

AUGUSTUS RICHARD NORTON

Department of International Relations
Boston University
152 Bay State Road
Boston, MA 02215

(617) 353-7808 (direct), 353-9290 (fax)
arn@bu.edu
<http://people.bu.edu/arn/>
<http://bostonuniversity.blogspot.com/>

Current Positions: Professor of Anthropology and International Relations, Frederick S. Pardee School of Global Studies, member of the Graduate Faculty of Political Science, and Director the Institute for Iraqi Studies, Boston University; Fellow, Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies.

Academic History:

Ph.D. (political science) 1984, University of Chicago.
Certification in Modern Standard Arabic and Cairene dialect (52 weeks), 1978-79, Defense Language Institute, Monterey, California.
M.A. and B.A. magna cum laude, 1974 (both in political science), University of Miami (Florida).

Professional Associations:

American Anthropological Association
American Political Science Association
Council on Foreign Relations
Middle East Studies Association

Courses Taught:

Politics: Civil Society and the State in Global Perspective (graduate seminar); American Government and Politics; Comparative Politics; International Relations; Islam in Middle East Politics; The Middle East in U.S. Foreign Policy; Quest for Peace in the Arab-Israeli Conflict; Politics and Change in the Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula (graduate seminar); Politics and Change in Lebanon (seminar); Middle East Politics and Government; Political Reform in the Middle East (graduate seminar); Study of Terrorism; Understanding the Middle East; and, U.S. National Security Policy-making.
Anthropology: Cultural and Political Anthropology; Symbols and Politics in the Muslim World (seminar) and Symbol, Myth and Rite (seminar).
Geography: Political Geography of the Middle East.
Sociology: Sociology of the Military in Politics (seminar).

PREVIOUS ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

Visiting Professor in the Politics of the Middle East, Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Oxford, 2009-2013; Associate Member, Nuffield College, 2009-2014.

Visiting Research Scholar, 2008, Visiting Research Professor, 1992-95, Department of Politics, New York University.

Director (pro bono), Civil Society in the Middle East Program, Department of Politics and the Kevorkian Center, New York University, 1992-94.

Visiting Associate Professor of Political Science, Center for Middle Eastern Studies, University of Texas at Austin, February 1986.

U.S. Military Academy, Social Sciences Department, Professor of Political Science, 1990-1993; Permanent Associate Professor of Comparative Politics, 1984-1990; Associate Professor of International Studies, 1984; and Assistant Professor, 1981-1984.

Old Dominion University (Virginia), Adjunct Assistant Professor of political science, 1979-1980.

University of Illinois-Chicago Circle Campus, Adjunct Assistant Professor of political science, 1975-1977; and, Assistant Professor of military science, 1974-1978.

Referenced in: **Contemporary Authors, International Authors and Writers Who's Who, Who's Who in America**, and other biographical references.

GRANTS

- »Earhart Foundation, for research on Sunni-Shi'i politics in Bahrain, 2008.
- »Fulbright Senior Scholar Award for the Islamic World, 2006-7, for research in Egypt, Kuwait and Bangladesh.
- »Humanities Foundation of Boston University, 2005-2008, for symposia on "Muslims in the West."
- »Ford Foundation, 2001-2005, for a research program on renewal in reformist Muslim thought.
- »Earhart Foundation, 1999-2000, for research on political reform in the Middle East; 2008, for research on sectarianism in the Middle East.
- »Fulbright Senior Scholar award, 1999-2000, for research in Jordan, Lebanon and Egypt.
- »Humanities Foundation of Boston University, 2002-2005, for symposia on "portraying sacrifice in ritual."
- »Humanities Foundation of Boston University, 1998-2002, for symposia on "confounding autocracy in Asia and Middle Eastern societies."
- »Rockefeller Foundation, 1996-98, for volumes in Arabic, English, Japanese, Persian, and Turkish on "New Frontiers in Middle East Security."
- »Ford Foundation, 1994-2003, to foster younger Middle East scholars.
- »Rockefeller Foundation, 1993, grant-in-kind for use of the Bellagio Study & Conference Center, November 1993; Scholar-in-Residence, Bellagio Study & Conference Center, July-August 1994; and, partial funding for a film on civil society in the Middle East; 1995, grant-in-kind for use of the Bellagio Center, June 1996.
- »Ford Foundation, 1992-95, for the "Civil Society in the Middle East" project, New York University.
- »MacArthur Foundation, 1991-93, for a research project on "Toward Enduring Peace in the Middle East," in conjunction with the International Peace Academy, New York.
- »Ford Foundation, 1990, as co-proposer for research on "Arms Control and the Arab-Israeli Peace Process," sponsored by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- »Fulbright Research Professor, June-November 1989, for research on peacekeeping, Norway.
- »John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, 1989, grant for research and writing on peacekeeping as part of the International Peace and Security program.
- »West Point Fund, 1987-1988, supporting several writing projects.
- »National Endowment for the Humanities, 1986, supporting research in the Middle East.
- »Ford Foundation, 1985 and 1987, supporting conferences of the Northeast region of the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society.

SERVICE TO THE PROFESSION

Admissions Committee, 1987-89 and 1991-92; Foreign Area Studies Committee, 1984-1993; and, Incentive Awards Committee, 1990-1993; and chair or member of various ad hoc search committees, 1984-1993, U.S. Military Academy.

Associate Chairman of the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society and Representative for the Northeast Region, 1982-1993.

Chair of accreditation committees to examine international programs at Boston College (2003 and 2005) and the University of Maine (2001).

Chair, Executive Committee, Boston Consortium on Arab Region Studies, 2013-present.

Co-editor, Muslim Politics series, Princeton University Press, since 2004.

Co-founder and co-chair, Boston Forum on the Middle East, 2005-present.

Co-founder and chair, Conference Group on the Middle East, which meets at the American Political Science Association annual meeting, 1984-present.

Contributing Editor, **Current History**, 1991 to present.

Editorial Boards: **Al-Abháth** (journal of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences of the American University of Beirut), 1990 to present; **Ethics & International Affairs** (journal of the Carnegie Council), 1990 to 2000; **Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations**, 1994 to 1997; Gulf Research Center, 2003 to present; **Journal of Islamic Studies**, 2013-present; and, International Peace Academy, creator and editor, **Occasional Papers in Peacekeeping** (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers), 1991 to 1994.

Expert advisor to the Bi-partisan Iraq Study Group, co-chaired by James A. Baker III and Lee H. Hamilton and co-facilitated by the United States Institute of Peace, CSIS, the James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy and the Center for the Study of the Presidency, since 2006.

External evaluator for the U.S. Department of Education of the Islamic Civilizations and Societies program of the Boston College, May 2012.

Fellow, Arabian Gulf Institute, 2014-present.

Guest editor, **Middle East Journal**, theme issue on civil society in the Middle East, spring 1993.

Member, Advisory Committee of the Institute for Human Sciences at Boston University, 2006-10; International Academic Committee, Oxford Center for Islamic Studies, 2002-8; member, American Research Center in Cairo Fellowship Committee, 1993; Advisory Board, Initiative for Peace and Cooperation in the Middle East, since 1990; Development of Democratic Institutions Project Advisory Board, AMIDEAST, 1993; International Advisory Committee of the Kurdish Studies Program, Florida State University; and, National Advisory Committee, Middle East Policy Council, since 1994.

Member, Promotion and Tenure Committee, College of Arts and Sciences, Boston University, 2004-5, and 2012-14.

Middle East Studies Association: Chair, Public Affairs Committee, 2005-11; Chair, Ibn Khaldun Prize to honor the Best Book of the Year committee, 2001; Committee on Academic Freedom in the Middle East and North Africa, 2003-; Malcolm H. Kerr Dissertation Award committee, 1988; Nominating Committee, Middle East Studies Association, 1994.

Co-recipient, Nobel Peace Prize, 1988, for service with United Nations Peacekeeping Forces in Lebanon, 1980-1981.

Referee for: **Al-Abháth** (American University of Beirut); American Institute for Islamic Affairs; **American Political Science Review, Armed Forces and Society**; Cambridge University Press; **Canadian Journal of Political Science**; Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, Georgetown University; **Choice**; Columbia University Press; **Comparative Politics, Cultural Anthropology**; Earhart Foundation; **Ethics & International Affairs; Global Governance**; Guggenheim Foundation; I.B. Tauris Publishers; Indiana University Press; **International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies; International Studies Quarterly; Journal of Palestine Studies; Journal of Terrorism and Political Violence**; Lynne Rienner Publishers; MacArthur Foundation; **Middle East Journal**; National Endowment for the Humanities; National Science Foundation; Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies, Peace Research Institute-Oslo (PRIO); **Political Research Quarterly, Political Studies**, Princeton University Press, Southern Illinois University Press; **Security Studies; Studies in Comparative International Development**, Syracuse University Press; United States Institute of Peace; University of Chicago Press; University of Kentucky Press; University of Pennsylvania Press, University of Texas Press, University Presses of Florida, Westview Press; Yale University Press; and others.

Senator, Academic Senate, University of Illinois, Chicago Circle Campus, 1975-1977.

Tenure or promotion referee for the American University of Washington, D.C., American University of Beirut, American University in Cairo, American University of Kuwait, University of Arizona, Brandeis University, University of Chicago, Columbia University, Dartmouth College, George Mason University, Harvard University, Hebrew University, Hunter College, University of Michigan, Northern Illinois University, Northwestern University, University of Ohio, Princeton University, Scripps College, Simmons College, University of Texas, Tel Aviv University, Texas A&M, and the University of Southern California.

BOOKS

The Sunni-Shi'i Rift (Princeton: Princeton University Press, due 2016).

Hezbollah: A Short History (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).

Updated trade paper edition, 2009.

Updated trade paper edition, 2014.

Amal and the Shi'a: Struggle for the Soul of Lebanon. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987.

Arabic edition, Beirut: Dar Bilal, 1988.

Available from Books on Demand: <http://www.lib.umi.com/bod/fullcite?id=195678>

May be viewed on-line at the American Council of Learned Societies History E-book project:

<http://ets.umdl.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=acls;cc=acls;view=toc;idno=HEB00925.0001.001>

EDITED BOOKS

Al-Amn fi al-Sharq al-Awsat: Tujahat Jdida [in Arabic, Security in the Middle East: New Perspectives] (editor and contributor), Gaza: Palestinian Council on Foreign Relations, 1999.

Civil Society in the Middle East (Editor), in two volumes. Leiden, the Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1995 and 1996).
2d ed. of vol. 1, 2005.

The International Relations of the PLO (Senior Editor and Contributor). Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1989.

Touring Nam: The Vietnam War Reader (Co-editor and Contributor). New York: William Morrow, 1985; New York: Bantam Books, 1989; New York: William Morrow, Quill Books, 1997.

NATO: A Bibliography and Resource Guide (Senior Editor). New York: Garland Press, 1985.

The Emergence of a New Lebanon: Fantasy or Reality? (Co-Author). New York: Praeger Publishers, 1984.

International Terrorism: An Annotated Bibliography and Research Guide (Senior Editor). Boulder: Westview Press, 1980.

Selected as one of the "Outstanding Academic Books of 1980" by **Choice** magazine.

Studies in Nuclear Terrorism (Senior Editor and Contributor). Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1979.

MONOGRAPHS AND OCCASIONAL PAPERS

Hizballah of Lebanon: Extremist Ideals vs. Mundane Politics (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1999).
http://www.cfr.org/publication/8612/hizballah_of_lebanon.html

Political Tides in the Arab World (co-author) (New York: Foreign Policy Association, Headline Series no. 296, 1992).

UN Peacekeepers: Soldiers with a Difference (co-author) (New York: Foreign Policy Association, Headline Series no. 292, Spring 1990).

Terrorism in the 1980s: Selective Bibliography for Professionals (co-author). Gaithersburg, MD: International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1988).

The Shi'i Muslims of the Arab World [New York: **The Link** (published by the Americans for Middle East Understanding), v. 21, no. 5, December 1988].

Peace, Security and Humanitarian Relief in Northern Mozambique (primary author) (New York: The International Peace Academy, November 1987).

Political and Religious Extremism in the Middle East (Washington: The Middle East Institute, Executive Reports, March 7, 1985).

External Intervention and the Politics of Lebanon (Washington: The Washington Institute for Values in Public Policy, 1984).

Terror-Violence: A Critical Commentary and Selective Annotated Bibliography. Gaithersburg, MD: International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1980).

Understanding the Nuclear Terrorism Threat (Gaithersburg, MD: International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1979).

Moscow and the Palestinians (Miami: Center for Advanced International Studies, University of Miami, 1974). Reprinted in **The Palestinians: People, History, Politics**, Michael Curtis, Joseph Neyer, Chaim Waxman and Allen Pollack, eds. (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1975), pp. 228-248.

JOURNAL ARTICLES

“Obama’s Middle East Headaches,” **Current History**, December 2014, pp. 369-71.

“The Return of Egypt’s Deep State” **Current History**, 112, no. 758, December 2013, pp. 338-44.

“The Awakened Arab World and its New Landscape,” **The International Spectator** 48, no. 2 (June 2013): 32-46.
<http://goo.gl/bTb12> or
<http://www.tandfonline.com/eprint/88uu9xvunYuSfbIvfKXW/full#.VDCydL5X9kM>

“The Second Arab Awakening,” **Kufa Review**, 1, no. 1, (Fall 2012): 5-18.

“North Africa’s Epochal Year of Freedom,” with Ashraf el-Sherif, **Current History**, May 2012, pp. 201-3.

“Arab Revolts Upend Old Assumptions,” **Current History**, January 2012, pp. 14-8.

“Al-Najaf: Its Resurgence as a Religious and University Center,” **Middle East Policy** 18, no. 1 (Spring 2011): 132-45.

“Hammas: a review essay,” **Journal of Islamic Studies** 21, no. 3 (September 2010): 451-55.

“Advice to President Obama,” with Eva Bellin, Eric Davis, Michael C. Hudson, Bahman Baktiari and Kirstin Smith Diwan, **Middle East Policy**, 15, no. 4 (Winter 2008): 134-56.

“The Shiite Threat Revisited,” **Current History**, December 2007, pp. 434-39.
Reprinted by McGraw-Hill Annual Editions, 2009/10.

“The Role of Hizbullah in Lebanese Domestic Politics,” **The International Spectator** 42, no. 4 (December 2007): 475-91. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03932720701722852>

“Failure as Reality: The U.S. in the Middle East,” **Quaderni di Relazioni Internazionali**, Number 7 (October 2007) 26-37.

- “Why Hizbullah is Winning,” **Middle East Journal** 61, no. 1 (Winter 2007): 145-49.
- “Stalled Reform: The Case of Egypt,” with Hala Mustafa, **Current History**, January 2007, 39-41.
- “Authoritarianism, Civil Society and Democracy In the Middle East [review essay],” with Farhad Kazemi, **Middle East Studies Association Bulletin** 40, no. 2 (2006): 201-11.
- “Hizballah through the Fog of the Lebanon War,” **Journal of Palestine Studies** 36, no. 1 (Autumn 2006): 54-70.
- “The Peacekeeping Challenge in Lebanon,” MIT Electronic Journal of Middle Eastern Studies 6, Summer 2006, pp. 76-79.
<http://web.mit.edu/cis/www/mitejmes/intro.htm>
- “Misión Complicada en Líbano,” **Foreign Policy** no. 17 (Edición Española), October/November, 2006, pp. 30-33.
- “Ritual, Blood, and Shiite Identity: ‘Ashura in Nabatiyya,” **The Drama Review** 49, no. 4, Winter 2005, pp. 140-55.
Reprinted in **Muharram Rituals**, Richard Schechner and Carol Martin, eds. (Calcutta: Seagull Press, in press).
- “The U. S. in the Middle East: Grand Plans, Grand Ayatollahs and Dark Alleys,” **Middle East Policy** 12, 1 (Spring 2005): _____.
- “The Limits of Shock and Awe: America in the Middle East,” with Farhad Kazemi, **Current History**, January 2005, pp. 3-9.
- “Voices within Islam: Four Perspectives on Tolerance and Diversity,” with Bahman Baktiari, **Current History**, January, 2005, pp. 37-44.
- “Making War, Making Peace: The Middle East Entangles America,” **Current History**, January 2004, pp. 3-8.
- “America in the Middle East,” **Current History**, January 2003, pp. 3-6.
- “Islamic Activism and Reformism,” **Current History**, November 2002, pp. 377-81.
- “America’s Approach to the Middle East: Legacies, Questions, and Possibilities,” **Current History**, January 2002, pp. 3-7.
- “The Middle East Peace Crisis: A Requiem for Oslo,” **Current History**, January 2001, pp. 1-8.
- “Hizballah and the Israeli Withdrawal from Lebanon,” **Journal of Palestine Studies** 30, 1 (Autumn 2000): 22-35.
Reprinted in *Warfare in the Middle East since 1945* Edited by Ahron Bregman London Ashgate 2008
- “Lebanon's Malaise,” **Survival** 42, no. 4 (Winter 2000-01): 35-50.
- “Lebanon’s Conundrum,” **Arab Studies Quarterly** [special issue on “The Second Republic of Lebanon,” 21, no. 1 (Winter 1999): 41-53.
- “Rethinking United States Policy toward the Muslim World,” **Current History**, February 1999, pp. 51-58.

- “Reflections on the Dilemma of Reform in the Middle East,” **Critique**, no. 13 (Fall 1998): 61-67.
- “Walking between Raindrops: Hizballah in Lebanon,” **Mediterranean Politics** 3, no. 1 (Summer 1998): 81-102.
- “Hizballah: From Radicalism to Pragmatism,” **Middle East Policy** 5, no. 4 (January 1998): 147-58.
- “Clinton’s Middle East Legacy: A Scuttled Peace?” **Current History**, January 1998, pp. 1-6.
- Editor and contributor, “What do Middle East Women Want?” **Middle East Policy**, 5, no. 3 (September 1997): 155-89.
- “Lebanon: With Friends Like These...,” **Current History**, January 1997, pp. 6-12.
- “Civil Society, Political Reform, and Authoritarianism in the Middle East,” with Farhad Kazemi, **Contention: Debates in Society, Culture, and Science** 5, no. 2 (Winter 1996): 107-19
- “The Challenge of Inclusion in the Middle East,” **Current History**, January 1995, pp. 1-6. [Download here](#).
Reprinted in Dutch as “De kans op democratie: islam, civiele maatschappij en autocratie,” in Ruddy Doom and Gerd Nonneman, eds., *Het Midden Oosten* (Brussels: VUBPress--Brussels University Press, 1996), pp. 27-39.
- “The Middle East Post-Peace Crisis,” with Robin Wright, **Survival** 36, no. 4 (Winter 1994): 7-20.
- “(In)security Zones in South Lebanon,” **Journal of Palestine Studies** 23, no. 1 (Autumn 1993): 61-79.
- “Somalia and other adventures for the 1990s,” with Ronald K. McMullen, **Current History**, April 1993, pp. 169-74.
Reprinted in Daniel J. Kaufman, Joseph J. Collins, and Thomas F. Schneider, eds., **Understanding International Relations: The Value of Alternative Lenses** (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1994), pp. 1164-71.
- “The Future of Civil Society in the Middle East,” **Middle East Journal**, v. 47, no. 2 (Spring 1993): 205-216; and, “Guest Editor's Note,” pp. 203-4.
- “Breaking the Wall of Fear in the Arab World,” **Current History**, January 1992, pp. 37-41.
Reprinted in William Spencer, ed., **The Middle East** (Guilford, CT: Dushkin Publishers, 1992).
Abridged in **Civil Society: Democratic Transformation in the Arab World** (Cairo), no. 2, February 1992, pp. 4-7.
- “Lebanon after al-Ta'if: Is the Civil War Over?” **The Middle East Journal**, v. 45, no. 3 (Summer 1991): 457-73.
An author's addendum is provided in a letter published in v. 45, no. 4 (Autumn 1991): 739-40.
- “The Need for Arab Democracy,” with Mohammed Muslih, **Foreign Policy**, no. 83 (Summer 1991): 3-19.
- “Superpowers and Peace-keepers” with Thomas G. Weiss, **Survival**, v. 32, no. 3 (May-June 1990): 212-20.
- “Drawing the Line on Opprobrious Violence,” **Ethics & International Affairs**, v. 4 (1990): 123-33.
Reprinted in Joel Rosenthal, ed., *Ethics & International Affairs: A Reader* (New York: Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs; Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1995).

[Contributor] "Domestic Determinants of Foreign Policy and Peace Efforts in the Middle East," Iliya Harik and Louis J. Cantori, eds., **Conflict**, v. 8 (1988): 49-68.

"The Future of Lebanon" (editor and co-author), **Journal of Arab Affairs**, v. 6, no. 1 (Spring 1987): 1-29.

"Estrangement and Fragmentation in Lebanon," **Current History**, February 1986, pp. 58-62, 88-89.
Revised version published as "Sectarian Estrangement and Social Fragmentation in Lebanon," in **Third World Affairs, 1988**, Altaf Gauhar, ed., (London: Third World Foundation for Social and Economics Studies, 1988), pp. 63-76.

"Changing Actors and Leadership Among the Shi'is of Lebanon," **Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science**, No. 482 (November 1985), pp. 109-121.

"Beyond Empire and Revolution: Militarization and Consolidation in the Third World [Review Symposium]," with Irving Louis Horowitz and Claude Welch, **Studies in Comparative International Development**, v. 19, No. 2 (Summer 1984): 59-77.

"Harakat Amal (The Movement of Hope)," in **Religion and Politics, Political Anthropology**, v. III, Myron Aronoff, ed. (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1984), pp. 105-131.

"Militant Protest Under the Banner of Islam," **Armed Forces and Society**, v. 9 (Fall 1982): 3-19.

"International Terrorism: A Review Essay," **Armed Forces and Society**, v. 7 (Summer 1981): 597-627.

"Terror by Fission: An Analysis and Critique," **Chitty's Law Journal**, v. 27, no. 8 (1979): 268-278.

CHAPTERS IN BOOKS

"The Puzzle of Political Reform in the Middle East," **International Relations of the Middle East**, Louise Fawcett, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, in press).

"The Geopolitics of the Sunni-Shi'i Rift," in **Regional Insecurity After the Arab Spring: Narratives of Security and Threat**, Elizabeth Iskander Monier, ed. (London and New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, in press).

Hezbollah as Islamist exemplar: Lessons, constituents, detractors and devotees," in **The Sunni-Shi'i Divide in History**, Meir Litvak, ed. (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, forthcoming).

"Patterns of Political Mobilization among the Shi'a of Lebanon," **Postwar Lebanon: The First Decade**, B.A. Roberson, ed. (London: I.B. Tauris, in press).

"Courting Fitnah: Saudi Responses to the Arab Uprisings," in **Visions of Gulf Security** (Washington, D.C.: Project on Middle East Science, George Washington University, 2014), pp. 41-5.

Foreword, **Lebanon after the Cedar Revolution**, Are Knudsen and Michael Kelly, eds. (London and New York: Hurst and Columbia University Press, 2012), pp. xv-xviii.

"Middle East Realignment: the Arab Upheaval," **Great Decisions 2012** (New York: Foreign Policy Association, 2012), pp. 5-18.

“U.S. Presidents and the Arab-Israeli Conflict,” Boston Study Group on Middle East Peace, eds., **Israel and Palestine: States for Two Peoples: If Not Now, When?** (New York: Foreign Policy Association, 2010), pp.57-74.

“Ritual, Blood, and Shiite Identity: ‘Ashura in Nabatiyya, Lebanon,” in **Eternal Performance: Taziyah and other Shiite Rituals**, Peter J. Chelkowski, ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Calcutta: Seagull Books, 2010), pp. 298-21.

“The Study of Civil-Military Relations and Civil-Society in the Middle East and North Africa” with Ali Alfoneh, in **Development in Civil-Military Relations in the Middle East**, Carsten Jensen, ed. (Copenhagen: Royal Danish Defense College, in 2008), pp. 7-28.

<http://forsvaret.dk/FAK/Publikationer/B%C3%B8ger%20og%20andre%20publikationer/Documents/Developments%20in%20Civil-Military%20relations%20in%20the%20Middle%20East.pdf>

Foreword to **The New Turkish Republic: Turkey as a Pivotal State in the Muslim World** by Graham E. Fuller (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Institute of Peace, 2008), pp. v-vii.

Foreword to **New Media in the Middle East**, Jakob Feldt and Peter Seeberg, eds. (Odense: Center for Contemporary Middle East Studies, University of Southern Denmark, Working Paper No. 7, September 2007), pp. 5-8.

Foreword to **Instant Nationalism: McArabism, al-Jazeera and Transnational Media in the Arab World** by Khalil Rinnawi (Lanham: University Press of America, 2005), pp. vii-viii.

“The U.S. in the Middle East,” with Farhad Kazemi, **Great Decisions 2007** (New York: Foreign Policy Association, 2007), pp. 5-16.

“Why have Islamist parties done so well in recent elections and how have they performed once elected?” in **Kulturen und Konflikte im Vergleich--Comparing Cultures and Conflicts: Festschrift für Theodor Hanf**, Peter Molt and Helga Dickow, eds. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2007), pp. 347-57.

Foreword with Dale F. Eickelman, in **Between Sacred and Secular: Religion, Generations, and the Transformations of Palestinian Political Identities** by Loren D. Lybarger (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), pp. ix-x.

“America and the Challenges in Iraq and in the Muslim World, with Farhad Kazemi, **Great Decisions 2005** (New York: Foreign Policy Association, 2005), pp. 81-92.

“The Puzzle of Political Reform in the Middle East,” **International Relations of the Middle East**, Louise Fawcett, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 131-50.

Revised and updated for the second edition, 2009, pp. 129-47.

Revised and updated for the third edition, 2013, 127-47.

“Pockets and Deficits of Civility in the Middle East,” in **Civil Society: A Reader in History, Theory and Global Politics**, John A. Hall and Frank Trentmann, eds. (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 275-79.

<http://people.bu.edu/arn/civilsociety%20in%20hall.pdf>

“Thwarted Politics: The Case of Egypt’s Hizb al-Wasat,” **Remaking Muslim Politics : Pluralism, Contestation, and Democratization**, Robert Hefner, ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), pp. 133-60.

“Middle East Political Reform,” with Farhad Kazemi, **Great Decisions 2004** (New York: Foreign Policy Association, 2004), pp. 87-100.

“Middle East Peace Process,” **Great Decisions 2002** (New York: Foreign Policy Association, 2002), pp.

“Hardliners and Softliners in the Middle East: Problems of Governance and the Prospects for Liberalization in Authoritarian Political Systems,” with Farhad Kazemi, **Democracy and Its Limits: Lessons from Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East**, Howard Kandelman and Mark Tessler, eds. (Notre Dame, Indiana: Notre Dame University Press, 2000), pp. 69-89.

“The New Media, Civic Pluralism and the Slowly Retreating State,” in **New Media in the Muslim World: The Emerging Public Sphere**, Dale F. Eickelman and Jon W. Anderson, eds. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 19-28.

Updated and revised version, “The New Media, Civic Pluralism, and the Struggle for Political Reform,” in the second edition (2003), pp. 19-32.

“Associational Life: Civil Society in Authoritarian Political Systems,” in **Area Studies And Social Science: Strategies For Understanding Middle East Politics**, Mark Tessler, ed. with John Nachtwey and Anne Banda (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1999), pp. .

“Political Challenges to Middle East Governments in the Twenty-First Century,” with Farhad Kazemi, **New Frontiers in Middle East Security**, Lenore Martin, ed. (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999), pp. 79-104.

“The Puzzle of Political Reform in the Middle East,” with Farhad Kazemi, **Dealing with Difference: Religion, Ethnicity, and Politics: Comparing Cases and Concepts**, Theodor Hanf, ed. (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 19__), pp. 117-42.

“Political Reform in the Middle East,” in **The Middle East in Global Change: The Politics and Economics of Interdependence versus Fragmentation**, Laura Guazzone and Piercarlo Padoan, eds. (Rome: Istituto Affari Internazionali; and, Houndsmills, Basingtoke, Hampshire, London and New York: Macmillan and St. Martin’s Press, 1997), pp. 3-22.

“The Virtue of Studying Civil Society,” in James Gelvin, ed., **The Civil Society Debate in Middle Eastern Studies** (Los Angeles: UCLA Near East Center, 1997), pp. 5-31.

“Israel in the Grip of the Insecurity Zone,” in **Lebanon on Hold: Implications for Middle East Peace**, Rosemary Hollis and Nadim Shehadi, eds. (London and Oxford: The Royal Institute of International Affairs in association with the Centre for Lebanese Studies, 1996), pp. 37-41.

Published in French as “Israel pris au piège de la “zone d’insécurité,” **Le Liban ou les dérives du processus de paix**, Bassma Kodmani-Darwish and May Chartouni-Dubarry, eds. (Paris: Institut Français des Relations Internationales, 1996), pp. 41-46.

Published in Arabic as “Israil fi qabdat al-mintaqa grair al-amna,” **Lubnan Tahta al-Hasar: Mazaq al-Salam fi al-Sharq al-Awsat**, Abd al-Mun`im Sa`id, ed. (Cairo: Center for Political & Strategic Studies, 1996), pp. 48-54.

“Swiss Soldiers, Ta’if Clocks and Early Elections: Toward a Happy Ending in Lebanon?” (with Jillian Schwedler) in **Peace for Lebanon?: From War to Reconstruction**, Deirdre Collings, ed. (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994), pp. 45-65.

“Musa al-Sadr,” in **Pioneers of Islamic Revival**, Ali Rahnama, ed. (London: Zed Press, 1994), 184-207.

Published in Indonesian as "Musa Ash-Shadr," **Para Perintis Zaman Baru Islam**, Ali Rahnema, ed. (Penerbit Mizan, Khasanah Ilmu-Ilmu Islam, 1997), pp. 181-202.
Updated edition (London: Zed Press, 2006).

"The UN and the Gulf Crisis," in **The Gulf Crisis: Background and Consequences**, Ibrahim Ibrahim, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, Georgetown University, 1992), pp. 107-20.

"Towards Enduring Peace in the Middle East," in **The Struggle for Peace: Israelis and Palestinians**, Elizabeth W. Fernea and Mary Evelyn Hocking, eds. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992), pp. 317-29

"A Countersensational Perspective on the Shi'a of Lebanon," in **Reconstruction and Regional Diplomacy in the Persian Gulf**, Hooshang Amirahmadi and Nader Entessar, eds. (London & New York: Routledge, 1992), pp. 45-61.

"The Soviet Union and Cyprus," in **Cyprus: A Regional Conflict and its Resolution**, Norma Salem, ed. (London: MacMillan; and, New York: St. Martin's Press; in association with the Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security; 1992), pp. 100-13.

"The Security Legacy of the 1980s in the Third World," in **Third World Security in the Post-Cold War Era**, Thomas G. Weiss and Meryl A. Kessler, eds. (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1991), pp. 19-33.

"Non-Traditional Challenges: Religion, Violence, and Change in the Third World," in **U.S. National Security Strategy for the 1990s**, Daniel J. Kaufman, David S. Clark, and Kevin P. Sheehan, eds. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), pp. 40-56 and 217-19.

"Terrorism in the Middle East--American and Soviet Perspectives" (co-authored with Geoffrey Kemp and Andrey Shoumikhin), in **Common Ground on Terrorism: Soviet-American Cooperation against the Politics of Terror**, John Marks and Igor Belyaev, eds. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991), 50-63.

"Rethinking Peacekeeping" (co-authored with Thomas G. Weiss), in **The United Nations and Peacekeeping: Results, Limitations and Prospects**, Indarjit Rikhye and Kjell Skjelsbaek, eds. (London: MacMillan, 1990), pp. 22-31.

"Lebanon: The Internal Conflict and the Iranian Connection," in **The Iranian Revolution: Its Global Impact**, John L. Esposito, ed. (Miami: Florida International University Press, 1990), pp. 116-37.

"Religious Resurgence and Political Mobilization of the Shi'a of Lebanon," in **Religious Resurgence and Politics in the Contemporary World**, Emile Sahliyah, ed. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), pp. 235-47, 350-51.

"Soviet Policy in the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Navigating a Sea Change," in **Domestic Determinants of Soviet Foreign Policy Towards South Asia and the Middle East**, Hafeez Malik, ed. (London: MacMillan, 1990; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990), pp. 260-79.

"Imam Musa al-Sadr," in **Political Leaders of the Contemporary Middle East & North Africa**, Bernard Reich, ed. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1990), pp. 460-67.

"The Soviet Union and the Arab-Israeli Conflict," in **The Limits of Soviet Power in the Developing Nations: Thermidor in the Revolutionary Struggle in the Third World**, Roger E. Kanet and Edward A. Kolodziej, eds. (London: MacMillan; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), pp. 275-300.

“UNIFIL and the Shiite Community,” in **A Thankless Task: The Role of UNIFIL in Southern Lebanon**, Anthony McDermott and Kjell Skjelsbaek, eds. (Oslo: Norsk Utenrikspolitisk Institutt, NUPI rapport no. 123, December 1988), pp. 111-22.

“The Roots of the Conflict in Cyprus,” in **The Cyprus Conflict and the Role of the United Nations**, Kjell Skjelsbaek, ed. (Oslo: Norsk Utenrikspolitisk Institutt, NUPI rapport no. 122, November 1988), pp. 3-18.

“The Demise of the MNF” and “The Shi’ites and the MNF” in **The Multinational Force in Lebanon**, Kjell Skjelsbaek and Anthony McDermott, eds. (Oslo: Norsk Utenrikspolitisk Institutt--Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, NUPI rapport no. 121, November 1988), pp. 97-114 and pp. 273-85; and, (Miami: Florida International University Press, 1991), pp. 80-94 and 226-36.

“Terrorism in the Middle East,” in **Terrorist Dynamics: A Geographical Perspective**, Vittoriofranco S. Pisano, ed. (Arlington, VA: International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1988), pp. 1-44.

“Lebanon,” in **Security in the Middle East: Regional Change and Great Power Strategies**, Samuel F. Wells, Jr. and Mark A. Bruzonsky, eds. (Boulder and London: Westview Press, 1987) pp. 31-44.

“The Origins and Resurgence of Amal,” in **Shi’ism, Resistance and Revolution**, Martin Kramer, ed. (Boulder: Westview Press; and, London: Mansell Publishing Ltd., 1987), pp. 203-218.

“The Arab-Israeli Conflict: An Enduring Danger to Regional Security,” in **US Security Interests in the Persian Gulf: Implications for the Future**, William J. Olson, ed. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1987), pp. 29-41.

“Shi’ism and Social Protest in Lebanon,” in **Shi’ism and Social Protest**, Juan R. I. Cole and Nikki Keddie, eds. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986). pp. 156-178.

“Moscow and the Palestinians,” in **The Palestinians: People, History, Politics**, Michael Curtis, Joseph Neyer, Chaim Waxman and Allen Pollack, eds. (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1975), pp. 228-248.

MAGAZINE AND ENCYCLOPEDIA ARTICLES

هل الحرب القادمة... قادمة؟ [War in Lebanon coming?], September 2010, al-Adab,
<http://www.adabmag.com/node/338>

On “Mubarak’s Last Breath” by Adam Shatz, **London Review of Books** 32, no. 11, June 10, 2010.
<http://www.lrb.co.uk/v32/n10/adam-shatz/mubaraks-last-breath>

“Endgame in the Gaza War,” with Sara Roy, **From the Field and Informed Comment: Global Analysis**, January 4, 2009.
<http://bostonuniversity.blogspot.com/2009/01/end-game-in-gaza-war.html>
<http://icga.blogspot.com/2009/01/end-game-in-gaza-war.html>

“Terrorism,” **Encyclopedia of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict**, Cheryl A. Rubenberg, ed. (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2010 in press).

“U.S. Policy in the Middle East in 2007: In Quest of a Success,” **Med.2008: 2007 in the Euro-Mediterranean Space** (Barcelona: CIDB and the European Institute of the Mediterranean, 2008), pp. 50-55.

“La estrategia estadounidense en Oriente Medio: luchando por evitar el fracaso,” *Análisis del Real Instituto Elcano*, no. 42, April 2007, pp. 4-8.

“US Strategy in the Middle East: Struggling to Avoid Failure,” *ARI*, no. 24, February 2, 2007.

<http://realinstitutoelcano.org/analisis/1100.asp>

“Hizbullah’s Backers,” **Prospect**, September 2006, pp. 22-3.

“Pity the Region [a review essay on **The Great War for Civilisation** by Robert Fisk],” **The Nation**, February 6, 2006, pp. 29-36.

“Tafa’ul Ameriki ghair mubarir bi al-imuqratiyya fi Lubnan” **Qadaya 'Alamiyya**, vo. 2, no. 2, May-June 2005, pp. 48-54.

“The F Word [Failure in Iraq],” **The Nation**, July 19/26, 2004, pp. 2, 28.

“Ashura in Nabatiyya,” with ‘Ali Safa, **Middle East Insight**, May-June 2000, pp. 21-27.

See correction September-October 2000 issue, p. 33.

“Lebanon End-Game,” with Bahman Baktiari, **Middle East Insight**, March-April 2000, pp. 23-28.

“A Step Toward Political Participation in a Delta Village,” **Civil Society**, October 1999, 18-19.

“Lebanon,” **The Encyclopedia of Politics and Religion**, 2 vols., Robert Wuthnow, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1998), pp. 463-64.

“Lebanon” (updated), **The Encyclopedia of Politics and Religion**, 2nd ed., Robert Wuthnow, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2006), pp. 549-52.

“Amal,” [vol 1, pp. 81-84]; “Lebanon,” [vol. 2, 472-76]; “Terrorism” [vol. 4, pp. 205-209]; and, “Musa al-Sadr,” [vol. 3, pp. 453-57]. **Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World**, John Esposito, ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

“Lebanon,” revised for the second edition of the **Encyclopedia**, in press.

“Swiss Soldiers, Ta’if Clocks, and Early Elections: Towards a Happy Ending in Lebanon?” with Jillian Schwedler. **Middle East Insight**, v. 10, no. 1 (November-December 1993), pp. 45-54.

Abridged version of a chapter in Deirdre Collings, ed., **Peace for Lebanon?: From War to Reconstruction** (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994).

“Peacekeeping, Civil Society and Conflict Resolution,” **Canadian Defense Quarterly**, v. 23, no. 1 (September 1993), pp. 31-33.

“Inclusion Can Deflate Islamic Populism.” **New Perspectives Quarterly**, v. 10, no. 3, Summer 1993, pp. 50-51. [Download here.](#)

[Muhammad Husayn] Fadlallah.” **Encyclopedia of World Biography**, v. 17 (Palantine, Illinois: Jack Heraty & Assoc., 1992), pp. 179-81.

“Rulers under Siege,” **American-Arab Affairs**, Spring 1991, no. 36, pp. 12-14.

“The Power of the Pan-Arab Dream.” **Defense & Diplomacy**, January/ February 1991, pp. 24-25.

“The Intifada: Where Now?” **Middle East Insight**, v. 7, nos. 4 & 5 (1990), pp. 21-24.

“Lebanon.” **Yearbook on International Communist Affairs, 1989: Parties and Revolutionary Movements** (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1989), pp. 491-94.

“Mozambique.” **Academic American Encyclopedia**, (Danbury: Grolier, 1989), pp. 626-28.

“The Use and Abuse of Peacekeeping,” with Thomas G. Weiss. **The New Leader**, March 21, 1989, pp. 12-14.

“Lebanon: Conflict without End?” **Middle East Insight**, v. 6, nos. 1 and 2 (Summer 1988), pp. 43-49.

[Editor and contributor] “A Symposium on Lebanon,” **American-Arab Affairs**, Summer 1988, pp. 11-28.

“Lebanon,” **Yearbook on International Communist Affairs, 1988: Parties and Revolutionary Movements** (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1988), pp. 422-25.

“[Musa al-] Sadr,” **Encyclopedia of World Biography**, v. 15 (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1988), pp. 251-254.

“New Hope for Unity in Cyprus.” **The New Leader**, March 7, 1988, pp. 7-9.

“The Rise and Decline of Lebanon's Shi'ites.” **The New Leader**, February 22, 1988, pp. 9-12.

“Hunger and Carnage in Mozambique,” **The New Leader**, November 16, 1987, pp. 5-8.
Reprinted in **Third World 89/90**, Jeffrey M. Elliot, ed. (Guilford, CT: Dushkin, 1989), pp. 112-15.

“Lebanon,” **Yearbook on International Communist Affairs, 1987: Parties and Revolutionary Movements** (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1987), pp. 449-453.

“[Nabih] Berri.” **Encyclopedia of World Biography**, v. 13 (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1987), pp. 141-143.

“An Enduring Source of Danger,” **Clandestine Tactics and Technology: Update Report**, v. 11, No. 4 (1986).

“Occupational Hazards and Planned Retirement: The Israeli Withdrawal From Lebanon,” **Middle East Insight**, v. IV, No. 4 (March/April 1985), pp. 14-18.

“Instability and Change in Lebanon,” **American Arab Affairs**, No. 10 (Fall 1984): 79-88.

“Making Enemies in South Lebanon: Harakat Amal, the IDF, and South Lebanon,” **Middle East Insight**, v. 3, no. 3 (1984), pp. 13-20.

“Aspects of Terrorism in Lebanon: The Case of the Shi^cas,” **Clandestine Tactics and Technology: Update Report** (Published by the International Association of Chiefs of Police), v. 9, no. 4 (1983).
Reprinted, in part, in **New Outlook: Middle East Monthly** (Israel), January 1984, pp. 19-21.
Reprinted as “Political Violence and Shi^ca Factionalism in Lebanon,” **Middle East Insight**, v. 3, no. 2 (1983), pp. 9-16.

“Israel and South Lebanon,” **American-Arab Affairs**, no. 4 (Spring 1983): 23-31.

“The Political Mood in Lebanon,” **Middle East Insight**, v. 2, no. 3 (1983), pp. 9-13.

“Lebanon's Shifting Political Landscape,” **The New Leader**, March 8, 1982, pp. 8-9.

“The Threat of Nuclear Terrorism,” (in two parts) **National Defense**, October 1980, pp. 44-46, and December 1980, pp. 43-44.

Reprinted in **Studies in Nuclear Terrorism** (Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1979).

“Terrorists, Atoms and the Future: Understanding the Threat,” **Naval War College Review**, v. 32 (May-June 1979): 30-50.

“Myopic Perceptions of the Arms Race: The Immortality of Metaphors,” **Naval War College Review**, v. 31 (Fall, 1978): 48-53.

“NATO and Metaphors: The Nuclear Threshold,” **Naval War College Review**, v. 30 (Fall, 1977): 60-75.

“October 1973: The Implications for Detonate,” **Military Review**, September 1977, pp. 21-27.

“Nuclear Terrorism and the Middle East,” **Military Review**, April 1976, pp. 3-11.

Reprinted in **Studies in Nuclear Terrorism** (Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1979).

SELECTED INTERNET PUBLICATIONS

“Lebanon the Syria Crisis,” with Vicky Kelberer, **E-International Relations**, August 17, 2012. <http://www.e-ir.info/2012/08/17/lebanon-and-the-syria-crisis/>

“Resurgent Arab Islam Need not be Unsettling,” **The Angle (Boston Globe)**, December 11, 2011. http://www.boston.com/bostonglobe/editorial_opinion/blogs/the_angle/2011/12/resurgent_arab.html

Israel and Palestine: Two States for Two People: If not now, when? by the Boston Study Group on Middle East Peace (Member and Contributor). (New York: Foreign Policy Association, 2010).

http://www.fpa.org/usr_doc/Israel_and_Palestine_Two_States_for_Two_Peoples_2010.pdf

Joint Experts Statement on Iran, co-drafter, November 2008,

http://americanforeignpolicy.org/files/experts_statement_on_iran.pdf.

NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

“Helping Iraqis Save Iraq,” with Joseph Nunez, **Boston Globe**, December 24, 2014, p. A11.

<http://www.bostonglobe.com/opinion/2014/12/23/helping-iraqis-save-iraq/nRJCNV9IPcZmsW47FqCqKI/story.html>

“Islamists and Democracy Can Mix,” with Emile Nakhleh, **Boston Globe**, November 27, 2011.

<http://bostonglobe.com/opinion/2011/11/27/islamists-and-democracy-can-mix/wbMWtLTK5loWWkNXullFI/story.html>

“Yes, You Can Work with Hamas,” with Sara Roy, **Christian Science Monitor**, July 17, 2007.

“Palestinian Fantasy vs. Reality,” **Boston Globe**, June 21, 2007.

“The Curtains are Drawn Open in Egypt,” with Hala Mustafa, **Daily Star**, April 4, 2007.

- “Let’s help Egypt get Democratic,” with Hala Mustafa, **Newsday**, February 16, 2007.
- “The Peacekeeping Challenge in South Lebanon,” with Thomas Milo, **Christian Science Monitor**, August 25, 2006.
- “In Mideast, Shades of 1982,” **Boston Globe**, August 7, 2006.
Also published as: “Will we soon miss the Shebaa standoff?” **Daily Star**, August 11, 2006.
- “Three Prerequisites of an Effective International Force,” **Christian Science Monitor**, August 2, 2006.
- “Time Won’t Help Israel Disarm Hizbullah,” **Christian Science Monitor**, July 27, 2006.
- “When Bombs Stir a Shiite political revival,” **Daily Star**, July 25, 2006.
- “Beyond the War in Lebanon,” with Bahman Baktiari, **Christian Science Monitor**, July 19, 2006.
- “Israel Hits Lebanon, Thinks Iran,” **Daily Star**, July 17, 2006.
- “Israel, after the election,” **Newsday**, March 26, 2006.
- “As Egypt Smothers Reform, U.S. Looks On,” **Los Angeles Times**, August 12, 2002.
- “Israel’s Escape Hatch,” **Christian Science Monitor**, February 16, 2000
- “Searching for an Escape Hatch,” with Bahman Baktiari, **al-Ahram Weekly**, February 24-March 1, 2000.
- “U.S. is Slipping as Mideast Player,” **Boston Globe**, March 1, 1998.
- “Time is Right for U.S. to Help Foster Democracy in West Bank and Gaza,” with Jerrold D. Green, **Baltimore Sun**, November 22, 1992.
- “Representative Arabs Would Have a Lot to Discuss,” with Muhammad Muslih, **International Herald Tribune**, June 10, 1991.
- “Winning the Peace: Avoiding Past Mistakes,” **Los Angeles Times**, March 3, 1991.
- “Toward a New Regional Order in the Middle East,” with Muhammad Muslih, **Baltimore Sun**, February 3, 1991.
- “The Day the War Began: The Soldier,” **Los Angeles Times**, January 20, 1991.
- “Breaking the Gulf Stalemate,” **Los Angeles Times**, November 18, 1990.
- “Grand Delusions: Arabism,” **Los Angeles Times**, September 16, 1990.
- “Believe It or Not, the Answer to Saddam Hussein Lies with the U.N.,” **Los Angeles Times**, August 5, 1990.
- “Third World Imperatives,” **Christian Science Monitor**, June 20, 1990.
- “The CIA and KGB Come Together to Combat the Threat of Terrorism,” with Geoffrey Kemp and Andrey U. Shoumikin, **Los Angeles Times**, October 1, 1989.

- “The Limits of UN Peacekeeping Forces,” with Thomas G. Weiss, **Christian Science Monitor**, May 18, 1989.
- “The Cyprus Conflict”, **Christian Science Monitor**, April 19, 1989.
- “US-Soviet Teamwork on Terrorism,” with Geoffrey Kemp, **Christian Science Monitor**, March 10, 1989.
- “In Lebanon, Peace Is Not at Hand,” **Los Angeles Times**, August 17, 1988.
- “Hizbullah, under Iran's Thumb?” **Christian Science Monitor**, August 4, 1988.
- “Security in South Lebanon Hangs by a Thread,” **Washington Post**, March 1, 1988.
- “Positive Signs on Cyprus,” **New York Times**, February 27, 1988.
- “Mozambique Under Siege,” **Christian Science Monitor**, November 12, 1987.
- “Defuse Southern Lebanon Now,” **New York Times**, April 11, 1986.
- “Coping with Islamic Fundamentalism,” **New York Times**, August 5, 1985.
- “South Lebanon: After the Israeli Withdrawal,” **Christian Science Monitor**, June 13, 1985.
- “Escaping From South Lebanon,” **Christian Science Monitor**, January 23, 1985.
- “The Climate for Mideast Terrorism,” **New York Times**, September 26, 1984.
- “Lebanese Quagmire,” **New York Times**, July 11, 1984.
- “Qadhafi's Not Always to Blame” with Jerrold D. Green, **Wall Street Journal**, May 11, 1984.
- “Lebanon's Old Politics Must Yield to the New,” **New York Times**, January 3, 1984.
- “Lebanon for the Lebanese,” **New York Times**, February 22, 1983.
- “Lebanon: There is Ample Guilt for All,” **Los Angeles Times**, September 24, 1982.
Reprinted in **Middle East Insight**, v. 2, no. 3 (1983), p. 14.
- “Lebanon's Shiites.” **New York Times**, April 16, 1982.
- “The Violent Work of Politics in Lebanon,” **Wall Street Journal**, March 18, 1982.
- “Use Military to Keep Peace in Mideast” with Morris Janowitz, (Chicago) **Sun-Times**, June 16, 1980.
- “Nuclear Terrorism: How Big a Threat,” **The Virginian Pilot, The Ledger Star** (Norfolk, VA), July 13, 1980, pp. C1-C2.
- “Nuclear Terrorism--Is It Really Possible?” with Martin H. Greenberg, **Christian Science Monitor**, June 11, 1979.
- “Way Out for the West Bank” with Martin H. Greenberg, **Christian Science Monitor**, July 18, 1977.
Read in its entirety over National Public Radio.

BOOK REVIEWS, LETTERS AND ARTICLES

Air University Review, American-Arab Affairs, American Political Science Review, Anthropology Newsletter, Armor, Boston Globe, Chicago Sun-Times, Chicago Tribune, Choice, Christian Science Monitor, Foreign Policy, Jewish Exponent (Phila. PA), Journal of Islamic Studies, Journal of Terrorism and Political Violence, Litani, Los Angeles Times, Middle East Insight, Middle East Journal, Middle East Studies Association Bulletin, Military Review, Muslim World, National Defense, Naval War College Review, New Leader, New York Times, Perspectives in Political Science, Proceedings (of the U.S. Naval Institute), and The World and I.

PAPERS

“Courting Fitnah: Saudi Arabia’s Response to the Arab Uprisings,” at a conference on “Visions of Gulf Security” co-sponsored by the Project on Middle East Political Science and the University of Ca’ Foscari, Venice, March 9, 2014.

“The Rise of Malignant Sectarianism: Syria, Lebanon, Bahrain,” at a conference on “Rising Extremism and its Implications for Women in the MENA /Asia Region: Understanding and Address the Role of Regional Actors,” co-sponsored by the International Civil Society Action Network and the Association for Women’s Rights in Development. Hosted by MIT, Dedham, Massachusetts, September 25-7, 2013.

“Challenges born from Democratic Transition,” at a conference on “The Arab Spring, Domestic Democratic Transitions and the Evolving Euro-Mediterranean Framework,” La Manouba University and the European Commission Green Program, Sidi Bou Said, Tunisia, August 18-23, 2013.

"Reflections on the Arab Awakening and the Implications for U.S. Policy" for Institute for the Study of International Politics (ISPI), Analysis/Policy Brief series, in press.

“Is the Revolution Here Yet? Assessing the 2011 Upheaval in the Middle East,” at the Fares Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies, Tufts University, December 7, 2011.

“Sectarian Solidarity and Hizballah’s Popularity,” at a conference on “Conflict and Co-existence in Lebanon,” co-sponsored by the Chr. Michelsen Institute, Bergen, Norway; and King’s College, London; September 23-4, 2010.

“Divergent Muslim pieties at a time of sectarian polarization: Reflections on Transnational cultural forces and the politics of locality in the Arab east,” at a conference on “Blurring Boundaries: Toward the anthropology of translocalities in and beyond the Mediterranean, University of Osaka, Japan, March 11, 2010

“America: Opportunities Foregone,” at a conference on “The Making of the Modern Middle East,” Christ Church, Oxford, September 6-11, 2009.

“Save a few seats for skeptics,” for a panel on “Middle East Advice for the Next President,” at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 30, 2008.

“Chasing Chimeras in Lebanon,” for a special session on Change and Continuity in Lebanon, at the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Washington, D.C., November 22-25, 2008.

“Hezbollah in the Lebanese Political Reality: New Perspectives,” at the 25th Anniversary Conference of the Center for Contemporary Middle East Studies, University of Southern Denmark, Odense, September 26-7, 2008.

“The Shi’i Crescent: A Convenient Fallacy?” at a conference on Modern Shi’ism and Identity, University of Glasgow, Scotland, April 25-7, 2008.

“Competing Political Narratives in Lebanon,” at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, August 30, 2007.

“Assessing Hizballah as an Islamist Exemplar: Lessons, Constituents and Devotees,” at a conference on The Sunni-Shi’i Divide in History, Tel Aviv University, June 4-5, 2007.

“Elections and Civil Society,” at a conference on “Democratizing the Middle East?” Tufts University, January 26-7, 2006.

“Civil Military Relations in the Middle East,” at a workshop co-sponsored by Cairo University, the University of Copenhagen and the Royal Danish Military Academy, Cairo, January 22-24, 2006.

“Scholarship follows the Flag... to a Dead End: Exploring Alternative Paths to Reform,” at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 3, 2005.

“The U.S. in the Middle East: Grand Plans, Grand Ayatollahs and Dark Alleys,” the conference Group on the Middle East, at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, September 5, 2004.

“The Elephant outside the Circle,” at a National Science Foundation International Workshop on Understanding Global Tensions co-organized by Bogaziçi University, the Mershon Center of Ohio State University and the United Nations Development Program Human Development Center, in Istanbul, June 21-22, 2004.

“The Prospects for Civil Society in the Middle East after the Invasion of Iraq,” at a conference on “The Middle East after the Invasion of Iraq,” sponsored by the Danish Institute and the Danish Foreign Ministry, Damascus, Syria, October 24-5, 2003.

“The Iraq Crisis and the Middle East,” invited paper for the 13th International Conference on the Persian Gulf, Institute for Political And International Studies, Tehran, Iran, March 4-5, 2003.

“Democratization in the Middle East,” invited paper for the Middle East Center, St. Anthony’s College, Oxford University, November 22, 2002.

“The Long Haul in the Middle East” at the William S. Cohen Center for International Policy & Commerce conference on “the United States and the Arab World,” University of Maine, October 19-20, 2002.

“Hizballah: Priority in the War Against Terrorism?” sole speaker at a Council on Foreign Relations roundtable, New York City, December 13, 2001.

“The United States in the Middle East: The Quest for Elusive Stability,” at the inaugural conference at the Center for International Studies, University of Delaware, February 21, 2001.

“Confounding Autocracy in the Middle East: The Role of Associational Groups in Opposition,” at a conference on Social Movements in the Contemporary Muslim World,” sponsored by the University of Lausanne, Lausanne, December 3-4, 1999.

“How Civil is Islamist Civil Society?” in a conference on “Islam and Politics,” Joint Center for International Studies at Milwaukee and Madison, April 8-10, 1999.

“Lebanon’s Future with Syria,” in a conference on “Lebanon in the 21st Century,” sponsored by Villanova University and the Lebanese American University, Villanova, Pennsylvania, October 2-3, 1998.

“Hizballah of Lebanon,” at the annual meeting of the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies, Oxford University, July 7, 1997.

“The Question of Civil Society in Middle East Politics,” at a conference on “Travels and Troubles of Civil Society in the Middle East and North Africa,” at the University of Texas, Austin, February 10, 1997.

“Engendering Political Reform and the Scholarship of Gender and Politics,” at the Conference Group on the Middle East, American Political Science Association annual meeting, San Francisco, California, August 31, 1996.

Published in **Middle East Policy** 5, no. 3 (September 1997): 155-57.

“The Impact of the Iranian Revolution on Lebanon,” at a conference on “Lebanese-Iranian Relations,” Harvard University, December 7-8, 1996.

“The Question of Political Reform in the Middle East,” at a conference on “Changing Nature of Democracy: Challenges to Old and New Democracies,” sponsored by the United Nations University, Oxford, England, July 25-27, 1996.

“The Implications of ‘Operation Grapes of Wrath’ for Israeli Security,” at the annual meeting of the Association for Israel Studies, Boston, Massachusetts, June 1-3, 1996.

“Elections in the Arab World and the Game of Reform without Democracy,” at a conference on “Les stratégies des Etats arabes vis-à-vis des mouvements islamistes,” Institut Français des relations internationales,” Paris, March 29-30, 1996.

“Civil Society: Useful Construct or Expendable Notion?” at a conference on “International, Comparative, and Area Studies: Integrating Approaches to Scholarship in the Middle East,” University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, April 26-27, 1996.

“The Puzzle of Political Reform in the Middle East,” at a conference on “Religion, Ethnicity, and Politics in Comparative Perspective, Arnold Bergstraesser Institut, Freiburg, Germany, March 21-22, 1996.

“The Virtue of Studying Civil Society,” at a meeting on “the Civil Society Debate in Middle East Studies,” UCLA, Los Angeles, California, January 27, 1996.

Published in James Gelvin, ed., **The Civil Society Debate in Middle Eastern Studies** (Los Angeles: UCLA Near East Center, 1997), pp. 5-31.

“The Status Quo is Not an Option: Accumulating Pressures for Political Reform in the Middle East,” at the American Political Science Association annual meeting, Chicago, Illinois, August 31-September 3, 1995.

“Does Political Reform Have a Future in the Middle East?” at a conference on “New Frontiers in Middle East Security,” co-sponsored by Harvard University and the Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey, June 12-13, 1995.

“Political Reform in the Middle East,” at a conference on “Global Interdependence and the Future of the Middle East,” at the Istituto Affari Internazionali, Rome, Italy, November 7-8, 1994.

“Democratization in the Middle East: Expanding Political Processes,” at a conference on “The Shape of the New Middle East,” at RAND, Santa Monica, August 26-27, 1994.

“Fundamentalism, Reductionism and the New Enemy,” at a conference on “Fantasy or Ethnography? Irony and Collusion in Subaltern Representation,” Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, October 1-2, 1993.

“The Shi’a: At the Margins of the Arab World,” at a conference on “Unity vs. Separation in the Middle East,” at RAND, Santa Monica, CA, August 27-28, 1993.

“Peacekeeping, Civil Society and Conflict Resolution,” at a conference on “Peacekeeping,” Centre for International and Strategic Studies, York University, Ottawa, May 9-14, 1993.

“Circular Migration and the Political Development of the Shi’a [of Lebanon],” at a conference on “Population, Poverty, and Politics: Middle East Cities in Crisis: An international symposium,” The University of Arizona, Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Tucson, Arizona, March 5-7, 1993.

“South Lebanon: Enmeshed in Regional Geopolitics,” annual meeting of Middle East Studies Association, Portland, Oregon, October 28-31, 1992.

“Middle Eastern Democratization in Comparative Perspective,” Democratization in the Middle East, sponsored by the Turkish Political Science Association, Antalya, Turkey, November 14-16, 1991.

“Demarginalizing the Secretary General in the Middle East,” conference on The Impact of the Changing International Political Climate on the Role of the United Nations Secretary-General, sponsored by the Ralph Bunche Institute of the United Nations, City University of New York, September 11-13, 1991.

“The Security Legacy of the 1980s in the Third World,” conference on The United States, The Soviet Union and Security in the Third World, sponsored by the World Peace Foundation and the Institute for International Studies, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, May 18 and December 5-6, 1990.

A summary of the paper is available in the Institute's Occasional Paper no. 2.

“Lebanon: The Internal Conflict and the Iranian Connection,” conference on The Iranian Revolution Ten Years Later: What has been its Global Impact?, sponsored by the Middle East Institute of Washington, D.C.; The School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University; and the Royal Institute of International Affairs; in Washington, D.C., February 3-4, 1989.

“Personal Reflections on Peacekeeping,” International Workshop on the Cyprus Conflict and the Role of the United Nations, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Nicosia, Cyprus, August 31-September 2, 1988.

“Lebanese Islam: Shi’a and Sunni,” at a conference on “Religious Resurgence and Politics in the Contemporary World,” University of North Texas, Denton, April 5-6, 1988.

“A Comparative Study of the Morphology and Social Basis of Religious Movements: A Report on Research Underway,” annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Baltimore, Maryland, November 14-17, 1987.

“Struggle for the Political Soul of Lebanon,” conference on “Recent Developments in the Middle East and Their Implications for Curriculum in International Studies,” Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey, April 25-26, 1987.

“The Social Origins of Leaders, Members and Supporters of the Shi’i Movements in Lebanon,” annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Boston, Massachusetts, November 20-23, 1986.

“The Soviet Union and the Arab-Israeli Conflict,” Soviet-Third World Workshop, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, September 25-27, 1986.

“The Shiites and UNIFIL,” International Workshop on UNIFIL, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Oslo, Norway, July 1-4, 1986.

“The Demise of the Multinational Force,” International Workshop on the Multinational Force for Beirut, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Oslo, Norway, October 28-30, 1985.

“The Regional Impact of the Arab-Israeli Conflict,” U.S. Army War College Symposium on “U.S. Strategic Interests in the Persian Gulf,” Carlisle, PA, March 27-29, 1985.

“The Amal Movement,” Council on Foreign Relations, New York, January 29, 1985.

“The Origins of Harakat Amal,” Tel Aviv University Conference on Shi'ism, Resistance and Revolution, Tel Aviv, Israel, December 19-21, 1984.

“Shi'ism and Social Protest in Lebanon,” annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, San Francisco, California, November 28-December 1, 1984.

“Observations on U.N. Peacekeeping,” International Conference of the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society, Chicago, Illinois, October 21-23, 1983.

“The Islamic Protest Movement as an Alternative Vehicle for Political Participation in Lebanon,” annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, September 1-4, 1983.

“The Shi'a Role in Contemporary Lebanese Politics,” annual meeting of the International Studies Association, Mexico City, April 5-9, 1983.

“Mobilizing Lebanon's Shi'a Community: The Case of Harakat Amal,” annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, November 3-6, 1982.

“Harakat Amal,” annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Denver, Colorado, September 2-5, 1982

“Myopic Perceptions of the Arms Race,” annual meeting of the International Studies Association, Washington, D.C., February 22-25, 1978.

“The Palestinian State Under PLO Leadership,” annual meeting of the Mid-West Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 1976.

“The Palestinian Problem as a New Post-October Dimension of Soviet Leverage in the Middle East.” A chapter in a Department of Defense contract study prepared by the Center for Advanced International Studies, University of Miami (Florida), 1974, pp. 527-572.

SELECTED PUBLIC APPEARANCES AND LECTURES

“Sunni-Shi'i Sectarian Conflict Narratives,” a conference organized by Centra Technology, Arlington, VA, October 27, 2014.

“Politicized and Frustrated Youth in the Middle East,” at an international symposium on “Security in the Arabian Gulf,” co-sponsored by the Oxford Center for Islamic Studies and the Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, Ditchley Park, Oxfordshire, UK, October 31-November 2, 2014.

“Hezbollah’s Political Evolution,” at the Working Group: Hezbollah 3.0, Atlantic Council, Washington, D.C., September 30, 2014).

“Reflections on Vietnam,” Natick Army Lab, Natick, Massachusetts, August 22, 2014.

“Identity Politics in the Middle East,” U.S. Department of State, July 15, 2014.

“Hizbullah,” Ca’ Foscari U., Venice, March 10, 2014.

“U.S. Foreign Policy and Security in the Middle East and North Africa,” Symposium on the Middle East and North Africa, Institute for Global Leadership, Tufts University, February 28, 2014.

"Syria's Agony and Widening Sunni-Shi'ite Rift," Peace and Justice in the Middle East Distinguished Speaker Series, Woods Hole, MA, August 25, 2013.

“Islamists and Civil-Military Relations”, at a conference on “Political Islam and Religious Issues: Islamists and Governance,” Arlington, VA, May 23, 2013.

“Understanding the Arab Awakening,” Hampden-Sydney College, Hampden-Sydney, VA, April 9, 2013.

"The Sunni-Shi'a Rift? Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Iraq," at a conference on "Identity Politics in Conflict and Extremism: Function and Trends; Middle East-North Africa Regional Perspectives," at the Emirates Center for Strategic Research and Studies, Abu Dhabi, UAE, September 23 - 25, 2012.

"The Arab Awakening", a scholarly symposium sponsored by the EU GR:EEN program in conjunction with ISPI, Milan, October 9, 2012.

"Role of External Actors," The Arab Spring, a conference sponsored by the Institute for the Study of International Politics, Milan, Italy, October 9, 2012.

“Iran in the Middle East: Implications for US Strategy: opportunities and vulnerabilities,” at a conference on Iran Futures 2, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA, September 18-9, 2012.

“Hezbollah’s Political Journeys and Diversions,” at a conference on “The Messages of Hizbullah: Communication Forms and Political Contexts,” SOAS, London, May 25, 2012.

“A Few Reflections on the Rejuvenation of Public Space, Civil Society and oppositional fragmentation,” PISAP, Arlington, VA, May 24, 2012.

“Islamists in politics: The inclusion thesis redux,” at a symposium on “Exploring the Transition to Democracy in the Arab Region,” co-sponsored by the Middle East Initiative of the Harvard Kennedy School, the American University of Beirut and the Working Group on Arab Transformative Movements, Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University, April 16, 2011.

“Is the Revolution Here Yet: Assessing the Arab Upheaval in the Middle East,” a lecture at the Fares Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies, Tufts University, December 7, 2011.

<http://farescenter.tufts.edu/events/lectureseries/2011Dec7.asp> and video

“Think twice before starting a war with Iran,” at a meeting on Liberty and Security in a Time of Global Re-ordering, sponsored by the Centers for the Study of Europe, Asia, and International Relations, Boston University; and the European Union Green Program (Global Re-ordering: Evolution through European Networks); Boston, March 5-6, 2012.

“Islamic Parties in the Transition Process,” at a symposium on “Religion and Democratization in the Context of the Arab Spring,” sponsored by the Center for Middle East Studies and the Program on Islam in the West, Harvard University, November 10, 2011.

“Lebanon: Sectarian Competition,” at a conference sponsored by the Foreign Ministry, Ottawa, October 3, 2011.

“Lebanon: Consensus in Times of Enmity,” Emile Bustani Middle East Seminar, MIT, October 26, 2010.

Witness, Hearings on “Assessing the Strength of [Lebanon’s] Hezbollah” before the Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, June 8, 2010.

<http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/CHRG-111shrg62141/pdf/CHRG-111shrg62141.pdf>

“America’s Response to the Gaza War,” at a conference by the same title, MIT, April 21, 2010.

“Hezbollah: Local, Regional And Global Dimensions,” an invited lecture at Florida International University, Miami, November 6, 2009

“Israel and Palestine: The State of the Question,” Boisi Center for Religion and American Public Life, Boston College, October 27, 2009.

http://www.bc.edu/centers/boisi/publicevents/browse_events_by_date/f09/israelpalestine.html

“Hizballah,” at a conference on “Israel’s Counterterrorism Challenges and Implications for the United States,” Georgetown University, September 23-24, 2009.

“Regional Influence in Lebanon: Iran, Syria and Israel,” at a conference on “A New Direction for Lebanon,” sponsored by the Three Cultures Foundation, Sevilla, Spain, May 26-7, 2009.

“Resistance and Violence in Lebanon: the Hezbollah Case,” at the University of Leeds, February 4, 2009.

“Politics and Society in Mubarak’s Egypt,” in a lecture series on “Conversations with a Continent [Africa],” 92nd Street “Y”, New York, March 18, 2009.

“How the Process Impedes U.S. Foreign Policymaking for the Middle East,” at a conference on “U.S. Foreign Policy Prospects in the Middle East for a New Administration,” Bates College, Lewiston, ME, March 13, 2009.

“The Shi’i Crescent: Discordant Notes from the Field,” the Henry M. Luce lecture on Global Religion and Human Security, University of Washington, Seattle, April 10, 2008.

“Iraq Endgame,” a townhall meeting organized by the Foreign Policy Association, New York, March 26, 2008.

“Lebanon on Edge: An Appraisal of the Crisis,” Chatham House, London, March 18, 2008.

“The Lebanese Political Impasse,” Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., March 11, 2008.

“Hezbollah and Iran,” Council on Foreign Relations, New York, December 4, 2007.

“Politics in the Lebanese Shi’i Community,” University of Southern California, November 10, 2007.

“Lebanon’s Political Stalemate: A Critical Analysis,” at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, November 1, 2007.

“Political Gridlock in Lebanon,” Co-sponsored by the Emile Bustani Middle East Seminar and the Technology & Culture Forum, MIT, October 30, 2007.

“Hezbollah,” Center for International and Comparative Studies, Northwestern University, October 24, 2007.

“Islamists and Governments in the Middle East,” Providence College, September 26, 2007.

“Islamic Movements in the Middle East,” Foreign Policy Forum of the Cohen Center, University of Maine, Bangor, Maine, June 25, 2007.

“Political Standoff in Lebanon,” Portland State University, Portland, Oregon, May 10, 2007.

Witness, Hearings on “Lebanon: Securing A Permanent Ceasefire,” before the Foreign Relations Committee, United States Senate, September 13, 2006.

“Requiem on the 2006 Israel-Lebanon war,” Emile Bustani Middle East Seminar, MIT, September 19, 2006.

“The Middle East,” at the National Security Policy seminar, sponsored by the National Defense University, Denver, September 11, 2006.

“Avoiding the Perfect Storm in the Middle East,” Illinois State University, Normal, September 5, 2006.

“Does Inclusion Matter? Islamists in Politics,” at UCLA, Los Angeles, June 7, 2006.

“Lebanon: Back to the Future,” Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, March 16, 2006.

“Understanding the Middle East,” Furman University, March 22, 2006.

“Islam, Change and the Middle East,” National War College, March 3, 2006.

“Middle East and Islamic Studies at a Time of Flux, at a conference “Annual Higher Education Seminar on Higher Education and the New World Order: Economics, Politics, Demographics and Security,” Teachers College, Columbia University, at Vanderbilt University, November 4-6, 2005.

“Between Fascination and Fanaticism: America in the Minds of Muslims,” Mercyhurst College, Erie, Pennsylvania, December 6, 2005.

“Politics and Crisis in Syria and Lebanon,” at the U.S. Army War College “Middle East Symposium”, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, December 2, 2005.

“The New Media in the Arab World,” Michigan State University, April 10, 2005.

“America and the Muslim World: Divergence, Collision or Dialogue?” University of Pittsburgh, September 20, 2005.

“The Freedom Project in the Middle East: Weighing Challenges and Hazards,” Emile Bustani Middle East Seminar, MIT, February 15, 2005.

“Shi’i Islam: From Terrorism to the Parliament,” at a RAND conference, “From Militancy to Political Action,” Arlington, Virginia, December 13, 2004.

“Political Reform in the Arab World,” at a United Nations Development Program sponsored conference on “Conflict Prevention and Transformation,” Lebanese American University, Byblos, Lebanon, August 15-19, 2004.

“Grand Plans, Grand Ayatollahs and Dark Alleys,” University of South Florida, Tampa, February 27, 2004.

“Perspectives of Reform in the Middle East,” Fundación Centro de Educación Superior en Oriente Medio (FRIDE) and the University of the Middle East Project, Madrid, February 19, 2004.

“The U.S. in Iraq,” a symposium organized by Arab Students Association of Boston University, November 20, 2003.

“American in the Minds of Muslims,” co-hosted by Boston University and the Federal Reserve Bank of Bank, November 20, 2003.

“The Idea of Democracy in the Middle East,” Boston University Trustee Scholars, November 10, 2003.

“Shi’i Ritual and Politics: A Lebanese Case Study,” The RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California, October 31, 2003.

“Women and Girls in the Middle East: Past, Present and Future,” and “America in the Minds of Muslims,” Woodrow Wilson Visiting Fellow lectures, Wartburg College, Waverly, Iowa, October 14 and 16, 2003.

“The United States and the Muslim World,” Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies, October 9, 2003.

“Egypt: Democratic Capital Lost,” at a conference convened by Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life on “Muslim Politics and U.S. Policies: Prospects for Pluralism and Democracy in the Muslim World,” Washington, D.C., September 17, 2003.

<http://pewforum.org/events/index.php?EventID=50>

“The U.S. and the Arab-Israeli Conflict,” Center for Contemporary Arab Studies conference on “The U.S. in the Middle East,” at Georgetown University, March 27-8, 2003.

“America in the Minds of Muslims,” Saginaw Valley State University (Saginaw, Michigan), November 20, 2002.

“The Long Haul in the Middle East,” University of South Florida, Tampa, Florida, October 25, 2002.

“The Long Haul in the Middle East: The Six Challenges that Confront America,” Annual Distinguished Lecture to the Kanaly Trust Company, Houston, Texas, September 24, 2002.

“Who Speaks for Islam?”, Institute for Philosophy and Religion, “Promise and Peril: The Paradox of Religion as Resource and Threat,” invited lecture for the thirty-third annual program, Boston University, April 10, 2002.

Lecture was broadcast on May 13, 2002 and may be listened to on WBUR at

<http://www.buwi.org/shows/2002/05/20020512.asp>

“Changing Relations between the United States and the Middle East,” sponsored by the World Affairs Council, Pittsburgh, February 15, 2002.

“The United States and the Middle East: Constants and Variables,” the Earhart Foundation Distinguished Lecture at the American University of Beirut, March 8, 2001, Beirut, Lebanon.

“Lebanon's Malaise and Beyond,” at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, February 8, 2001.

“Lebanon: Post Israeli Withdrawal Symptoms,” the Emile Bustani Middle East lecture, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts, October 3, 2000.

“Paths of Reform in the Middle East,” Boston University Women’s Club, September 19, 2000.

“Civil Society and Political Reform in Muslim,” Societies Center for Islamic Studies, May 10, 2000.

“Gift Horse or Trojan Horse?: The Israeli Withdrawal from Lebanon,” at the Center for Behavioral Research, American University of Beirut, May 2, 2000.

“Islam and Civilization,” at a conference on the “Dialogue among Civilizations,” Odense University, Odense, Denmark, March 26-28, 2000.

“Mistaking Muslims for Walmart—and Other Perils,” Ithaca College, November 18, 1999, Ithaca, New York.

“Hizballah in Transition,” at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, February 11, 1999.

“Self-interested Civility: Reflections on the Global Growth of Civil Society,” Keynote presentation at the Martin Luther King Jr. Holiday Banquet and International Issues Forum, sponsored by the Iowa Council for International Understanding and the Carnegie Council for Ethics and International Affairs, Des Moines, Iowa, January 13, 1999.

“Civil Society and Islam,” at Hamline University, February 21-22, 1998.

“Listening to the Death Rattles of the Middle East Peace Process,” at the World Affairs Council of Boston, January 27, 1998.

“Middle East Peace and the Changing Political Order,” at the World Affairs Council of Boston, May 13, 1997.

“Civil Society in the Arab World,” at the Intercollegiate Arab Studies Conference, MIT, Cambridge, April 5, 1997.

“The Middle East and the Prospects for Democracy,” Future Visions 2010 Seminar, National War College, Ft. McNair, October 1, 1996.

“The Israeli Dilemma in South Lebanon,” at the Association for Israel Studies annual conference, Boston, June 1-3, 1996.

“Thinking out Loud: The Israeli-Hizballah Conflict: Goals, Methods, Strategies, Moral Choices,” Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs, New York, May 14, 1996.

“Quest for Change: Civil Society in the Middle East,” the Conson Wilson Lecture, Berry College, Rome, Georgia, April 2, 1996.

“Syria, Israel and the Peace Process,” World Affairs Council of Boston, February 22, 1996.

“South Lebanon: The Last in the Queue,” Massachusetts Institute of Technology, November 30, 1995.

“Pragmatists, True Believers and the Logic of Reform in the Middle East,” Bucknell University, October 26, 1995.

“Egypt and the Dilemma of Political Inclusion,” Sixth Annual Symposium of the Egyptian American Professionals Association, New York University, October 21, 1995.

“Civil Society in the Middle East: An Opportunity or a Challenge to Existing Regimes?” keynote address at a conference sponsored by the U.S. Government conference, McLean, Virginia, May 24-25, 1995.

“Politics, War and Civil Society in the Middle East,” at the First Borgenicht International Peace Symposium, College of William and Mary, March 28, 1995.

“The 1973 Arab-Israeli War,” United States Marine Corps Command and Staff College, Quantico, Virginia, March 15, 1995.

“Quest for Change: Civil Society and Middle East Politics,” at Harvard University, March 1, 1995.

“Conversation on the Middle East,” Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs, New York City, January 25, 1995.

“The Construct of Civil Society and Middle East Politics,” Middle East Center, the University of Chicago, April 22, 1994.

“Israel and the Future of the Peace Process,” sponsored by the Harvard Jewish Law Students Association, Cambridge, March 20, 1994.

“Islamism in the Contemporary Middle East: Origins, Problems and Prospects,” prepared remarks at Boston University, March 1, 1993.

“Disorder in the 1990s: From Somalia to Russia,” at a conference on “The Global Challenge of Peacekeeping,” 24th Annual Central Illinois World Affairs Council, Peoria, February 18-19, 1995.

“Does Civil Society Matter in the Middle East,” prepared remarks at the Center for Middle Eastern Studies Seminar, Harvard University, February 10, 1994.

“Central American Security Issues: A U.S. Perspective,” at a conference on Demobilization and Security in Central and Latin America, Collège Militaire de St-Jean, Quebec, December 9-10, 1992.

“The Future of Civil Society in the Middle East,” the Emile Bustani Middle East lecture, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts, November 17, 1992.

“The Middle East: Beyond Ideologies,” prepared remarks before the 15th annual meeting of the Fulbright Association, Baltimore, Maryland, October 9-11, 1992.

“Transformations of State and Society in the Middle East,” keynote speech at the RAND Middle East/Southwest Asia Conference, September 3-4, 1992.

Witness, U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, hearings on “Promoting Pluralism and Democracy in the Middle East,” August 11, 1992.

“The Prospects for Arab Democracy,” prepared remarks before the Philadelphia Committee on Foreign Relations, Philadelphia Club, November 25, 1991.

“(In)security and (Dis)order in South Lebanon,” prepared remarks before a conference on “Peace-keeping, Water and Security in South Lebanon,” organized by the Centre for Lebanese Studies, Oxford University, and the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, at Chatham House, London, October 4, 1991.

“Breaking through the Wall of Fear in the Arab World,” prepared remarks before a conference on “Turning Points in the Middle East: Beyond Conflict to Resolutions,” RAND Corporation 1991 Middle East Conference, Santa Monica, California, September 5-6, 1991.

“Dissolution of Militias and Rebuilding the Lebanese Army and Internal Security Forces,” prepared remarks before the American Task Force for Lebanon conference, Washington, D.C. June 27-30, 1991.

“Multilateral Perspectives on the Gulf,” a lecture presented a Middle East Institute conference on “The Future of the Persian Gulf: Political and Economic Issues,” Washington, D.C., June 13, 1991.

[The Middle East Institute has published the revised presentations from the conference as a "policy paper".]

“What should the U.S. do in the Middle East?” a community meeting sponsored by Northwest Corner Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament, The Hotchkiss School, January 6, 1991.

“Lebanon,” a lecture presented to the Princeton Middle East Society annual meeting, June 11, 1989.

“The Middle East Peace Process and Religious Extremism,” a presentation to the Forum for World Affairs, Stamford, Connecticut, January 15, 1989.

“Progress towards Peace in Cyprus?” a presentation to the Ralph Bunche Institute on the United Nations, City University of New York, November 30, 1988.

“Lebanon, Syria and the Shia Revolution,” a lecture presented in a series, “Prospects for Peace in the Middle East,” at the 92nd Street “Y”, in New York City on January 6, 1988.

“The Future of Lebanon: The Role of External Forces,” a lecture presented to the University of Utah conference, “Understanding Conflict in the Middle East: Complementary or Divergent Perspectives: The views of Academicians, Reporters and Practitioners,” Salt Lake City, Utah, March 24-28, 1986.

“Social and Political Change among the Shi'a of Lebanon,” a lecture presented at the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, University of Texas, Austin, February 25, 1986.

“The Islamic Revival in Lebanon,” a lecture presented at the Gerald R. Ford Library in conjunction with a conference on “The Islamic Revival: Implications for the Middle East and the U.S.,” sponsored by the Center for Near Eastern and North African Studies, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, October 17, 1985.

“The Politics of Force,” a presentation at the annual meeting of the Middle East Institute, Washington, D.C. September 26-28, 1985.

“Islamic Fundamentalism and Radicalism in Lebanon,” a lecture presented at the American Enterprise Institute, Washington, D.C., September 6, 1985.

Witness, U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, hearings on Islamic fundamentalism and radicalism and its implications for U.S. policy in the Middle East, July 15, 1985.

“Shi'a Politics in Lebanon,” a lecture presented at the Middle East Institute (co-sponsored by SAIS, John Hopkins) in Washington, D.C., January 24, 1984.

“Lebanon: Dimensions of the Current Conflict,” the Charles Phelps Taft Memorial Lecture, University of Cincinnati, February 28, 1983.

CONFERENCE PARTICIPATION

Chair and organizer, “,” at the Conference Group on the Middle East in conjunction with the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 30, 2015.

Chair and organizer, “Clawing Back Power: Arab Regimes at a Time of Mobilized Publics,” at the Conference Group on the Middle East in conjunction with the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 30, 2014.

Chair and organizer, Sexual and Gender Based Violence against Syrian Refugees , Boston University Institute for Iraq Studies in cooperation with , May 2014.

Chair and organizer, The Syrian Refugee Crisis and the Contiguous States

MESA 12-3 New Orleans

“Intervention in Syria: to what end?”, at a conference on “Syria: a just war?”, Starr Forum, MIT, September 11, 2013.

<http://newsoffice.mit.edu/2013/starr-forum-the-unknowns-surrounding-syria-0912>

Chair and organizer, “The Arab Awakening and Revolutions: Preludes, Consequences and Variations,” at the Conference Group on the Middle East in conjunction with the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, September 1, 2013.

"The U.S. and the Middle East," at a conference on "Prudence, Principles, and Western Security," sponsored by the Earhart Foundation, Dearborn, MI, July 19-21, 2013.

Chair, Legal and Political Status of the Middle East in the Aftermath of the Arab Spring: Israel-Palestine, Libya, and Iran,” at a conference on “The Next Season: Realigning International Law and Western Policy After the Arab Spring,” Boston University School of Law, March 25, 2013.

“Challenges in the U.S.-Iran Relationship, 2001-2009: A Critical History,” conference, MIT, Cambridge, MA, June 13-5, 2013.

"Islamists and Civil-Military Relations" CENTRA May 23, 2013

Chair and organizer, “Iraq: Legacies of the 2003 Invasion and Occupation,” at the Conference Group on the Middle East in conjunction with the American Political Science Association, New Orleans, September 1, 2012 (cancelled due to hurricane).

Chair, “The Legacy of Kamal Salibi,” at a conference on the same topic, Fares Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies, Tufts University, April 20, 2012.

Discussant, “Inside-Outside: Geopolitics and Lebanon’s Communal Struggles,” at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, San Diego, CA, April 4, 2012.

Chair, “Society as Neighbor: Civil Society and Transnational Actors,” at a conference on “Contraction and Expansion in the International Neighborhood,” Boston University, February 19, 2011.

“Israel and Palestine: If Not Two States Now Then What?” at Emmanuel College, Boston, February 8, 2011.

Co-organizer, “The U.S., Iran and the Gulf: Regional Contexts and Transnational Currents,” New York University Abu Dhabi Center, U.A.E., December 15-6, 2010.

Chair and organizer, “US Public Diplomacy in the Muslim World: Realities, Lessons and Directions,” at the Conference Group on the Middle East in conjunction with the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C, September 5, 2010.

“The United States and the Muslim World,” sponsored by the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies, Ditchley Park, Oxfordshire, November 13-15, 2009.

Chair and organizer, “Political Reform in the Middle East: Contexts, Dilemmas, Cases,” at the Conference Group on the Middle East in conjunction with the American Political Science Association, Toronto, September 4, 2009.

“Militant Islamic Groups and Participation: Looking Forward,” Chatham House, May 14-5, 2009.

“Dialogue on the Levant,” Center for Naval Analysis and the Forum du Futur TransAtlantic Dialogue on Lebanon, Paris, March 4-6, 2009.

Discussant, International Studies Association, “Shiism in the Ascendant? The Past, Present, and Future of the ‘Shia Crescent’,” New York, February 16, 2009.

Chair and discussant, “Social Order,” “Three Decades of Reform and Opening: Where is China Headed?” conference sponsored by the Frederick S. Pardee Center for the Study of the Longer-Range Future, Boston University, December 8, 2008.

Chair and organizer, “Middle East Advice for the New President,” at the Conference Group on the Middle East in conjunction with the American Political Science Association, Boston, August 30, 2008.

Later published in MEP.

“Deciphering Lebanon,” Center for Naval Analysis and the Forum du Futur TransAtlantic Dialogue on Lebanon, Paris, May 14-6, 2008.

Chair and presenter, “Addressing (In)Justice at the Margins: Transactional Perspectives on the Destruction, Reconstruction and Re-Destruction of Lebanon,” annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Washington, D.C., November 27-December 2, 2007.

“Finding our way in Iraq,” to a conference of former presidents, prime ministers and ministers hosted by the Interaction Council, Vienna, Austria, May 20-3, 2007.

“Deciphering Lebanon,” Center for Naval Analysis and the Forum du Futur TransAtlantic Dialogue on Lebanon, Paris, May 14-5, 2007.

“Deciphering Lebanon,” Center for Naval Analysis, Paris, May 14-5, 2007.

“The Lebanese Formula Revisited,” at a conference on “Power Sharing: Concepts, Cases and their Relevance to Lebanon,” sponsored by the Centre International des Sciences de l’Homme of UNESCO, Byblos, Lebanon, April 16-18, 2007.

Doha Forum on Democracy and Free Trade, sponsored by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Qatar University and the Qatar Chamber of Commerce and Industry, April 23-5, 2007.

“Culture and Conflict in Lebanon,” at a conference on “Culture, Conflict and Democracy: Exploring Factors conducive to democratic conflict regulation,” sponsored by the Centre International des Sciences de l’Homme of UNESCO, Byblos, Lebanon, November 10-12, 2006.

“The Emerging Shia Crescent: Implications for the United States and U.S. Policy,” Council on Foreign Relations, New York, June 5, 2006.

“The Islamic World and the West,” a conference of former presidents, prime ministers and ministers hosted by the Interaction Council, Dead Sea, Jordan, May 2-4, 2006.

Chair and panelist, “Islam and the Discourses of Toleration,” Institute for Human Sciences, Boston University, March 30, 2006.

“Culture in International Politics,” at a conference on “Accounting for Culture in Politics,” at the University of Florida, Gainesville, February 10-11, 2006.

“Political Reform,” at the Doha Forum on Democracy and Free Trade, sponsored by the Qatar University and the Qatar Chamber of Commerce and Industry, April 10-12, 2006.

“Shi’i Politics in Lebanon,” Lebanon and Syria Face the Future, University of Michigan, February 11-13, 2006.

Organizer, Special Session: “US-Iran Relations,” at the Middle East Studies Association Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., November 21, 2005.

Special Session: “Elif Shafak and her new Book: The Saint of Incipient Insanities,” at the Middle East Studies Association Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., November 21, 2005.

Chair, Special Session: “Lebanon: Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose?,” at the Middle East Studies Association Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., November 20, 2005.

Discussant, "Assessing Reform Initiatives in the MENA region," a conference co-sponsored by Civility programme of the Foreign Policy Centre (London and Beijing) and the Brussels-based Royal Institute for International Relations, Chateau de Val Duchesse, Brussels, November 9-10, 2005.

Doha Forum on Democracy and Free Trade, sponsored by the Qatar University and the Qatar Chamber of Commerce and Industry, March 29-30, 2005.

"Peacebuilding and Political Reform in Lebanon," at a conference on "Conflict Prevention and Transformation," Lebanese-American University, Byblos, Lebanon, August 15-29, 2004.

Discussant, conference on "Islam, Secularism and Democracy: The Turkish Experience," co-hosted by the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies and the Journalists and Writers Foundation of Turkey (ABANT Platform), Washington, D.C., April 19-20, 2004.

"Judaism, Western and Eastern Christianity and Islam: Human Rights, Rule of Law and Democracy," International Forum Bosnia, Sarajevo, December 12-3, 2002.

Chair, Plenary: "Iraq Policies: Choices and Consequences," Middle East Studies Association Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., November 25, 2002.

"A Century of U.S. Foreign Policy: From Wilson to Bush," at the annual meeting of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee annual meeting, Arlington, Virginia, June 2002.

"Bringing the Middle East Back In... to the Study of Comparative Politics," a conference co-sponsored by Yale and Brown Universities, New Haven, December 7-8, 2001.

Special Session: "Political Science and Middle East Studies," Middle East Studies Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, November 18, 2001.

"The Gulf and Asia," Leeds Castle Conference sponsored by the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies, May 16-8, 2001.

"The Middle East Peace Process: Taking Stock," The Royal Institute of International Affairs, Centre for Lebanese Studies (Oxford) and the International Development Research Centre of Canada, Minster Lovell, England, May 5-6, 2001..

Discussant, "Bringing the Middle East Back In... to the Study of Political and Economic Reform," Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University, May 4-5, 2001.

Discussant, "Algeria: State and Society in the Global Era," Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University, April 30, 2001.

"Middle East: New Ideas Seminar," The Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, London, June 27, 2000.

Workshop on Parliamentary Studies in the Arab World, sponsored by the Ford Foundation, Cairo, October 14, 1999.

"Citizenship and Democracy in Palestine and Israel," Galilee Center for Social Research and the Chr. Michelsen Institute (Bergen), Jerusalem, November 13-15, 1998.

"Civil Society in the Middle East," Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Stockholm, Sweden, February 2, 1998.

“Islamic Issues and U.S. Foreign Policy,” U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C., December 9, 1996.

Chair and organizer, three panels on “Gender, Politics and the State,” at the Conference Group on the Middle East in conjunction with the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, California, August 31-September 1, 1996.

Short versions of the panel papers are forthcoming in **Middle East Policy**.

“Citizenship and the State in the Middle East,” Oslo University, Oslo, Norway, November 22-24, 1996.

“Islam and a Changing World,” organized by the Danish Institute of International Affairs, Copenhagen, July 16-18, 1996.

Panelist, “the Peace Process and Israeli Security,” Association for Israel Studies, at Boston University School of Law, June 1-3, 1996.

Palestinians in Lebanon Project, co-organized by the Centre for Lebanese Studies and the Refugees Studies Programme, University of Oxford, commencing March 1995.

Chair and presenter, panel on “Democratization” at the conference on the Middle East and a New World Order, University of Virginia, September 9-10, 1995.

“Etude Comparative des Strategies des Regimes Arabes vis-à-vis du Mouvement Islamiste,” Institut Français des Relations Internationales, Paris, December 6, 1993 and January 13-14, 1995.

Organizer and chair, “Civil Society and the Prospects for Political Reform in the Middle East,” at the Aspen Institute Wye Conference Center, Queenstown, Maryland, September 30, 1994-October 2, 1994. [This was the concluding international meeting of the Civil Society in the Middle East program.]

Third consultative meeting on the “Protection of Core Human Rights in the Middle East,” in Larnaca, Cyprus, June 23-26, 1994.

Organizer and chair, “The State and Civil Society,” at the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Research Triangle, North Carolina, November 13, 1994.

Discussant, “The United Nations and Civil Wars,” a conference of the Watson Center, Brown University, Providence, May 5-6, 1994.

Panelist, “Regional Actors and Lebanese Stability,” Meridian House, Washington, D.C., September 30, 1993.

Organizer and chair of an international conference on “Civil Society in the Middle East,” at the Rockefeller Conference and Study Center, Bellagio, Italy, November 30-December 4, 1993.

Organizer and chair, “Political Sociology: Civil Society as a Conceptual Approach to Middle East Politics,” at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 5, 1993.

Meeting on the “Protection of Core Human Rights in the Middle East,” convened by the Initiative for Peace and Cooperation in the Middle East, Cuenca, Spain, March 11-14, 1993.

Discussant, conference on “Democratization in the Middle East: Trends and Prospects,” sponsored by the National Research Council of the National Academy of Sciences, Washington, D.C., November 19, 1992.

Invited observer, meeting of the Core Working Group of the Initiative for Peace and Cooperation in the Middle East, Rome, Italy, September 25-28, 1992.

Organizer and chair, two panels on "Political Adaptation and Change in the Middle East: Exploring the Vitality of the Arab Civil Societies," at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, September 3-6, 1992.

"Protection of Core Human Rights in the Middle East," convened by the Initiative for Peace and Cooperation in the Middle East, University of Bologna, Italy, May 31-June 2, 1992.

Organizer and conference chair, "Civil Society in the Middle East," International Peace Academy in cooperation with the Ibn Khaldoun Center for Developmental Studies, Mena House, Giza, Egypt, May 28-30, 1992.

Co-organizer and chair, a conference on "Lebanon's Parliamentary Elections," hosted by the Centre for Lebanese Studies in cooperation with the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs and the International Peace Academy, Kingham, England, May 22-24, 1992.

Discussant, conference on "Collective Security in a Changing World," sponsored by the Thomas J. Watson Institute for International Studies and the World Peace Foundation, at Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, May 14-15, 1992.

"Ethnic Conflict, Peacekeeping and Peacemaking toward 2000: Second Generation Peacekeeping," a workshop sponsored by the Ford Foundation and organization by the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Taroudant, Morocco, May 4-6, 1992.

Discussant, America's Moment in the Middle East: Illusion or Reality," University Seminar on the Middle East, Columbia University, February 26, 1992.

Organizer and conference co-chair, "Toward Enduring Peace in the Middle East: Inaugural meeting," International Peace Academy in cooperation with the Center of International Studies, Princeton University, February 14-16, 1992.

Co-organizer and participant, "Arms Control and the Arab-Israeli Peace Process," a conference sponsored for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace at Villa Serbelloni, Bellagio, Italy, December 9-13, 1991.

Chair, "Conceptualizing the International Relations of the Middle East after the War," at the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Washington, D.C., November 23-26, 1991.

"Change and Stability in the Middle East: How Do We Get There From Here?" sponsored by the Stanley Foundation in association with the Mershon Center of the Ohio State University, at the Wye Plantation, Queenstown, Maryland, September 6-8, 1991.

"Political Change and US Strategy in the Middle East: The Long Term Challenge," sponsored by the Stanley Foundation in association with the Mershon Center of the Ohio State University, at the Carnegie International Center, Washington, D.C., May 14, 1991.

Middle East after the Gulf war workshop, Center of International Studies, Princeton University, May 18-19, 1991.
See the summary, **Towards New Orders in the Middle East: The Role of U.S. Policy**, John Waterbury, ed. (Princeton: Center for International Studies, Monograph Series No. 2, 1991).

Chairperson, "Concepts for the Study of the Middle East," at the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, San Antonio, Texas, November 10-13, 1990.

“Regional Impact of the Intifadah,” Council on Foreign Relations, New York, May 30, 1990.

Unofficial conference on terrorism with Soviet and European scholars, former officials and journalists, Moscow, USSR, May 3-5, 1990.

Participant and co-chair, “Humanitarian Emergencies and Armed Conflict: The Possible Contribution of Outside Armed Forces,” co-sponsored by the International Peace Academy and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland, Niinisalo, Finland, October 24-26, 1989.

Unofficial conference on terrorism with Soviet and American scholars, former officials and journalists, Santa Monica, California, September 25-29, 1989.

“The United Nations & International Security: US, Soviet & Third World Perceptions of Regional Conflict Management,” co-sponsored by the Institute of World Economy and International Relations (Moscow), and the International Peace Academy (New York), Briarcliff Manor, September 19-21, 1989.

Unofficial conference on terrorism with Soviet and American scholars, former officials and journalists, Moscow, USSR, January 23-27, 1989.

“American Perceptions of Third World Regional Conflicts: Their Origins and Resolution,” co-sponsored by the Institute of World Economy and International Relations (Moscow), and the International Peace Academy (New York), Pushchino, USSR, November 15-17, 1988.

“Lebanon: What Next?” at the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Beverly Hills, California, November 2-5, 1988.

“Rebuilding State and Society in Lebanon,” an international conference co-sponsored by the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University; Centre for Lebanese Studies, Oxford, England; in cooperation with the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University, October 28-30, 1988.

“Workshop--Solving Lebanon's Dilemma,” annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Baltimore, Maryland, November 14-17, 1987.

Organizer and chair, conference on “Peacekeeping in Lebanon,” sponsored by the Northeast region of the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society, West Point, New York, April 16, 1987.

“Workshop--Internal Impediments to Resolution of the Arab-Israeli Conflict,” at the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Boston, Massachusetts, November 20-23, 1986.

Chairperson, “Workshop--The Future of Lebanon,” at the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Boston, Massachusetts, November 20-23, 1986.

“Whither Peace in the Middle East: Domestic Determinants of Foreign Policy,” annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 28-31, 1986.

Chairperson, “Contemporary Lebanon,” at the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, New Orleans, Louisiana, November 23-26, 1985.

Chairperson, “Workshop--Theories of Religion and Politics in the Middle East,” annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, San Francisco, California, November 28-December 1, 1984.

“Development Theory Reconsidered: Focus on the Middle East,” annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 30-September 2, 1984.

Discussant, “Local Societies and Rural Development,” annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Chicago, Illinois, November 3-6, 1983.

Chairperson, “Religio-politics as an Alternative Form of Political Participation,” annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, September 1-4, 1983.

Organizer and chair, 1983 meeting of the Northeast Region of the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society, West Point, New York, April 28-29, 1983.

“Militarization and Consolidation in the Third World,” Northeast Regional meeting of the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society, West Point, New York, April 28-29, 1983.

Chairperson, “Politics Within Middle Eastern States,” annual meeting of the International Studies Association, Mexico City, April 5-9, 1983.

Chairperson, “Toward the Political Sociology of the Islamic Movements in the Middle East,” annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, November 3-6, 1982.

Chairperson, “Religion and Protest Politics in the Modern Middle East,” annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Denver, Colorado, September 2-5, 1982.

Discussant, “Perceptions on the Arab-Israeli Conflict,” annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Seattle, Washington, November 4-7, 1981.

OTHER LECTURES AND SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS

American Cultural Center in Jerusalem, American University of Beirut, American University in Cairo, American University of Kuwait, University of Arizona, Beloit College, University of Bergen (Norway), Brandeis University, Brown University, University of Chicago, Chicago State University, Columbia University, Foreign Service Institute (Washington, D.C.), Furman University, George Williams College, Harvard University, University of Houston, University of Illinois (Urbana and Chicago campuses), International Association of Chiefs of Police, International Peace Academy (New York City), Lebanese American University, Loyola Academy (Chicago), University of Maryland, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, University of Miami, University of Michigan, National Defense University, Naval Post Graduate School, New York University, North Texas State University, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Old Dominion University, Princeton University, P.R.I.O. (Peace Research Institute-Oslo), Providence College, RAND Corporation, Rutgers University, Simmons College, University of South Florida, University of Southern California, Tel Aviv University, University of Texas, Tufts University, U.S. Air Force Academy, U.S. Air University, U.S. Army War College, U.S. Department of State, U.S. Marine Corps Staff College, U.S. Military Academy, Villanova University, University of Washington, University of Wisconsin (Whitewater and Green Bay campuses), the College of William & Mary, and numerous civic and community organizations.

OTHER ACTIVITIES

- »Advisor to the Iraq Study Group, a Congressionally-funded group chaired by James Baker and Lee Hamilton, 2006.
- »Co-Chair of the Board, Center for Arts in Natick, Massachusetts, 1998-1999; Member of the Board of Directors, 2000-1.
- »Co-founder and member, Boston Study Group on Middle East Peace, 2008-present.
- »Participant, Task Force on Resources for International Affairs, Council on Foreign Relations, 1996-97.
- »Member, Study Group on “Public Pluralism in Muslim Societies,” Council on Foreign Relations, 1997.
- »Member, Study Group on “Globalization,” Council on Foreign Relations, 1997.
- »Consultant for the documentary film “The Struggle for Peace” a project created by Professor Elizabeth W. Fernea and funded by the MacArthur and Ford Foundations, et. al. The film premiered in prime time on PBS, March 1, 1992.

Participant in a national tele-conference tied in to the film.

- »Consultant, Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation, 1989.
- »Consultant, U.S. National Security Council, occasional from 1985.
- »Consultant, U.S. Department of State, occasional from 1982.
- »Consultant, Vice President's Task Force on Terrorism, 1985.
- »Co-Producer, “Quest for Change: Civil Society and Middle East Politics,” a documentary film for television and classroom, premiering November 1994.
- »Director, Study Group on U.S. Foreign Policy and the World of Islam,” Council on Foreign Relations, 1997.
- »Featured commentator on the Grenada Productions documentary “The Sword of Islam,” 1987.

The film won an International Emmy award.

- »Invited Scholar, Scholar-Diplomat Seminar for Near Eastern Affairs, U.S. Department of State, 1975.
- »Member, Academic Council of the International Centre for Islamic Studies (London), 1990.
- »Member, Advisory Group on Lebanon, Canadian Institute of International Peace and Security, Ottawa, 1989-92.
- »Member, Advisory Group on Peacekeeping, Parliamentarians Global Action for Disarmament, Development and World Reform, 1989-92.
- »Member, Advisory Committee, Middle East Policy Council, 1994-present.
- »Member, Arab Transformative Movements Working Group, Harvard University, Center for Middle Eastern Studies, 2011-present.
- »Member, International Advisory Board, Kurdish Studies Program, Florida State University, 1995.
- »Member, International Study Group, Center for Peace and Reconstruction in Lebanon, Washington, 1989-1991.
- »Member, University Seminar on the Middle East, Middle East Institute, Columbia University, 1982-present.
- »Visiting Scholar, Center for Middle Eastern Studies, University of Arizona, April 1990.
- »Woodrow Wilson Visiting Fellow (sponsored by the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, Princeton, New Jersey), Regis College, Denver, Colorado, April 1991; Wartburg College, Waverly, Iowa, 1992 and 2003; Davis & Elkins College, Elkins, West Virginia, October 1996; Bates College, Lewiston, Maine, March 1997; Stetson University, DeLand, Florida, March, 1997; Berry College, Mount Berry, Georgia, March-April 1996 and March-April 1999, Ithaca College, November 1999; Salem College, March 2001; Mercyhurst College, December 2005; Furman University, 2006; Centre College, 2008; and, Hampden-Sydney College, 2013.

LANGUAGES

Modern Standard Arabic (rating of 3/3, a good working knowledge of Cairene and Levantine dialects); and limited working knowledge of Spanish.

FIELD WORK AND RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

- 1979 (Turkey, Syria, Jordan and Egypt)
- 1980-81 (Lebanon, Israel, Syria and Egypt)
- 1982 (Cyprus, Lebanon and Egypt)
- 1984 (Israel)
- 1986 (Egypt, Israel and Cyprus)
- 1987 (Cyprus and Mozambique)
- 1989 (Gaza and the West Bank)
- 1994 (Egypt and Turkey)
- 1995 (Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey]
- 1996 (Egypt and Lebanon)
- 1997 (Lebanon)
- 1999 (Egypt)
- 2000 (Egypt, Iran, Jordan, Kuwait and Lebanon)
- 2001 (Jordan and Lebanon)
- 2003 (Egypt and Iran)
- 2004 (Lebanon)
- 2006 (Egypt and Lebanon)
- 2007 (Bahrain, Egypt, Lebanon and Kuwait)
- 2008 (Bahrain and Lebanon)
- 2009 (Lebanon and Iraq)
- 2012 (Abu Dhabi)
- 2013 (Tunisia, Abu Dhabi)