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*Personal Information:* Born August 15, 1947, Easton, Pennsylvania; married to Adela M. Bolet; father of Elena Christine, Michael Francis, and Diego Fitzpatrick Betts.

## *Academic Positions*

**Columbia University:** Arnold A. Saltzman Professor of War and Peace Studies (2002--); Leo A. Shifrin Professor of War and Peace Studies, (1998--); Director, Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies (1997--); Director, International Security Policy Program, School of International and Public Affairs (1992--); Professor of Political Science (1990--); Lecturer in Political Science (1979-85, adjunct).

**Council on Foreign Relations:** Director of National Security Studies (1996-2000); Adjunct Senior Fellow (2000--).

**Brookings Institution:** Senior Fellow (1981-90); Research Associate (1976-81).

**Johns Hopkins University Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies:** Professorial Lecturer (1978-85, 1988-90, adjunct).

**Harvard University:** Visiting Professor of Government (1985-88; adjunct); Lecturer in Government, Department of Government (1975-76); Teaching Fellow in Government (1971-75).

## *Education*

Harvard University, Department of Government: Ph.D. (1975); M.A. (1971); B.A. (1969), *magna cum laude*.  
Newton High School (1965).

## *Awards*

General James H. Doolittle Award, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (2012).

ISSS Distinguished Scholar Award, International Studies Association (2005).

Woodrow Wilson Award, American Political Science Association (1980), for best book in political science (*The Irony of Vietnam*, coauthor).

Harold D. Lasswell Award, Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society (1979), for best book on civil-military relations (*Soldiers, Statesmen, and Cold War Crises*).

National Intelligence Study Center Award for the best scholarly articles on intelligence (won twice: 1979, for "Analysis, War, and Decision;" 1981 for "Intelligence for Policymaking," "Surprise Despite Warning," and "Strategic Intelligence Estimates").

Sumner Prize, Harvard University (1976), for best dissertation in international relations.

## ***Public Service***

Member, External Advisory Board for the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, 2011--2012.

Commissioner, National Commission on Terrorism (the Bremer Commission), 1999-2000.

National Security Advisory Panel of the Director of Central Intelligence (formerly Military Advisory Panel) (1993-99).

Consultant, U.S. National Intelligence Council and Central Intelligence Agency (1980-91, 1993-99, 2003--2016).

Foreign Policy Staff, Mondale Presidential Campaign (1984, on leave from Brookings)

Staff Member/Consultant, U.S. National Security Council (1977, on leave from Brookings).

Professional Staff Member, U.S. Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities (the Church Committee) (1975-76).

2d Lieutenant, U.S. Army Reserve (honorable discharge, 1971).

Occasional lecturer at the National War College, Foreign Service Institute, military service academies, and other government educational programs.

## ***Professional and Other Associations***

American Political Science Association

(Chair, APSA Hubert H. Humphrey Award Committee, 1986-87; Member, APSA Publications Committee, 1990-93).

International Studies Association.

Council on Foreign Relations.

International Institute for Strategic Studies.

Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations.

Society for Military History.

Academy of Political Science.

Democratic Party.

The Arc (Association for Retarded Citizens).

Advisory Boards:

Ridgway Center for International Security Studies, University of Pittsburgh

American European Community Association (AECA-USA).

Americans for Informed Democracy.

The Independent Institute.

Northeastern Center for International Affairs and World Cultures

*The Journal of International Affairs.*

Editorial Boards:

*International Security*

*The Journal of Strategic Studies*

*Intelligence and National Security*

*Security Studies* (1991-2015)

*Small Wars and Insurgencies*

*Joint Force Quarterly*

*International Studies Perspectives* (2005-09)

*Asian Security*

*China Security*

*Orbis* (1981-2004)

*The Atlantic Quarterly* (1981-83).

## Outside Professional Activities

**Organizations for which you carried out activities for compensation of \$10,000 or more in the past 5 years in cash or kind (with brief description of organization and activity / if explicit confidentiality agreement was required, please describe the type of organization rather than naming the client):**

Adjunct Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations. Planner and Chair of John J. McCloy Roundtable on Setting the National Security Agenda, meeting periodically in New York and Washington, D.C.

## Publications:

### *Books*

1. *Soldiers, Statesmen, and Cold War Crises* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977), 292 pages. Second Edition, with new Preface and Epilogue (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 326 pages.
2. *Surprise Attack: Lessons for Defense Planning* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1982), 318 pages.
3. *Nuclear Blackmail and Nuclear Balance* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1987), 240 pages.
4. *Military Readiness: Concepts, Choices, Consequences* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1995), 322 pages.
5. *Enemies of Intelligence: Knowledge and Power in National Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 241 pages.
6. *American Force: Dangers, Delusions, and Dilemmas in National Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 367 pages.

### *Collaborative and Edited Books*

1. (With Leslie H. Gelb), *The Irony of Vietnam: The System Worked* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1979), 387 pages; Second "Brookings Classic" Edition (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2016), 412 pages.
2. (With Joseph Yager [editor] and others), *Nonproliferation and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1980), 438 pages (six chapters by Betts).
3. (Editor and contributor), *Cruise Missiles: Technology, Strategy, Politics* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1981), 612 pages.
4. (Editor and contributor) *Conflict After the Cold War: Arguments on Causes of War and Peace* (New York: Allyn & Bacon, 1994), 520 pages; Second Edition (New York: Longman, 2001), 567 pages; Second Edition Update (New York: Longman, 2005), 627 pages; Third Edition (New York: Pearson, 2008), 654 pages; Fourth Edition (New York: Pearson, 2013), 671 pages; Fifth Edition (New York: Routledge, 2017).
5. (Co-editor with Thomas Mahnken, and contributor) *Paradoxes of Strategic Intelligence: Essays in Honor of Michael I. Handel* (London: Frank Cass, 2003), 202 pages.

### *Other Monographs*

1. *Cruise Missiles and U.S. Policy* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1982), 61 pages (summary and updated version of *Cruise Missiles: Technology, Strategy, Politics*).
2. *Conventional Strategy, Unconventional Criticism and Conventional Wisdom*, Jerusalem Papers on Peace Problems No. 36 (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, for the Leonard Davis Institute, Hebrew University, 1984), 51 pages.
3. *NATO Deterrence Doctrine: No Way Out*, CISA Working Paper No. 51 (University of California at Los Angeles, Center for International and Strategic Affairs, 1985), 78 pages.
4. *U. S. National Security Strategy: Lenses and Landmarks*, Princeton Project on National Security (Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, November 2004), 32 pages.

### *Principal Articles*

1. "Paranoids, Pygmies, Pariahs, and Nonproliferation," *Foreign Policy* no. 26 (Spring 1977). Reprinted as "How to Keep the Nuclear Club Exclusive" in *Across the Board* XIV, no. 9 (September 1977). Revised version published as "Paranoids, Pygmies, Pariahs and Nonproliferation Revisited," *Security Studies* II, no. 3 (Spring 1993), and in Zachary S. Davis and Benjamin Frankel, eds., *The Proliferation Puzzle* (London: Frank Cass, 1993).
2. "Analysis, War, and Decision: Why Intelligence Failures are Inevitable," *World Politics* XXXI, no. 1 (October 1978). Reprinted in: *Studies in Intelligence* XXIII, no. 3 (October 1979); John F. Reichart and Steven R. Sturm, eds., *American Defense Policy*, Fifth Edition (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982); Klaus Knorr, ed., *Power, Strategy, and Security* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983); Loch K. Johnson and James J. Wirtz, eds., *Strategic Intelligence* (Los Angeles: Roxbury, 2004); Loch K. Johnson and James J. Wirtz, eds., *Intelligence and National Security*, Second Edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); Peter Gill, Stephen Marrin, and Mark Phythian, *Intelligence Theory: Key Questions and Debates* (London: Routledge, 2009); Loch K. Johnson and James J. Wirtz, eds., *Intelligence: The Secret World of Spies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Loch K. Johnson, ed., *Intelligence: Critical Concepts in Military, Strategic and Security Studies* (London: Routledge, forthcoming).
3. "The Tragicomedy of Arms Trade Control," *International Security* V, no. 1 (Summer 1980). Reprinted in U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Hearing: *Conventional Arms Sales*, 97th Cong., 1st sess., 1981. Expanded version published as "Arms Trade Control," in Richard Burt, ed., *Arms Control and Defense Postures in the 1980's* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1982).
4. "Surprise Despite Warning: Why Sudden Attacks Succeed," *Political Science Quarterly*, VC, no. 4 (Winter 1980-81). Reprinted in: Robert H. Connery and Demetrios Caraley, eds., *National Security and Nuclear Strategy* (New York: Academy of Political Science, 1983); Richard J. Aldrich, ed., *Understanding Intelligence* (London: Routledge, 2009); Christopher Andrew, Richard J. Aldrich, and Wesley Wark, eds., *Secret Intelligence* (London: Routledge, 2011).
5. "Surprise Attack: NATO's Political Vulnerability," *International Security* V, no. 4 (Spring 1981).
6. "Elusive Equivalence: The Political and Military Meaning of the Nuclear Balance," in Samuel P. Huntington, ed., *The Strategic Imperative: New Policies for American Security* (Cambridge: Ballinger, 1982). Excerpt published as "Strategic Equivalence: What Is It, How Do We Get It?" *Air University Review* XXXIII, no. 1 (November/December 1981).

7. "Conventional Forces: What Price Readiness?" *Survival* XXV, no. 1 (January/February 1983).
8. "Warning Dilemmas: Normal Theory vs. Exceptional Theory," *Orbis* XXVI, no. 4 (Winter 1983).
9. "Conventional Strategy: New Critics, Old Choices," *International Security* VII, no. 4 (Spring 1983). Reprinted in Steven E. Miller, ed., *Conventional Forces and American Defense Policy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986). Similar version published as "Dubious Reform: Strategism vs. Managerialism," in Asa Clark *et al.*, eds., *The Defense Reform Debate* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984).
10. "Nuclear Weapons," in Joseph Nye, ed., *The Making of America's Soviet Policy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, for the Council on Foreign Relations, 1984).
11. "Conventional Deterrence: Predictive Uncertainty and Policy Confidence," *World Politics* XXXVII, no. 2 (January 1985). Similar version published as "Alliance Nuclear Doctrine and Conventional Deterrence" in James R. Golden *et al.*, eds., *NATO at Forty* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1989).
12. "Compound Deterrence vs. No-First-Use: What's Wrong Is What's Right," *Orbis* XXVIII, no. 4 (Winter 1985).
13. (Coauthor with Samuel P. Huntington), "Dead Dictators and Rioting Mobs: Does the Death of Authoritarian Rulers Lead to Political Instability?" *International Security* X, no. 3 (Winter 1985/1986). Condensed version published in *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Asian Wall Street Journal*, and *The Sydney Morning Herald*.
14. "A Nuclear Golden Age? The Balance Before Parity," *International Security* XI, no. 3 (Winter 1986/87); reprinted in Sean M. Lynn-Jones, Steven E. Miller, and Stephen Van Evera, eds., *Nuclear Diplomacy and Crisis Management* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990).
15. "Nuclear Peace and Conventional War," *The Journal of Strategic Studies* XI, no. 1 (March 1988).
16. "Surprise, Scholasticism, and Strategy," *International Studies Quarterly* XXXIII, no. 3 (September 1989) (review essay).
17. "Measuring Military Readiness: Analytical Complexity and Policy Confusion," *Security Studies* I, no. 3, (Spring 1992).
18. "Systems for Peace or Causes of War? Collective Security, Arms Control, and the New Europe" *International Security* XVII, no. 1 (Summer 1992). Reprinted in Sean M. Lynn-Jones and Steven E. Miller, eds., *America's Strategy in a Changing World* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992). Similar version published in Jack Snyder and Robert Jervis, eds., *Coping With Complexity in the International System* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993).
19. "Wealth, Power, and Instability: East Asia and the United States After the Cold War," *International Security* XVIII, no. 3 (Winter 1993/94). Reprinted in Michael E. Brown, Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Steven E. Miller, eds., *East Asian Security* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996). Similar version published in Robert S. Ross, ed., *East Asia in Transition: Toward a New Regional Order* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1995).
20. "The Delusion of Impartial Intervention," *Foreign Affairs* LXXIII, no. 6 (November/December 1994). Reprinted in *Foreign Affairs Agenda 1995: Critical Issues in Foreign Policy* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1995), and Chester A. Crocker and Fen Hampson, eds., *Managing Global Chaos: Sources of and Responses to International Conflict* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Institute of Peace, 1996). Revised version in Crocker *et al.*, eds.,

*Turbulent Peace* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Institute of Peace, 2001).

21. "Should Strategic Studies Survive?" *World Politics* L, no. 1, 50th Anniversary Issue (October 1997).
22. "The New Threat of Mass Destruction," *Foreign Affairs* LXXVII, no. 1 (January/February 1998). Reprinted in Charles W. Kegley, Jr. and Eugene R. Wittkopf, eds., *The Global Agenda* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2001); *America and the World: Debating the New Shape of International Politics* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2002); Russell D. Howard and Reid L. Sawyer, eds., *Terrorism and Counterterrorism* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2006); Russell D. Howard and James J. Forest, eds., *Weapons of Mass Destruction and Terrorism* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2008); and translated as "*La Nueva Amenaza de la Destrucción Masiva*," *Foreign Affairs en Espanol* III, no. 2 (2003).
23. "Must War Find a Way?" *International Security* XXIV, no. 2 (Fall 1999) (review essay). Reprinted in Michael E. Brown, Owen R. Coté, Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Steven E. Miller, eds., *Offense, Defense, and War* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2004).
24. "Is Strategy an Illusion?" *International Security* XXV, no.2 (Fall 2000).
25. (With Thomas J. Christensen) "China: Getting the Questions Right," *The National Interest* No. 62 (Winter 2000/01). Reprinted in Robert J. Art and Robert Jervis, eds., *International Politics*, Eighth Edition (New York: Pearson Longman, 2007).
26. "The Lesser Evil: The Best Way Out of the Balkans," *The National Interest* No. 64 (Summer 2001).
27. "The Soft Underbelly of American Primacy: Tactical Advantages of Terror," *Political Science Quarterly* CXVII, no. 1 (Spring 2002). Reprinted in: Demetrios James Caraley, ed., *September 11, Terrorist Attacks, and U.S. Foreign Policy* (New York: Academy of Political Science, 2002); Russell D. Howard and Reid L. Sawyer, eds., *Terrorism and Counterterrorism* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2002), and its second and third editions (2006 and 2008); Mark Kesselman, ed., *The Politics of Globalization* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2006); *Political Science Quarterly* CXXXI, no. 2, Special Issue on Presidential Elections and Foreign Policy (Summer 2016)..
28. "The Political Support System for American Primacy," *International Affairs* (London) LXXXI, no. 5 (January 2005).
29. "Blowtorch Bob in Baghdad," *The American Interest* I, no. 4 (Summer 2006).
30. "A Disciplined Defense: How to Regain Strategic Solvency," *Foreign Affairs* LXXXVI, no. 6 (November/ December 2007); reprinted in *Univers Strategic: Revista Universitara Romana de Studii de Securitate* No. 1 (2010); excerpt published as "Obesity at the Pentagon," *Chicago Sun-Times*, October 28, 2007.
31. "Are Civil-Military Relations Still a Problem?" in Suzanne C. Nielsen and Don M. Snider, eds., *American Civil-Military Relations: The Soldier and the State in a New Era* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).
32. "Institutional Imperialism," *National Interest* No. 113 (May/June 2011).
33. "The Lost Logic of Deterrence," *Foreign Affairs* XCII, no. 2 (March/April 2013); reprinted in Robert J. Art and Kelly M. Greenhill, eds., *The Use of Force*, Eighth Edition (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015).

## *Other Articles, Chapters, Testimony, and Reports*

1. Contributor to U.S. Senate, Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, Final Report: Book I, *Foreign and Military Intelligence*, 94th Cong., 2d sess., 1976. Excerpts reprinted in Tyrus G. Fain *et. al.*, eds., *The Intelligence Community: History, Organization, and Issues* (New York: R. R. Bowker, 1977).
2. "Prospects for Nuclear Proliferation: 1978-1990," in *Equivalence, Sufficiency and the International Balance*, *Proceedings* of the Fifth National Security Affairs Conference (Washington, D.C.: National Defense University, August 1978). Reprinted in Henry W. Han, ed., *World in Transition: Challenges to Human Rights, Development and World Order* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1979).
3. "Regional Nuclearization and Political Tensions: South Asia," in John Kerry King, ed., *International Political Effects of the Spread of Nuclear Weapons* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, April 1979). Similar version published as "Nuclear Proliferation and Regional Rivalry: Speculations on South Asia," *Orbis* XXIII, no. 2 (Spring 1979).
4. "From Vietnam to Yemen," *New York Times*, March 25, 1979.
5. "Nuclear Peace: Mythology and Futurology," *The Journal of Strategic Studies* II, no. 1 (May 1979).
6. "A Diplomatic Bomb for South Africa?" *International Security* IV, no. 2 (Fall 1979).
7. "Incentives for Nuclear Weapons: India, Pakistan, Iran," *Asian Survey* XIX, no. 11 (November 1979). Reprinted in *Strategic Digest* (New Delhi) X, no. 2 (February 1980).
8. "How to Balance Dirty Tricks and Democracy," *Newsday*, February 21, 1980.
9. Statement and testimony in U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, Hearing: *The Role of Intelligence in the Foreign Policy Process*, 96th Cong., 2d sess., 1980. Similar version published as "Intelligence for Policymaking," *Washington Quarterly* III, no. 3 (Summer 1980). Reprinted in Gerald W. Hopple, Stephen J. Andriole, and Amos Freedy, eds., *National Security Crisis Forecasting and Management* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1984), and in Walter Laqueur and Brad Roberts, eds., *America in the World, 1962-1987* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987).
10. Statement and testimony in U.S. House of Representatives, Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, Hearings: *Soviet Strategic Forces*, 96th Cong., 2d sess., 1980. Similar version published as "Strategic Intelligence Estimates," in *Parameters* X, no. 4 (December 1980); reprinted in *Studies in Intelligence*.
11. Statement in U.S. Senate, Committees on Foreign Relations and Governmental Affairs, Joint Hearings: *The Tarapur Nuclear Fuel Export Issue*, 96th Cong., 2d sess., 1980.
12. "Interests, Burdens, and Persistence: Asymmetries Between Washington and Hanoi," *International Studies Quarterly* XXIV, no. 4 (December 1980).
13. "Managing Foreign and Defense Policy," in Arnold Meltsner, ed., *Politics and the Oval Office: Toward Presidential Governance* (San Francisco: Institute for Contemporary Studies, 1981).

14. "Nuclear Surprise Attack: Deterrence, Defense, and Conceptual Contradictions in American Policy," *The Jerusalem Journal of International Relations* V, no. 3 (1981).
15. "Cruise Missiles: Technology, Strategy, Politics," *The Washington Quarterly* IV, no. 3 (Summer 1981).
16. "Hedging Against Surprise Attack," *Survival* XXIII, no. 4 (July/August 1981).
17. "From Changing the Guard to Guarding the Change," *Orbis* XXV, no. 2 (Summer 1981).
18. "American Strategic Intelligence: Politics, Priorities, and Direction," in Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., Uri Ra'anan, and Warren Milberg, eds., *Intelligence Policy and National Security* (London: Macmillan, 1981).
19. "Nuclear Proliferation After Osirak," *Arms Control Today* XI, no. 7 (September 1981). Reprinted in Robert Travis Scott, ed., *The Race for Security: Arms and Arms Control in the Reagan Years* (Lexington: D.C. Heath/Lexington Books, 1981).
20. Statement and testimony on arms transfer policy of the Reagan administration, in U.S. Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, Hearing: *Conventional Arms Sales*, 97th Cong., 1st sess., 1981. Similar version published as "Whom Should We Arm?" *Brookings Bulletin* XVIII, no. 1 (Summer 1981).
21. Statement and testimony on nuclear proliferation implications of foreign investment in U.S. firms, in U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Government Operations, Subcommittee on Commerce, Consumer, and Monetary Affairs, Hearings: *Federal Response to OPEC Country Investments in the United States*, 97th Cong., 1st sess., 1981.
22. "Strategic Surprise for War Termination: Inchon, Dienbienphu, and Tet," in Klaus Knorr and Patrick Morgan, eds., *Strategic Military Surprise* (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1983).
23. "Misadventure Revisited," *The Wilson Quarterly* VII, no. 3 (Summer 1983). Reprinted in James M. McCormick, ed., *A Reader in American Foreign Policy* (Itasca: F.E. Peacock, 1986). Expanded version published in Peter Braestrup, ed., *Vietnam as History: Ten Years After the Paris Peace Accords* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1984).
24. "Thesis, Antithesis, Synthesis? Reply to Luttwak," *International Security* VIII, no. 2 (Fall 1983).
25. "Washington, Tokyo, and Northeast Asian Security: A Survey," *The Journal of Strategic Studies* VI, no. 4 (December 1983).
26. (Coauthor with Masashi Nishihara), "U.S.-Japan Security Relations," in *Report of the Sixth Shimoda Conference* (Tokyo and New York: Japan Center for International Exchange and Japan Society, 1984).
27. "Controlling Risks in the East-West Conflict," *Problems of Communism* XXXIII, no. 3 (May-June 1984).
28. "A Joint Nuclear Risk Control Center," in Barry Blechman, ed., *Preventing Nuclear War* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985). Similar version published in *Parameters* XV, no. 1 (Spring 1985).
29. "Surprise Attack and Preemption," in Graham T. Allison, Albert Carnesale, and Joseph Nye, eds., *Hawks, Doves, and Owls* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1985).



30. "If the U.S. Backs Rebels," *New York Times*, May 30, 1985.
31. "Southeast Asia and U.S. Global Strategy: Continuing Interests and Shifting Priorities," *Orbis* XXIX, no. 2 (Summer 1985). Similar version published as "The United States: Global Deterrence," in James Morley, ed., *Security Interdependence in the Asia Pacific Region* (Lexington: D.C. Heath Lexington Books, for the Columbia University East Asian Institute, 1986).
32. "*Solidaridad y Seguridad: OTAN Después de las INF*," *Documentos y Estudios* (Madrid: Fundacion Friedrich Ebert, 1984). Similar version published as "Solidarity and Security: NATO's Balancing Act After the Deployment of Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces," *Brookings Review* III, no. 4 (Summer 1985).
33. "Heavenly Gains or Earthly Losses? Toward a Balance Sheet for Strategic Defense," in Harold Brown, ed., *The Strategic Defense Initiative: Shield or Snare?* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1987).
34. "Policymakers and Intelligence Analysts: Love, Hate, or Indifference?" *Intelligence and National Security* III, no. 1 (January 1988).
35. "NATO's Mid-Life Crisis," *Foreign Affairs* LXVIII, no. 2 (Spring 1989).
36. "The Concept of Deterrence in the Post-World War II Era," *Security Studies* I, no. 1 (Autumn 1991). Reprinted in Michael Sheehan, ed., *National and International Security* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2000) (volume in The International Library of Politics and Comparative Government, David Arter and Gordon Smith, eds.).
37. "The International Context of Cuba-U.S. Relations," in Joseph S. Tulchin and Rafael Hernandez, eds., *Cuba and the United States: Will the Cold War in the Caribbean End?* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, for the Woodrow Wilson Center, 1991) (transcript of lecture).
38. (Coauthor with Michael Doyle and John Ikenberry), "An Intellectual Remembrance of Klaus Knorr," in Henry Bienen, ed., *Power, Economics, and Security* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992).
39. Statement requested by U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence for hearings on S. 1003, printed in *Congressional Record -- Senate*, October 16, 1991.
40. Statement and testimony in U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, Hearings: S. 2198 and S. 421 to Reorganize the United States Intelligence Community, 102d Cong., 2d sess., 1992.
41. (Coauthor with John Bresnan, Frederick Z. Brown, James W. Morley, and Donald Zagoria), *Time is Running Out in Cambodia*, East Asian Institute Report (Columbia University, October 1992).
42. (Coauthor with Bresnan, *et al.*), *Time for Critical Decisions on Vietnam*, East Asian Institute Report (Columbia University, October 1992).
43. Reply to Michael J. Mazaar, "Correspondence," *International Security* XVII, no. 3 (Winter 1992/93).
44. "Outlaw With a Bomb," *New York Times*, December 31, 1993.
45. Statement and testimony on Section 402 of S.2082 in House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence,

Hearing: Confirmation of CIA Officials, 103d Cong., 2d sess., 1994.

46. "Why Mementos Matter," *Newsweek*, April 17, 1995.
47. "Vietnam's Strategic Predicament," *Survival* XXXVII, no. 3 (Autumn 1995). Similar version published as "The Strategic Predicament" in James W. Morley and Masashi Nishihara, eds., *Vietnam Joins the World* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1997).
48. "What Will It Take to Deter the United States?" *Parameters* XXV, no. 4 (Winter 1995-96).
49. "The Coming Defense Train Wreck...And What to Do About It," *Washington Quarterly* XIX, no. 1 (Winter 1996).
50. "Additional Views," in *Making Intelligence Smarter: The Future of U.S. Intelligence: Report of an Independent Task Force* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1996).
51. Statement and testimony in U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, Hearing: Renewal and Reform: U.S. Intelligence in a Changing World, 104th Cong., 1st and 2d sess., 1996.
52. "The Downside of the Cutting Edge," *National Interest* No. 45 (Fall 1996).
53. "Power, Prospects, and Priorities: Choices for Strategic Change," *Naval War College Review* XLX, no. 1 (Winter 1997).
54. "A Strategic View of Force Readiness," in Keith Linard and David Paterson, eds., *System Dynamics and Systems Thinking in Defence and Government* (Canberra: Australian Defence Force Academy and University of New South Wales, 1997).
55. "Intelligence Warning: Old Problems, New Agendas," *Parameters* XXVIII, no. 1 (Spring 1998).
56. "Emerging Trends: An American Perspective," in William T. Tow, ed., *Australian-American Relations: Looking Toward the Next Century* (Canberra: Australian Institute of International Affairs, 1998).
57. "Strategic Ambiguity in East Asia: Benefits and Costs," in *Strategic Environment in Northeast Asia at the Beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, Proceedings of the NIDS International Symposium on Security Affairs (Tokyo: National Institute for Defense Studies, June 1999).
58. "Universal Deterrence or Conceptual Collapse? Liberal Pessimism and Realist Utopianism," in Victor Utgoff, ed., *The Coming Crisis: Nuclear Proliferation, U.S. Interests, and World Order* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000).
59. "Compromised Command: Inside NATO's First War," *Foreign Affairs* LXXX, no. 4 (July/August 2001).
60. "Memorandum to the President: Military Strategy and Missions," in Philip D. Zelikow, ed., *American Military Strategy: Memos to a President* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2001).
61. "Intelligence Test," in James F. Hoge, Jr. and Gideon Rose, eds., *How Did This Happen? Terrorism and the New War* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2001); similar version published as "Fixing Intelligence," *Foreign Affairs* LXXXI, no. 1 (January/February 2002), reprinted in Russell D. Howard and Reid L. Sawyer, eds., *Terrorism and Counterterrorism* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2002) and *The War on Terror* (New York: Council on Foreign

- Relations, 2002).
62. Statement and testimony in U.S. Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs, Hearing: S.1867 -- A Bill to Establish the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, 107<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2d sess., February 2002.
  63. "The Trouble with Strategy: Bridging Policy and Operations," *Joint Force Quarterly* No. 29 (Autumn/Winter 2001-02).
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