

BIOGRAPHIC SUMMARY

Uri Ra'an

- PRESENT POSITIONS: **University Professor**, University Professors Program, **Professor** of International Relations, and **Director**, The Institute for the Study of Conflict, Ideology, and Policy, *Boston University*; concurrently also **Associate** of the Davis Center for Russian Studies, *Harvard University*.
- PREVIOUS ACADEMIC POSITIONS: **Professor** of International Politics and **Director**, International Security Studies Program, *The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy*, at Tufts University, 1967-1987;
Visiting Professor of International Politics, *The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy*, 1966-67;
Visiting Professor of Political Science, *M.I.T.*, 1966-68;
Associate, Center for International Studies, *M.I.T.*, 1966-76;
Visiting Professor of Political Science, *Brooklyn College*, CUNY, 1966;
Lecturer of Government, *Columbia University*, 1965-66;
Senior Fellow, The Research Institute on Communist Affairs, *Columbia University*, 1964-66.
- PREVIOUS CAREER: Spent 7 years (1958-64) in international diplomacy (including posts as Counselor of Embassy; United Nations Delegation Spokesman, and Consul);
Spent 7 years (1950-57) in political journalism (including post as Editorial Writer and Diplomatic Correspondent).
- CONSULTANTSHIPS: Consultant to the National Institute of Justice and Temple University Research Program on Organized Crime, 1981-1983;
Consultant to the Battelle Columbus Laboratories/U.S. Army Ballistic Missile Defense Program, 1976-77;
Consultant to the Subcommittee on National Security and International Operations of the Committee on Government Operations, U.S. Senate, 1972.
- EDUCATION: Obtained his undergraduate and graduate education and degrees at Oxford University (Wadham College), Great Britain, 1945-50;
Attended school in Austria, Switzerland, and Great Britain
- PERSONAL DATA: Citizenship: U.S.
Date of Birth: June 10, 1926
Name at Birth: Heinz Felix Frischwasser (official name change 1954)
Married, 2 sons.
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Listing in: Marquis *Who's Who in America* and *Who's Who in the World*

A. BOOKS

1. Authored, Edited, Co-authored, and Co-edited

Russia: A Return to Imperialism?, edited by Uri Ra'an and Kate Martin; (U.R. author of Introduction and Chapter 2: "Imperial Elements in Russia's Doctrines & Operations"), St. Martin's Press, 1996. 216 pp.

Russian Pluralism -- Now Irreversible? edited by Uri Ra'an, Keith Armes and Kate Martin, with an Introduction by Elena Bonner; (U.R. author of Chapter 1: "Pluralism and Democratization"), St. Martin's Press, 1992. 230 pp.

State and Nation in Multi-Ethnic Societies: The Breakup of Multinational States, edited by Uri Ra'an, Maria Mesner, Keith Armes and Kate Martin; (U.R. author of Chapter 1: "Nation and State: Order Out of Chaos," and Chapter 7: "The End of the Multinational Soviet Empire?"), Manchester University Press, October 1991. 269 pp.

Staat und Nation in multi-ethnischen Gesellschaften, (edited jointly with Erich Fröschl and Maria Mesner; UR author of Chapter 1: "Nation und Staat: Ordnung aus dem Chaos," and Chapter 14: "Das Ende des multi-nationalen Sowjetreiches?"), Passagen Verlag, 1991. 350 pp.

The Soviet Empire & The Challenge of National and Democratic Movements, edited by Uri Ra'an, with a contribution by Milovan Djilas and other authorities; (U.R. author of Introduction and of Chapter 4: "Conceptual and Operational Aspects -- The 'Russian Problem'"), D.C. Heath and Company, 1990. 254 pp.

Gorbachev's USSR: A System in Crisis, edited by Uri Ra'an and Igor Lukes, with a Foreword by George Urban; (U.R. author of Chapter 2: "Is Sovietology in Crisis? Concepts and Methods of Analysis" and co-author of the Introduction), Macmillan, 1990. 154 pp.

Inside the Apparatus: Perspectives on the Soviet Union from Former Functionaries, by Uri Ra'an and Igor Lukes, D.C. Heath and Company, 1990. 281 pp.

Guerrilla Warfare & Counterinsurgency: U.S.-Soviet Policy in the Third World, (edited jointly with Richard H. Shultz, Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., Igor Lukes, and William J. Olson; U.R. author of Chapter 5: "Soviet Objectives and Constraints: An Overview," and co-author of the Preface), Lexington Books, 1989. 432 pp.

Emerging Doctrines and Technologies: Implications for Global and Regional Political-Military Balances, (edited jointly with Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., Richard H. Shultz, and Igor Lukes; U.R. co-author of Chapter 3: "Alternate Methodologies for the Assessment of Soviet Strategic Defense Capabilities and Arms Control," and co-author of the Introduction), Lexington Books, 1988. 323 pp.

The USSR Today and Tomorrow: Problems and Challenges, edited by Uri Ra'an and Charles M. Perry; (U.R. author of Chapter 1: "The USSR: What is Ascertainable and How Can Such Knowledge be Obtained?" and co-author of Preface), Lexington Books, 1987. Hardcover and Paperback editions. 160 pp. 3rd printing, 1988.

Hydra of Carnage: International Linkages of Terrorism and Low-Intensity Operations, edited by Uri Ra'an, Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., Richard H. Shultz, Ernst Halperin, and Igor Lukes; (U.R. author of Chapter 14: "Vulnerabilities of the International Support Apparatus," and co-author of the Introduction), Lexington Books, 1985. Hardcover and Paperback editions. 636 pp. 3rd printing (U.R. co-author of new Preface), 1986.

Security Commitments and Capabilities: Elements of an American Global Strategy, edited by Uri Ra'an and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr.; (U.R. author of Chapter 10: "An Indirect Approach to a Cumulative Global 'Zero Sum Game,'" co-author of Preface), Archon Books, 1985. 204 pp.

National Security Policy: The Decision-Making Process, (edited jointly with Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr.; U.R. author of Chapter 4: "Contrasting Views of the Role of Strategic Doctrine: Soviet and Western Approaches," co-author of Preface), Archon Books, 1984. 311 pp.

International Security Dimensions of Space, edited by Uri Ra'an and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr.; (U.R. author of Chapter 3: "The Soviet Approach to Space: Personalities and Military Doctrine," co-author of Preface), Archon Books, 1984. 324 pp.

The U.S. Defense Mobilization Infrastructure: Problems and Priorities, (edited jointly with Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr.), Archon Books, 1983. 292 pp.

Projection of Power: Perspectives, Perceptions and Problems, edited by Uri Ra'an, Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., and Geoffrey Kemp; (U.R. author of Chapter 2: "Power Projection -- The Perception of Power," co-author of Introduction), Archon Books, 1982. 351 pp.

Intelligence Policy and National Security, (edited jointly with Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., and Warren H. Milberg; U.R. author of Chapter 6: "'Static' and 'Dynamic' Intelligence Perceptions: The USSR -- Problems of Analysis and Evaluation," co-author of Introduction), Macmillan and Co., 1981. 400 pp.

Ethnic Resurgence in Modern Democratic States: Human Resources and Conflict, edited by Uri Ra'an, with the participation of John P. Roche and contributions from other authors; (U.R. author of Preface, Introduction: "The Resurgence of Ethnic Self-assertion in the West," and Chapter 1: "Ethnic Conflict -- Toward a New Typology"), Pergamon Press, 1981. 300 pp.

Arms Transfers to the Third World: The Military Buildup in Less Industrial Countries, edited by Uri Ra'an, Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., and Geoffrey Kemp; (U.R. author of Chapter 7: "Soviet Arms Transfers and the Problem of Political Leverage," co-author of Preface and of Chapter 16: "The Military Buildup in Less Industrial States -- Policy Implications"), Westview Press, 1978. 411 pp.

The Other Arms Race, (edited jointly with Geoffrey Kemp and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr.; U.R. author of Chapter 6: "The New Technologies and the Middle East: 'Lessons' of the Yom Kippur War and Anticipated Developments"), D.C. Heath and Company, 1975. 218 pp.

The Superpowers in a Multinuclear World, (edited jointly with Geoffrey Kemp and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr.; U.R. author of Chapter II: "Some Political Perspectives Concerning the U.S.-Soviet Strategic Balance"), D.C. Heath and Company, 1974. 300 pp.

The U.S.S.R. Arms the Third World: Case Studies in Soviet Foreign Policy, by Uri Ra'an. (Under the auspices of Columbia University's Research Institute on Communist Affairs), M.I.T. Press, 1969. 256 pp.

The Politics of the Coup d'État, (edited jointly with W.G. Andrews; U.R. author of the Introduction and Chapter II: "Indonesia"), Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1969. 153 pp.

Frontiers of a Nation, by Uri Ra'an. (Based upon the author's dissertation at Oxford University, appeared under the name of H.F. Frischwasser-Ra'an, Frischwasser being the author's name at birth, subsequently changed to Ra'an), Batchworth Press, 1955. 168 pp. New edition published by Hyperion Press, 1977.

2. Chapters in

Diplomacy and Statecraft, (edited by David Armstrong and Erik Goldstein), (U.R. author of Chapter 11, "Is the Cold War Over?"), Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1990, pp. 52-64.

Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies, (edited by Joseph V. Montville), (U.R. author of Chapter 1, "The Nation-State Fallacy"), Lexington Books, 1990, pp. 5-20.

Shock Waves: Consequences of Glasnost' and Perestroika, (edited by Bernard Rubin and Lawrence Bittman) (U.R. author of chapter on "The Apparatus Restructured?"), Boston University Press, 1989, pp. 71-88.

Ending a Nuclear War: Are the Superpowers Prepared?, (edited by Stephen J. Cimbala and Joseph D. Douglass, Jr.), (U.R. author of Chapter 8, "Soviet Political-Diplomatic Signaling and War Termination"), Pergamon-Brassey's, 1988, pp. 140-153.

Soviet Strategic Deception, (edited by Brian D. Dailey and Patrick J. Parker), (U.R. author of Chapter 7, "Deception in the Political-Military Arena"), Lexington Books/Hoover Institution Press, 1987, pp. 133-146.

The Red Orchestra: Instruments of Soviet Policy in Latin America and the Caribbean, (edited by Dennis L. Bark), (U.R. author of Chapter 1 in Part I, "Retrospective and Prospective"), Hoover Institution, 1986, pp. 15-31.

Third World Marxist-Leninist Regimes: Strengths, Vulnerabilities, and U.S. Policy, (U.R. author of chapter on "The USSR and the Third World: Conceptual Overview, Strategy, and Tactics"), Pergamon-Brassey's, 1985, pp. 1-18.

National Security Policy for the 1980s, (edited by Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr.), (U.R. author of lead Chapter, "Soviet Strategic Doctrine and the Soviet-American Global Contest"), Sage Publications, 1981. (This is a hardcover, book-form edition of *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 457, September 1981.), pp. 182-210.

Soviet Naval Policy: Objectives and Constraints, (edited by M. McGwire, K. Booth, J. McDonnell), (U.R. author of Chapter 11, "Soviet Decision-Making in the Middle East, 1969-73"), Praeger, 1975, pp. 182-210.

Contrasting Approaches to Strategic Arms Control, (edited by R.L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr.), (U.R. author of Chapter IV, "Soviet Decision-Making and the Strategic Balance--Some Reflections"), D.C. Heath and Company, 1974, pp. 113-122.

Great Issues of International Politics, (edited by M.A. Kaplan), (U.R. author of Chapter 31, "The Changing American-Soviet Strategic Balance: Some Political Implications"), Second Edition, Aldine Publishing Co., 1974, pp. 495-513.

History from 1880, (Israel Pocket Library), (U.R. author of Chapter 2, "The Land of Israel in International Affairs"), Keter Publishing House, Ltd., 1973.

Encyclopedia Judaica, Volume 99, (U.R. author of chapter on "The Land of Israel in International Affairs, 1793-1923"), Keter Publishing House, The Macmillan Company, 1971.

The Israel-Arab Reader, (edited by Walter Laqueur), (U.R. author of Section 5, chapter on "Soviet Global Policy and the Middle East"), Pelican-Penguin Books, Revised Edition, 1970. [Also Bantam Books Edition].

The Anatomy of Peace in the Middle East, (The Proceedings of the American Academic Association for Peace in the Middle East), (U.R. author of Chapter 2, "Soviet Global Policy in the Middle East"), American Academic Association, 1969, pp. 33-53.

China in Crisis, Vol. 2, "China's Policy in Asia and America's Alternatives," (edited by Tang Tsou), (U.R. author of Chapter 2, "Peking's Foreign Policy 'Debate,' 1965-66"), University of Chicago Press, 1968, pp. 23-71.

The U.S.S.R. After 50 Years: Promise and Reality, (edited by R.L. Braham and S. Hendel), (U.R. author of Chapter VIII, "The U.S.S.R. in World Affairs: Problems of a 'Communist' Foreign Policy"), A.A. Knopf, 1967, pp. 235-262.

Modernization of the Arab World, (edited by J.H. Thompson and R.D. Reischauer), (U.R. author of Chapter VII, "The U.S.S.R. in the Near East: A Decade of Vicissitudes"), D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1966, pp. 229-249.

The Hebrew Encyclopedia, Volume Eretz Yisrael (U.R. author of chapter on Palestine in European Diplomatic History, 18th-20th Centuries), Encyclopedia Publishing Co., 1956.

3. Monographs

A "Modern" International System?, The Occasional Lecture Series, The University Professors, Boston University, 2000.

Ethnic Resurgence in the Post-Communist Era, edited by Uri Ra'an, with contributions by Uri Ra'an, "'State' and 'Nation' Reconsidered," and LtCol Robert Leininger, "The Nationalities Problem in East and Southeast Europe," ISCIIP Publication Series #11, Institute for the Study of Conflict, Ideology & Policy, Boston University, 1993.

The USSR: What Do We Know and How Do We Know It (Historical, Diplomatic, and Ideological Aspects), edited by Uri Ra'an, with contributions by Robert Conquest, Edward Rowny, and Sidney Hook, ISCIIP Publication Series #1, Institute for the Study of Conflict, Ideology & Policy, Boston University, 1989.

Protracted Warfare -- The Third World Arena: A Dimension of U.S.-Soviet Conflict, monograph by Richard H. Shultz, Uri Ra'an, Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., and Igor Lukes, eds., (sponsored by the International Security Studies Program of The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and published in association with the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Inc.), 1987.

Emerging Doctrines and Technologies: Implications for Global and Regional Political-Military Balance, monograph by Robert L Pfaltzgraff, Jr., and Uri Ra'an, eds., (sponsored by the International Security Studies Program of The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and published in association with the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Inc.), 1986.

East-West Trade and Technology Transfer: New Challenges for the United States, monograph by Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., and Uri Ra'an, eds., (sponsored by the International Security Studies Program of The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and published in association with the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Inc.), 1986.

On the Agenda: 1 -- Strategic Minerals and International Security, edited by Uri Ra'an and Charles M. Perry, Special Report by the International Security Studies Program of The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Inc., Pergamon-Brassey's, 1985, 91 pp.

Terrorism and Other "Low-Intensity" Operations: International Linkages, monograph by Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., and Uri Ra'an, eds., (sponsored by the International Security Studies Program of The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and published in association with the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Inc.), 1985.

Security Commitments and Capabilities: Elements of an American Global Strategy, monograph by Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., and Uri Ra'an, eds., (sponsored by the International Security Studies Program of The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and published in association with the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Inc.), 1984.

National Security Policy: The Decision-Making Process, monograph by Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., and Uri Ra'an, eds., (sponsored by the International Security Studies Program of The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and published in association with the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Inc.), 1983.

National Security Dimensions of Space, monograph by Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., and Uri Ra'an, eds., (sponsored by the International Security Studies Program of The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and published in association with the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Inc.), 1982.

The U.S. Defense Mobilization Infrastructure: Problems and Priorities, monograph by Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., and Uri Ra'an, eds., (sponsored by the International Security Studies Program of The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and published in association with the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Inc.), 1981.

The Soviet Union and Ballistic Missile Defense, by Jacqueline Davis, Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., Uri Ra'an, Michael J. Deane, and John M. Collins, IFPA Special Report Monograph Series, 1980. 71 pp.

European Security and the Nixon Doctrine, the International Security Studies Program of The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 1972. 102 pp.

B. CONGRESSIONAL PUBLICATIONS

Hearings Before the Committee on Foreign Relations, US Senate on “Soviet Disunion: The American Response,” February 28, 1991. Statement on “The USSR: Forward to the Past,” pp. 48-63, US Government Printing Office, Washington, 1991.

Hearings Before the Committee on Foreign Relations, US Senate, on “Soviet Disunion: Creating a Nationalities Policy,” July 24, 1990. Statement on “The Nationalities Problem in the USSR,” pp. 41-62, US Government Printing Office, Washington, 1990.

Hearings Before the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate, on “The Future of US/Soviet Relations; The Gorbachev Era in Perspective: The End of Ideology?” April 12, 1989. Statement on “Gorbachev and the Resurgence of Ethnicity in the USSR,” pp. 58-107, US Government Printing Office, Washington, 1990.

Hearings Before the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Governmental Affairs of the U.S. Senate, on “The Federal Government’s Handling of Soviet and Communist Bloc Defectors,” October 8-9, 1987. Statement on “The Potential Role of Oral History Projects Concerning Former Senior Officials and Emigres from the USSR, its Allies, and Client States,” pp. 720-776, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1988

Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Strategic and Theater Nuclear Forces of the Committee on Armed Services of the U.S. Senate, on “The Historical Context--U.S.-Soviet Strategic Balance,” February 23, 1982, Part 7, pp. 4105-4148. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1982.

“Diplomatic and Economic Aspects of Soviet Ocean Policies,” pp. 295-305 in Soviet Oceans Development, prepared at the request of Senators W.G. Magnuson and Ernest F. Hollings by the Congressional Research Service, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1976.

Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Foreign Assistance of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate, Congress, 2nd Session, on “Proposed Cash Sale to Egypt of Six C-130 Aircraft and Training of Egyptian Personnel,” March 31 and April 1, 1976, pp. 42-78, 95., U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1976.

The Changing American-Soviet Strategic Balance: Some Political Implications. Memorandum prepared at the request of the Subcommittee on National Security and International Operations of the Committee on Government Operations, U.S. Senate, March 1972. 16 pp., U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1972.

Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy of the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress of the U.S., on “A Foreign Economic Policy for the 1970s: East-West Economic Relations,” December 7, 1970, Part 6, pp. 1127-1143, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1971.

C. ARTICLES AND BOOK REVIEW ARTICLES

Strední Europa 2002, "Praha a Rozsirení Nato: Nekolik Úvah" (Prague and NATO Expansion: Some Considerations), pp. 107-109.

Bostonia, Fall 2002, "Not Just Six Days, Not Just a War," pp. 63-66.

Bostonia, Winter 1999-2000, "Kosovo as Prelude," pp. 74-75.

Slavic Review, Vol. 56, No. 1, Spring 1997, review of Political Culture and Civil Society in Russia and the New States of Eurasia, edited by Vladimir Tismaneanu.

Bostonia, Spring 1996, "Russian Neo-Imperialism—A Problem Ignored," pp. 73-75.

The Boston Globe, April 23, 1995, (Focus Section) "Responding to Terrorism," pp. 73, 77.

The Boston Globe, February 26, 1994, (Op-Ed page) "Russia's Ominous Words."

The US, the New World Order and NATO, Harvard University/CFIA publication, December 15, 1993, "The Implications of Russia's Response to East European Hopes of Inclusion in NATO," pp. 63-69.

Perspective, Vol. IV, No. 1, September-October 1993, "A Problematic Electoral System," pp. 2-4.

The Boston Globe, October 6, 1993, (Op-Ed page) "Yel'tsin's Dangerous Debt."

Perspective, Vol. III, No. 4, April-May 1993, "'Bosnias' on Russia's Borders?" pp. 1, 7.

Perspective, Vol. III, No. 3, January-February 1993, "Russia: Portents?" pp. 2-4, 8.

Perspective, Vol. II, No. 1, September 1991, "The Soviet Ethnic Mosaic," p. 6.

The Boston Globe, March 2, 1991, (Op-Ed page) "Strained Capabilities."

The Boston Globe, January 27, 1991 (Focus Section) "The Signs Are Growing of a Soviet Interest in the Conflict."

The Jewish Advocate, January 25, 1991, p. 9, "War Aims and Peace Objectives."

Perspective, Vol. I, No. 2, December 1990, "INF, CFE & Gorbachev: Unanswered Questions," pp. 1, 6 & 7.

Survival, Vol. XXXII, No. 2, March/April 1990, review of Leadership Change in Communist States, edited by Raymond C. Taras.

Geopolitique, No. 26, Summer 1989, "Gorbachev's USSR and the Jewish Question," pp. 48-50.

The World & I, Vol. 4, No. 3, March 1989, "Special Report — Gorbachev: The Growing Nationality Crisis," pp. 51-55.

Strategic Review, Vol. XVI, No.3, Summer 1988, "Socialism In One Family," (Review of Red Horizons by I.M. Pacepa).

The World & I, Vol. 3, No. 2, February 1988, "The Soviet Achilles' Heel: The Nationality Question," pp. 146-151.

Strategic Review, Vol. XV, No. 2, Spring 1987, "Oral History: A Neglected Dimension of Sovietology" (with Richard H. Shultz), pp. 58-70.

Global Affairs, Vol. II, No. 2, Spring 1987, "Portents of Soviet Instability," pp. 1-9.

Soviet Analyst, Vol. 16, No. 4, February 25, 1987, "Soviet Disinformation: New Techniques," pp. 3-6.

The Boston Herald, Sunday, February 22, 1987, p. 25 (Forum page), "The Curious Kazakhstan Affair."

ORBIS, Vol. 30, No. 2, Summer 1986, "Before and After Chernobyl: Stresses in the Soviet Leadership," pp. 249-257.

The Boston Globe, January 19, 1986 (Op-Ed page), "Combatting Terrorism."

The New Leader, June 25, 1984, "Grasping the Soviet Mind," (review of The Russian Revolutions of 1917: The Origins of Modern Communism by Leonard Schapiro).

U.P.I., "Viewpoint," February 19, 1983, "The Soviet Succession Struggle: Some Misconceptions."

U.P.I., "Viewpoint," May 1981, "Selling the Rope."

U.P.I., "Viewpoint," February 25, 1981, "The Human Rights Issue--Some Criteria."

Problems of Communism, November-December 1980, "Soviet Decision-Making and International Relations," pp. 41-47.

The Boston Globe, April 26, 1980, p. 13 (Op Ed page), "It May be Too Soon to Judge..."

Strategic Review, Winter 1980, Vol. VIII, No. 1, "The U.S.S.R. and the 'Encirclement' Fear: Soviet Logic or Western Legend?" pp. 44-50.

Slavic Review, March 1979, Volume 38, No. 2, "Soviet Policy in the Middle East" (review of books by A.Z. Rubinstein, G. Golan, and Y. Nir), pp. 119-121.

Strategic Review, Winter 1978, Volume VI, No. 1, "Elder Statesman's Primer" (review of The Cloud of Danger by George F. Kennan).

Slavic Review, Vol. 36, No. 4, December 1977, review of Model or Ally? The Communist Powers and the Developing Countries, by Richard Löwenthal.

Boston Herald American, June 14, 1977, p. 13 (Op Ed page), "Saving Israelis from Themselves."

New York Times, June 4, 1977 (Op Ed page), "Putting the Israeli Election Under a Microscope."

Christian Science Monitor, June 3, 1977, "What Menahem Begin Really Says."

Newsday, April 10, 1977, "Mid-East Peace Prospects and Israeli Politics."

Soviet Studies, January 1977, review of The Soviet Union and the Developing Nations by Roger E. Kanet (ed.).

Naval War College Review, Vol. XXIX, No. 1, Summer 1976, "The Soviet View of Navies in Peacetime," pp. 30-38.

Commentary, Vol. 61, No. 6, June 1976, , "The Soviet-Egyptian 'Rift'" (Lead article), pp. 29-35

The Christian Science Monitor, September 5, 1975, "Cyprus: The Next Phase."

ORBIS, Vol. XIX, No. 3, Fall 1975, , "The Washington-Moscow-Peking Triangle: A Re-examination of Chinese and Soviet Concepts," pp. 827-837.

Crossroads, Vol. VI, No. 1, January 1975, "America's Interest and Obligations in the Middle East" (joint authorship with John P. Roche).

Slavic Review, Vol. 33, No. 2, June 1974, "Communist Penetration of the Third World," Review of Edward Taborsky's book with the same title.

The New Leader, Vol. LVII, No. 3, February 4, 1974, "The Geo-Politics of Israel's Survival" (Special issue of The New Leader devoted to articles in response to Hans Morgenthau).

ORBIS, Vol. XVII, No. 3, Fall 1973, "The USSR and the Middle East: Some Reflections on the Soviet Decision-Making Process," pp. 946-977.

Midstream, Vol. XIX, No. 10, December 1973, "Soviet Policy in the Middle East: 1969-73."

Boston Sunday Globe, October 1, 1972, "The Wheat Deal: An Indictment of Soviet Agriculture."

The China Quarterly, No. 50, April-June 1972, "On Kremlinology."

Boston Sunday Globe, April 9, 1972, "Political Impact of a Changing Strategic Balance."

Problems of Communism, January-February 1972, "International Triangle" (Review of books by O. Edmund Clubb and W. E. Griffith).

Naval War College Review, Vol. 24, No.1, September 1971, "Soviet Global Policy and the Middle East," pp. 19-29.

The New Leader, May 3, 1971, "Kremlin."

Current History, September 1970, "Chinese Factionalism and Sino-Soviet Relations."

Baltimore Sun, December 28, 1969, "Communist Giants: No Peace This Decade."

Midstream, May 1969, "Soviet Global Policy and the Middle East," pp.3-13.

Boston Globe, January 12, 1969, "Kremlin Adventurism and Neo-Isolationism."

The New Leader, September 9, 1968, "Challenge to the West."

The Boston Herald, August 25, 1968, "We Might Have Averted It."

The New Leader, June 1, 1967, "An Empire in Dissolution" (review of Zbigniew K. Brzezinski's The Soviet Block: Unity and Conflict).

The New Leader, March 13, 1967, "Rooting for Mao."

Problems of Communism, March-April 1966, "The Coup That Failed: A Background Analysis," pp.37-43.

Das Parlament, December 8, 1965, supplement to Aus Politik Und Zeitgeschichte, Die Sowjetische Taktik in der Dritten Welt (special reprint of the article from Survey by the organ of the West German Parliament).

Survey, No. 57, October 1965, "Tactics in the Third World: Contradictions and Dangers," pp. 26-37.

Washington Post, April 4, 1965, "Reds Find Military Help Can Backfire."

Problems of Communism, January-February 1965, "Moscow and the Third World" (reprinted in Spanish edition for Latin America), pp. 22-31.

Commentary, September 1960, "The Answer to Soviet Anti-Semitism" (this article appeared under the author's pseudonym Mark Richards), pp. 194-200.

The New Leader, January 19, 1959, "Nassar vs. Kassem" (this article appeared under the author's pseudonym Mark Richards).

Plus:

Several hundred columns and articles, signed and unsigned, which appeared during the author's journalistic career in the 1950s, as well as commentaries on international affairs which were broadcast, among others, by the BBC.

D. OCCASIONAL PAPERS AND REPORTS

Organized Crime as a Political System: Behavior, Vulnerabilities, and Policy Implications, submitted to the Program on Organized Crime of Temple University and the National Institute of Justice, 1983.

The Provisional Results of the 1979 Soviet Census: Preliminary Considerations, Russian Research Center, Harvard University, January 22, 1980.

Report to the Office of the Secretary of Defense/International Security Affairs on June 29, 1976, on Implications of the Military Build-up in Non-Industrial States, a report co-authored with Professors R.L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr. and Geoffrey Kemp. Included in the book on Arms Transfers to the Third World: The Military Buildup in Less Industrial Countries, Westview Press, 1978.

Report to the Ballistic Missile Division of the U.S. Army on Ballistic Missile Defense and the Changing Strategic Environment with an Appendix on “Emerging Global Security Environment: Implications for Ballistic Missile Defense,” co-authored with Professors R.L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr. and Geoffrey Kemp, March 10, 1977. 65 pp.

Current Strategy Forum Papers, United States Naval War College, July 1, 1974, paper on “Energy and Other Resource Problems: The Soviet Posture,” pp. 71-99.

Arms Trade and International Politics, School of International Affairs, Carleton University, Occasional Papers 13, 1971.

E. CONFERENCES CHAIRED, SPONSORED AND/OR ORGANIZED.

Conference on "Russia: A Return to Imperialism?" sponsored by the Institute for the Study of Conflict, Ideology & Policy at Boston University, November 9, 1994; author's paper presented on "Imperial Elements in Russia's Doctrines & Operations."

Conference on "Soviet Pluralism -- Now Irreversible?" sponsored by the Institute for the Study of Conflict, Ideology & Policy at Boston University, November 19, 1991.

Conference on "State and Nation in Multi-Ethnic Societies," co-sponsored by the Institute for the Study of Conflict, Ideology & Policy, the Institute for the Study of Economic Culture and the Renner Institute, in Vienna, January 11-12, 1991; author's paper presented on "Nation and State: Order out of Chaos."

Conference on "The Soviet Empire & The Challenge of National and Democratic Movements," sponsored by the Institute for the Study of Conflict, Ideology & Policy at Boston University, November 8, 1989; author's paper presented on "Conceptual and Operational Aspects -- The 'Russian Problem.'"

Conference on "Gorbachev's USSR: A System in Crisis?" sponsored by the Institute for the Study of Conflict, Ideology & Policy at Boston University, November 29-30, 1988; author's paper presented on "The Soviet System: What Can Be Ascertained? Concepts and Methods of Analysis."

Conference/consultation on current developments in the USSR, under the auspices of the Congressional Research Service/European Subcommittee of the House Foreign Relations Committee, August, 1988.

Conference on "Western Public Opinion and International Security," in Jouy-en-Josas, France, October 22-25, 1987; co-sponsored with the Institute for International Studies, Georgetown University, and the School of Communications, Boston University.

Conference on "Protracted Warfare -- The Third World Arena: A Dimension of U.S.-Soviet Conflict," sponsored by the International Security Studies Program of The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy (together with the U.S. Army War College and the National Defense University), April 22-24, 1987, The Royal Sonesta Hotel, Cambridge, Mass.; author's paper presented on "Soviet Objectives and Constraints: An Overview."

Conference on "Western Public Opinion and International Security," Tufts University European Center in Talloires, France, October 16-19, 1986; author's paper presented on "Soviet Active Measures in 1987: Innovative Techniques;" co-sponsored with the National Strategy Information Center.

Conference on "Emerging Doctrines and Technologies: Implications for Global and Regional Political-Military Balances," sponsored by the International Security Studies Program of The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, April 16-18, 1986, Cabot Intercultural Center, Medford, Mass.; co-author's paper presented on "Methodologies for Assessing and Projecting Soviet Strategic Defense and Arms Control Policy."

Forum on "Foreign Intelligence: Teaching and Research," April 4-5, 1986, Cabot Intercultural Center, Medford, Mass.; co-sponsored with the Consortium for the Study of Intelligence.

Forum on "East-West Trade and Technology Transfer: New Challenges for the United States," September 23-24, 1985, Cabot Intercultural Center, Medford, Mass.; co-sponsored with the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Inc.

Conference on “Terrorism and Other ‘Low-Intensity’ Operations: International Linkages,” April 17-19, 1985, Cabot Intercultural Center, Medford, Mass.; author’s paper presented on “Vulnerabilities of the International Support Apparatus for Terrorism and Other Low-Intensity Operations.”

Forum on “Strategic Minerals and International Security,” September 17, 1984, Cabot Intercultural Center, Medford, Mass.

Conference on “Security Commitments and Capabilities: Elements of an American Global Strategy,” sponsored by the International Security Studies Program of The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, April 25-27, 1984, Cabot Intercultural Center, Medford, Mass.; author’s paper presented on “Commitments in Focal Conflict Regions: An Indirect Approach to a Cumulative Global ‘Zero Sum Game’.”

Conference on “National Security Policy: The Decision-Making Process,” sponsored by the International Security Studies Program of The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, April 27-29, 1983, Cabot Intercultural Center, Medford, Mass.; author’s paper presented on “Contrasting Views of the Role of Strategic Doctrine: Soviet and Western Approaches.”

Conference on “International Security Dimensions of Space,” sponsored by the International Security Studies Program of The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, April 27-29, 1982, Cabot Intercultural Center, Medford, Mass.

Conference on “The Infrastructures of the United States and Other Powers: Availability and Potential--Problems of Mobilization,” sponsored by the International Security Studies Program of The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, May 4-6, 1981, The Hotel Sonesta, Cambridge, Mass.

Conference on “Projection of Power: Perspectives, Perceptions, and Logistics,” sponsored by the International Security Studies Program of The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, April 23-25, 1980, The Hyatt Regency Hotel, Cambridge, Mass.; author’s paper presented on “The Perceptions of Power.”

Conference on “Intelligence: Deception and Surprise,” sponsored by the International Security Studies Program of The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, April 24-26, 1979, The Hyatt Regency Hotel, Cambridge, Mass.; author’s paper presented on “‘Static’ and ‘Dynamic’ Intelligence Perceptions: The USSR--Problems of Analysis and Evaluation.”

Conference on “Security and Development in the Indo-Pacific Arena,” sponsored by the International Security Studies Program of The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, April 24-26, 1978, The Copley Plaza Hotel, Boston, Mass.

Conference on “Scarce Resources and International Conflict,” sponsored by the International Security Studies Program of The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, May 4-6, 1977, The Copley Plaza Hotel, Boston, Mass.; author’s paper presented on “Ethnic Conflict: Toward a New Typology.”

Conference on “Implications of The Military Build-up in Non-Industrial States,” sponsored by the International Security Studies Program of The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, May 6-8, 1976, The Copley Plaza Hotel, Boston, Mass.; author’s paper presented on “Soviet Military Assistance and the Question of Political Leverage.”

Conference on “Japanese and American Perceptions of Pacific Security Issues,” sponsored by the International Security Studies Program and the Murrow Center of Public Diplomacy, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Medford, Mass., April 17, 1975.

Conference on “The Impact of New Technologies on US Defense Planning for Non-Nuclear Conflict,” sponsored by the International Security Studies Program of The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, September 26-30, 1974, Boston, Mass.

Conference on “The U.S.-Soviet Strategic Balance and Nuclear Multipolarity,” sponsored by the International Security Studies Program of The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, May 3-5, 1973.

Conference on “The Nixon Doctrine and European Security,” sponsored by The International Security Studies Program of The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, April 21-22, 1972.

F. ACADEMIC DUTIES

1. Boston University, 1988-present

Teaching:

UNI SS/ CLA IR 541 Russia's International Policies I

UNI SS/ CLA IR 545 European Diplomatic History

UNI SS/ CLA IR 544 Comparative Political Systems and Foreign Policies

UNI SS/ GRS IR 802 Russia's International Policies II

Courses offered in the University Professors Program and the Department of International Relations.

Administration, Research, Operations:

Director, Institute for the Study of Conflict, Ideology and Policy

Associate Director, Graduate Program in Russian & East European Cultures and Societies

Member, University Professors Graduate Admissions Committee

Member, University Professors Appointments Committee

Member, University Professors Graduate Scholarship Committee

Member, University Faculty Council (2000-2002)

Chair, University (Marshall & Rhodes) Scholarship Committee (1993-1995)

Member, CAS Social Sciences Curriculum Committee (1997-1998)

Member, University Promotion and Tenure Committee (1991-1992)

2. The Fletcher School, 1967-1987

Teaching:

Diplomacy 210: Nineteenth-Century European Civilization and Diplomacy (Nationalism & Imperialism)

Diplomacy 220: Soviet Diplomacy and International Strategy

Politics 201: Comparative Political Systems and Foreign Policies

Politics 206: The Communist Powers, Communist Parties and Developing Countries: Theory & Practice

Academic Committee Chairmanships:

Chairman, Committee on International Security Studies (1971-1987)

(The Chairman, in his capacity of Director of the International Security Studies Program, administered a budget of approximately half a million dollars annually.)

Chairman, Committee on Policy Planning (1983-1987)

Chairman, Committee on Curriculum and Requirements for Degrees (for over a decade, until 1983)

3. Other

U.S. State Department's Dante Fascell East European and Soviet Fellowship Committee

G. FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND SECURITY ADVICE, BRIEFINGS AND CONSULTATIONS

Leader of the RED TEAM, annual exercise of the Joint Chiefs of Staff/Commanders in Chief, Pensacola Naval Base, FL, August 1988

Member of (then) Governor Ronald Reagan's Foreign Policy and Defense Advisory Team, 1980

Member of Senator Paul E. Tsongas' Advisory Panel on SALT, 1979

Presentation before Members of the U.S. Senate, April 10, 1975

Presentation before Leadership of the U.S. House of Representatives, March 11, 1975

H. BIOGRAPHICAL ENTRIES

(Marquis) Who's Who in America

Dictionary of International Biography

International Who's Who in Education

Community Leaders of America

Biographical Directory of The American Political Science Association

Directory of American Scholars, Vol. I

Contemporary Authors, 1983 and 1988 Editions

I. AFFILIATIONS

The Committee on Foreign Relations, Boston, Mass.

The American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies

International Institute for Strategic Studies

J. TELEVISION AND RADIO

Over 500 appearances on TV and Radio (including such national network programs as "Nightline," "Good Morning, America," the "MacNeil/Lehrer News Hour," "The Advocates," "CBS Morning News," CNN, the 1981 ABC Series on U.S.-U.S.S.R. Relations, as well as the "Voice of America," in addition to very many Boston area appearances such as on WGBH-TV's "The Group") during 1967-present, especially during the various crises relating to terrorism (in all its aspects), the U.S.S.R., the post-Soviet scene, the Middle East, Southeast Asia, Czechoslovakia, Iran, the Persian Gulf, Central America, etc.