs of Homeland Security* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011). [information and website about this book](#) [pdf](#)

War and Ideas: Selected Essays (New York and London: Routledge, 2011). [information and website about this book](#) [pdf](#)

Atomic Obsession: Nuclear Alarmism from Hiroshima to Al-Qaeda (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010). [information and website about this book](#) [publisher information](#) [pdf](#)

Overblown: How Politicians and the Terrorism Industry Inflate National Security Threats, and Why We Believe Them (New York: Free Press, 2006). [information and website about this book](#) as featured on CNN's Smerconish, July 18, 2015: [html](#)

The Remnants of War (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004; paperback edition with a new preface, 2007). Chinese translation, 2011. Received the Joseph Lepgold Prize for the best book on international relations in 2004, awarded by Georgetown University. [publisher information](#) Russian language edition, 2023, Moscow: Literary Observer Publishing House

(ed.), *Peace, Prosperity, and Politics* (New York: Westview, 2000).

Capitalism, Democracy, and Ralph's Pretty Good Grocery (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999). Ukrainian translation, 2003; Russian translation by Olimp-Biznes, Moscow, 2006. [publisher information](#)

Related paper: "The Role of Business Virtue in Economic Development: Six Propositions Provoked in Part by P.T. Barnum" [pdf](#)

(ed. with Randall L. Calvert and Rick K. Wilson), William H. Riker, *The Strategy of Rhetoric: Campaigning for the American Constitution* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996).

Quiet Cataclysm: Reflections on the Recent Transformation of World Politics (New York: HarperCollins, 1995). [pdf](#)

Policy and Opinion in the Gulf War (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994). [publisher information](#) [available in 2009 reprint](#)

(ed. with Richard G. Niemi and Tom W. Smith) *Trends in Public Opinion: A Compendium of Survey Data* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1989).

Retreat from Doomsday: The Obsolescence of Major War (New York: Basic Books, 1989). [available in updated 2009 reprint](#)

Astaire Dancing: The Musical Films (New York: Knopf, 1985). Received the de la Torre Bueno Prize, presented by Dance Perspectives Foundation, for "the most distinguished book-length manuscript in the field of dance," 1983. Improved and expanded reprint edition, 2010 [information about the 2010 reprint](#)

Dance Film Directory: An Annotated and Evaluative Guide to Films on Ballet and Modern Dance (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Book Co., 1979).

Films on Ballet and Modern Dance: Notes and a Directory (New York: American Dance Guild, 1974). Includes extensive analysis of Humphrey's "Passacaglia" and Graham's "Night Journey"—available through *Notes on Dance Films* [html](#)

War, Presidents and Public Opinion (New York: Wiley, 1973). Selected as one of the "Fifty Books That Significantly Shaped Public Opinion Research, 1946-1995" by the American Association for Public Opinion Research, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Fall 1995. Recipient of the first Warren J. Mitofsky Award for Excellence in Public Opinion Research presented by the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, November 8, 2007. Awarded the Philip E. Converse Book Award of the American Political Science Association, August 30, 2013. [available in a 2009 reprint](#)

(ed.) *Approaches to Measurement in International Relations: A Non-Evangelical Survey* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1969).

MONOGRAPHS

A Return to US Casualty Aversion: The 9/11 Wars as Aberrations, Policy Analysis no. 971, Cato Institute, Washington, DC, April 2, 2024 [html](#) [pdf1](#) [pdf2](#)

Public Opinion on War and Terror: Manipulated or Manipulating? White Paper, Cato Institute, Washington, DC, August 10, 2021 [html](#) [pdf1](#)
<https://doi.org/10.36009/WP.20210810>. [Related blog by John Glaser](#)

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Assessing International Threats During and After the Cold War, Study, Cato Institute, Washington, DC, May 6, 2020 [html](#)

(with John Glaser) *Overcoming Inertia: Why It's Time to End the War in Afghanistan*, Policy Analysis No. 878, Cato Institute, Washington, DC, August 13, 2019 [html](#) [pdf1](#) [pdf2](#) [related blog by John Glaser](#)

(with Amy Belasco, Mackenzie Eaglen, Luke Hartig, Tina Jonas, Mike McCord), Stimson Study Group on Counterterrorism Spending, *Counterterrorism Spending: Protecting America While Promoting Efficiencies and Accountability*, Washington, DC, Stimson Center Report, May 16, 2018 [html](#) [pdf1](#) [pdf2](#)
Stimson Center launch of the Study Group Report, "U.S. Counterterrorism Spending Since 9/11," May 16, 2018 [link to video](#)
Commentary on the Stimson Center Report by Alexander Nowrasteh, May 25, 2018 [html](#)

(with Mark G. Stewart), *Public Opinion and Counterterrorism Policy*, Washington, DC: White Paper, Cato Institute, Washington, DC, February 20, 2018. [html](#) [pdf1](#) [pdf2](#)

(with Mark G. Stewart) *Responsible Counterterrorism Policy*, Policy Analysis No. 755, Cato Institute, Washington, DC, September 10, 2014 [pdf](#)

Deterrence, Numbers and History (Los Angeles: University of California, Security Studies Project, 1968)

Canada as a Non-Nuclear Power (Los Angeles: University of California, National Security Studies Program, June 1963) [pdf](#)

SELECTED VIDEO, AUDIO, PODCAST

April 25, 2023: Record interview with Nick Danforth for War on the Rocks podcast on my article War Is On the Rocks which was published before Russia's Ukraine invasion.

Discussion of *The Stupidity of War: American Foreign Policy and the Case for Complacency*, airs on KKFI Community Radio's *All Souls Unitarian Universalist Forum*, March 26, 2023 [video](#)

Talk for Michael Ard of Johns Hopkins University on "Challenging Conventional Wisdom" for his "Inside Intelligence" series, January 11, 2023 [video](#)

Background Briefing with Ian Masters, KPFK, Los Angeles, November 29, 2022 [audio](#)

Background Briefing with Ian Masters, KPFK, Los Angeles, August 8, 2022 [audio1](#)
[audio2](#) [facebook](#) [audio](#)

Interview on The Stupidity of War, recorded May 14, 2022 with Chris Kaufman on "Ideas Having Sex," posted July 4, 2022 [Apple](#) [Spotify](#) [audio](#)

Podcast: John Mueller on Putin's War: Russia, Ukraine, and NATO, The Michael Shermer Show, Episode # 252, recorded March 5, 2022, posted March 8, 2022 [audio and video](#)

Diplomacy Festival, Rome, Italy, October 22, 2021, "Afghanistan: The Stupidity of War and the return of Great Powers" [video](#) [full Festival program](#)

Book Talk: John Mueller, "The Stupidity of War: American Foreign Policy and the Case for Complacency," David's Politics Show, June 11, 2021 [audio](#)

"An Object in Time – The Pistol," The History Listen with Kirsty Melville, Radio National, Australian Broadcasting Company, May 11, 2021 [html to audio](#)

Podcast interview on "The Stupidity of War" with Michael Hanania, Center for the Study of Partisanship and Ideology, recorded April 9, 2021, posted April 25, 2021, [link to audio](#)

Cato Book Forum on "The Stupidity of War" on video with comments by Christopher Fettweis and Martha Crenshaw and moderated by Brandon Valeriano, recorded on April 22, 2021, noon to 1: [html](#) [facebook](#)

Interview with video on Skeptic: The Michael Shermer Show, recorded March 29, 2021, 109 minutes: [audio and video](#)

Cato Daily Podcast interview with Caleb O. Brown, recorded March 8, 2021, posted March 18, 2021, 23 minutes: [audio](#)

Cato Power Problems Podcast, Interview with John Glaser, recorded February 23, 2021, posted March 9, 2021, 40 minutes: [audio](#)

Interview with video with T.V. Paul on *The Stupidity of War*, Conversations on Peaceful Change, a series of interviews initiated by the Global Research Network on Peaceful Change (GRENPEC), youtube, June 2020, 37 minutes: [video](#)

“Nuclear Parity...?” Interview by Oksana Boyko on WorldsApaRT, RT, February 28, 2019: [video](#)

Podcast, Terrorism 360: “Are We Spending Too Much on Counterterrorism,” recorded for the University of Maryland, May 10, 2018, posted October 23, 2018 [link](#)

“Public Opinion and Counterterrorism Policy,” Cato podcast recorded April 9, 2018, posted April 13, 2018: [link to audio](#)

“The Dangers of Alarmism,” PRIO Annual Peace Address, delivered at PRIO (Peace Research Institute Oslo), Oslo, Norway, September 1, 2015. [text of the paper on which the address was based, published September 2, 2015](#) [video of address](#)

Empire Lecture, “Assessing the Historical Movement of Ideas,” Midwest Political Science Association Convention, Chicago, April 3, 2014: [video](#)

Appearance on The Daily Show with Jon Stewart, Halloween 2006: [html](#)

PUBLICATIONS IN POLITICAL SCIENCE: ARTICLES, SELECTED PAPERS

(with Mark G. Stewart) “Evaluating the Cost-Benefit Effectiveness of Measures to Counter Domestic Terrorism,” *Handbook on the Economics of Terror*, Atin Basuchoudhary and Guenther Schulze (eds.) (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming).

“Examining Islamist Extremist Terrorism in the United States Since 9/11,” in Martine E. Evans and Stephen Morewitz, editors, *Understanding Terrorism: Multidisciplinary approaches and case studies* (Springer, forthcoming).

“The threat of terrorism is overblown and more manageable than suspected,” in Stuart Gottlieb, ed., *Debating Terrorism and Counterterrorism: Conflicting Perspectives on Causes, Contexts, and Responses*, 3rd edition (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, forthcoming).

“Kenneth E. Boulding’s *Stable Peace* (1978): An evaluation,” *Markets & Society Journal*, forthcoming.

“Rewind and Reconnoiter: War is on the Rocks with John Mueller,” A Question and Answer reconsideration of the July 1, 2021 article, “War Is On the Rocks,” warontherocks.com, May 15, 2024 [pdf](#)

“A Return to US Casualty Aversion: The 9/11 Wars as Aberrations,” Cato blog, April 22, 2024 [html](#)

“Ukraine war ceasefire may require accepting a partition: Kyiv would likely see significant economic and political benefits — and move closer to the West — from a cessation of hostilities,” responsiblestatecraft.org, April 9, 2024 [html1](#) [html2](#) [pdf](#)

“Pro/Con: Should the United States recognize North Korea as a nuclear power? Yes,” *CQ Researcher*, April 5, 2024, Volume 34, Issue 12, p. 45 [html](#) [pdf](#)

“After a spate of warnings, Israel went down the 9/11 path anyway: Overreaction has unleashed a fury that has sucked away sympathy and likely spawned a new generation of terrorism,” responsiblestatecraft.org, February 5, 2024 [html1](#) [html2](#)

“Remember when Japan was going to take over the world? The threat of the China hegemon may be going the way of the Tokyo scourge—down the memory hole,” responsiblestatecraft.org, December 30, 2023 [html1](#) [html2](#) [pdf](#)

“What if Israel didn't set out to 'destroy Hamas'? The case for a limited response after the October 7 attacks,” responsiblestatecraft.org, November 21, 2023 [html1](#) [html2](#)

“The Perils of the Hegemon,” Cato blog, November 10, 2023 [html](#)

“‘Competition’: Less Hostile than ‘Adversary’ or ‘Enemy’ but Holds Little Meaning,” contribution to the symposium, “The U.S.-China Competition: What is the End Goal?”

Carter Center: U.S.-China Perception Monitor, November 9, 2023 [html](#)

“The Risk of Nuclear Terrorism,” in Christopher Hobbs, Sukesh Aghara, and Sarah Tzinieris, (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Nuclear Security*, Oxford University Press, 2023, 55-67. Posted online July 2023. [doi](#) [pdf](#)

“The Case Against Containment: The Strategy Didn’t Win the Cold War—and It Won’t Defeat China,” [foreignaffairs.com](#), September 21, 2023 [html1 with paywall](#) [html2](#) [pdf](#) [longer final draft in Word before editing, including footnotes](#)

Contributor (via Zoom) to the Workshop on US Global Leadership, Scowcroft Center for Strategy and Security of the Atlantic Council, September 14, 2023

U.S. Military Strategy Since Vietnam: The 9/11 Wars as Aberrations, *Journal of Global Strategic Studies* 3 no. 1, June 2023, 1-14 [html](#) [pdf](#)

Russian Public Opinion on the Ukraine War: Perspectives from the American Experience, Cato at Liberty blog, May 26, 2022 [html](#) [pdf](#)

Can Putin Survive a Settlement of the War in Ukraine? There is a serious possibility that Putin will remain in office during any settlement period over the war and that he will still be there afterward. Cato at Liberty blog, May 26, 2022 [html](#)

Contributor to Foreign affairs symposium on multipolarity: “Did the Unipolar Moment Ever End? Debate statement: The global distribution of power today is closer to being unipolar than it is to being bipolar or multipolar,” *Foreign Affairs Asks the Experts*, May 23, 2023 [html](#)

“Public Opinion as a Driver of the National Security State,” paper presented at the conference, “The National Security State: Institutional Causes and Consequences,” Program on the Foundations of the Market Economy, New York University Organized by Mario Rizzo, David Harper, and Nathan P. Goodman, April 27-28, 2023 [revised version of July 30, 2023 in pdf](#)

Contributor to Symposium: “Aside from Bush & Cheney who is at fault for the Iraq War? We asked a range of historians, journalists and authors — who was the most underrated player in this debacle and why?” [responsibletatecraft.org](#), March 20, 2023 [html](#)

“The Iraq War, 20 Years Later,” Cato at Liberty blog, March 6, 2023 [html](#)

“Is China Mellowing?” Cato at Liberty blog, February 2, 2023 [html](#)

Contribution to “Will Ukraine Wind Up Making Territorial Concessions to Russia?” *Foreign Affairs Asks the Experts*, [foreignaffairs.com](#), January 24, 2023 [html](#)

“The Past, Present, and Future of ‘By, With, and Through’: Will a U.S. military strategy deployed against ISIS work against nation-states?” *nationalinterest.org*, January 21, 2023 [html1](#) [html2](#)

“Playing the Long Game in U.S.-China Relations,” Cato at Liberty blog, January 9, 2023 [html](#)

Contribution to “Should the United States Pledge to Defend Taiwan?” *Foreign Affairs Asks the Experts*,” *foreignaffairs.com*, November 15, 2022 [html](#)

“Countering Terrorism in the United States” in *Cato Handbook for Policymakers*, 9th edition (Washington, DC: Cato Institute, 2022) [html](#) [pdf](#)

“Nuclear Proliferation” in *Cato Handbook for Policymakers*, 9th edition (Washington, DC: Cato Institute, 2022) [html](#) [pdf](#)

“Why Putin May Endure: Powerful Leaders Have Often Withstood Staggering Defeats,” *foreignaffairs.com*, November 29, 2022 [html1\(with paywall\)](#) [html2](#) [pdf](#)

“The United States Does Not Need to Contain China.” Napoleon once said, “Never interrupt your enemy when he’s making a mistake.” While it is not clear that China should be considered an “enemy,” the basic sentiment does otherwise seem to apply in this case. *nationalinterest.org*, November 25, 2022 [html1](#) [html2](#) [pdf](#)

“The Killing of al-Zawahri, Little More Than a ‘Symbolic Victory’: To defend against an enemy, or monster, that scarcely existed, the United States has waged wars in the Middle East that have cost trillions of dollars and led to the deaths of hundreds of thousands while erecting a massive security apparatus at home,” Cato at Liberty blog, August 2, 2022 [html](#)

“The Upside of Putin’s Delusions: Moscow’s Disastrous Invasion of Ukraine Will Reinforce the Norm Against War,” *foreignaffairs.com*, August 2, 2022 [html1 with paywall](#) [html2](#) [pdf](#) [longer final draft before editing, including footnotes](#)

“Russian Public Opinion and the Ukraine War: Applying the American Experience,” an expanded version of the article published online May 26, 2022 on the Cato website. *Military Review: The Professional Journal of the U.S. Army*, published online as a Military Review Online Exclusive, August 2, 2022. Published in *Military Review*, September-October 2022, pp. 28-35 [html](#) [full print publication](#)

Russian Public Opinion on the Ukraine War: Perspectives from the American Experience, Cato at Liberty blog, May 26, 2022 [html](#) [pdf](#)
After a rally-round-the flag effect at the outset of the war, a decline of support is to be expected regardless of the effects of media coverage, antiwar demonstrations, censorship and propaganda efforts, or military happenings in the war. This will also result in an increasing willingness to accept failure or even debacle in the war and in a

strong inclination not to attempt other such ventures. However, there is an important difference in the experiences, one that is potentially consequential: while the average American remained substantially untouched personally by the wars, that may well not hold for the average Russian.

(with Mark G. Stewart) “How a cottage terrorism industry made a lion out of an al-Qaeda mouse: A new book puts together documents uncovered at Osama bin Laden’s hideout and finds the roots of a 20-year threat inflation,” *Responsible Statecraft*, May 12, 2022 [html1](#) [html2](#)

“Nuclear Weapons: A Skeptical Approach,” March 18, 2022, paper presented at the workshop on The Role of Nuclear Weapons in U.S. National Security Strategy, Los Alamos National Laboratory, Dorothy McKibben Conference Center, Santa Fe, New Mexico, March 31-April 1, 2022 [pdf](#) Revised version of the paper June 15, 2022 [pdf](#)

“The Cyber-Delusion: Digital Threats Are Manageable, Not Existential,” *foreignaffairs.com*, March 22, 2022 [html1\(payload\)](#) [html2](#) [pdf](#)

John Mueller, “Putin’s War—Russia, Ukraine, and NATO,” Skeptic Reading Room, March 8, 2022 [html1](#) [html2](#) [pdf](#)

“China has been a failure at hegemony, so let’s just chill: From the foundering Belt & Road Initiative to its so-called ‘wolf warrior’ strategy, Beijing is just not the threat we make it out to be,” *Responsible Statecraft*, January 11, 2022 [html](#) [pdf](#)

(with Mark G. Stewart) “Aviation Resilience to Terrorist Hijackings,” in Mark G. Stewart and David V. Rosowsky, eds. Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 2022, 69-91. [pdf](#)

Critical Dialogue with Zachary C. Shirkey on *The Stupidity of War: American Foreign Policy and the Case for Complacency* and on his book, *American Dove: US Foreign Policy and the Failure of Force, Perspectives on Politics* 19(4) December 2021: 1285-1289 [pdf](#)

(with Mark G. Stewart) “America the Humble: The End of Post-9/11 Militarism,” *foreignaffairs.com*, September 30, 2021 [html1\(payload\)](#) [html2](#) [pdf with all intended hyperlinks](#)

(with Mark Stewart) “Mark Stewart and John Mueller weigh the incredible cost of overreacting to 9/11 in Western countries,” *Newcastle Herald* (Australia), September 11, 2021 [html](#) [html as reprinted in Sydney News Today](#)

“What if the US didn’t go to war in Afghanistan after 9/11? For President Bush, the only option was revenge, but an alternative path was available,” *Responsible Statecraft*, September 3, 2021 [html2](#) [html2](#) [pdf](#)

“War Is On the Rocks: Interstate war appears to be in pronounced decline. This seems to

have come about primarily because attitudes toward it have changed, much as the ancient and once-formidable institution of formal slavery became discredited and then obsolete,” warontherocks.com, July 1, 2021 [html1](#) [html2](#) [pdf](#) [later reflections in pdf](#)

“International War: Decline, Consequences, and ‘Pax Americana’,” *Journal of Global Strategic Studies* 1(1), June 2021, 1-15 [html to pdf](#) [pdf](#)

“The Bin Laden Raid: Legendary, but of Little Consequence? Aside from the pornography, the bin Laden raid proved to be a Wizard of Oz moment: for the most part, bin Laden was a thing of smoke and mirrors,” nationalinterest.org, April 30, 2021 [html1](#) [html2](#) [pdf](#)

“The War in Iraq Exposed Huge Flaws in American Strategic Thinking: The leaders who took America to war ignored history and also assumed that hostile regional powers would not push back and aid local resistance,” nationalinterest.org, March 26, 2021 [html](#) [pdf](#)

(with Mark G. Stewart) “Terrorism and Bathtubs: Comparing and Assessing the Risks,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 33(1), 138-63. January-February 2021, published online October 29, 2018 [html1](#) [html2](#) [pdf](#)

“‘Pax Americana’ is a Myth: Aversion to War Drives Peace and Order,” *The Washington Quarterly*, 43:3, Fall 2020, 115-36. Doi:10.1080/0163660X.2020.1813398 [pdf](#)

“Trump’s Attacks on Free Trade Have Actually Made It More Popular With Voters: Thanks to a paradoxical Trump bump, nearly 90 percent of both Democrats and Republicans now say they support international trade,” reason.com, August 27, 2020 [html1](#) [html2](#) [pdf](#)

Reflections on “Nuclear Alarmism: Proliferation and Terrorism,” Cato at Liberty, June 24, 2020 [html](#)

(with Mark G. Stewart) “Risk-Based Screening: what are the security and economic benefits?” *Aviation Security International* 2020, April 18, 2020 [html](#) [pdf](#)

“Reaching the Plateau: Coronavirus Lessons from China and South Korea,” Cato at Liberty blog, March 24, 2020 [html](#)

“Peace, Security, and Deterrence,” in Ronald Edsforth (ed.), *A Cultural History of Peace in the Modern Age* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020), vol. 6, pp. 145-161

(with John Glaser) “The Taliban agreement isn’t ideal, but the U.S. military has to get out of Afghanistan,” *Responsible Statecraft*, March 17, 2020 [html1](#) [html2](#) [pdf](#)

(with Mark G. Stewart) Security Risk and Cost-Benefit Assessment of Secondary Flight Deck Barriers, Briefing Note Report No. 285.11.2019, Centre for Infrastructure Performance and Reliability, The University of Newcastle, NSW, Australia, 2019. [html](#)

“Antiproliferation Policy as a Hindrance to Resolving Korea: Some Policy Proposals,” *The Korean Journal of Security Affairs*, 24(2) December 2019, pp. 6-20 [pdf](#)

“The War in Afghanistan: Feeding Optimism on a Diet of Despair,” Cato At Liberty blog, December 16, 2019 [html](#)

Cato Policy Brief, December 4, 2019 on U.S. Counterterrorism Policy [html](#) [pdf](#)

(with John Glaser) “Afghanistan: A Failure to Tell the Truth,” lobelog.com, September 13, 2019 [html](#) [pdf](#)

“Exaggerated Alarm and Destructive Excursions: Antiproliferation Policy and the Case of North Korea,” keynote paper presented at the First World Congress of Security Studies, hosted by the Research Institute for National Security Affairs, Korean National Defense University, MND Convention Center, Seoul, South Korea, August 27, 2019 [pdf](#)

(with John Glaser) “Terrorist ‘safe havens’ are a myth — and no reason for continuing the war in Afghanistan,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 19, 2019. [html](#) [pdf](#)

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(with Mark G. Stewart) “Evaluating the Effectiveness of Measures to Counter Domestic Terrorism,” paper presented at the workshop, Known and Unknown Knowns and Unknowns: Research Agendas for the Study of Terrorism, Orfalea Center, University of California, Santa Barbara, February 28-March 2, 2019 [pdf](#)

“Political Realism and Threat Perception: Inferring intent from capacity and capacity from intent—and getting it wrong both ways,” in Robert Schuett and Miles Hollingworth (eds.), *Edinburgh Companion to Political Realism* (Edinburgh University Press and Oxford University Press, 2018), 395-405

“A Determined Man: World War I, Hitler, and the Unlikely March to World War II,” warontherocks.com, November 11, 2018 [html1](#) [html2](#) [pdf](#)

“An American Global Order? or Pax Americana: Has the US Been Necessary?” Paper presented at the ISSS-IS Annual Conference, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Indiana. November 11, 2018 [pdf](#)

“Nuclear Weapons Don’t Matter, But Nuclear Hysteria Does,” *Foreign Affairs* 97(6) November/December 2018, 1-6 [html1\(paywall\)](#) [html2](#) [pdf with additional commentary](#)

“What Happened to the Islamic State Foreign Fighters That Had Returned to Europe? After all the alarm that Europe had been infiltrated by ISIS-supporters that were hell-bent on violence, where are they?” nationalinterest.org, November 5, 2018 [html1](#) [html2](#) [pdf with additional materials](#)

“Risk, Reaction, Elite Cues, and Perceived Threat in International Politics,” paper presented at the Annual Convention of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 30, 2018 [pdf](#)

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The Remnants of War received the Joseph Lepgold Prize for the best book on international relations in 2004, awarded by Georgetown University

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Edward Peck Curtis Award for Excellence in Undergraduate Teaching, University of Rochester, 1997

Honorary Member, Golden Key National Honor Society (1995)

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Listed in *Who's Who in the World, Who's Who in America, Who's Who in the East, Contemporary Authors, Who's Who in 20th Century America, Who's Who in the Midwest*

Member, American Academy of Arts and Sciences (elected May 1990)

Distinguished Scholar Award, Ohio State University, 2010

Susan Strange Award, International Studies Association, that “recognizes a person whose singular intellect, assertiveness, and insight most challenge conventional wisdom and intellectual and organizational complacency in the international studies community,” 2009

Selected for “The Playboy Honor Roll: Meet 20 Professors who are reinventing the classroom,” by Ling Ma, Tim McCormick, and Josh Schollmeyer, *Playboy*, October 2010

article in pdf

Participant, “Presidential Roundtable: Recognizing the Contributions of John Mueller,” National Convention of the International Studies Association, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, March 27, 2014

Empire Lecture, “Assessing the Historical Movement of Ideas,” Midwest Political Science Association Convention, Chicago, April 3, 2014 video

April 14, 2014: Plenary Speaker, “‘We Track ’Em, You Whack ’Em’: Counterterrorism and the NSA: Counterterrorism and the NSA,” Association for Private Enterprise Education Conference, Las Vegas

OTHER RELATED ACTIVITIES IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

Member, Board of Overseers, General Social Survey, National Opinion Research Center

Contributor, *Funk and Wagnalls New Encyclopedia*

Book reviews in *New York Times Sunday Book Review*, *American Political Science Review*, *Journal of Politics*, *Armed Forces and Society*, *Political Science Quarterly*, *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *Wilson Quarterly*, *European Political Science*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *Times Literary Supplement*, *Regulation*, *Physics World*, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, *Journal of Cold War Studies*, *The Independent Review*, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *International History Review*, *H-Diplo*.

Adviser, “Vietnam: A Television History,” WGBH, Boston, 1983

Official Representative, Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, 1979-84

Co-Editor, *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 1985-89

Editorial Board, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 1988-1991

Editorial Board, *Journal of Cold War Studies*, 1999-

Editorial Board, *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 2008-

Editorial Board, *International Political Sociology*, 2007-2016

Chairman, Department of Political Science, University of Rochester, 1989-91

Participant, NATO Discussion Series, Atlantic Council, Brussels, Maastricht, and Geilenkirchen, June 21-26, 1992

Member, Advisory Committee, Center for Polish and Central European Studies, University of Rochester, 1994-2000

Director, Watson Center for the Study of International Peace and Cooperation, University of Rochester, 1993-1999

Editorial Board, Ohio State University Press, 2001-04

The Cyberskeptics, a web page published through the Cato Institute which collects and links writing challenging the popular notion that cyberdoom is approaching to provide some balance to the discussion. We supply a brief biography for each author, a general summary of their writing on the issue, and links to those pieces.

<http://www.cato.org/research/cyberskeptics>

Honors examiner, Swarthmore College, May 18-19, 2020

AWARDS, HONORS IN DANCE AND FILM

de la Torre Bueno Prize, presented by Dance Perspectives Foundation, to Astaire Dancing: The Musical Films for “the most distinguished book-length manuscript in the field of dance,” 1983

Distinguished Scholar Award, Ohio State University, 2010

Listed in Who’s Who in the World, Who’s Who in America, Who’s Who in the East, Contemporary Authors, Who’s Who in 20th Century America, Who’s Who in the Midwest

DVDS PRODUCED

(Distributed by Dance Film Archive, Ohio State University)

Fire Dance. 2004. Features the famous Loïe Fuller solo from 1896 as reconstructed and performed by Jessica Lindberg. The DVD includes a studio performance of the work, a studio performance with audio commentary by Jessica Lindberg and Megan Slayter, a studio performance edited from several camera angles by Shawn Hove, a studio performance accompanied by the notated score, a live performance recorded from two camera angles which the viewer can toggle between using the angle button, a documentary on “Loïe Fuller: Her Life and Art,” a documentary on “Reconstructing Loïe Fuller’s Fire Dance,” and archival films from 1897-1905 of Loïe Fuller and her imitators. DVD authoring by Shawn Hove.

Gaîté Parisienne. 2006. Features Victor Jessen’s film, taken between 1945 and 1955, of performances of the famous Leonide Massine ballet by the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo. Also audio commentary by one of the leading dancers of the era, Frederic Franklin, a documentary on the ballet, a documentary on Jessen, and an interview with Franklin. DVD authoring by Shawn Hove. The DVD is distributed commercially by Video Artists International as well as by OSU’s Dance Film Archive.

Symphonie Fantastique. 2008. Features a work film, with synchronized piano music of the Leonide Massine ballet in a 1949 performance by the Royal Danish Ballet. Includes explanatory titles. DVD authoring by Shawn Hove. The DVD is distributed commercially by Video Artists International as well as by OSU’s Dance Film Archive. Extensive notes on the film can be found on VAI’s website.

FILMS PRODUCED AND DIRECTED

(Distributed by Dance Film Archive, Ohio State University)

Afternoon of a Faun. 11 min., 1973 (still photographs and drawings of the original Nijinsky ballet synchronized with music score to show the original choreography by Fokine)

Light Part 5. 20 min., 1976 (filming of the Kei Takei dance work as performed by Takei and company)

Royal Danish Ballet 1902-1906. 14 min., 1979 (processing of historic silent film and addition of synchronized music)

The Traitor. 19 min., 1979 (processing of historic silent film from 1955 showing a performance of the Jose Limon work as danced by the original cast, and synchronization of the music score)

Two Ecstatic Themes: Two Performances. 13 min., 1980 (filming of the classic Doris Humphrey solo as performed by Nina Watt and Carla Maxwell of the Jose Limon Dance Company)

Symphonie Fantastique. 51 min., 1980 (processing of a historic silent film of the Leonide Massine ballet, and addition of synchronized music)

St. Francis (Nobilissima Visione). 39 min., 1982 (processing of a historic silent film of the Leonide Massine ballet as danced by the original cast, and addition of synchronized music)

Seventh Symphony. 32 min., 1982 (processing of a historic silent film of the Leonide Massine ballet as danced by the original cast, and addition of synchronized music)

Water Study. 22 min., 1982 (filming of the classic Doris Humphrey group work as performed by dancers under the direction of Ernestine Stodelle)

Bonnie Bird Demonstrates Graham Technique, 1938-39. 11 min., 1986 (processing of historic silent film)

Gaite Parisienne. 38 min., 1986 (processing of historic film) (distributed 1988 in videocassette by Video Arts International, New York)

SCRIPTS FOR MUSICAL COMEDIES

A Foggy Day. A musical comedy created by incorporating songs by George and Ira Gershwin into a play by G. Wodehouse and Ian Hay. 1984. [information](#)
Produced (under the title "Reaching for the Moon") by Eastman Opera Theatre, Eastman School of Music, Rochester, NY, October 30-November 3, 1987 (7 performances).
Produced (co-written by Norm Foster) by the Shaw Festival, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario, Canada, May 5-November 1, 1998 (126 performances) and April 29-November 14, 1999 (135 performances).

One for My Baby. An expansion and development for the stage of a film script (The Sky's the Limit) adding songs mostly with lyrics by Johnny Mercer. 1985. Professional reading, Geva Theatre, Rochester, NY, June 7, 1999. [information](#)

PUBLICATIONS IN DANCE, FILM, AND MUSICAL THEATER: ARTICLES

"Dance on Film" in Mary Clark and David Vaughan (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Dance and Ballet* (New York: Putnam, 1977)

"The Value, Use, and Availability of Dance Films," in Selma Landen Odom (ed.), *Dance and Film* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1977)

"Filmed Dance and Dance Films," *Ballett* 1978 (Frankfurt), 24-27

"The Oldest Ballet Movie," *Dance Magazine*, July 1979, 40-43 [pdf](#)

"Film and Videotape as Teaching Tools," *Dance Critics' Association News*, December 1979

"Is Giselle a Virgin?" *Dance Chronicle* Vol. 4, No. 2 (1981), 151-54 [pdf](#)

"The Filmed Dances of Fred Astaire," *Quarterly Review of Film Studies*, Vol. 6 (Spring 1981), 135-54; reprinted as

"Fred Astaire. Verfilming van zijn dansnummers," *Versus* (Nijmegen, Netherlands), March 1983, 9-20

"Images de Nijinski," *L'Avant-Scene Ballet/Danse* (Paris), no. 7, 1981

"Limon's Tormented Traitor," *Dance Magazine*, May 1981, sc-26-30

"Watching an American Screen Original," *Dance Magazine*, May 1984, 131-35

"Fred Astaire and the Integrated Musical," *Cinema Journal*, Fall 1984, 28-40

Analytic lecture on the second sound track of The Criterion Collection laserdisc edition of the film, Swing Time (New York and Los Angeles: Janus Films and Voyager Press, 1986)

Reissued by The Criterion Collection on DVD and BLU-RAY with the 1986 commentary track, released June 11, 2019 [information](#)

(with Don McDonagh), "Making Musical Dance," *Ballet Review*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (Winter 1986), 23-44

“Fred Astaire,” *Encyclopedia of World Biography* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1987), 73-74

“The Astaire Illusion,” *Dance Magazine*, November 1987, 34-35

“The White Swan Adagio,” in Janice Ross and Stephen Cobbett Steinberg (eds.), *Why a Swan?* (San Francisco: San Francisco Performing Arts Library and Museum, March 1989), 25-29

“Eaters, Watchers, and Revolutionaries,” program note, Scottish National Opera production of Marc Blitzstein’s *Regina*

“Preaching to the Choir: Strike Up the Band and War,” essay in the liner notes for the 1991 recording of the Gershwin-Kaufman Strike Up the Band [html](#)

“The Gershwins and the Astaires,” essay in the liner notes for the 1992 recording of the Gershwins’ Lady, Be Good!

“Fred Astaire” in *International Encyclopedia of Dance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998)

“The Gershwin-Wodehouse Connection,” essay in programme for A Foggy Day, Shaw Festival, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario, 1998

“Fred Astaire,” *American National Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 693-95

“Ginger Rogers,” *American National Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 756-57

Full-length commentary track for the Fred Astaire-Ginger Rogers film, Swing Time, released on DVD by Warner Home Video, autumn 2005. Also interviewed for short documentaries later distributed on the Warner Home Video DVDs of Top Hat, Follow the Fleet, Swing Time, Shall We Dance, and The Barkleys of Broadway.

Interviewed for the documentary, Astaire and Rogers: Partners in Rhythm, by Sparkhill Productions for the Warner Home Video “Astaire and Rogers: The Complete Film Collection,” an 11 DVD set released in 2006.

COLUMNS IN DANCE MAGAZINE

The ephemeral Giselle (Sept. 1974) [pdf](#)

Ruth St. Denis (Oct. 1974) [pdf](#)

Assembling a dance film series (Nov. 1974)

Catalogs, Bournonville, Camera Three, queries (Dec. 1974)

Eight by Graham (Jan. 1975) [pdf](#)
 Revivals of four modern dance classics (Feb. 1975) [pdf](#)
 The projector (Mar. 1975) [pdf](#)
 The inaccessible New York City Ballet (Apr. 1975) [pdf](#)
 Six myths about dance films (May 1975) [pdf](#)
 Norman McLaren and Murray Louis (June 1975) [pdf](#)
 Merce Cunningham on Camera Three and Elsewhere (July 1975) [pdf](#)
 Reviewing the Tube: Three by Balanchine with the New York City Ballet (July 1975) [pdf](#)
 Ailey, Feld, Mitchell, Tetley, Van Dantzig (Aug. 1975) [pdf](#)
 Rudolf Nureyev (Oct. 1975) [pdf](#)
 Sources of free, or nearly free, dance films (Nov. 1975) [pdf](#)
 A Kirov Sleeping Beauty (Dec. 1975) [pdf](#)
 In search of Anna Pavlova (Jan. 1976) [pdf](#)
 A glimpse of Mary Wigman (Mar. 1976) [pdf](#)
 Reviews and follow-up reports (Apr. 1976) [pdf](#)
 School of American Ballet, Free films in NY, Inexpensive projectors (May 1976) [pdf](#)
 The 1969 Moscow Ballet Competition (June 1976) [pdf](#)
 Cynthia Gregory, Antony Tudor and ABT (July 1976) [pdf](#)
 Some cautionary comments about videotape (Aug. 1976) [pdf](#)
 Violette Verdy's Ballerina (Oct. 1976)
 The new and the available (Dec. 1976) [pdf](#)
 Dance in the earliest motion pictures (Feb. 1977)
 Kei Takei and other matters (Mar. 1977) [pdf](#)
 Harald Kreutzberg's dances of death (Apr. 1977) [pdf](#)
 Merce Cunningham's Walkaround Time (June 1977) [html](#) [pdf](#) (both reformatted from
 the corrupted published version)
Relâche and Entr'acte (July 1977) [pdf](#)
 Ballet History by Ballet for All (Aug. 1977) [pdf](#)
 Twyla Tharp and the wide-angle lens (Sept. 1977) [pdf](#)
 Martha Graham then and now (Dec. 1977) [pdf](#)
 The close-up, the dissolve and Martha Graham (Jan. 1978) [pdf](#)
 Margot Fonteyn, The Place (Feb. 1978) [pdf](#)
 Choreographing for camera (Apr. 1978) [pdf](#)
 Alonso in Cinemascope (June 1978) [pdf](#)
 Paul Taylor's Junction (Aug. 1978) [pdf](#)
 Classics and demonstrations (Sept. 1978) [pdf](#)
 Baroque dance (Nov. 1978) [pdf](#)
 Alicia Alonso's Giselle (Dec. 1978) [pdf](#)
 Two catalogs (Jan. 1979) [pdf](#)
 Day on Earth (Feb. 1979) [pdf](#)
 Yvonne Rainer's Trio A (Mar. 1979) [pdf](#)
 Fred Astaire's Dancing in the Dark (May 1979) [pdf](#)
 Nureyev's Don Quixote in sections (June 1979) [pdf](#)
 The oldest ballet movie (July 1979) [pdf](#)
 Home video recorders (Aug. 1979) [pdf](#)
 A documentary and two duets (Oct. 1979)

Meredith Monk's Quarry (Nov. 1979) [pdf](#)
Limon's The Traitor (Dec. 1979) [pdf](#)
The return of "Royal Ballet" (Mar. 1980)
Classic tap (June 1980)
Karen Kain: Ballerina (Aug. 1980)
Dance in America films (Mar. 1981) [pdf](#)
Carolyn Brown's Dune Dance (Sept. 1981)
Margot Fonteyn's The Magic of Dance (Jan. and Feb. 1982) [pdf](#) and [pdf](#)

GRANTS FROM THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

"Development of Teaching Materials for Media-Based Dance Appreciation Courses"
1972-73
"Increasing the Availability of Dance Films" 1974-75
"Increasing the Availability of Dance Films" 1977-78
"Processing and Distributing Massine Ballet Films" 1979-81

OTHER RELATED ACTIVITIES IN DANCE AND FILM

Director, Dance Film Archive, University of Rochester, 1983-2000, Ohio State University, 2000-

Faculty member at Dance Critics Institutes at American Dance Festival, Connecticut College and Duke University (1977-1980); University of Texas; London Dance Umbrella (1981); University of Iowa (1984); Dance in Canada Conference, Vancouver (1986)

Dance critic, Rochester Democrat and Chronicle, 1974-83
Reviews, 1974-1977 [pdf](#)
Reviews, 1978-1983 [pdf](#)

Member, Dance Panel, New York State Arts Council, 1976-78

Member, Advisory Board, Dance in America (PBS), 1975

Participant, Film and Humanities Summer Institute, American Film Institute (Beverly Hills, CA), 1979

Co-organizer and chief adviser, Early Years Dance Festival, SUNY Purchase, 1981

Member of the Board, Dance Critics Association, 1983-85

Member, Dance Panel, National Endowment for the Arts, 1983-85

Editorial Board, Ohio State University Press, 2001-04

Supervision and transferring of the OSU Dance Film Archive film to videocassette from the “Seventh Symphony,” which was used by the Cincinnati Ballet to mount one movement from the work (for the first time in over 50 years) for their Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo season, October 18-19, 2002. The Cincinnati Ballet then mounted the entire work from the film, performing it October 8-9, 2004.

Keynote speaker, Fred Astaire: The Conference, Oriel College, Oxford University, June 2008

LECTURES/FILM SHOWINGS ON FRED ASTAIRE in PDF

BOOK REVIEWS

Huang, Yasheng, *The Rise and Fall of the EAST: How Exams, Autocracy, Stability, and Technology Brought China Success, and Why They Might Lead to Its Decline*. New Haven, Ct: Yale University Press, 2023. booknote for *Journal of Peace Research*, posted March 18, 2024 [html](#)

Sean A. Mirski, *We May Dominate the World: Ambition, Anxiety, and the Rise of the American Colossus*, New York: PublicAffairs, 2023, booknote for *Journal of Peace Research*, posted November 21, 2023 [html](#)

Melvyn P. Leffler, *Confronting Saddam Hussein: George W Bush and the Invasion of Iraq*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2023, booknote for *Journal of Peace Research*, posted November 21, 2023 [html](#)

Melvyn P. Leffler, *Confronting Saddam Hussein: George W Bush and the Invasion of Iraq*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2023, review for *The Middle East Journal* 77(2) Autumn 2023, 235-237 <https://DOI.ORG/10.3751/77.2.305> [pdf](#)

Chin-Hao Huang, *Power and Restraint in China's Rise*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2022, booknote for *Journal of Peace Research*, posted January 2, 2023 [html](#)

Hal Brands and Michael Beckley, *Danger Zone: The Coming Conflict with China*, New York: Norton, 2022, booknote for *Journal of Peace Research*, posted October 5, 2022 [html](#)

Michael Gordon, *Degrade and Destroy: The Inside Story of the War Against the Islamic State from Barack Obama to Donald Trump*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2022, booknote for *Journal of Peace Research*, posted September 9, 2022 [html](#)

Nicholas Mulder, *The Economic Weapon: The Rise of Sanctions as a Modern Tool of War*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2022, booknote for *Journal of Peace Research*, posted August 8, 2022 [html](#)

Critical Dialogue with Zachary C. Shirkey on *The Stupidity of War: American Foreign Policy and the Case for Complacency* and on his book, *American Dove: US Foreign Policy and the Failure of Force*, *Perspectives on Politics* 19(4) December 2021: 1285-1289 [pdf](#)

Michael A. Cohen and Micah Zenko, *Clear and Present Safety: The World Has Never Been Better and Why That Matters to Americans* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2019) 256 pp. *Ethics & International Affairs*, March 24, 2020 [pdf](#)

Oona A. Hathaway and Scott J. Shapiro, *The Internationalists: How a Radical Plan to Outlaw War Remade the World*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2017. H-Diplo

Roundtable XXI-15, November 18, 2019, Roundtable Editors: Thomas Maddux and Diane Labrosse [pdf](#)

“Good-Bye To All That,” review of *Good-Bye Hegemony! Power and Influence in the Global System* by Simon F. Reich and Richard Ned Lebow in *European Political Science* 13(4) December 2014: 386-89, advance online publication September 12, 2014 [pdf](#)

“Fire, fire,” review of *Command and Control* by Eric Schlosser, *Times Literary Supplement*, March 7, 2014, 26 [pdf](#)

“Threats Everywhere,” review of Kip Hawley and Nathan Means, *Permanent Emergency: Inside the TSA and the Fight for the Future of American Security*. *Regulation*, Winter 2012-2013, 48-49 [html](#)

David K. Shipler, *The Rights of the People: How Our Search of Safety Invades Our Liberties*. *Wilson Quarterly*, Spring 2011, 97-98 [pdf](#)

Richard Rhodes, *The Twilight of the Bombs: Recent Challenges, New Dangers, and the Prospects for a World Without Nuclear Weapons*. *Physics World*, February 2011, 38-39 [pdf](#)

William Langewiesche, *The Atomic Bazaar: The Rise of the Nuclear Poor*. *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, November/December 2007, 55-56 [pdf](#)

Andrew J. Bacevich and Efraim Inbar (eds.), *The Gulf War of 1991 Reconsidered*. *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Winter 2005, 191-93

Mark E. Pietrzyk, *International Order and Individual Liberty: Effects of War and Peace on the Development of Governments*. *The Independent Review*, Fall 2003, 310-12

Yahya Sadowski, *The Myth of Global Chaos*. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, September 2000, 206-7

Christopher, Coker, *War and the Illiberal Conscience*. *International History Review*, December 1999, 1123-25

Charles Hamm, *Irving Berlin: Songs from the Melting Pot: The Formative Years, 1907-1919*. *New York Times Sunday Book Review*, April 27, 1997, 23.

William H. McNeill, *Keeping Together in Time: Dance and Drill in Human History*. *New York Times Sunday Book Review*, October 22, 1995, 22.

Richard Barrios, *A Song in the Dark: The Birth of the Musical Film*. *New York Times Sunday Book Review*, June 24, 1995, 24.

Stephen Citron, Noel and Cole: The Sophisticates. *New York Times Sunday Book Review*, June 6, 1993, 24. [pdf](#)

Michael Howard, The Lessons of History. *American Political Science Review*, September 1992, 842-43.

Ginger Rogers, Ginger: My Story. *New York Times Sunday Book Review*, October 20, 1991, 14-15.

Ellen Frey-Wouters and Robert S. Laufer, Legacy of a War: The American Soldier in Vietnam. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Spring 1988, 154-56.

“Vietnam Revised,” review of Leslie H. Gelb with Richard K. Betts, *The Irony of Vietnam: The System Worked*; Allan E. Goodman, *The Lost Peace: America's Search for a Negotiated Settlement of the Vietnam War*; and Guenter Lewy, *America in Vietnam in Armed Forces and Society*, Fall 1982, 167-73 [pdf](#)

Allan E. Goodman, The Lost Peace: America's Search for a Negotiated Settlement of the Vietnam War. *Political Science Quarterly*, Fall 1979, 541-42.

Herbert Y. Schandler, The Unmaking of the President: Lyndon Johnson and Vietnam. *American Political Science Review*, December 1978, 1434-36

Klaus Knorr, On the Uses of Military Power in the Nuclear Age; Bernard Brodie, Escalation and the Nuclear Option. *American Political Science Review*, December 1967, 1109-10

ENCYCLOPEDIA ARTICLES

“WAR: Aversion to war” (vol. 4, 327-330) and “Violent conflict and overreaction” (vol. 4, 320-321) *The Oxford International Encyclopedia of Peace*, (Oxford University Press, 2010)

“The War on Terror,” *Encyclopedia of Libertarianism* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2008)

“Public Opinion and Policy in Wartime,” *Encyclopedia of War & American Society* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2005)

“Should Campaign Financing Be Reformed? Campaign Finance Reform Is Not Necessary” (Point/Counterpoint sidebar), *Encarta*, posted 2000

“Public Opinion,” *Funk & Wagnalls New Encyclopedia*, 1983