

SCOTT D. SAGAN

CURRICULUM VITAE

September 2026

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CURRENT POSITIONS

Caroline S.G. Munro Professor, Department of Political Science, Stanford University.

The Bass University Fellow in Undergraduate Education, Stanford University.

Senior Fellow, Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC), Freeman Spogli Institute, Stanford University, 2011-Present.

Harry F. Guggenheim Fellow for Nuclear Ethics and Security, Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs, 2026-27.

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY

Professor, Department of Political Science, Stanford University, 2001 – Present.

Co-director, Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC), Stanford University, 1998-2011.

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Stanford University, 1995-2001. *Vice-Chairman*, Department of Political Science, 1996-1999.

Chairman, International Relations Program, Stanford University, 1995-1997.

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Stanford University, 1987-1995. *Lecturer*, Department of Government, Harvard University, 1986-1987.

Consultant, Strategic Nuclear Policy Branch, Nuclear and Chemical Division, Organization of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1985-1986.

Research Fellow, The Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, 1985-1986.

Council on Foreign Relations International Affairs Fellow, Special Assistant to the Director and Staff Officer, Nuclear/Chemical Division, Organization of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1984-1985.

Postdoctoral Fellow, The Avoiding Nuclear War Project, Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University, 1983-84.

EDUCATION

Harvard University, Ph.D. (Political Science) 1983.

Thesis: “Deterrence and Decision: An Historical Critique of Modern Deterrence Theory.”
Winner of the American Political Science Association's 1983 Helen Dwight Reid Award for the best doctoral dissertation in international relations, law, and politics.

Oberlin College, B.A. with High Honors (Government) 1977.

BOOKS

The Fragile Balance of Terror: Deterrence in the New Nuclear Age, co-edited with Vipin Narang. (Cornell University Press, 2022). [Open access](#).

Insider Threats, co-edited with Matthew Bunn, (Cornell University Press, 2017).

Learning from a Disaster: Improving Nuclear Safety and Security after Fukushima, co-edited with Edward D. Blandford, (Stanford University Press, 2016).

The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: An Enduring Debate, co-authored with Kenneth N. Waltz, (3rd edition, revised with new chapters and sections on Iraq, Iran, North Korea, and Global Zero, W.W. Norton, 2012).

Inside Nuclear South Asia, Scott D. Sagan (ed.) (Stanford University Press, 2009).

The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed, co-authored with Kenneth N. Waltz, (2nd edition, revised with new chapters and sections on India and Pakistan, terrorism, and national missile defense, W.W. Norton, 2002).

Planning the Unthinkable: How New Powers Will Use Nuclear, Chemical, and Biological Weapons, co-edited with Peter R. Lavoy and James J. Wirtz, (Cornell University Press, 2000; Korean edition, Korea Institute for Maritime Strategy, 2010).

The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate, co-authored with Kenneth N. Waltz, (1st edition, W.W. Norton, 1995).

Civil Military Relations and Nuclear Weapons, Scott D. Sagan (ed.) (Center for International Security and Arms Control, Stanford University, 1994).

The Limits of Safety: Organizations, Accidents, and Nuclear Weapons (Princeton University Press, 1993). Winner of the 1993/1994 Best Book Award from the Science, Technology, and Environmental Studies Section of the American Political Science Association.

Moving Targets: Nuclear Strategy and National Security (Princeton University Press, 1989).

Living with Nuclear Weapons, co-authored with Albert Carnesale, Paul Doty, Stanley Hoffmann, Samuel P. Huntington and Joseph S. Nye (Harvard University Press, 1983).

JOURNAL SPECIAL ISSUES

Ethics, Law, and Nuclear Weapons: Security Studies Special Issue (Fall 2025), co-edited with Janina Dill.

New Dilemmas in Ethics, Technology, and War: The Changing Rules of War, Vol. 2, Daedalus Special Issue (Winter 2017), (MIT Press). ([link](#))

New Dilemmas in Ethics, Technology, and War: Ethics, Technology, and War, Vol. 1, Daedalus Special Issue (Fall 2016), (MIT Press). ([link](#))

Arms, Disarmament and Influence: the International Impact of the 2010 U.S. Nuclear Posture Review, The Nonproliferation Review Special Issue (March 2011), co-edited with Jane Vaynman (Routledge Taylor & Francis Group). ([link](#))

On the Global Nuclear Future Vol. 2, Daedalus Special Issue (Winter 2010), co-edited with Steven E. Miller (MIT Press). ([link](#))

On the Global Nuclear Future Vol. 1, Daedalus Special Issue (Fall 2009), co-edited with Steven E. Miller (MIT Press). ([link](#))

JOURNAL ARTICLES AND BOOK CHAPTERS

“Counterproliferation Threats, International Law, and Audience Costs in the United States,” with Ethan J. Lee (*Security Studies*, forthcoming)

“Creeds and Contestation: How U.S. Nuclear and Legal Doctrine Influence Each Other,” with Janina Dill, *Ethics, Law, and Nuclear Weapons, Security Studies Special Issue*, Fall 2025, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09636412.2025.2594013> open access

"Atomic Arguments and Counter-Arguments: How Exposure to Conflicting Information Influences American Public Support for the Use of Nuclear Weapons," with Benjamin A. Valentino. *International Studies Quarterly*, Volume 69, Issue 1, March 2025, <https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqae154> open access

“What do Americans really think about the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki?,” with Gina P. Sinclair. *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* (August 2024). ([link](#)).

- “The Case for an Eclectic Nuclear Strategy: Maximalist Targeting, Minimalist Roles, Deterrence Skepticism, and Abolitionist Goals,” Director’s Strategic Resilience Initiative. *Los Alamos National Laboratory* (April 2024). ([link](#))
- “Inconstant Care: Public Attitudes towards Force Protection and Civilian Casualties in the United States, United Kingdom, and Israel,” with Benjamin A. Valentino and Janina Dill. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (August 2023). ([link](#)).
- “From Kyoto to Baghdad to Tehran: Leadership, Law, and the Protection of Cultural Property,” in *Cultural Heritage and Mass Atrocities: Human and Security Costs*. Edited by James Cuno and Thomas Weiss. (The Getty Foundation, 2022).
- “The World’s Most Dangerous Man,” *Foreign Affairs* (March 16, 2022). ([link](#))
- “Kettles of Hawks: Public Opinion on the Nuclear Taboo and Non-Combatant Immunity in the United States, United Kingdom, France, and Israel,” with Benjamin A. Valentino and Janina Dill. *Security Studies* (Winter 2022). ([link](#)) Also see “Public Opinion and the Nuclear Taboo Across Nations: An Exchange – The Authors Reply,” with Janina Dill and Benjamin A. Valentino. *Security Studies* (April 2023). ([link](#))
- “Are Belligerent Reprisals against Civilians Legal?,” co-authored with Allen S. Weiner, *International Security*, Vol. 46, No. 2, (Fall 2021), pp. 166-172. This piece appears as part of a correspondence between senior former U.S. government officials discussing the previously written “The Rule of Law and the Role of Strategy in U.S. Nuclear Doctrine.” ([link](#))
- “Nuclear Revelations About the Nuclear Revolution,” *Texas National Security Review* (Summer 2021). This piece appears as part of a roundtable critiquing Brendan Rittenhouse Green’s book *The Revolution that Failed*. ([link](#))
- “The Rule of Law and the Role of Strategy in U.S. Nuclear Doctrine,” co-authored with Allen S. Weiner, *International Security*, Vol. 45, No. 4 (Spring 2021), pp. 126-166. ([link](#))
- “Taboo or Not Taboo? A Rebuttal and Research Agenda,” co-authored with Benjamin A. Valentino, *International Studies Review*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (2021). This piece appeared as part of a forum titled “Nonuse of Nuclear Weapons in World Politics: Toward the Third Generation of ‘Nuclear Taboo’ Research.” ([link](#))
- “Does the Non-Combatant Immunity Norm Have Stopping Power? A Debate” co-authored with Benjamin A. Valentino, *International Security*, Vol. 45, No. 2 (Fall 2020), pp. 170-186. This piece appears as a response to an article titled “The Stopping Power of Norms” by Charli Carpenter and Alexander H. Montgomery. ([link](#))
- “Why the atomic bombing of Hiroshima would be illegal today,” co-authored with Katherine E. McKinney and Allen S. Weiner, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Vol. 76, No. 4 (July 2020), pp. 157-165. ([link](#))
- “Weighing Lives in War: How National Identity Influences American Public Opinion about Foreign Civilian and Compatriot Fatalities,” co-authored with Benjamin A. Valentino, *Journal of Global Security Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pages 25-43 (January 2020). ([link](#))

- “Just War and Unjust Soldiers: American Public Opinion on the Moral Equality of Combatants,” co-authored with Benjamin A. Valentino, *Ethics & International Affairs*, Vol. 33, No. 4, pages 411-444 (Winter 2019). This piece appeared as the lead article in a symposium that included responses from Michael Walzer, Jeff A. McMahan, and Robert O. Keohane. In this symposium, Sagan and Valentino also responded to the other authors in “On Reciprocity, Revenge, and Replication: A Rejoinder to Walzer, McMahan, and Keohane,” pages 473-479. ([link](#))
- “What do Americans really think about conflict with nuclear North Korea? The answer is both reassuring and disturbing,” co-authored with Alida R. Haworth and Benjamin A. Valentino, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Vol. 75, No. 4 (July 2019), pp. 179-186. ([link](#))
- “Armed and Dangerous: When Dictators Get the Bomb,” *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2018). ([link](#))
- “Not Just a War Theory: American Public Opinion on Ethics in Combat,” co-authored with Benjamin A. Valentino, *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 62, No. 3 (Fall 2018), pp. 548- 561. ([link](#))
- “The Korean Missile Crisis: Why Deterrence Is Still the Best Option,” *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2017). ([link](#)).
Named one of the Best of 2017 articles in *Foreign Affairs*.
- “Revisiting Hiroshima in Iran: What Americans Really Think about Using Nuclear Weapons and Killing Noncombatants,” co-authored with Benjamin A. Valentino, *International Security*, Vol. 42, No. 1 (Summer 2017), pp. 41-79. ([link](#))
- “The Face of Battle without the Rules of War: Lessons from Red Horse & the Battle of Little Bighorn,” *Daedalus Special Issue: The Changing Rules of War*, Vol. 146, No. 1 (Winter 2017), pp. 24-43. ([link](#))
- “The Changing Rules of War,” *Daedalus Special Issue: The Changing Rules of War*, Vol. 146, No. 1 (Winter 2017), pp. 6-10. ([link](#))
- “The Nuclear Necessity Principle: Making U.S. Targeting Policy Conform with Ethics & the Laws of War,” co-authored with Jeffrey G. Lewis, *Daedalus Special Issue: Ethics, Technology, and War*, Vol. 145, No. 4 (Fall 2016), pp. 62-74. ([link](#))
- “Ethics, Technology, and War,” *Daedalus Special Issue: Ethics, Technology, and War*, Vol. 145, No. 4 (Fall 2016), pp. 6-11. ([link](#))
- “A Worst Practices Guide to Insider Threats: Learning from Past Mistakes,” co-authored with Matthew Bunn, Occasional Paper, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2014. ([link](#))
- “Two Renaissances in Nuclear Security Studies,” Introduction, in “What We Talk About When We Talk About Nuclear Weapons,” H-Diplo / ISSF Forum No. 2 (2014), pp. 2-10. ([link](#))
- “Political Scientists and Historians in Search of the Bomb,” co-authored with Kenneth N. Waltz, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (2013), pp. 143-151. ([link](#))

- “Atomic Aversion: Experimental Evidence on Taboos, Traditions, and the Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons,” co-authored with Daryl G. Press and Benjamin A. Valentino, *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 107, No. 1 (February 2013), pp. 188-206. ([link](#))
- “Should the U.S. or International Community Aggressively Pursue Nuclear Nonproliferation Policies? ‘Yes’ Argument,” co-authored with Reid B.C. Pauly, in Peter M. Haas, John A. Hird, and Beth McBratney (eds.), *Controversies in Globalization: Contending Approaches to International Relations*, Second Edition (CQ Press, 2012).
- “The International Security Implications of U.S. Domestic Nuclear Power Decisions,” Prepared for the *Blue Ribbon Commission on America’s Nuclear Future*, April 18, 2011. ([link](#))
- “The Causes of Nuclear Weapons Proliferation,” *The Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 14, (March 2011), pp. 225-244. ([link](#))
- “Reviewing the Nuclear Posture Review,” co-authored with Jane Vaynman, *The Nonproliferation Review* (March 2011), pp. 17-37. ([link](#))
- “Lessons Learned from the 2010 Nuclear Posture Review,” co-authored with Jane Vaynman, *The Nonproliferation Review* (March 2011), pp. 237-262. ([link](#))
- “Is Nuclear Zero the Best Option?” (debate with Kenneth N. Waltz) *The National Interest* (Sept Oct 2010), pp. 88-96. ([link](#))
- “Nuclear Latency and Nuclear Proliferation,” in William C. Potter (ed.) *Forecasting Nuclear Proliferation in the 21st Century: The Role of Theory* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010), pp. 80-101. ([link](#))
- “Alternative Nuclear Futures,” co-authored with Steven E. Miller, *Daedalus Special Issue: On the Global Nuclear Future Vol. 2* (Winter 2010), pp. 126-137. ([link](#))
- “Nuclear Power without Nuclear Proliferation?” co-authored with Steven E. Miller, *Daedalus Special Issue: On the Global Nuclear Future Vol. 1* (Fall 2009), pp. 7-18. ([link](#))
- “Shared Responsibilities for Nuclear Disarmament,” *Daedalus Special Issue: On the Global Nuclear Future Vol. 1* (Fall 2009), pp. 157-168. [Republished with commentary by James M. Acton, Jayantha Dhanapala, Mustafa Kibaroglu, Harald Müller, Yukio Satoh, Mohamed I. Shaker, and Achilles Zaluvar, in *Shared Responsibilities for Nuclear Disarmament: A Global Debate*, Occasional Paper, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2010.] ([link](#))
- “Reply: Evidence, Logic, and Nuclear Doctrine,” *Survival* (October-November 2009), pp. 36-46. ([link](#))
- “The Case for No First Use,” *Survival* 51, 3 (June-July 2009), pp. 163-182. ([link](#))
- “Introduction: Inside Nuclear South Asia” and “The Evolution of Pakistani and Indian Doctrine,” in Sagan (ed.) *Inside Nuclear South Asia* (Stanford University Press, 2009), pp. 1-24 and 219-254.

- “Good Faith and Nuclear Disarmament Negotiations,” in George Perkovich and James Acton (eds.) *Abolishing Nuclear Weapons: A Debate* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2009), pp. 203-212. ([link](#))
- “Should the U.S. or International Community Aggressively Pursue Nuclear Nonproliferation Policies? ‘Yes’ Argument,” co-authored with Josh A. Weddle, in Peter M. Haas, John A. Hird, and Beth McBratney (eds.) *Controversies in Globalization: Contending Approaches to International Relations*, (CQ Press, 2009), pp. 152-163.
- “The Perils of Predicting Proliferation,” co-authored with Alexander Montgomery, *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (April 2009), Vol. 53, No. 2, pp. 302-328. [Revised and reprinted in *Causes and Consequences of Nuclear Proliferation*, ed. Matthew Kroenig, Erik Gartzke, and Robert Rauchhaus, Routledge, London, UK, 2011. pp. 294-329.] ([link](#))
- “A Nuclear Iran: Promoting Stability or Courting Disaster?,” (with Kenneth N. Waltz and Richard K. Betts) *Journal of International Affairs* (Spring/Summer 2007), pp. 135-152. ([link](#))
- “How to Keep the Bomb from Iran,” *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2006), pp. 45-59. ([link](#))
- “The Problem of Redundancy Problem: Why More Nuclear Security Forces May Produce Less Nuclear Security,” *Risk Analysis* (August 2004), pp. 935-946. Winner of Columbia University’s Institute of War and Peace Studies 2003 paper competition on Political Violence. ([link](#))
- “Realism, Ethics, and Weapons of Mass Destruction,” in Sohail Hashmi and Steven Lee (eds.) *Ethics and Weapons of Mass Destruction* (Cambridge University Press, Ethikon Series in Comparative Ethics, 2004), pp. 73-95.
- “Learning from Normal Accidents,” *Organization and Environment* (March 2004), pp. 15-19. ([link](#))
- “The Madman Nuclear Alert: Secrecy, Signaling, and Safety in the October 1969 Crisis,” coauthored with Jeremi Suri, *International Security* (Spring 2003), pp. 150-183. ([link](#))
- “The Perils of Proliferation in South Asia,” *Asian Survey* (November/December 2001), pp. 1064-1086. Reprinted in part in *Forum on Physics and Society* (April 2004). ([link](#))
- “Correspondence: Responding to Chemical and Biological Threats,” *International Security* (Spring 2001), pp. 193-198. ([link](#))
- “The Commitment Trap: Why the United States Should Not Use Nuclear Threats to Deter Biological and Chemical Weapons Attacks,” *International Security* (Spring 2000), pp. 85- 115. ([link](#))
- “The Origins of Military Doctrines and Command and Control Systems,” in Lavoy, Sagan, and Wirtz, eds., *Planning the Unthinkable: How New Powers Will Use Nuclear, Biological and Chemical Weapons* (Cornell University Press, 2000), pp. 16-46.

- “Conclusions: Planning the Unthinkable,” (with Peter R. Lavoy and Lewis A. Dunn) in Lavoy, Sagan, and Wirtz, eds., *Planning the Unthinkable: How New Powers Will Use Nuclear, Biological and Chemical Weapons* (Cornell University Press, 2000), pp. 230-257.
- “Review Symposium on Diane Vaughan's *The Challenger Launch Decision*,” (with review essays by Karl E. Weick, Scott D. Sagan, and Karlene H. Roberts), *Administrative Science Quarterly* (June 1997), pp. 401-405.
- “Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons?: Three Models in Search of a Bomb,” *International Security* (Winter 1996/97), pp. 54-87. [This article also appears in the *International Security Reader, Going Nuclear: Nuclear Proliferation and International Security in the 21st Century* (2010). Revised and updated versions of this article also appear as “The Causes of Nuclear Proliferation,” *Current History* (April 1997), pp. 151-156 and as “Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons?” in Victor Utgoff, ed., *The Coming Crisis: Nuclear Proliferation, U.S. Interests, and World Order* (MIT Press, 1999), pp. 17-50.] ([link](#))
- “Correspondence: Proliferation, Pessimism and Emerging Nuclear Powers,” *International Security* (Fall 1997), pp. 193-201. An exchange of letters among Peter D. Feaver, David J. Karl and Scott D. Sagan.
- “Responses and Reflections,” *Security Studies* (Summer 1995), pp. 805-810. A response to six review essays of *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons*, published as a special section on “The Kenneth Waltz-Scott Sagan Debate” in the same issue. ([link](#))
- “Toward a *Political* Theory of Organizational Reliability,” *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management* (December 1994), pp. 228-243. ([link](#))
- “The Perils of Proliferation: Organization Theory, Deterrence Theory, and the Spread of Nuclear Weapons,” *International Security* (Spring 1994), pp. 66-108. [Reprinted in part in Robert J. Art and Kenneth N. Waltz, *The Use of Force* (5th edition, Rowman and Littlefield, 1999), pp. 372-384.] ([link](#))
- “Organized for Accidents,” (A response to Bradley Thayer's “The Risk of Nuclear Inadvertence: A Review Essay”), *Security Studies* (Spring 1994), pp. 509-520. ([link](#))
- “From Deterrence to Coercion to War: The Road to Pearl Harbor,” in Alexander L. George and William E. Simons (eds.), *The Limits of Coercive Diplomacy* (Westview Press, 2nd edition, 1994), pp. 57-90.
- “Rules of Engagement,” *Security Studies* (Autumn 1991), pp. 78-108. [Reprinted in Alexander L. George (ed.) *Avoiding War: Problems of Crisis Management* (Westview Press, 1991). pp. 443-470.]
- “Reducing the Risks: A New Agenda for Military-to-Military Talks,” *Arms Control Today* (July August 1991), pp 16-21. [Reprinted in *Reducing the Risk of Dangerous Military Activities* (Center for International Security and Arms Control, Stanford University, 1991), pp. 27-39.]
- “History, Analogy, and Deterrence Theory: A Review Essay,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary*

History (Summer 1991), pp. 79-88.

“Change and Continuity in U.S. Nuclear Strategy” in Michael Mandelbaum (ed.), *America's Defense* (Holmes and Meier, 1989), pp. 279-317.

“Origins of the Pacific War,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* (Spring 1988), pp. 893-922. [Reprinted in Robert I. Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb (eds.), *The Origin and Prevention of Major Wars* (Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 323-352.] ([link](#))

“SIOP-62: The Nuclear War Plan Briefing to President Kennedy,” *International Security*, (Summer 1987), pp. 22-51. ([link](#))

“Correspondence: The Origins of Offense and the Consequences of Counterforce,” *International Security* (Winter 1986-87), pp.193-198. An exchange of letters between Jack Snyder and Scott D. Sagan. ([link](#))

“1914 Revisited: Allies, Offense and Instability,” *International Security* (Fall 1986), pp. 151-175. [Reprinted in Steven E. Miller, Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Steven Van Evera (eds.), *Military Strategy and the Origins of the First World War* (Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 109-133; Richard K. Betts (ed.), *Conflict After the Cold War: Arguments on Causes of War and Peace* (Macmillan, 1994), pp. 330-343; and Ja Ian Chong and Todd H. Hall (eds.), *World War I: A Batch from International Security* (MIT Press, 2014)] ([link](#))

“Nuclear Alerts and Crisis Management,” *International Security*, (Spring 1985), pp. 99-139. [Reprinted in Sean Lynn-Jones, Steven E. Miller, and Steven Van Evera (eds.), *Nuclear Diplomacy and Crisis Management* (MIT Press, 1990), pp. 159-199.] ([link](#))

Contributor to *Strategic Survey 1982-1983* (International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1983).
“Lessons of the Yom Kippur Alert,” *Foreign Policy* (Fall 1979), pp. 160-177. ([link](#))

“Congressional Demands for American Troop Withdrawals from Western Europe,” (with Phil Williams), *Journal of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies*, (September 1976), pp. 52-56. ([link](#))

“Senator Mansfield and the NATO Alliance,” *Royal Air Forces Quarterly* (Summer 1976).

SELECTED OP-EDS AND PUBLIC OUTREACH ARTICLES

“A House of Mistakes: what Kathryn Bigelow’s ‘A House of Dynamite’ gets radically right—and dangerously wrong—about nuclear war,” co-authored with Shreya Lad, *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, December 17, 2025. ([link](#))

“How to Keep the Ukraine Conflict From Going Nuclear,” *The Wall Street Journal*, October 14, 2022. ([link](#))

“The U.S. says it can answer cyberattacks with nuclear weapons. That’s lunacy,” co-authored with Allen S. Weiner, *The Washington Post*, July 9, 2021 ([link](#))

“The Illegality of Targeting Civilians by Way of Belligerent Reprisal: Implications for U.S.

- Nuclear Doctrine,” co-authored with Allen S. Weiner, *Just Security*, May 10, 2021 ([link](#))
- “Hiroshima and the Myths of Military Targets and Unconditional Surrender,” co-authored with Katherine E. McKinney and Allen S. Weiner, *Lawfare*, August 21, 2020. ([link](#))
- “Do Americans approve of Trump’s pardons for court-martialed military officers?” co-authored with Benjamin A. Valentino, *The Washington Post*, December 16, 2019. ([link](#))
- “Living with a Nuclear North Korea,” co-authored with Benjamin A. Valentino, *The Wall Street Journal*, March 8, 2019. ([link](#))
- “Bolton’s Illegal War Plan for North Korea,” co-authored with Allen S. Weiner, *The New York Times*, April 6, 2018. ([link](#))
- “The nuclear weapons ban treaty: Opportunities lost,” co-authored with Benjamin A. Valentino, *The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, July 16, 2017. ([link](#))
- “The common-sense fix that American nuclear policy needs,” co-authored with Jeffrey G. Lewis, *The Washington Post*, August 24, 2016. ([link](#))
- “A Real War Story, in Drawings,” *The New York Times*, June 19, 2016.
- “A Real War Story, in Drawings,” *The New York Times* (online), June 18, 2016. ([link](#))
- “Atomic Attraction,” co-authored with Benjamin A. Valentino, *The Indian Express*, June 3, 2016. ([link](#))
- “After Hiroshima,” *Kyodo News Service*, May 27, 2016. (Published in 11 Japanese newspapers) ([link](#))
- “Would the U.S. Drop the Bomb Again?,” co-authored with Benjamin A. Valentino, *The Wall Street Journal*, May 21-22, 2016.
- “Would the U.S. Drop the Bomb Again?,” co-authored with Benjamin A. Valentino, *The Wall Street Journal* (online), May 19, 2016. ([link](#))
- “Use of force: the American public and the ethics of war,” co-authored with Benjamin A. Valentino, *OpenGlobalRights*, July 2, 2015. ([link](#))
- “The Future of the Nuclear Order,” *Current History* 113, 759 (2014), pp. 23-25.
- “Our Red Lines and Theirs,” co-authored with Benjamin Buch, *ForeignPolicy.com*, December 13, 2013. ([link](#))
- “Pickett’s Other Charge,” co-authored with Samuel K. Sagan, *Wall Street Journal* (online), June 21, 2013. ([link](#))
- “A Call for Global Nuclear Disarmament,” Comment, *Nature*, vol. 487 (July 2012), pp. 30-32. ([link](#))

CURRENT RESEARCH PROJECTS

Ethics, Strategy, and Nuclear Weapons Monograph (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming)

The Rules of War Book Project co-authored with Allen Weiner

Rethinking the “Reasonable Prospect of Success” Principle in Just War Doctrine with Rhiannon Neilsen

Pickett’s Other Charge and Kautz’ Boston Boys: The Native American Children of Civil War Generals.

A project examining the hidden histories of two Civil War generals –George Edward Pickett and August Kautz – who fathered children with Native American women in the Pacific Northwest before the war. It traces the evolution of the relationships between the mixed race children and their white fathers and stepmothers.

BOOK REVIEWS

American Political Science Review, Arms Control Today, Contemporary Sociology, Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management, The American Scholar, The New Republic, Political Science Quarterly, Proceedings of the U.S. Naval Institute, Survey, Survival, and The Washington Post Book World.

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES AND MEMBERSHIPS

Board Member, Science and Security Board of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, February 2020 – Present.

Ploughshares Board Member, 2022 – Present

Co-chair for the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (AAAS) Committee on International Security Studies (CISS), January 2018 – Present.

National Academy of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, Member of Committee on Risk Analysis for Nuclear War and Nuclear Terrorism, 2021-2024.

Project Chair for the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (AAAS) Initiative on New Dilemmas in Ethics, Technology, and War, 2014 – 2019; Senior Advisor for the AAAS Initiative on the Global Nuclear Future, 2014 – Present; Co-Chair (with Steven Miller) of the AAAS Initiative on the Global Nuclear Future, 2007 – 2014; and Member, AAAS Committee on International Security Studies.

Member, Herbert Scoville Jr. Peace Fellowship Advisory Council, 2012 – Present.

Board Member, Federation of American Scientists, 2010 – 2015.

Member, National Academy of Sciences Committee on Improving the Assessment of Proliferation Risk of Nuclear Fuel Cycles, 2011-2013.

Expert Advisor, Congressional Commission on the Strategic Posture of the United States, 2008-2009.

National Intelligence Council “Global Expertise Reserve” Consultant, 2006 – 2009.

Member of Steering Committee, American Assembly, 2006 – 2008.

Member, Visiting Committee, Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, November 2006.

Member, Undergraduate Advisory Council, Stanford University, 2000 – 2011.

Member, CAC Subcommittee on Analysis and Policy Formulation, Council on Foreign Relations, 2003-2005.

Member, Visiting Committee, Department of Government, Harvard University, 2003.

Member, Advisory Panel on Investment Responsibility, Stanford University, 1999-2000.

Member, National Board of Directors of the Lawyers Alliance for World Security (LAWS), 1999-2005.

University Fellow, Stanford University, 1996-1998.

Member, Asia/Pacific Scholars Program Faculty Committee, Stanford University, 1996-1997.

Co-director, NATO Advanced Research Workshop: “Improving Nuclear Weapons Safety and Security in the Post-Cold War Era,” Summer 1994.

Member, 1995 Selection Committee for the MacArthur Foundation's Research and Writing Grants on Peace and International Cooperation.

American Association for the Advancement of Science, Member of the Committee on Science and International Security, 1995-1996.

Consultant to the Los Alamos National Laboratory, 1989-1995.

Consultant to the Office of the Secretary of Defense, 1987-1991.

Consultant to the RAND Corporation, 1987-1991.

Member of Advisory Group to the Joint Chiefs of Staff on the Future of U.S.-Soviet Military Relations, 1989-1990.

Member of Program Committee for Stanford in Washington, 1992-present.

Member of Steering Committee, Eliminating Weapons of Mass Destruction Project, Henry L. Stimson Center, Washington DC, 1994-1997.

Member of Advisory Board, Nuclear Weapons History Project, National Security Archives, Washington DC, 1995-2000.

Book Manuscript Reviewer: Cambridge University Press, Princeton University Press, The Brookings Institution, Cornell University Press, University of Michigan Press, University of South Carolina Press, State University of New York Press, University of Georgia Press, University of Chicago Press, Stanford University Press.

Grant and Fellowship Proposal Reviewer: The National Science Foundation, The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, The Ploughshares Fund, The Smith Richardson Foundation, and the Woodrow Wilson Center.

Article Manuscript Reviewer: *International Security*, *International Organization*, *American Political Science Review*, *Journal of Peace Research*, *Political Science Quarterly*, *Political Behavior*, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *Security Studies*, *The Nonproliferation Review*, *Armed Forces and Society*, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, *The European Journal of International Relations*, *Journal of Politics*.

Memberships: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, American Political Science Association, Council on Foreign Relations, and the Mayo Smith Society.

AWARDS AND HONORS

Harry F. Guggenheim Fellow for Nuclear Ethics and Security, Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs (2026-27).

Thérèse Delpech Memorial Award, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2022
This award is given to an individual for "exceptional service to the nongovernmental nuclear policy community."

Phi Beta Kappa of Northern California Teaching Excellence Award, 2020.

Andrew Carnegie Fellowship Recipient, Class of 2018.
This fellowship granted 31 scholars with \$200,000 each to devote their time to significant research, writing, and publishing on high-caliber scholarship in the social sciences and humanities that addresses pressing issues and cultural transitions affecting us at home and abroad.

The Susan Strange Award, the International Studies Association, 2017.
This award recognizes a person whose singular intellect, assertiveness, and insight most challenge conventional wisdom and intellectual and organizational complacency in the international studies community.

National Academy of Sciences William and Katherine Estes Award, 2015. *This award recognizes basic research in any field of cognitive or behavioral science that uses rigorous formal and empirical methods to advance our understanding of issues relating to the risk of nuclear war.*

Mimi and Peter Haas University Fellowship in Undergraduate Education, 2013 - Present.

Recipient of the International Studies Association's International Security Studies Section (ISSS) Distinguished Scholar Award, April 2013.

Recipient of the Monterey Institute for International Studies' Outstanding Contribution to Nonproliferation Education Award, December 2009.

Honorary Doctor of Laws, Ohio Wesleyan University, May 2008.

Fellow, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Elected 2008.

Recipient of the International Studies Association's Deborah Misty Gerner Innovative Teaching Award, 2008.

Recipient of Stanford University's Dean's Award for Distinguished Teaching, 1998-99.

Recipient of Stanford University's Laurance and Naomi Hoagland Prize for Undergraduate Teaching, 1996.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Co-Director, Interschool Honors Program in International Security, Stanford University, 2000-2002, 2003-2005, 2007-2008.

Department of Political Science, Stanford University (1987-present): PS 014 "Ethics and War," PS 034 Interschool Honors Program in International Security, PS 110B "Strategy, War, and Politics," PS 114S "International Security in a Changing World," PS 143H "Strategic Studies," PS 145J "American Foreign Policy," PS 243A "International Relations Theory," PS 243B "Theoretical Issues in International Security," PS 142S "Managing Hazardous Technologies," PS 138A "Advanced Study in International Security," PS 332 "Decision-Making," PS 301 "Case Studies, Comparative Methodology, and Theory Development," PS 410A, B, and C (International Relations Theory, Parts I, II, and III), SC (Sophomore College) 220 "The Face of Battle," PS212S/LAW494 "Ethics, Law and War, (with Allen Weiner)" TM (Thinking Matters) 19 "Rules of War; (with Allen Weiner)" Political Science 211N/311N "Nuclear Strategy, Law, and Politics (with Tom Dannenbaum)."

Department of Government, Harvard University (1986-1987):

Gov 1790 "U.S. Foreign Policy," Gov 1745 "Strategy, Politics and Arms Control," Gov 90 "The Makers of Modern Strategy."

PhD DISSERTATION COMMITTEES CHAIRED (OR CO-CHAIRED)

1. John Arquilla - *Theory of Interstate War*, 1991.
2. Nora Bensahel - *The Coalition Paradox: The Politics of Military Cooperation*, 1999.
3. Tanisha Fazal - *Born to Lose and Doomed to Survive: State Death and Survival in the International System*, 2001. Winner of the 2002 Helen Dwight Reed Award.
4. Taylor Fravel - *The Long March to Peace: Explaining China's Settlement of Territorial Disputes*, 2003.

5. Ron Hassner - *The Path to Indivisibility: The Role of Ideas in the Resolution of Intractable Territorial Disputes*, 2004.
6. Alexander Montgomery - *Social Action, Rogue Reaction: US Post-Cold War Nuclear Counterproliferation Strategies*, 2006.
7. Todd Sechser - *Winning Without a Fight: Power, Reputation, and Compellent Threats in International Crises*, 2007.
8. Jacob Shapiro - *The Terrorist's Challenge: Security, Efficiency, Control*, 2007.
9. Bryan Price - *Removing the Devil You Know: Unraveling the Puzzle Behind Decapitation Effectiveness and Terrorist Group Duration*, 2009.
10. Carrie Lee - *The Politics of Military Operations*, 2015.
11. Kathryn Hedgecock - *Deciphering the Implications of State-Sponsored Cyber Operations for IR Theory*, 2021.
12. Lauren R. Sukin - *The Risks of Nuclear States' Signals of Resolve*, 2022.
13. Patrick Kelly, *The Civil-Military Politics of War Termination*, 2022
14. Leah Matchett, *The Domestic Politics of Defense in the US Congress*, 2023

GRANTS RECEIVED AND MANAGED

9/1/2019 – 8/31/2022	MacArthur Foundation	Principal Investigator
“Reducing Nuclear Dangers: Inspiring and Developing the Next Generation of Specialists in Security, Safety, and Energy”		\$1,600,000
6/1/2018 – 12/1/2018	MacArthur Foundation	Principal Investigator
“U.S. Public Opinion and the North Korean Nuclear Crisis”		\$31,960
9/1/2015 – 8/31/2019	MacArthur Foundation	Principal Investigator
“Reducing Nuclear Dangers: Inspiring and Developing the Next Generation of Specialists in Security, Safety, and Energy”		\$2,370,000
9/1/2016 – 8/31/2018	MacArthur Foundation	Principal Investigator
“Public Opinion, Ethics, and Nuclear Weapons Use”		\$350,000
8/9/2016 – 8/9/2017	Naval Postgraduate School – PASCC	Principal Investigator
“U.S. Engagement in the Humanitarian Consequences of Nuclear Weapons Debate”		\$179,539

8/11/2014 – 8/10/2015	Naval Postgraduate School – PASCC	Principal Investigator
“Public Opinion, Commitment Traps, and Nuclear Weapons”		\$100,000
10/01/2013 – 9/1/2015	MacArthur Foundation	Principal Investigator
“Public Opinion and Nuclear Weapons Use”		\$150,000
1/1/12 – 6/30/13	Naval Postgraduate School – PASCC	Principal Investigator
“Deterring Rogue Regimes: Rethinking Deterrence Theory and Practice”		\$200,000
9/1/11 – 8/31/15	MacArthur Foundation	Principal Investigator
“Nuclear Security in a Changing World”		\$2,000,000
10/1/10 – 9/30/12	Carnegie Corporation	Co-Principal Investigator
“Knowledge to Make a More Cooperative World”		\$750,000
5/1/10 – 9/30/11	Hewlett Foundation	Principal Investigator
“The International Impact of the 2010 Nuclear Posture Review”		\$250,000
10/1/08 – 9/30/10	Carnegie Corporation	Co-Principal Investigator
“Knowledge to Make a More Secure World”		\$750,000
9/1/08 – 2/28/10	MacArthur Foundation	Principal Investigator
“Disarmament: Rethinking Deterrence, Enforcement, and Defense”		\$295,000

10/01/06 – 9/30/08	Carnegie Corporation	Principal Investigator
“Knowledge to Build a Safer World”		\$1,000,000
9/1/06 – 10/14/07	Naval Postgraduate School	Principal Investigator
“Terrorist Strategies”		\$76,550
9/15/06 – 9/14/07	Department of the Navy	Principal Investigator
“Explaining Variation in Terrorist and Insurgent Strategies and Tactics”		\$76,550
1/15/06 – 10/14/06	Department of Homeland Security	Co-Principal Investigator
“State and Local Government Coordination and Preparedness Program Assessment and Evaluation”		\$156,959
1/01/03 – 12/31/06	Compton Foundation, Inc.	Principal Investigator
“Global Arms Control Summit: Training the Next Generation in Diplomacy”		\$91,701
10/01/04 – 09/30/06	Carnegie Corporation	Principal Investigator
“International Security in a World of Emerging Threats”		\$1,450,000
10/01/04 – 08/31/06	Nuclear Threat Initiative	Principal Investigator
“Ballistic Missile Defense and Nuclear Security in South Asia”		\$150,000
05/01/04 – 03/31/06	Hewlett Foundation	Principal Investigator
“Strengthening Collective Security for the Twenty-First Century:		\$100,000

Assisting the Work of the UN High Level Panel”

1/1/04 – 12/30/05	Department of Homeland Security	Co-principal Investigator
“Making a Difference: Facilitating Organizational Learning and Change Through the National Exercise Program”		\$1,650,000
9/30/03 – 9/29/04	US Army War College	Principal Investigator
“South Asia and the Nuclear Future”		\$40,000
10/01/02 – 9/30/04	Carnegie Corporation	Co-principal Investigator
“International Security in a Changed World: Opportunities and Challenges”		\$1,605,200
7/01/02 – 6/30/03	Compton Foundation, Inc.	Principal Investigator
“The Challenge of Cooperation on Counter-Terrorism and Nuclear Security”		\$30,000
9/01/99 – 8/31/02	W. Alton Jones Foundation	Co-Principal Investigator
“Strategic Stability: China and South Asia”		\$300,000
9/01/00 – 8/31/01	Ploughshares Fund	Principal Investigator
“Security Issues in the Middle East”		\$40,000
6/01/01 – 10/31/01	Nuclear Threat Initiative	Principal Investigator
“Nuclear Safety, Security and Stability in South Asia”		\$67,269
6/01/00 – 1/01/01	Compton Foundation, Inc.	Principal Investigator

“CISAC Workshop on Nuclear Safety and Security in South Asia” \$60,000			\$60,000
10/01/98 – 9/30/00	Carnegie Corporation	Co-Principal Investigator	
“International Security in a Changing World”			\$1,901,132
7/01/98 – 6/30/01	Smith Richardson Foundation	Co-Principal Investigator	
“The Future Role of Nuclear Weapons”			\$213,774
9/01/97 – 8/31/00	The Ford Foundation	Principal Investigator	
“Implementation of Peace Agreements in Civil Wars”			\$250,000
6/01/95 – 3/01/97	W. Alton Jones Foundation	Principal Investigator	
“Reducing the Demand for Nuclear Weapons”			\$44,567
3/01/94 – 12/31/94	NATO Grants	Principal Investigator	
“Advanced Research Workshop: Nuclear Weapons Safety After the Cold War”			\$46,698
9/01/90 – 8/31/91	Carnegie Corporation	Principal Investigator	
“Accidents at the Brink”			\$20,000