



## Scott D. Sagan

Caroline S. G. Munro Memorial Professor of Political Science and Senior Fellow at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies

 Curriculum Vitae available Online

### CONTACT INFORMATION

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### Bio

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#### BIO

Scott D. Sagan is Co-Director and Senior Fellow at the Center for International Security and Cooperation, the Caroline S.G. Munro Professor of Political Science, and the Bass University Fellow in Undergraduate Education at Stanford University. He also serves as Co-Chair of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences' Committee on International Security Studies. Before joining the Stanford faculty, Sagan was a lecturer in the Department of Government at Harvard University and served as special assistant to the director of the Organization of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in the Pentagon.

Sagan is the author of *Moving Targets: Nuclear Strategy and National Security* (Princeton University Press, 1989); *The Limits of Safety: Organizations, Accidents, and Nuclear Weapons* (Princeton University Press, 1993); and, with co-author Kenneth N. Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: An Enduring Debate* (W.W. Norton, 2012). He is the co-editor of *Insider Threats* (Cornell University Press, 2017) with Matthew Bunn; and co-editor of *The Fragile Balance of Terror* (Cornell University Press, 2022) with Vipin Narang. Sagan was also the guest editor of a two-volume special issue of *Daedalus: Ethics, Technology, and War* (Fall 2016) and *The Changing Rules of War* (Winter 2017).

Recent publications include "Kettles of Hawks: Public Opinion on the Nuclear Taboo and Noncombatant Immunity in the United States, United Kingdom, France, and Israel", with Janina Dill and Benjamin A. Valentino in *Security Studies* (February 2022); "The Rule of Law and the Role of Strategy in U.S. Nuclear Doctrine" with Allen S. Weiner in *International Security* (Spring 2021); "Does the Noncombatant Immunity Norm Have Stopping Power?" with Benjamin A. Valentino in *International Security* (Fall 2020); and "Just War and Unjust Soldiers: American Public Opinion on the Moral Equality of Combatants" and "On Reciprocity, Revenge, and Replication: A Rejoinder to Walzer, McMahan, and Keohane" with Benjamin A. Valentino in *Ethics & International Affairs* (Winter 2019).

In 2022, Sagan was awarded Thérèse Delpech Memorial Award from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace at their International Nuclear Policy Conference. In 2017, he received the International Studies Association's Susan Strange Award which recognizes the scholar whose "singular intellect, assertiveness, and insight most challenge conventional wisdom and intellectual and organizational complacency" in the international studies community. Sagan was also the recipient of the National Academy of Sciences William and Katherine Estes Award in 2015, for his work addressing the

risks of nuclear weapons and the causes of nuclear proliferation. The award, which is granted triennially, recognizes “research in any field of cognitive or behavioral science that advances understanding of issues relating to the risk of nuclear war.” In 2013, Sagan received the International Studies Association’s International Security Studies Section Distinguished Scholar Award. He has also won four teaching awards: Stanford’s 1998-99 Dean’s Award for Distinguished Teaching; Stanford’s 1996 Hoagland Prize for Undergraduate Teaching; the International Studies Association’s 2008 Innovative Teaching Award; and the Monterey Institute for International Studies’ Nonproliferation Education Award in 2009.

## **ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS**

- Professor, Political Science
- Senior Fellow, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies

## **HONORS AND AWARDS**

- Thérèse Delpech Memorial Award, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (2022)
- Susan Strange Award, International Studies Association (2017)
- William and Katherine Estes Award, National Academy of Sciences (2015)
- Distinguished Scholar Award, International Studies Association’s International Security Studies Section (ISSS) (April 2013)
- Outstanding Contribution to Nonproliferation Education Award, Monterey Institute for International Studies (December 2009)
- Deborah Misty Gerner Innovative Teaching Award, International Studies Association (2008)
- Honorary Doctor of Laws, Ohio Wesleyan University (May 2008)
- Fellow, American Academy of Arts and Sciences (Elected 2008)
- Dean’s Award for Distinguished Teaching, Stanford University (1998-99)
- Laurance and Naomi Hoagland Prize for Undergraduate Teaching, Stanford University (1996)

## **BOARDS, ADVISORY COMMITTEES, PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS**

- Project Chair, AAAS Committee on International Security Studies (2018 - present)
- Chair of the Steering Committee, AAAS Initiative on Ethics, Technology, and War (2014 - 2018)
- Member, Herbert Scoville Jr. Peace Fellowship Advisory Council (2012 - present)
- Member, Committee on Proliferation Risk Nuclear Fuel National Academy of Sciences (2011 - 2013)
- Member, National Academy of Sciences Committee on Improving the Assessment of Proliferation Risk of Nuclear Fuel Cycles (2011 - 2013)
- Board Member, Federation of American Scientists (2010 - 2015)
- Expert Advisor, Congressional Commission on the Strategic Posture of the United States (2008 - 2009)
- Co-Chair (with Steven Miller), AAAS Initiative on the Global Nuclear Future (2007 - 2014)
- Consultant, National Intelligence Council “Global Expertise Reserve” (2006 - 2009)
- Member of Steering Committee, American Assembly (2006 - 2008)
- Member, Visiting Committee,, Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley (2006 - 2006)
- Member, CAC Subcommittee on Analysis and Policy Formulation, Council on Foreign Relations (2003 - 2005)
- Member, Visiting Committee, Department of Government, Havard University (2003 - 2003)
- Member, Undergraduate Advisory Council, Stanford University (2000 - 2011)
- Member, Distinguished Advisory Panel for Non-Proliferation and Arms Control, Sandia National Laboratory (2000 - 2010)
- Member, National Board of Directors of the Lawyers Alliance for World Security (LAWS) (1999 - 2005)
- Member, Advisory Panel on Investment Responsibility, Stanford University (1999 - 2000)
- University Fellow, Stanford University (1996 - 1998)

- Member, Asia/Pacific Scholars Program Faculty Committee, Stanford University (1996 - 1997)
- Member of Advisory Board, Nuclear Weapons History Project, National Security Archives, Washington DC (1995 - 2000)
- Member of the Committee on Science and International Security, American Association for the Advancement of Science (1995 - 1996)
- Member, 1995 Selection Committee for the MacArthur Foundation's Research and Writing Grants on Peace and International Cooperation (1995 - 1995)
- Member of Steering Committee, Eliminating Weapons of Mass Destruction Project, Henry L. Stimson Center, Washington DC (1994 - 1997)
- Co-director, NATO Advanced Research Workshop: "Improving Nuclear Weapons Safety and Security in the Post-Cold War Era" (1994 - 1994)
- Member of Program Committee, Stanford in Washington (1992 - present)
- Consultant, Los Alamos National Laboratory (1989 - 1995)
- Member, Advisory Group to the Joint Chiefs of Staff on the Future of U.S.-Soviet Military Relations (1989 - 1990)
- Consultant, Office of the Secretary of Defense (1987 - 1991)
- Consultant, the RAND Corporation (1987 - 1991)

## PROGRAM AFFILIATIONS

- Program in International Relations
- Science, Technology and Society

## PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION

- Ph.D., Harvard University , Political Science (1983)
- B.A., Oberlin College , Government (1977)

## LINKS

- FSI Page: [https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/people/scott\\_d\\_sagan](https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/people/scott_d_sagan)

## Research & Scholarship

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### CURRENT RESEARCH AND SCHOLARLY INTERESTS

Just War doctrine and the development of norms concerning the use of force; public attitudes in the U.S., U.K., France, and Israel about the use of nuclear weapons and non-combatant casualties; organizations and management of insider threats; the management of hazardous technology; security of nuclear materials, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

### PROJECTS

- Public Opinion, Ethics, and Nuclear Weapons Use
- Just War Doctrine in the Contemporary World
- The Insider Threat: Why Organizations Underestimate Internal Risks

## Teaching

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### COURSES

#### 2025-26

- Ethics and Law of War: INTLPOL 250 (Spr)
- Ethics and Law of War: LAW 5051 (Spr)
- Ethics and Law of War: POLISCI 315 (Spr)
- International Relations Theory, Part I: POLISCI 410A (Aut)

- Nuclear Strategy, Law, and Politics: INTLPOL 311N (Aut)
- Nuclear Strategy, Law, and Politics: LAW 5053 (Aut)
- Nuclear Strategy, Law, and Politics: POLISCI 211N, POLISCI 311N (Aut)

#### 2024-25

- Ethics and Law of War: INTLPOL 250 (Spr)
- Ethics and Law of War: LAW 5051 (Spr)
- Ethics and Law of War: POLISCI 315 (Spr)

#### 2023-24

- International Security in a Changing World: INTNLREL 114S, POLISCI 114S (Win)
- Rules of War: COLLEGE 109 (Spr)
- The Face of Battle: POLISCI 22SC (Sum)

#### 2022-23

- International Security in a Changing World: POLISCI 114S (Win)
- PRACTICAL TRAINING: INTNLREL 189 (Win)
- Rules of War: COLLEGE 109 (Spr)
- The Face of Battle: POLISCI 22SC (Sum)

## STANFORD ADVISEES

### Doctoral Dissertation Reader (AC)

Jake Yeager

### Postdoctoral Faculty Sponsor

Kevin Bustamante, Sitara Noor, Xunchao Zhang

### Doctoral (Program)

Mae MacDonald, Madeline Materna, AB Rhodes, Emily Russell, Aleksandre Sharashenidze, Bryan Terrazas

## Publications

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### PUBLICATIONS

- **Creeds and Contestation: How US Nuclear and Legal Doctrine Influence Each Other** *SECURITY STUDIES*  
Dill, J., Sagan, S. D.  
2025
- **The Role of Law in Global Nuclear Politics: Opacity, Deflection, and Potential** *SECURITY STUDIES*  
Dill, J., Sagan, S. D.  
2025; 34 (5): 933-949
- **Introduction: Law, Ethics, and Nuclear Weapons** *SECURITY STUDIES*  
Dill, J., Sagan, S. D.  
2025; 34 (5): 789-797
- **Atomic Arguments and Counter-Arguments: How Exposure to Conflicting Information Influences American Public Support for the Use of Nuclear Weapons** *INTERNATIONAL STUDIES QUARTERLY*  
Sagan, S. D., Valentino, B. A.  
2025; 69 (1)
- **Just and Unjust Nuclear Deterrence** *ETHICS & INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS*

- 
- Sagan, S. D. D.  
2023; 37 (1): 19-28
- **Public Opinion and the Nuclear Taboo Across Nations: An Exchange - The Authors Reply** *SECURITY STUDIES*  
Dill, J., Sagan, S. D., Valentino, B. A.  
2023; 32 (1): 195-204
  - **Inconstant Care: Public Attitudes Towards Force Protection and Civilian Casualties in the United States, United Kingdom, and Israel** *JOURNAL OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION*  
Dill, J., Sagan, S. D., Valentino, B.  
2022
  - **Kettles of Hawks: Public Opinion on the Nuclear Taboo and Noncombatant Immunity in the United States, United Kingdom, France, and Israel** *SECURITY STUDIES*  
Dill, J., Sagan, S. D., Valentino, B. A.  
2022
  - **The Rule of Law and the Role of Strategy in US Nuclear Doctrine** *INTERNATIONAL SECURITY*  
Sagan, S. D., Weiner, A. S.  
2021; 45 (4): 126+
  - **Why the atomic bombing of Hiroshima would be illegal today** *BULLETIN OF THE ATOMIC SCIENTISTS*  
McKinney, K. E., Sagan, S. D., Weiner, A. S.  
2020; 76 (4): 157-65
  - **Weighing Lives in War: How National Identity Influences American Public Opinion about Foreign Civilian and Compatriot Fatalities** *JOURNAL OF GLOBAL SECURITY STUDIES*  
Sagan, S. D., Valentino, B. A.  
2020; 5 (1): 25-43
  - **On Reciprocity, Revenge, and Replication: A Rejoinder to Walzer, McMahan, and Keohane** *ETHICS & INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS*  
Sagan, S. D., Valentino, B. A.  
2019; 33 (4): 473-79
  - **Just War and Unjust Soldiers: American Public Opinion on the Moral Equality of Combatants** *ETHICS & INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS*  
Sagan, S. D., Valentino, B. A.  
2019; 33 (4): 411-44
  - **What do Americans really think about conflict with nuclear North Korea? The answer is both reassuring and disturbing** *BULLETIN OF THE ATOMIC SCIENTISTS*  
Haworth, A. R., Sagan, S. D., Valentino, B. A.  
2019
  - **Armed and Dangerous When Dictators Get the Bomb** *FOREIGN AFFAIRS*  
Sagan, S. D.  
2018; 97 (6): 35-43
  - **Not Just a War Theory: American Public Opinion on Ethics in Combat** *INTERNATIONAL STUDIES QUARTERLY*  
Sagan, S. D., Valentino, B. A.  
2018; 62 (3): 548-61
  - **Insider Threats**  
edited by Sagan, S. D., Bunn, M.  
2017
  - **Revisiting Hiroshima in Iran: What Americans Really Think about Using Nuclear Weapons and Killing Noncombatants** *International Security*  
Sagan, S. D., Valentino, B. A.  
2017
  - **The Korean Missile Crisis: Why Deterrence is Still the Best Option** *Foreign Affairs*  
Sagan, S.

2017

- **The Face of Battle without the Rules of War: Lessons from Red Horse & the Battle of the Little Bighorn** *Daedalus*  
Sagan, S. D.  
2017; 146 (1): 24-43
- **The Nuclear Necessity Principle: Making US Targeting Policy Conform with Ethics & the Laws of War** *DAEDALUS*  
Lewis, J. G., Sagan, S. D.  
2016; 145 (4): 62-74
- **Learning from a Disaster: Improving Nuclear Safety and Security after Fukushima**  
edited by Blandford, E. D., Sagan, S. D.  
Stanford University Press.2016
- **Atomic Aversion: Experimental Evidence on Taboos, Traditions, and the Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons** *AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW*  
Press, D. G., Sagan, S. D., Valentino, B. A.  
2013; 107 (1): 188-206
- **The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: An Enduring Debate**  
Sagan, S. D., Waltz, K.  
W. W. Norton & Company.2012
- **The Limits of Safety: Organizations, Accidents, and Nuclear Weapons**  
Sagan, S. D.  
Princeton University Press.1993
- **Moving Targets: Nuclear Strategy and National Security**  
Sagan, S. D.  
Princeton University Press.1989
- **The Stopping Power of Norms: Saturation Bombing, Civilian Immunity, and US Attitudes toward the Laws of War** *INTERNATIONAL SECURITY*  
Sagan, S. D., Valentino, B. A., Carpenter, C., Montgomery, A. H.  
2020; 45 (2): 170–81
- **The Changing Rules of War** *DAEDALUS*  
Sagan, S. D.  
2017; 146 (1): 6-10
- **The Face of Battle without the Rules of War: Lessons from Red Horse & the Battle of the Little Bighorn** *DAEDALUS*  
Sagan, S. D.  
2017; 146 (1): 25-43
- **The Korean Missile Crisis Why Deterrence Is Still the Best Option** *FOREIGN AFFAIRS*  
Sagan, S. D.  
2017; 96 (6): 72-+
- **Revisiting Hiroshima in Iran What Americans Really Think about Using Nuclear Weapons and Killing Noncombatants** *INTERNATIONAL SECURITY*  
Sagan, S. D., Valentino, B. A.  
2017; 42 (1): 41-79
- **The Changing Rules of War** *Daedalus*  
Sagan, S. D.  
2017; 146 (1): 6-10
- **Ethics, Technology & War** *DAEDALUS*  
Sagan, S. D.  
2016; 145 (4): 6-11

- **The Future of the Nuclear Order** *Current History*  
Sagan, S. D.  
2014; 113 (759): 23-25
- **The Future of the Nuclear Order** *CURRENT HISTORY*  
Sagan, S. D.  
2014; 113 (759): 23-25
- **COMMAND AND CONTROL Nuclear Weapons, the Damascus Accident, and the Illusion of Safety (Book Review)** *AMERICAN SCHOLAR*  
Book Review Authored by: Sagan, S. D.  
2013; 82 (4): 111-113
- **Political Scientists and Historians in Search of the Bomb** *JOURNAL OF STRATEGIC STUDIES*  
Sagan, S. D., Waltz, K. N.  
2013; 36 (1): 143-151
- **A call for global nuclear disarmament** *NATURE*  
Sagan, S. D.  
2012; 487 (7405): 30-32
- **Should the U.S. or International Community Aggressively Pursue Nuclear Nonproliferation Policies? 'Yes' Argument** *Controversies in Globalization: Contending Approaches to International Relations, Second Edition*,  
Sagan, S. D., Pauly, R. B.  
CQ Press. 2012
- **Introduction: Reviewing the Nuclear Posture Review** *The Nonproliferation Review*  
Sagan, S. D., Vaynman, J.  
2011; 18 (1)
- **Arms, Disarmament and Influence: the International Impact of the 2010 U.S. Nuclear Posture Review, The Nonproliferation Review Special Issue**  
edited by Sagan, S. D., Vaynman, J.  
Routledge Taylor & Francis Group. 2011
- **The International Security Implications of U.S. Domestic Nuclear Power Decisions** *Blue Ribbon Commission on America's Nuclear Future*  
Sagan, S. D.  
2011
- **Lessons Learned from the 2010 Nuclear Posture Review** *The Nonproliferation Review*  
Sagan, S. D., Vaynman, J.  
2011; 18 (1)
- **The Causes of Nuclear Weapons Proliferation** *ANNUAL REVIEW OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, VOL 14*  
Sagan, S. D.  
2011; 14: 225-244
- **Alternative nuclear futures** *DAEDALUS*  
Miller, S. E., Sagan, S. D.  
2010; 139 (1): 126-137
- **On the Global Nuclear Future Vol. 2, Daedalus Special Issue**  
Miller, S. E.  
edited by Sagan, S.  
MIT Press. 2010
- **Going Nuclear: Nuclear Proliferation and International Security in the 21st Century**  
Sagan, S. D.  
MIT Press (International Security reader). 2010
- **Is Nuclear Zero the Best Option? (debate with Kenneth N. Waltz)** *The National Interest*

- Sagan , S. D.  
2010: 88-96
- **Nuclear Latency and Nuclear Proliferation** *Forecasting Nuclear Proliferation in the 21st Century*  
Sagan, S. D.  
Stanford University Press .2010
  - **Nuclear power without nuclear proliferation?** *DAEDALUS*  
Miller, S. E., Sagan, S. D.  
2009; 138 (4): 7-18
  - **Shared responsibilities for nuclear disarmament** *DAEDALUS*  
Sagan, S. D.  
2009; 138 (4): 157-168
  - **The Perils of Predicting Proliferation** *JOURNAL OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION*  
Montgomery, A. H., Sagan, S. D.  
2009; 53 (2): 302-328
  - **The Case for No First Use: An Exchange** *SURVIVAL*  
Halperin, M. H., Tertrais, B., Payne, K. B., Subrahmanyam, K., Sagan, S. D.  
2009; 51 (5): 17-46
  - **Reply: Evidence, Logic, and Nuclear Doctrine** *Survival*  
Sagan , S. D.  
2009 : 36-46
  - **Should the U.S. or International Community Aggressively Pursue Nuclear Nonproliferation Policies? 'Yes' Argument** *Controversies in Globalization: Contending Approaches to International Relations*  
Sagan , S. D., Weddle , J. A.  
CQ Press.2009: 152–163
  - **On the Global Nuclear Future Vol. 1 , Daedalus Special Issue**  
edited by Sagan , S. D., Miller , S. E.  
MIT Press .2009
  - **Introduction: Inside Nuclear South Asia and The Evolution of Pakistani and Indian Doctrine** *Inside Nuclear South Asia*  
Sagan , S. D.  
Stanford University Press .2009 : 1–24 and 219–254
  - **Good Faith and Nuclear Disarmament Negotiations** *Abolishing Nuclear Weapons: A Debate*  
Sagan , S. D.  
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.2009 : 203–212
  - **Inside Nuclear South Asia**  
Sagan , S. D.  
Stanford University Press .2009
  - **The Case for No First Use** *SURVIVAL*  
Sagan, S. D.  
2009; 51 (3): 163-181
  - **Nuclear Iran, A: Promoting Stability or Courting Disaster** *Journal of International Affairs*  
Sagan , S. D., Waltz , K. N.  
2007; 60 (2)
  - **How to keep the bomb from Iran** *FOREIGN AFFAIRS*  
Sagan, S. D.  
2006; 85 (5): 45-?

- **The problem of redundancy problem: Why more nuclear security forces may produce less nuclear security** *RISK ANALYSIS*  
Sagan, S. D.  
2004; 24 (4): 935-946
- **Learning from Normal Accidents** *ORGANIZATION & ENVIRONMENT*  
Sagan, S. D.  
2004; 17 (1): 15-19
- **Nuclear Dangers in South Asia** *Forum on Physics & Society*  
Sagan, S. D.  
2004
- **Realist Perspectives on Ethical Norms and Weapons of Mass Destruction** *Ethics and Weapons of Mass Destruction*  
Sagan, S. D.  
Cambridge University Press.2004: 15–31
- **The Madman nuclear alert - Secrecy, signaling, and safety in October 1969** *Annual Meeting of the Society-for-Historians-of-American-Foreign-Relations*  
SAGAN, S. D., Suri, J.  
MIT PRESS.2003: 150–83
- **The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed**  
Sagan, S. D., Waltz, K. N.  
W. W. Norton & Company, Inc..2003
- **The perils of proliferation in south Asia** *ASIAN SURVEY*  
SAGAN, S. D.  
2001; 41 (6): 1064-1086
- **Responding to chemical and biological threats - Reply** *INTERNATIONAL SECURITY*  
SAGAN, S. D.  
2001; 25 (4): 196-198
- **The commitment trap - Why the United States should not use nuclear threats to deter biological and chemical weapons attacks** *INTERNATIONAL SECURITY*  
SAGAN, S. D.  
2000; 24 (4): 85-115
- **Origins of Military Doctrines and Command and Control Systems; and Conclusions: Planning the Unthinkable, The** *Planning the Unthinkable: How New Powers Will Use Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical Weapons*  
Sagan, S. D.  
Cornell University Press .2000: 16–45; 230–257
- **The causes of nuclear proliferation** *CURRENT HISTORY*  
SAGAN, S. D.  
1997; 96 (609): 151-156
- **Why do states build nuclear weapons? Three models in search of a bomb** *INTERNATIONAL SECURITY*  
SAGAN, S. D.  
1997; 21 (3): 54-86
- **The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate**  
Sagan, S. D., Waltz, K.  
W.W. Norton & Company.1995
- **THE PERILS OF PROLIFERATION - ORGANIZATION THEORY, DETERRENCE THEORY, AND THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR-WEAPONS** *INTERNATIONAL SECURITY*  
SAGAN, S. D.  
1994; 18 (4): 66-107

- **Civil Military Relations and Nuclear Weapons**

Sagan, S. D.

Center for International Security and Arms Control, Stanford University.1994

- **THE ORIGINS OF THE PACIFIC WAR** *JOURNAL OF INTERDISCIPLINARY HISTORY*

SAGAN, S. D.

1988; 18 (4): 893-922

- **Living with Nuclear Weapons**

edited by Carnesale, A., Doty, P., Hoffman, S., Huntington, S. P., Nye, J. S., Sagan, S. D.

Harvard University Press.1983