

Andrew S. Natsios

George H. W. Bush School of Government and Public Service

Scowcroft Institute of International Affairs

Texas A&M University

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PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Director, Scowcroft Institute of International Affairs and E. Richard Schendel Distinguished Professor of the Practice (September 2013 - present),
George H.W. Bush School of Government and Public Service, Texas A and M University (August 2012 - Present)

- Serve as full time faculty member teaching courses in famine theory, humanitarian assistance, and crisis management and international development theory and practice.
- As Director, provide grants for faculty research, host a speaker's series, fund conferences and book publications, manage US Army fellows program, publish policy series, and oversee student capstone programs. Also, created a new Global Pandemic Policy Program to research and propose policy initiatives on pandemics in the developing world, the US response to global pandemics, and the risks and response to bio-terrorism.

Distinguished Professor in the Practice of Diplomacy and Advisor on International Development, Georgetown University, Walsh School of Foreign Service (January 2006 - May 2012)

- Full time faculty member at the Edmund Walsh School of Foreign Service
- Courses: Great Famines, War, and Humanitarian Assistance (graduate) and Contemporary Issues in International Development (undergraduate)

Visiting Fellow, Center for Global Development (CGD), (2010).

- Provided counsel on issues related to international development, U.S. foreign policy, humanitarian assistance and Sudan. Wrote paper: *Clash of the Counter-bureaucracy and Development*. (2010)

Senior Fellow on Foreign Policy and International Development. The Hudson Institute, Washington, D.C (2008 – Present)

- Provide counsel on issues related to U.S. foreign policy, human rights, Middle East and North Africa, Afghanistan and Pakistan, humanitarian intervention and assistance, international organizations including the United Nations and issues related to sub-Saharan Africa and Sudan.

Presidential Special Envoy to Sudan, Department of State/White House (October 2006-December 2007)

- Responsible for reviewing the state of relations between the US and the Government of Sudan to address the crisis in Darfur and in the implementation of the North/South

Comprehensive Peace Agreement and recommending changes in US policy. Also, worked to construct an international coalition to address the humanitarian crisis, and negotiated with Sudanese Government, various rebel groups, and Government of Southern Sudan to implement the policy changes.

Administrator, U.S. Agency for International Development (May 2001-January 2006), Special U.S. Government Humanitarian Coordinator for Sudan (2001-2006) and US Government Coordinator for International Disaster Assistance (2001-2006).

- Served as chief executive officer of the U.S government's lead foreign assistance agency in charge of nearly \$14 billion (up from \$7.9 billion in FY 2001) annual budget with a worldwide workforce of 8,100 employees operating in more than 80 countries while the Agency worked in three war zones (Iraq, Afghanistan, and Sudan) and multiple crisis such as the Aceh Tsunami (2004) and the Pakistan earthquake (2005).
- Oversaw programs in: infrastructure development, reconstruction, emergency and crisis response, economic growth, policy reform, anti-corruption, global health, agriculture, environmental protection, microenterprise, democracy and governance, and humanitarian relief.
- Designed and directed USAID's new \$5 billion (total as of 2005) public-private partnership program entitled The Global Development Alliance or GDA with corporations, nongovernmental organizations, and foundations. Resulted in leveraging \$3.7 billion in new private funding utilizing U.S. contributions of \$1.2 billion; 2013 aggregated value of GDA projects \$18 billion.
- Improved policy and management coordination between the Department of State and USAID through the strategic formation of the Joint Policy Council (JPC) and Joint Management Council (JMC) which resulted in the first State-USAID Strategic Plan of 2004-2009. This plan helped to identify a Joint Mission Statement, Common Values, Strategic Objectives and Strategic Goals that the two institutions would use to measure improved performance and results over the course of plan implementation. This was the start of what is known today as the QDDR.
- Managed major reconstruction programs in Afghanistan, Indonesia (following the Tsunami), Pakistan (following the 2005 earthquake), Iraq and Southern Sudan.
- Helped launch major new Presidential initiatives including the President's Emergency Plan for Aids Relief (PEPFAR), Millennium Challenge Account (MCC) President's Malaria Initiative (PMI), and other initiatives. As a result, USAID helped implement major components of all these initiatives since their inception, including the program lead on PMI.
- Undertook expanded global engagement with the international development community through support of global and United Nations conferences including the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) in South Africa, International Summit on Financing for Development (FFD) in Monterrey, Mexico, World Food Summit in Rome (2002), and lead U.S. Government delegations to several high-level conferences of the OECD focused on improved donor coordination and results.
- Led U.S. delegation to the 2005 Paris High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness where donors recognized that aid could and should be producing better results. Helped to co-author the Paris Declaration signed by all donor nations which focused on five central pillars: Ownership, Alignment, Harmonization, Managing for Results and Mutual Accountability.

- Rebuilt and strengthened Agency external and internal communications systems including instituting a global “Rebranding and Marking” campaign adding “From the American People” to the USAID brand identification; launching improved program communications training and support through a global “Development and Outreach Communications (DOC) program.
- Began the DLI (Development Leadership Initiative) program to restaff the USAID foreign and civil service, ending the decade long decline in the size of the USAID workforce.
- Launched an ambitious modernization of USAID management including finance, personnel and procurement systems;
- Directed the strategic realignment of the agency in the post-9/11 period where USAID’s role in humanitarian assistance, international development AND contingency and transition operations was better defined, affirmed and expanded.

Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Massachusetts Turnpike Authority, Boston’s Central Artery Project (also known as “The Big Dig”) (April 2000-March 2001)

- Appointed Chief Executive Officer of the Massachusetts Turnpike Authority and Boston’s \$14.7 billion “Central Artery Project,” the largest public works project in U.S. history. Restored public confidence in financial management of the Central Artery Project after disclosure of massive undisclosed cost overruns.
- Terminated former management team and recruited and hired new managers, completed thorough cost review of project and designed new financing plan to close the \$2.4 billion revenue deficit, completed review and changes to the controversial owner-controlled insurance program, implemented major reorganization of the Turnpike management structure, reduced Turnpike workforce by 10%, initiated national search for new project director, and designed, negotiated and implemented contractual incentives to project management firm and construction companies to control The Big Dig cost structure.

Secretary of Administration & Finance, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, (March 1999 April 2000)

- Chief Operating Officer and Chief Financial Officer for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Responsible for \$20 billion state budget; revenue and taxation system; public debt and capital planning; state information technology office; state personnel system, including collective bargaining; state comptroller; construction and management of state buildings and property; financial aid to municipal governments; and policy research and development for the Governor.
- Managed effort to reform the state school building assistance program to municipalities, to reform the state laws governing public construction, to design a \$2.4 billion revenue package to fund the cost overruns in the Big Dig, to reduce by \$2 billion authorized but un-issued state debt, to design budget plan to implement a \$1.3 billion reduction in state income tax, and to reform the state program to provide loans to municipal government for wastewater and water systems. Managed legislative and media strategies to secure legislative passage.

Jennings Randolph Senior Fellow, United States Institute for Peace (July 1998 - February 1999)

- Wrote book on the North Korean famine (*The Great North Korean Famine*, USIP publishing, January 2001).

Vice President, World Vision U.S.A. (May 1993 - June 1998)

- Responsible for program development, evaluation, and resource acquisition (income of \$175 million in FY97, up from \$110 million in FY93) from USG and private corporate donors for humanitarian relief, micro credit programs, international health, food security and agricultural programs in developing countries; responsible for World Vision U.S. relationships with USG, UN agencies and InterAction (the NGO association) on grant making and public policy issues.

Assistant Administrator, Bureau of Food and Humanitarian Assistance, U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), (1991- January 1993) and **Director, Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance** (1989 - 1991), **Presidential Coordinator for Somalia Humanitarian Relief** (1992)

- Manager of \$1.3 billion program in FY93 of U.S. foreign disaster assistance, U.S. government food aid programs, NGO grants, and American-sponsored schools and hospitals abroad. Directed U.S. government humanitarian response to foreign manmade and natural disasters, including the Somalia Famine (1991-1992); Sudan civil war (1989-1992); Ethiopia food emergencies (1990); Angola (1990), Mozambique (1989-1992), Liberia (1990-1992), Bosnia civil wars (1992) working with the UN agencies, NGOs, and the ICRC.

Lieutenant Colonel (Retired), U.S. Army Reserves (1972 – 1995)

- Commissioned Second Lieutenant at Georgetown University (ROTC) in 1971. Civil Affairs Officer, veteran of the Gulf War in December 1991-March 1992, served in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait City as executive officer of the Kuwait Task Force which planned for relief and reconstruction requirements post-liberation. Served on the Joint Staff at the Pentagon on active duty January-April 1993 working on Somalia and Bosnia.

Executive Director, Northeast Power Association, Southborough, Mass. (1987 – 1989)

- Led trade group association providing environmental audits, management training and management audits, public relations, policy studies, group insurance, and collective purchasing services to 70 consumer-owned electric utilities in New England.

State Representative, 8th Middlesex District, Massachusetts House of Representatives (1975 - 1987)

- Served on Legislative Committees of House Ways and Means, Taxation, Energy, Commerce and Labor, Ethics, Housing and Urban Development, and Civil Service Reform Commission. Areas of public concentration included State budget and debt structure, taxation, local finance, zoning and land-use planning, and education reform. Co-author of Proposition 2 ½ (a property tax cutting law), reforms of the State debt service, and welfare fraud auditing legislation, protection of management rights for the MBTA, civil service reform, and repeal of the loyalty oath law.

EDUCATION

HARVARD UNIVERSITY, Kennedy School of Government, Cambridge, MA
Masters of Public Administration, 1979

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY, Washington, DC
B.A. of History, 1971

HOLLISTON HIGH SCHOOL, Holliston, MA
Graduated 1967

GOVERNMENT AND NON-PROFIT BOARDS

- Chairman, Program Advisory Committee (board of directors), Harvest Plus, which is part of the CGIAR (Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research—loosely affiliated with the World Bank). Harvest Plus’s mission is breeding micro-nutrients into grains and beans grown and consumed by poor people in Developing Countries. (Beginning January 2019)
- Member, Global Leadership Council, Advisory Group to the UN Foundation, (November 2019-present)
- Co-Chair, Emeritus, the Committee for Human Rights in North Korea, an NGO which produces research and reports on human rights abuses in North Korea. (Member 2007-present)
- Member, USIP Task Force on Horn of Africa (2019-2020)
- Member, American Academy of Diplomacy (2010-present)
- Member, National Academy of Science, Building International Chemical Biological, Radiological, and Nuclear Resilience Steering Committee. 2015-2016.
- Member, United States Institute for Peace, Task Force on State Fragility, 2015-2016
- Chaired the fundraising committee of Harvest Plus 2009-2012, of the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research.
- Advisory Board, Institute for Global Engagement
- Former board member: International Orthodox Christian Charities (NGO of the Orthodox Church), International Center for Religion and Diplomacy, InterAction (NGO consortium), and International Justice Mission.
- Advisory Board, FOCUS North America (domestic Eastern Orthodox Christian charities consortium).
- Archon of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of the Eastern Orthodox Church, Order of St. Andrew. 2010-present
- Former member of Town of Holliston (Massachusetts): Industrial Development Commission (Treasurer), By-Law Study Committee (Chairman), and Zoning Board of Appeals (Alternate member). Between 1972-1988□

CORPORATION BOARDS

- Management Training Corporation, Board of Directors 2007-present. Chairman of the Governance Committee
- FIO Corporation (Canada), Advisory Board 2010-2016, Board of Directors 2017-present
- AECOM, Government Services Advisory Council (GSAC) 2009-2013

AWARDS

- Distinguished Member of the Civil Affairs Regiment (of the United States Army), Ft. Bragg, North Carolina (October 2016)
- Life Time Achievement Award, Alpha Omega Council of New England (Greek American service organization) (2012)
- Life Time Achievement Award, Society for International Development (2011)
- Honorary doctorate from Marquette University (May 2008)
- Honorary doctorate, Georgetown University, School of Nursing and Health Sciences (May 2002)
- Department of State, Superior Honor Award (January 1993)
- U.S. Agency for International Development, Distinguished Honor Award (January 1993)

Named legislator of the year by the:

- Massachusetts Municipal Association, Massachusetts Mayors Association, and Massachusetts Association of Selectmen (1978); □ Massachusetts Association of School Committees (1986);
- Citizens for Limited Taxation (1986).

PUBLICATIONS

Books:

- *Sudan, South Sudan, and Darfur: What Everyone Needs to Know*, Oxford University Press, April 2012.
- *The Great North Korean Famine*, US Institute for Peace Publishing, 2001.
- *U.S. Foreign Policy and the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse*, Center for Strategic and International Studies/Praeger Publishing, 1997.
- *Transforming Our World: The Foreign Policy of George H.W. Bush*, Editors, Andrew Natsios and Andrew Card, Rowman Littlefield Press, 2021.

Contributor to edited books:

- “Sudan-South Sudan”, in Border Disputes: A Global Encyclopedia, Volume 1, Territorial Disputes, Editor, Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly, ABC-CLIO press, 2015.
- “Transitional Justice in North Korea Following a Change of Regime: An exploration of Four Possible Scenarios” in Transitional Justice in Unified Korea, editors, Baek BuhmSuk, and Ruti G. Teitel, Palgrave MacMillan, October 2015.

- “North Korea’s Chronic Food Problems” in *Troubled Transition: North Korea’s Politics, Economy and External Relations*, edited by Choe Sang-hun, Gi-Wook Shin and David Straub, Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center (distributed by Brookings Press), 2013.
- “Darfur, Sudan” with Zachary Scott in *Responsibility to Protect: The Promise of Stopping Mass Atrocities* edited by Jared Genser and Irvin Cottler, Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Preface to the Encyclopedia of Human Rights, published by Oxford University Press, edited by David Forsythe, 2009.
- Essay 16 “Understanding and Responding to Fragile and Failed States” Commanding Heights, edited by Michael Miklaucic, National Defense University Press, 2009.
- “Hunger, Famine, and the Promise of Biotechnology” in Let Them Eat Precaution: How Politics is Undermining the Genetic Revolution in Agriculture, Edited by Hon Entine, American Enterprise Institute Press, 2006.
- “Documenting the Atrocities in Darfur” in Genocide in Darfur: Investigating the Atrocities in Sudan, Edited by Eric Markusen, Routledge Press, 2006.
- “Humanitarian Assistance During a Democratic Transition in Cuba,” in Cuban Communism, 10th Edition, edited by Irving Louis Horowitz and Jaime Suchlicki, Transaction Publishers, 2001.
- “An NGO Perspective on Conflict Resolution,” in Peacemaking in International Conflict: Methods and Techniques, edited by Zartman and Rasmusen, U.S. Institute for Peace, 1997.
- “The Foreign Policy of Faith-based Non-Governmental Organizations,” in the Influence of Faith: Religious Groups and U.S. Foreign Policy, Rodman and Littlefield Publishers, edited by Elliott Abrams of the Ethics and Public Policy Center, 2001.
- “Development Assistance and International Migration” with Richard Bissell in Global Migrants, Global Refugees, edited by Aristide R. Zolberg and Peter Benda, Berghahn Books, 2001 .
- “Illusions of Influence: The CNN Effect in Complex Emergencies,” in From Massacres to Genocide: The Media, Public Policy and Humanitarian Crisis, Robert Rotberg and Thomas Weiss, editors; The Brookings Institution, 1996.
- “Humanitarian Relief Intervention in Somalia: The Economics of Chaos,” Learning from Somalia: The Lessons of Armed Humanitarian Intervention, Walter Clarke and Jeffrey Herbst, editors; Westview Press, 1996.
- “Economic Incentives and Disaster Mitigation” in Alcira Kreimer and Mohan Munasinghe, eds. Managing Natural Disasters and the Environment, (The World Bank: Washington, D.C.), 1991, pp. 111-114.

Articles:

- *H-Diplo Article Review* 1020 17 February 2021, Natsios Review of Andrei Lankov article in *Journal of Cold War Studies*, 22.2 Spring 2020 “Trouble Brewing: the North Korean famine of 1954-55 and Soviet Attitudes towards North Korea”.
- “Foreign Aid in an Era of Great Power Competition”, *PRISM* 8. No. 4, Spring 2020.
- “Predicting the Next Pandemic: The United States Needs an Early Warning System for Infectious Disease” *Foreign Affairs*, July 14, 2020.
- “The Evolution of the South Sudan’s Culture”, *South Central Review*, Fall 2020.

- “American foreign aid programs best defense against coronavirus”, OPED, *Washington Times*, March 11, 2020
- “Coronavirus may not be the apocalypse, but it is a serious health crisis, OPED, Al Arabiya, 17 March 2020.
- “The silent threat of coronavirus: America’s dependence on Chinese pharmaceuticals”, *The Conversation*, with Christine Crudo Blackburn, Gerald Parker, and Leslie Ruyle, February 11, 2020
- “Has America’s Influence Ebbled?” Book Review of *The Empty Throne: America’s Abdication of Global Leadership*, Daalder and Lindsay, *Cairo Review of Global Affairs*. Fall 2019.
- “Reagan’s Legacy Today: Development Policy and Human Rights”, National Security Network. University of Texas. Policy Roundtable October 9, 2019. *Texas National Security Review*.
- “Putin’s New Russia: Fragile State or Revisionist Power?” *South Central Review*, Vol. 35, no. 1, Spring 2018. Served as guest editor for the *Putin’s New Russia* issue.
- “The Development Credit Authority Needs to Stay in USAID”, Andrew Natsios and Eric Postel, *DEVEX OpEd*, February 26, 2018.
- “Preventing a Post-Collapse Crisis in North Korea: How to Avoid Famine and Mass Migration” *Foreign Affairs* January 25, 2018, Joonbum Bae and Andrew Natsios.
- “US must press Saudis to prevent a famine threatening millions in Yemen”, with Jeremy Konyndyk, *Fox News* on-line, March 27, 2018.
- “Why Foreign Aid is just as powerful as diplomacy and defense” *The Hill*, OPED, July 5, 2017.
- “Tillerson Wants to Merge the State Department and USAID. That’s a Bad Idea”, OPED on-line, *Washington Post*, June 28, 2017.
- “What Trump’s Foreign Aid Budget means to the Rest of the World”, Andrew S. Natsios, *The Atlantic on-line*, April 4, 2017.
- “South Sudan should not be Allowed to Collapse”, *New York Times* on-line and *International New York Times*, January 20, 2017.
- “Rethinking National Security Strategy: A New Role for International Development”, *Foreign Affairs* on-line, December 1, 2016, by J. Brian Atwood and Andrew Natsios.
- “The Politics of the North Korean Floods”, *Beyond the Parallel*, Center for Strategic and International Studies, November 2, 2016.
- “A New Approach for South Sudan, *New York Times*-online OPED and print edition of *The International New York Times*, July 28, 2015.
- “The Lords of the Tribes: the Real Roots of the Conflict in South Sudan”, *Foreign Affairs on-line*, July 9, 2015.
- “Save South Sudan from Itself”, *New York Times* OPED, December 25, 2013
- “War, War, and More War for Sudan”, *New York Times* (online) and *International Herald Tribune*, August 24, 2012.
- *U.S. News and World Report*, The World Report, Biweekly/Monthly Blog from October 2012-October 2013.

- “Sudan's Oil Crisis is Only Bashir's First Problem”, *Foreign Affairs on-line*, February 1, 2012.
- “China in Sudan: the Challenge of Non-Interference in a Failed State”, *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, Summer/Fall 2012, pp. 61-67
- “To Stop the War on South Sudan, the United States Should send Weapons”, *Washington Post*, May 11, 2012
- “Heading Off the Coming Food Revolutions” *Foreign Service Journal*, March 2012.
- “Stop Feeding North Korea’s Nuclear Ambitions” *Washington Post OPED*, March 8, 2012
- “North Korea: A Different Perspective”, *Korea Chair Platform* (on-line), CSIS, February 29, 2012
- “The World’s Newest Nation: The Republic of South Sudan”, July 13, 2011, online Holocaust Memorial Museum website. My report on attending the Independence Day celebration for South Sudan July 9, 2011.
- “Sudan back on the Brink: The North’s Invasion of Abyei could Spark Another Civil War” in *Foreign Affairs* on-line edition post-script, May 26, 2011
- “Sudan’s Secession Crisis”, with Michael Abramowitz, *Foreign Affairs*, January February 2011.
- “Is Sudan Next? How Egypt’s Uprising Could Cause the Utter Disintegration of Its Neighbor”, *The New Republic*, February 2011.
- "Dispelling the Myths About Sudan's Referendum," Real Clear World, January 2, 2011.
- "Peace in Sudan's Reach," with Michael Abramowitz, Boston Globe, November 9, 2010.
- “The Clash of the Counter-Bureaucracy and Development” essay, Center for Global Development, July 2010.
- “Time Lag and Sequencing Dilemmas of Post-Conflict Reconstruction” *PRISM*, No. 1, 2009.
- “Devastation in Haiti: After Reconstruction” *Newsweek* online January 22, 2010
- “Public/Private Alliances Transform Aid” *Stanford Social Innovations Review*, Nov. 2009.
- “Waltz with Bashir: Why the Arrest Warrant Against Sudan's President Will Serve Neither Peace nor Justice” *Foreign Affairs* (electronic edition), March 23, 2009
- “The Coming Food Coups”, *Washington Quarterly*, January 2009, Andrew Natsios and Kelly Doley.
- “Foreign Aid Reform”, *Foreign Service Journal*, December 2008.
- “The Aid Wars”, *The American Interest*, Vol. IV Number 1, September/October 2008.
- “Africa does not have to Starve”, *Wall Street Journal*, Dr. Norman Borlaug and Andrew Natsios, May 2, 2008
- “The US has a Scattershot Approach to Global Poverty”, Brian Atwood and Andrew Natsios, *Star Tribune*, (Minneapolis), September 17, 2008.
- “Arrested Development: Making Foreign Aid a More Effective Tool” with Brian Atwood and Peter McPherson, *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2008.
- “The AID Wars” *American Interest*, September/October 2008.

- “Beyond Darfur: Sudan’s Slide toward Civil War”, *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2008 issue.
- “Why I think Darfur Can Still be Saved”, *Washington Sunday Post*, Outlook Section, February 24, 2008.
- “American Fortresses: It is hard to carry out our foreign policy from behind thick concrete walls” *Weekly Standard*, 5/22/2006, Volume 011, Issue 34.
- “USAID in the Post-Cold War World”, *Foreign Service Journal*, June 2006. ▪ “Democratic Opportunities in the Arab and Muslim World”, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Volume 19, Number 2, June 2006.
- “Five Debates on International Development: the U.S. Perspective”, *Development Policy Review*, 24(2): 131-139.
- “The Nine Principles of Reconstruction and Development”, *Parameters*, Fall 2005.
- “The Great North Korean Famine,” *Special Report of the U.S. Institute of Peace*, June 1999.
- “The Politics of Saving Lives”, *Foreign Service Journal*, December 1998.
- “NGO’s and the Humanitarian Impulse: Some Have it Right,” in *Ethics and International Affairs*, 1997, Volume II.
- “Commander’s Guidance: A Challenge of Complex Humanitarian Emergencies,” *Parameters*, summer 1996, 26:2.
- “NGOs and the UN System in Complex Humanitarian Emergencies: Conflict or Cooperation,” *Third World Quarterly*, 1995, 16:3.
- “The Politics of U.S. Disaster Response,” *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Spring 1995.
- “U.S. Foreign Policy and Complex Humanitarian Emergencies,” *World Refugee Survey*, U.S. Committee for Refugees, 1995.
- “The International Humanitarian Response System,” *Parameters*, Spring 1995, 25:1. ▪ “Complex Humanitarian Emergencies: Measures of Effectiveness,” (with Frederick M. Burkle, Jr., et al) *Pre-hospital and Disaster Medicine*, January-March 1995, 10:1.
- “Food Through Force: Humanitarian Intervention and U.S. Policy,” *Washington Quarterly*, Winter 1994, 17:1.
- “Preventing Human Rights Abuse in Kuwait” *Civil Affairs in the Persian Gulf War: A Symposium—Proceedings*. U.S. Army JFK Special Warfare Center and School, Fort Bragg, North Carolina. October 25-27, 1991.
- “On Being a Republican in Massachusetts: Notes of a Party Chairman,” *New England Journal of Public Policy*, Fall-Winter 1990, 6:2.