

Chaim Kaufmann

Curriculum Vitae

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EMPLOYMENT/EDUCATION:

- 1992— Associate Professor, Department of International Relations, Lehigh University.
Chair 2014 and July 2015-.
- 1998-1999. Senior Research Fellow, Center for International Studies, Princeton University.
- 1989-1992. Senior Research Scholar, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan;
Visiting Assistant Professor, Political Science Department, Fall 1990, Spring 1992.
- 1987-1989. Research Scholar, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University.
1991. Ph.D., Department of Political Science, Columbia University. Dissertation:
"Deterrence and Rationality in International Crises."

SCHOLARLY PUBLICATIONS:

2009. "Threat Inflation and the Failure of the Marketplace of Ideas: The Selling of the Iraq War," in Trevor Thrall and Jane K. Cramer, eds., *American Foreign Policy and the Politics of Fear* (Routledge). Revision of 2004 IS article.
2007. "Why Iraq Partitioned Itself," *Columbia International Affairs Online*, September 2007.
2007. "An Assessment of the Partition of Cyprus," *International Studies Perspectives* 8:2 (May), 206-223.
2007. "What Have We Learned About Ethnic Conflict? What Can We Do In Iraq?" *Harvard International Review* 28:4 (Winter), 44-50.
2007. "Living Together after Ethnic Killing: in Theory, in History, and in Iraq Today," in Mia Bloom and Roy Licklider, eds., *Living Together after Ethnic Killing: Exploring the Chaim Kaufmann Argument* (Taylor and Francis, 2007).
2006. "Why Nuclear Proliferation is Getting Easier," *Peace Review* 18:3 (July-September), 315-24.
2006. "Separating Iraqis, Saving Iraq," *Foreign Affairs* 85:4 (July/August), 156-60.

2006. *A Glass Three Quarters Full: Counterinsurgency in Afghanistan, 2002-2006:* (Reston, Virginia: Sherman Kent School for Intelligence Analyses, September).
2005. "Rational Choice and Progress in the Study of Ethnic Conflict: A Review Essay," *Security Studies* 14:1 (January-March), 167-94.
2005. "Human Security and the Settlements," *Negotiation Journal* 21:2 (April), 194-97.
2005. "Selling the Market Short? The Marketplace of Ideas and the Iraq War," *International Security* 29:4 (Spring), 196-207. Correspondence on Summer 2004 *IS* article.
2005. "Communal Map of Punjab, 1941," in Charles Lipson, *How to Write a BA Thesis: A Practical Guide from Your First Ideas to Your Finished Paper* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 196.
2004. "Threat Inflation and the Failure of the Marketplace of Ideas: The Selling of the Iraq War," *International Security* 29:1 (Summer), 5-48. Re-printed in *Journal of Urban Economics* 56:2 (September 2004), 5-48.
2004. *Intervention in Ethnic, Ideological, and Anti-Colonial Wars: Opportunities, Options, and Constraints* (Reston, Virginia: Sherman Kent School for Intelligence Analyses, December).
2003. "The Market Place That Failed: Iraq, Threat Inflation, and the Nuclear Program that Did Not Exist," *New Balkan Politics* 8 (Fall). In English and Macedonian.
2002. "See No Evil: Why America Doesn't Stop Genocide," *Foreign Affairs* 81:4 (July/August), 142-149.
2004. "What is the Offense/Defense Balance and Can We Measure It?" in Michael E. Brown et al, eds. *Offense, Defense, and War*, (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press).
2002. "The Risks of a Networked Military," in Richard K. Betts, ed. *Conflict after the Cold War*, 2nd ed. (New York: Longman, 2002).
2002. "When All Else Fails: Ethnic Partitions and Population Transfers in the Twentieth Century," *New Balkan Politics* 5 (Spring). In Macedonian. Translation of 1998 *International Security* article.
2000. "The Risks of a Networked Military," *Orbis* 44:1 (Autumn), 127-145. With Richard J. Harknett and eight others.
1999. "The Determinants of International Moral Action," *International Organization* 53:4 (Autumn), 637-668. With Robert A. Pape.

1999. "Separation as a Remedy for Ethnic Conflicts," in Jack Snyder and Barbara Walters, eds., *The Security Dilemma and Intervention in Civil Wars* (New York: Columbia University Press).
- 1998-1999. "Taking Offense at Offense-Defense Theory," *International Security* 23:3 (Winter), 200-206. Correspondence on Spring 1998 *IS* article with Charles Glaser.
1998. "When All Else Fails: Ethnic Partitions and Population Transfers in the Twentieth Century," *International Security* 23:2 (Fall), 120-156.
1998. "What is the Offense/Defense Balance and Can We Measure It?" *International Security* 22:4 (Spring), 44-82. With Charles Glaser.
1996. "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars," *International Security* 20:4 (Spring), 136-75. Republished fourteen times: in Robert J. Art and Robert Jervis, eds., *International Politics*, 4th ed. (New York: Longman, 1997); 5th ed. (2000); 6th ed. (2003); 7th ed. (2005); 8th ed. (2006); 9th ed. (2008); 10th ed. (2012); 11th ed. (2012); 12th ed. (2014); in Richard K. Betts, ed. *Conflict After the Cold War*, 2nd ed. (New York: Longman, 2002); updated 2nd ed. (2005); 3rd ed. (2008); 4th ed. (2012); and in Michael E. Brown, ed. *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict*, (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1997), and revised ed. (2001).
1996. "Intervention in Ethnic and in Ideological Civil Wars: Why One Can Be Done and the Other Can't," *Security Studies* 6:1 (Autumn), 62-103. 2000-2003. Republished three times in Robert J. Art and Kenneth N. Waltz, eds., *The Use of Force*, Art and Waltz, 5th ed. (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000); 6th ed. (2003); and 7th ed. (2009).
1994. "Out of the Lab and into the Archives: A Method for Testing Psychological Explanations of Foreign Policy Decision Making," *International Studies Quarterly* 38:4 (December), 557-86.
1991. "The Negotiations Which Failed to End the War in the Falklands/Malvinas," in Allan E. Goodman, ed., *Negotiating for Peace* (Boulder: Westview).

OPINION ARTICLES:

2016. "U.S. Policy toward the Middle East in a Trump Administration," *Gulan Media* (Arbil, Iraq), December 22, 2016. In English and Kurdish.
2015. "Regional Implications of the Iran Nuclear Deal," *Gulan Media* (Arbil, Iraq), September 23, 2015. In English.
2015. "The Iran Nuclear Deal Presents Our Least Dangerous Option," *Morning Call*, September 19, 2015.

2013. "How the Whole Middle East Disappeared," *Gulan Weekly Political Magazine* (Arbil, Iraq) 915, February 4, 2013. In English and Kurdish.
2012. "The Arab Spring Heats Up," *Gulan Weekly Political Magazine* (Arbil, Iraq) 878, May 28, 2012. In English.
2012. "How to Survive a Terrorist Attack," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 26, 2012. Reprinted in *Morning Call*, December 29, 2012.
2009. "Living with the New Iraq," *Gulan Weekly Political Magazine* (Arbil, Iraq) 752, November 19, 2009. In English and Kurdish.
2007. "America's Final Mission in Iraq," *Boston Globe*, February 11, 2007.
- 2006-2007. "U.S. Policy and the Safety of Kurdistan, Part Two: U.S. Policy after the Iraq War," *Gulan* 616, December 25, 2006, in Kurdish. *Gulan* 619, January 22, 2007, in English.
2006. "U.S. Policy and the Safety of Kurdistan, Part One: Iraq and the Region," *Gulan* 614, December 11, 2006. In English and Kurdish.
2006. "Divided and Conquered, Iraq Descends into Civil War," *Forward*, April 7, 2006.
2001. "Show the Evidence," *New York Times*, October 4, 2001. With Robert Pape.
1999. "Macedonia's Decisive Moment," *Dnevnik* ["Diary"], Skopje, Macedonia, July 11, 1999. In Macedonian.

BOOK REVIEWS:

2007. *The Peace of Illusions: American Grand Strategy from 1940 to the Present* by Christopher Layne (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2006): *Political Science Quarterly* 122:3 (Fall), 528-530.
2003. *Keeping the Peace: Lasting Solutions to Ethnic Conflicts* by Daniel Byman (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002): *Political Science Quarterly* 118:1 (Spring), 156-57.
- 2002-2003. *Ionian Vision: Greece in Asia Minor 1919-1922* by Michael Llewellyn Smith (London: Hurst and Company, 1998) and *Nationalism, Imperialism, and the Making of the Cyprus Problem* by Ioannis D. Stefanidis (London: Hurst and Company, 1999): *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 8:4 (Winter).
2002. *Modern Hatreds: The Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War* by Stuart J. Kaufman (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2001): *American Political Science Review* 96:4 (December), 886-887.
2002. *Arms and Ethnic Conflict*, by John S. Sislin and Frederic S. Pearson (New York: Rowman & Littlefield 2001): *Political Science Quarterly* 117:2 (Summer), 339-340.
1992. *Winning the Next War: Innovation and the Modern Military*, by Stephen P. Rosen (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press): *American Political Science Review* 86:4 (December), 1110-1111.

UNPUBLISHED RESEARCH:

"Partition," book project.

"Partitions and Counterfactuals: Could the Partition of India Have Been Avoided?" article project.

"Long-Run Consequences of Ethnic Cleansing Campaigns," article project.

"Deaths and Displaced Persons in the Cyprus Conflict," unpublished ms., 2007.

"Population Geography and Escalation of Communal Conflict," unpublished ms., 2007.

"What Britain Paid to End the Slave Trade," unpublished ms., 2002.

TEACHING:

International Relations Theory: graduate and undergraduate levels.

Political Psychology of International Relations: graduate and undergraduate.

Prospects for Peace in the 21st Century: undergraduate senior seminar.

Intervention: undergraduate senior seminar.

The Role of Force in International Relations: undergraduate senior seminar.

South Mountain College Seminar: undergraduate.

Faculty-Student Research Collaboration in Nationalism: undergraduate.

International Security: undergraduate.

Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict: undergraduate.

The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: undergraduate.

International Terrorism: undergraduate.

Society, Technology, and War since the Renaissance: undergraduate.

American Foreign Policy: undergraduate.

International Relations in Popular Culture: undergraduate.

ADMINISTRATION:

2014, July 2015-: Chair, Department of International Relations.

2012-2016, 2010, 2005-2008. College of Arts and Sciences Policy Committee; Chair 2015-2016. Course and Curriculum Subcommittee, 2005; Chair 2006-2007, 2007-2008, 2010-2011, 2012-2013, 2013-2014, 2016-2017.

2015-2016. Study Abroad Faculty Policy Board.

2009-2014. Director, Interdisciplinary Minor in Peace Studies. 2005-2009: Co-director with Addison Bross.

2012. Global Citizenship Program Evaluation Working Group.

2007-2009. South Mountain College: South Mountain College Seminar (initially a formation/design committee for new B.A. degree program intended to using different

teaching and learning modes, now a combined faculty training seminar and continuing oversight forum), residential committee, admissions committee, Friend of South Mountain College.

- 2005-2006. Department of Journalism and Communication search committee.
- 2002-2003. University Committee on Global Citizenship. Formation/design committee for a new undergraduate certificate program.
- 2001. College of Arts and Sciences Committee on Social Transformation. Early attempt at what became the Global Citizenship Program, above.
- 1999-2002. Master, Taylor College. (Dormitory of 150; responsible for 50+ social and other events/year, e.g. teach-in on afternoon of 9/11; non-academic advising; various forms of informal contact/assistance to students; staff of nine.)
- 1984-1985. Team Leader, Software Development, Insight Market Systems, Inc., Boston, Mass.

CONSULTING:

- 2011, 2014. Informal consulting for de facto government of Somaliland (Northern Somalia).
- 2008- Tobin Project on National Security Affairs.
- 2003-2007. Sherman Kent School for Intelligence Analyses, CIA.
- 2006. Office of Transnational Issues; Office of Iraq Analyses, Military Studies Group, all CIA.
- 2004. National Academy of Public Administration and Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.
- 2003. Booz Allen Hamilton (for CIA).
- 2001. Strategic Assessment Group, CIA.
- 2000. United States Institute of Peace.
- 1998-2000. Naval Information Warfare Agency.

GRANTS - External:

- 2016-. Stanton Foundation. \$44,369. "The Nuclear Revolution." Development of distributable modeling software for research and teaching.

- 2002- Smith Richardson Foundation. \$104,165. For ethnic conflict project.
1999. Hewlett Foundation. \$4,250. For student-faculty research collaboration.
1998. Princeton University. \$25,000. For ethnic conflict project.
1997. United States Institute of Peace. \$40,000. For ethnic conflict project.

GRANTS - Lehigh:

1998. \$43,500. College of Arts and Sciences. For ethnic conflict Project.
- 1992-2000. \$11,800. Class of 1968/Franz Fellowships (2); Faculty Research Grants (5); Gipson Institute Grant for Eighteenth Century Studies.

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITY – International – 1995-:

- 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016. Summer Institute for Israel Studies. Israeli and Israeli Arab lawyers, judges, business people, journalists, pollsters, academics, and Members of Knesset. Follow-up seminars, April 2014, April 2015, April 2016.
- 1999- Editorial board, *New Balkan Politics* (Skopje, Macedonia).
- 2006, 2007, 2009, 2012, 2013, 2016. Opinion articles in *Gulan Weekly Political Magazine*, Erbil, Iraqi Kurdistan.
- 2005-2014. Interviews on: Secession and related questions, BBC World Service; U.S. policy toward Iran, farsnews.com; published in Farsi. U.S. policy toward Iraqi Kurdistan, various outlets in Iraqi Kurdistan; published mainly in Kurdish. Applicability of partition solutions to Sri Lanka, tamilnet.com.
2004. Papers on threat inflation and the marketplace of ideas presented at Concordia University, Montreal, and at annual meeting of the International Studies Association (ISA), Montreal. Paper on preventive war and the Second Gulf War presented at ISA.
2003. Article published in Macedonian in *New Balkan Politics*, Skopje, Macedonia.
- 2000, 2002. Research on communal relations in colonial India at National Archives of India, New Delhi.
2000. Presented “Satisfaction versus Safety in Possible Israeli-Palestinian Agreements,” Hebrew University, Jerusalem.
1999. Opinion article in *Dnevnik* [“Diary”], Skopje, Macedonia, July 10, 1999.

- 1998-1999. Research on communal relations in colonial India and on Atlantic slave trade at Public Records Office and British Museum, London.
1997. Presented "Demography, the Security Dilemma, and Diagnosis of Ethnic Conflicts" *and* "Partition's Troubled Reputation - and the Twentieth-Century Record" at Swedish National Defence Research Establishment, Näsby Castle, Stockholm.
1997. Presented "The Worst Solution Except for All the Others" at Instituto Internacional Casa de Mateus, Vila Real, Portugal.
1995. Presented "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars" *and* "Inspecting the Foundations of Offense-Defense Theory" at NATO Headquarters, Brussels, Belgium.

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITY – Domestic – 2000-:

- 1992- More than 200 journal reviews, book manuscript reviews, and tenure and promotion reviews. Journals include *American Journal of Political Science*, *American Political Science Review*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *European Journal of International Relations*, *Foreign Policy*, *International Organization*, *International Security*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *International Studies Perspectives*, *Journal of Peace Research*, *Millennium*, *Nationalism & Ethnic Politics*, *New Balkan Politics*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *Political Science Quarterly*, *Security Studies*, and *World Politics*.
- 1996-2015. Editorial board, *Security Studies*.
- 2008- Tobin Project National Security Working Group; 6 conferences and workshops 2008-2016.
- 2015-2016. Lehigh Valley Great Decisions. Lectures on the Iran nuclear deal (February 17, 2015) and on the South China Sea dispute (June 15, 2016).
2014. Lecture on "The Small Role of Religion in 'Religious Terrorism'," Sons of Israel, Allentown PA. Discussant, three papers, Lehigh Conference on the Political Economy of Regime Transitions.
2013. Lectures at Lehigh on the Iranian nuclear program, the Syrian civil war, and the future of Syrian politics.
2011. Lecture on "Solutions to Severe Communal Conflicts: Partition, Regional Autonomy, and Power-sharing" and debate with Donald Horowitz, Seminar XXI. Various news interviews.
2010. Presentation with Frank Gunter on security, corruption, and economic redevelopment in Iraq. Various news interviews.

2009. Lectures on "Sunnistan, Shiastan, Kurdistan: Medium-term Prospects for Iraq," Bryn Mawr; and "Partition and Power-sharing," Seminar XXI. Various news interviews.
2008. Paper on "Why Nationalists Win," Tobin Project on National Security Affairs. Lecture on "The Worst Solution Except for All the Others," Seminar XXI. Evaluator, Lone Star Conference on National Security Affairs (sponsored by University of Texas and Texas A&M). Book manuscript evaluator, Harris School, University of Chicago. Various news interviews
- 2000-2008. Washington Naval Treaty Interest Group.
2007. Lectures on "Mass Politics and Management of Severe Communal Conflicts" and on "Counterfactuals and Evaluation of Communal Partitions," University of Utah. Lecture on "The Auto-Partition of Iraq," Georgetown. Lecture on "Considerations for a Future Partition of Israel and Palestine," Brandeis. Lecture and seminar on "Partition as a Solution to Communal Conflicts," Seminar XXI, Warrenton, Virginia. Two lectures presented at Lehigh University World Affairs Club. Various news interviews.
2006. "How to Evaluate Communal Partitions," M.I.T. Lectures on "Counterfactuals and the Consequences of the Partition of India," Notre Dame; and at Bush School, Texas A & M. Seminar on "Standards for Evaluation of Ethnic Partitions," Naval War College. Lecture and seminar on ethnic conflict resolution, Seminar XXI, Warrenton, Virginia. Lecture and seminar on evaluation of counterinsurgent performance in Afghanistan and Iraq at Sherman Kent School for Intelligence Analyses (CIA), Reston, Virginia. Workshop on analysis of insurgent and counterinsurgent strategy and tactics, Sherman Kent School. Reader/evaluator, conference on the study of terrorism, University of Chicago. Seven lectures presented at Lehigh University World Affairs Club: on the future of U.S.-Muslim world relations; implications of Hamas' election victory; ethnic cleansing as strategy; the meaning of the Iraqi election of December 2005; why Iran's nuclear weapons program cannot be stopped; U.S. policy toward Iraq; and on achievable U.S. goals in Afghanistan. Consultation on the possibility of partitioning Iraq for office of Sen. Edward Kennedy. Various news interviews.
2005. Lecture on the consequences of the partition of Cyprus at Northwestern University. Seminars on counterinsurgency in ethnic and in ideological civil wars, Afghanistan, and Iraq conducted at Sherman Kent School. Lecture on solutions to severe ethnic conflicts at Seminar XXI, Airlie House, Warrenton, Virginia. Discussant at annual meeting of the American Political Science Association (APSA) on panel on threat inflation. Four lectures presented at Lehigh University World Affairs Club: on how to make an atomic bomb and implications for proliferation, on the future of biological warfare, on the possibility of U.S. attack on Iran, on U.S. policy options in Iraq, and on why Japan can never have an independent foreign policy. Lecture on Iran's nuclear weapons program, Moravian School, Bethlehem, PA. Various news interviews.

2004. Paper on threat inflation and the marketplace of ideas presented at University of Chicago. Paper on Iraq and the marketplace of ideas presented on my behalf at annual meeting of APSA. Lecture on the security dilemma and human security on the West Bank, Harvard University. Seminars on counterinsurgency in ethnic, ideological, and colonial wars conducted at Sherman Kent School. Lecture to Lehigh University World Affairs Club on U.S. policy in Afghanistan. Various news interviews.
2003. Paper on preventive war and superpower overstretch presented at Duke University. Lecture on standards for evaluating ethnic partition outcomes presented at Ethics in Public Policy Center, Washington, D.C. Seminars on counterinsurgency in ethnic and in ideological civil wars, Afghanistan, and Iraq conducted at Sherman Kent School. Lecture on partition as a solution to severe ethnic conflicts presented at Seminar XXI. Lecture on ethnic partitions in the Balkans, presented at Booz Allen Hamilton, McLean, Virginia. Invited participant at Cornell University conference on terrorism and the law of war. Lecture on the future of the Kashmir conflict, Allentown PA Lions' Club. Organized "teach-in" on the prospect of war in Iraq, Lehigh University, 3/2003. Various news interviews.
2002. Paper on "When is a Communal Partition Necessary? The Case of Colonial India," presented at annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, Mass. Lecture on partition as a solution to severe ethnic conflicts, Seminar XXI. Lecture on "Strategic Incentives for Ethnic Cleansing" presented at Zoellner Center Lecture Series, Lehigh University. Invited participant at M.I.T. conference on 'Unacceptable Weapons.' Signed 'National Security Scholars' Open Letter on Why Invading Iraq is Not in the U.S. National Interest,' *New York Times*, 9/26/2002. Various news interviews.
2001. Paper on international moral action presented at University of California, Davis. Consultant, Strategic Assessment Group, Central Intelligence Agency. Lecture on Israeli security options presented to Lehigh Valley Hadassah. Organized "teach-in" on implications of 9/11, Taylor College, 9/12/2001. Various news interviews.
2000. Paper on population geography and ethnic conflict escalation presented at annual meeting of the International Studies Association, Washington, D.C. Panel chair, ISA. Lecture on population geography and patterns of ethnic conflict at M.I.T. Lecture on "Strategic Incentives for Ethnic Cleansing" presented at Zoellner Center, Lehigh University. Attended conference on "Living Together After Ethnic Conflict: Debating the Kaufmann Hypothesis," Rutgers University. Reviewed grant proposals for United States Institute of Peace. Various news interviews.