

January 2020

David Holloway

Academic qualifications: M.A. (Modern Languages and Literatures), Ph.D. (Social and Political Sciences) (Cambridge University)

Present positions:

Raymond A. Spruance Professor in International History, Stanford University;
 Professor of Political Science, Stanford University;
 Senior Fellow, Freeman-Spogli Institute for International Studies, Stanford University
 Emeritus since September 2018

Education

1965-66 Graduate student in the Department of Government, University of Manchester. Holder of a major state scholarship.
 1964-65 Holder of Norwegian State Scholarship at the Institute of Social Economics, University of Oslo.
 1961-64 Pembroke College, Cambridge University, B.A. in Modern Languages and Literatures (Russian and Serbo-Croatian).

Professional Appointments

1997-present Raymond A. Spruance Professor in International History, Stanford University
 1986-present Professor of Political Science, Stanford University.
 1986-present Senior Fellow, Freeman-Spogli Institute for International Studies,
 1984-86 Reader in Politics, University of Edinburgh.
 1970-84 Lecturer in Politics, University of Edinburgh.
 1969-70 Research Associate, Institute for Strategic Studies, London.
 1967-69 Assistant Lecturer in Politics, University of Lancaster.
 1966-67 Research Associate, Department of Government, University of Manchester.

University Service

2012-2015 Member, Committee on Graduate Studies
 2006-2011 Member, Editorial Board, Stanford University Press
 2005-2010 Co-director, Stanford Center on International Conflict and Negotiation
 2000-2004 P.I., Stanford Center on International Conflict and Negotiation
 1998-2000 Member, Board of Overseers, Stanford University Press
 1998-2003 Director, Freeman-Spogli Institute for International Studies
 1997-1998 Associate Dean, School of Humanities and Sciences

1992-2003	Principal Investigator, MacArthur Consortium on International Peace and Security
1991-97	Co-Director, Center for International Security and Arms Control, Stanford University
1989-91	Chair, International Relations Program, Stanford University

Visiting Appointments

July 1983- July 1986	Senior Research Associate, Center for International Security and Arms Control, Stanford University
August 1981- 1982	Visiting Fellow, Peace Studies Program, and Visiting Professor, Department of Government, Cornell University.
July - August 1978	Visiting Fellow, Peace Studies Program, Cornell University.

Professional Service

1996-1999	Member, Executive Committee, American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies
1991-1997	Member, Board of Directors, National Council for Soviet and East European Research
1987-1992	Member, Committee on International Peace and Security, Social Science Research Council
1990- 2013	Member, Board of Directors, Ploughshares Foundation
2005- 2010	Member, Board of Directors, Cypress Fund for Peace and Security

Fellowships, Honors, Awards

Jack Ruina lecture, MIT, November 2018
 Georgii Arbatov lecturer, Middlebury Institute of International Studies (May 2016)
 Global Fellow, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington DC (2013-2015)
 Fellow, Norwegian Nobel Institute, Oslo (June 2011)
 Visiting Professor, University of Rome (Roma Tre) (March 2011)
 Max von Laue lecturer, Deutsche Physikalische Gesellschaft, March 2009
 Visiting Scholar, Pembroke College, Cambridge, (October-December 2006)
 Fellow, Stanford Humanities Center (2005-2006)
 Fellow, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences (2000-2001)
 Fellow, Norwegian Nobel Institute, Oslo (March 1999)
Lingua Franca Breakthrough Book, 1999 (Stalin and the Bomb)
 Nordlander lecturer, Cornell University, 1996
 Shulman Prize, American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, 1995 (Stalin and the Bomb)
 Vucinich Prize, American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies 1995 (Stalin and the Bomb)

Finalist, LA Times History Prize, 1995 (Stalin and the Bomb)
 Finalist, BABRA Nonfiction Book Award, 1995 (Stalin and the Bomb)
NY Times Book Review, One of the Eleven Best Books of the Year, 1994, (Stalin and the Bomb)
Publisher's Weekly Best Books of the Year, 1994, (Stalin and the Bomb)
 Fellow, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 1978-79
 DAAD Fellow, Hessische Stiftung Friedens und Konfliktforschung, 1973

Publications

Books and Special Issues of Journals

Aspects of the Global Nuclear Order in the 1970s Special issue of *The International History Review*, co-edited by Leopoldo Nuti and David Holloway, Vol. 40, no. 5, October 2018.

Reexamining the Soviet Experience: Essays in Honor of Alexander Dallin, co-editor with Norman Naimark, Westview Press, 1996, 279 pp.

Stalin and the Bomb: The Soviet Union and Atomic Energy, 1939-1956, Yale University Press, 1994, 464 pp. Paperback edition, 1996; Kindle edition 2019.

Stalin i Bomba, Warsaw: Proszynski i S-ka, 1996, 462 pp.

Stalin e a Bomba, Rio de Janeiro: Editora Record, 1997, 599 pp.

Stalin and the Bomb (Japanese edition), Tokyo, 1997, 2 vols.

Stalin i Bomba, Novosibirsk: Sibiirskii khronograf, 1997, 625 pp.

Stalin si Bomba Atomica, Bucharest: Institutul European, 1998, 359 pp.

Stalin a Bomba, Prague: Academia, 2008, 576 pp.

Stalin and the Bomb (Chinese edition), Beijing: Gingko Book Company, due in 2018

Stalin and the Bomb (Lithuanian edition), Vilnius, Leidykia BRIEDIS, due in 2020.

A pirated edition of part of the book was published as Atomokhod Lavrentii Beria, Moscow: Algoritm, 2011, 238 pp. Some chapters were also pirated in a book published by the same publisher in 2013 with the title Beria. Imperiia GULAG.

The Reagan Strategic Defense Initiative: A Technical, Political, and Arms Control Assessment, coauthor with Sidney D. Drell and Philip J. Farley, Center for International Security and Arms Control, Stanford University, 1984, 142 pp.

Republished by Ballinger: Cambridge, Mass. in 1985.

The Warsaw Pact: Alliance in Transition? coeditor with Jane Sharp, and author of the Introduction, Cornell University Press, 1984, 290 pp.

The Soviet Union and the Arms Race, Yale University Press, 1983, 211 pp. A paperback edition with a new introduction was published in 1984.

L'Unione Sovietica e la Corsa agli Armamenti, Milan: Il Mulino, 1984, 301 pp.

De Sovjetunie en de Bewapenings Wedloop, Amsterdam: Jan Mets, 1984, 253 pp.

Papers

Science, Technology, and Modernity, Vortrag im Rahmen der Reihe, "Nach dem Ende der Illusion. Was bleibt vom Kommunismus im 21. Jahrhundert?" Centre Marc Bloch, Berlin, 17.10.2017. <http://dx.doi.org/10.14765/zzf.dok-1325>

Iran's Nuclear and Missile Potential: A Joint Threat Assessment by U.S. and Russian Technical Experts (Contributor) EastWest Institute, New York, May 2009, 18 pp.

Donald Kennedy, David Holloway, Erica Weinthal, Walter Falcon, Paul Ehrlich, Roz Naylor, Michael May, Steve Schneider, Steve Fetter, and Jor-san Choi, Environmental Quality and Regional Security, New York: Carnegie Commission on the Prevention of Deadly Conflict, 1998.

(With George Bunn) Arms Control without Treaties? Rethinking U.S.-Russian Strategic Negotiations in Light of the Duma-Senate Slowdown in Treaty Approval, CISAC Working Paper, February 1998, 21 pp.

"Entering the Nuclear Arms Race: The Soviet Decision to Build the Atomic Bomb," Working Paper No. 9, International Security Studies Program, The Wilson Center, Washington D.C., 1979, 62pp; revised version in Social Studies of Science, May 1981, pp. 159-197.

Technology, Management and the Soviet Military Establishment, Adelphi Paper No. 76, Institute for Strategic Studies, London, 1971, 44pp.

Contributions to Books

“Racing toward Armageddon? Soviet views of strategic nuclear war, 1955-1972,” in Michael D. Gordin and G. John Ikenberry, eds. *The Age of Hiroshima* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020) 71-88, 329-332.

“Totalitarianism and Science: The Nazi and the Soviet Experience,” in T. Piffer and V. Zubok, eds, *Totalitarian Societies and Democratic Transition: Essays in Memory of Victor Zaslavsky*.” (Budapest, New York: Central European University Press. 2016) 231-249. (An English version of an essay published in Italian in 2011.)

“Moral Reasoning and Practical Purpose,” in Sidney D. Drell and George P. Shultz, eds., *Andrei Sakharov: The Conscience of Humanity* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2015) 115-129.

“The Dynamics of the Euromissile Crisis, 1977-1983,” in Leopoldo Nuti, Frédéric Bozo, Marie-Pierre Rey, Bernd Rother, eds., *The Euromissile Crisis and the End of the Cold War*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015) 11-28.

“Stalin and Intelligence: Barbarossa and the Bomb” in Jonathan Haslam and Karina Urbach, eds., *Secret Intelligence in the European States System, 1918-1989*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014) 37-80.

“Nuclear Weapons and International Relations since the End of the Cold War,” in Geir Lundestad, ed., *International Relations since the End of the Cold War* (Oxford University Press, 2013) 149-166.

“Nuclear Weapons and the Cold War in Europe,” in Mark Kramer, Vit Smetana, eds., *Imposing, Maintaining, and Tearing Open the Iron Curtain: The Cold War and East-Central Europe, 1945-1989* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2013) 437-455. (This had been published in a Czech journal in 2011).

“Totalitarismo e scienza,” in *Società totalitarie e transizione alla democrazia. Saggi in memoria di Victor Zaslavsky*, ed., Tommaso Piffer e Vladislav Zubok (Milano: il Mulino, 2011) 271-292.

“Deterrence and Enforcement in a World Free of Nuclear Weapons,” in George P. Shultz, Sidney D. Drell, James E. Goodby, *Deterrence: Its Past and Future – Papers Presented at the Hoover Institution, November 2010* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2011) 335-372.

“‘Czech-mating’ China? The Sino-Soviet Crisis of 1969,” in Jiří Kocian, Milan Otáhal a Miroslav Vaněk, eds, *Historie Prožití Minulosti* (Praha, 2010) 59-70.

“Ulteriori riduzioni degli attuali arsenali nucleari,” in Matteo Gerlini, ed., *Quant’anni di non proliferazione: un dibattito fra storici e scineziata* (Rome: Edizione Associate, 2010) 183-240.

- “The United States and the NPT ‘Double Bargain’,” in Olav Njølstad, ed., *Nuclear Proliferation and International Order: Challenges to the NonProliferation Treaty* (London: Routledge, 2010) 151-166.
- “Nuclear Weapons and the Escalation of the Cold War, 1945-1962,” in Odd Arne Westad and Melvin Leffler, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol. 1* (Cambridge University Press, 2010) 376-397.
- “Iadernoe oruzhie: proshloe i budushchee,” in Iu.V. Trushin, ed., *Nauka i Kul'tura: izbrannye lektsii* (St. Petersburg, 2009), 72-89.
- “Further Reductions in Nuclear Weapons,” in George P. Shultz, Steven Andreasson, Sidney D. Drell, James E. Goodby, eds. *Reykjavik Revisited: Steps Toward a World Free of Nuclear Weapons*, Hoover Press, 2008, 1-45.
- “Commentary: An analysis of Sir Michael Perrin’s interviews with Klaus Fuchs: comparative Soviet perspectives,” in Gerald Hughes, Peter Jackson and Len Scott, *Exploring Intelligence Archives*, Routledge, 2008, 133-139.
- “Moving to Globalization,” in Kiron K. Skinner, ed., *Turning Points in Ending the Cold War*, Hoover Institution Press, 2007, 141-148.
- “The Soviet Preparation for Reykjavik: Four Documents,” in Sidney D. Drell and George P. Shultz, eds., *Implications of the Reykjavik Summit on Its Twentieth Anniversary*, Hoover Institution Press, 2007, 45-95.
- “Jockeying for Position in the Postwar World: Soviet Entry into the War with Japan in August 1945,” in *The End of the Pacific War: Reappraisals*, ed. Tsuyoshi Hasegawa, Stanford University Press, 2007, 145-188.
- “Atomic Energy,” in Jay Winter and John Merriman, eds., *Europe since 1914 – Encyclopedia of the Age of War and Reconstruction*, New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons: 2006.
- “Deterrence, Preventive War, and Preemption,” in *U.S. Nuclear Weapons Policy: Confronting Today’s Threats*, ed. George Bunn and Christopher Chyba, Brookings Institution, 2006, 34-74.
- “Science, Technology and Modernity,” in *The Cambridge History of Russia Vol. 3: The Twentieth Century*, ed. R.G. Suny, Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 549-578.
- “Parallel Lives? Oppenheimer and Khariton,” in *Reappraising Oppenheimer: Centennial Studies and Reflections*, ed. Cathryn Carson and David A. Hollinger, Berkeley Papers in History of Science, vol. 21, Office for History of Science and Technology, Berkeley, 2005, pp. 115-128.

“Oppengeimer i Khariton: paralleli zhizni,” and “V poiskakh Kharitona,” in *Iulii Borisovich Khariton: Put’ dlinoiu v vek*, 2nd enlarged ed., V.I. Goldanskii, A.Iu. Semenov, M.B. Chernenko, eds. Moscow: Nauka, 2005, pp. 431-44, 499-505.

“The Premises of Policy,” in Ronald Grigor Suny (ed.) *The Structure of Soviet History: Essays and Documents*, Oxford University Press 2002, pp. (A reprint of chapter 8 of *Stalin and the Bomb*)

With Stephen Stedman, “Civil Wars and State-Building in Africa and Eurasia,” in Mark R. Beissinger and Crawford Young, eds, *Beyond State Crisis: Postcolonial Africa and Post-Soviet Eurasia in Comparative Perspective*, Washington D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2002, pp.161-188

“Nuclear History and the Nuclear Future” in Jasjit Singh, ed. *Reshaping Asian Security*, New Delhi 2001, pp. 202-210.

"The USSR Defense Industry: From Militarization to Conversion," in Vlad Genin, ed., *The Anatomy of Russian Defense Conversion*, Vega Press: Walnut Creek, California, 2001, pp. 25-51.

"V.I. Vernadskii i atomnaia energiia," in A.L. Yanshin, ed., *V.I. Vernadskii: Pro et Contra. Antologija literatury o V.I. Vernadskom za sto let (1898-1998)*, St.Petersburg: izd. Russkogo Khristianskogo gumanitarnogo instituta, 2000, pp. 572-581. (A reprint of a 1989 journal article.)

“V poiskakh Kharitona,” in V.I. Goldanskii, ed., *Iulii Borisovich Khariton: Put’ dlinoiu v vek*, Moscow: Editorial URSS. 1999, pp. 439-445. (Reprinted in V.N. Mikhailov, ed., *Chelovek stoletija: Iulii Borisovich Khariton*, Moscow: Izdat, 1999, pp. 228-235.)

“How Soviet Physicists Caught Up,” in George A. Lopez and Nancy J. Myers, eds., *Peace and Security: The Next Generation*, Rowman and Littlefield, 1997, pp 18-24; adapted from “How the Bomb Saved Soviet Physics.”

“Some Thoughts on the Early Soviet, American, British and German Projects,” in *Nauka i Obshchestvo: Istorija Sovetskogo Atomnogo Proekta*, Izdat, 1997, pp 94-100.

"Bohr, Beria, and the Question of Atomic Intelligence," in Holloway and Naimark, eds., *Reexamining the Soviet Experience*, 1996, pp. 237-258.

"The State of the Field: Soviet Foreign Policy," in Daniel Orlovsky, ed., *Beyond Soviet Studies*, The Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1995, pp. 269-286.

"The Soviet Union and the Origins of the Arms Race," in Melvyn P. Leffler & David S. Painter, eds., *Origins of the Cold War*, Routledge, 1994, pp. 95-106. (Ch. 2 of *The Soviet Union and the Arms Race*)

With Michael McFaul, "Demilitarization and Defense Conversion," in Gail W. Lapidus, ed., *The New Russia: Troubled Transformation*, Westview Press, 1994, pp. 193-222.

"Learning to Live and Let Live," in Abraham Brumberg, ed., Chronicle of a Revolution: A Western-Soviet Enquiry into Perestroika, Pantheon Books, 1990, pp.145-160.

"New Thinking Abroad and the Military's Stake in Reform at Home," in George Breslauer, ed., Can Gorbachev's Reforms Succeed?, Berkeley-Stanford Program in Soviet Studies, Berkeley, 1990, pp.111-124.

"The Soviet Future in a Nuclear Age," in R.W. Davies ed., The Soviet Union, 2nd ed., Unwin Hyman, 1989, pp 188-200.

"The Politics of Arms Control," in Jeffrey Porro ed., The Nuclear Age Reader, Alfred A. Knopf 1989, pp 367-371 (excerpted from ch. 4 of The Soviet Union and the Arms Race).

With Condoleezza Rice, "The Evolution of Soviet Forces, Strategy, and Command," in Kurt Gottfried and Bruce Blair (eds.) Crisis Stability and Nuclear War, Oxford University Press, 1988, pp. 126-158.

"Science and Power in the Soviet Union," in Nicolaas Rupke (ed.) Science, Politics and the Public Good, Macmillan, 1988, pp. 141-159.

"Arms Control," in James Cracraft (ed.) The Soviet Union Today, 2nd ed., University of Chicago Press, 1988, pp. 126-135.

"Nuclear Weapons in Europe: Political and Moral Considerations," in Howard Davis (ed.), Ethics and Defence, Basil Blackwell, 1986, pp. 152-172.

"The Defense Economy," in John B. Harris and Eric Markusen, eds., Nuclear Weapons and the Threat of Nuclear War, Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1986, pp 354-366 (excerpted from chs 6 and 8 of The Soviet Union and the Arms Race).

"U.S. Soviet Strategic Competition and the Security of Northeast Asia," in Prospects for Peace in the Asian-Pacific Region, Center for International Security and Arms Control, March 1986, pp. 9-21.

"Thinking About Nuclear War: The Soviet View," in Fred Holroyd, ed., Thinking About Nuclear Weapons: Analyses and Prescriptions, London: Groom Helm, 1985, pp. 45-72 (an abridgement of ch. 3 of The Soviet Union and the Arms Race).

"Western Technology and Soviet Military Power," in Mark Schaffer (ed.), Technology Transfer and East-West Relations, Croom Helm, 1985, pp. 170-187.

"Soviet Policy and the Arms Race," in Gwyn Prins, The Choice: Nuclear Weapons Versus Security, Chatto and Windus, 1984, pp 109-127.

"Soviet INF Policy," in H. H. Holm and N. Peterson (eds.) The European Missile Crisis, St. Martin's Press, 1983, 98-116. (This volume was also published in Danish.)

"The Political and Historical Context of Soviet Military Expenditures" and "Economics and the Soviet Weapons Acquisition Process," in Soviet Military Economic Relations, Proceedings of a workshop sponsored jointly by the Subcommittee on International Trade, Finance, and Security Economics of the Joint Economic Committee and the Congressional Research Service Library of Congress, U.S. Government P.O., Washington, DC 1983, pp 11-53.

"Innovation in the Defence Sector" and "Innovation in the Defense Sector: Two Case Studies," in R. Amann and J. Cooper (eds.) Industrial Innovation in the Soviet Union, Yale University Press, 1982, pp. 276-414.

"Theatre Nuclear Weapons: The Soviet Doctrine," Mary Kaldor and Dan Smith, eds., Disarming Europe, The Merlin Press, 1982, pp 89-104.

"Foreign and Defence Policy," in Archie Brown and Michael Kaser (eds.) Soviet Policy for the 1980s, Macmillan, 1982, pp. 35-64.

"Technology and Doctrine in Soviet Armaments Policy," in Derek Leebaert (ed.) Soviet Military Thinking, Allen and Unwin, 1981, pp. 259-291.

"The Soviet Style of Military R&D," in F.A. Long and Judith Reppy (eds.) The Genesis of New Weapons: Decision Making for Military R&D, Pergamon, 1980, pp. 137-157.

"Military Technology," in R. Amann, J. Cooper and P. W. Davies (eds.) The Technological Level of Soviet Industry, Yale University Press, 1977, pp. 407-489.

"The Political Uses of Scientific Models: the cybernetic model of government in Soviet social science," in Lyndhurst Collins, ed., The Use of Models in the Social Sciences, Tavistock Publications, 1976, pp. 110-129.

"Foreign and Defence Policy," in Archie Brown and Michael Kaser (eds.) The Soviet Union since the Fall of Khrushchev, Macmillan, 1975, pp. 49-76; 2nd edition 1977.

"Models of Reform in Eastern Europe," in James Cornford (ed.) The Failure of the State: On the Distribution of Economic and Political Power in Europe, Croom Helm, 1975, pp. 141-173.

Journal Articles

"Conclusion: Reflections on the Nuclear Order," in a special issue of *The International History Review* on aspects of the global nuclear order in the 1970s, co-edited by Leopoldo Nuti and David Holloway, Vo. 40, no. 5, October 2018, pp. 1210-1218.

"The Soviet Union and the creation of the International Atomic Energy Agency," *Cold War History*, 16, 2, May 2016, 177-193. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14682745.2015.1124265>

With Cui Lei, "US-China relations in the shadow of the future," *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict*, 2014, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17467586.2014.977316>.

"La Bomba di Stalin," in *A qualcuno Piace Atomica*, "Quaderni Speciale di LIMES, June 2012, pp. 67-76.

"Jaderné zbraně a studená válka," *Soudoby dejiny*, No. I-II, 2011, pp. 32-52.

"Real'no li videnie mira, svobodnogo ot iadernogo oruzhiia?" *Mirovaia ekonomika i mehdunarodnye otnosheniia*, September 2009, pp. 12-20.

With Victor McFarland, "The Hungarian Revolution of 1956 in the context of the Cold War Military Confrontation," *Hungarian Studies*, 2006, vol. 20, no. 1, pp. 31-49. (Republished in Hungarian in a volume edited by Janos Rainer, "1956 in the New Historiography," 1956 Institute, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, 2007.)

"Paralleli zhizni? Oppengeimer i Khariton," *Priroda*, 2005, no. 2, pp. 69-78.

"Physics, the state, and civil society in the Soviet Union," Historical Studies in the Physical and Biological Sciences vol. 31, part 1, 1999, pp. 173-193.

"Vodorodnaia bomba," *Neva*, 1997, no. 6, pp. 171-189 (ch. 14 of Stalin and the Bomb)

"Reflections on Arzamas-16," Post-Soviet Affairs, January-March 1995, pp. 80-82.

"Operation Barbarossa: The German Attack on the Soviet Union, June 22, 1941," special issue Soviet Union/Union Soviétique, vol. 18, nos. 1-3, 1991. Coeditor with Norman Naimark, Alexander Dallin, Sasha Pursley.

"V. I. Vernadskii: Pis'ma k synu i docheri" Vestnik Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1990, No. 12, pp 122-133 (with V. Ia. Frenkel' and I. I. Mochalov).

"State, Society, and the Military under Gorbachev," International Security, Winter 1989/90, (Vol. 14, No. 3); also in Alexander Dallin and Gail W. Lapidus, eds., The Soviet System in Crisis, Westview, 1991, pp. 616-632; a longer version was published in a Japanese book under the title "Militarism and Demilitarization."

"Gorbachev's New Thinking," in Foreign Affairs, Winter 1988-89, pp. 66-81.

"V.I. Vernadskii i atomnaia energiia," Ocherki istorii estestvoznaniia i tekhniki: #36, 1989, pp. 30-37.

With Sidney D. Drell and Philip J. Farley, "Preserving the ABM Treaty: A Critique of the Reagan Strategic Defense Initiative," International Security, Fall 1984. pp. 51-91 (an abridged version of The Reagan Strategic Defense Initiative: A Technical, Political, and Arms Control Assessment, above); also in Steven E. Miller and Stephen Van Evera (eds.) The Star Wars Controversy, Princeton U.P., 1986, pp. 57-97.

"The Strategic Defense Initiative and the Soviet Union," Daedalus, Summer 1985, pp. 257-278; also in Franklin A. Long, Donald Haffner, and Jeffrey Boutwell (eds.), Weapons in Space, W.W. Norton & Co., 1986, pp. 257-278; excerpted in P. Edward Haley and Jack Merritt (eds.) Strategic Defense Initiative: Folly or Future?, Westview Press, 1986, pp. 139-150.

"The Politics of Soviet Science and Technology," Social Studies of Science, May 1981, pp. 259-274 (review essay).

"Military Power and Political Purpose in Soviet Policy," Daedalus, Fall 1980, 13-30; reprinted in Robbin F. Laird and Erik P. Hoffmann (eds.) Soviet Foreign Policy in a Changing World, 1986, pp. 246-265.

"War, Militarism and the Soviet State," Alternatives, March 1980, pp. 59-92; also as Working Paper No. 17, World Order Models Project, New York, 1981, 34pp.; also in E.P. Thompson and Dan Smith (eds.) Protest and Survive, Penguin Books, 1980, pp. 129-169; in Erik P. Hoffmann and Robbin F. Laird, eds., The Soviet Polity in the Modern Era, Aldine Publishing Co., 1984, pp. 359-391; and in Paul Joseph and Simon Rosenblum (eds.) Search for Sanity: The Politics of Nuclear Weapons and Disarmament, South End Press, 1984, pp. 319-341. Shortened versions appeared in Danish and Norwegian journals.

"Soviet Thermonuclear Development," International Security, Winter 1979/80, pp. 192-197.

"Innovation in Science - The Case of Cybernetics in the Soviet Union," Science Studies, 1974, no. 4, pp. 299-337.

"Technology and Political Decision in Soviet Armaments Policy," Journal of Peace and Research, 1974, no. 4, pp. 257-280; Technologie und Politische Entscheidungsgewalt in der Sowjetischen Rustungspolitik, Forschungsbericht 10/1975, Hessische Stiftung Friedens und Konfliktforschung, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1975, 61pp. also in Dieter Lutz (ed.) Die Rustung der Sowjetunion, Nomos, 1979, 189-229. [A shortened version appeared in Friedensanalysen. Fur Theorie und Praxis 2, Surkamp, 1976, pp. 86-106.]

"Science in Russian and Soviet Society," Science Studies, 1973, no. 3, pp. 61-72 (review essay).

"The Soviet Approach to MBFR," Waverly Papers, no. 5, March 1973; also in Beitraege zur Konfliktforschung, 1973, no. 4, pp. 5-32.

"Scientific Truth and Political Authority in the Soviet Union," Government and Opposition, Summer 1970, pp. 345-367; reprinted in Leonard Schapiro (ed.) Political Opposition in One-Party States, Macmillan, 1972, pp. 152-178.

"Strategic Concepts and Soviet Policy," Survival, November 1971, pp. 364-369; reprinted in EMO National Digest, April-May 1972.

Occasional pieces

"How the Bomb Saved Soviet Physics," Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, November/December 1994, pp. 46-55 (excerpted from ch. 10 of *Stalin and the Bomb*).

"Soviet Nuclear History," Cold War International History Project Bulletin, Fall 1994, pp.1-9.

"The Politics of Catastrophe," New York Review of Books, June 10, 1993, pp. 36-38.

"The Catastrophe and After," New York Review of Books, July 19, 1990, pp. 4-6; reprinted in Chemtech, February 1991, pp. 80-84.

"The Scientist and the Tyrant," New York Review of Books, March 1, 1990, pp. 23-25.

"State of the Union," New York Review of Books, June 12, 1986, pp. 18-21.

"Field Marshal Stalin," New York Review of Books, November 22, 1984, pp. 48-50.

"How Tough Is the Red Army?" New York Review of Books, June 2, 1983, pp. 22-24.

"The View from the Kremlin," Wilson Quarterly, Winter 1983, pp. 102-111.

Book reviews for The New York Times Book Review, Soviet Studies, Survival, Slavic Review, Political Studies, Science, TLS, Washington Post Book World, New Republic, The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, Science, Physics Today, Nature, etc.