#### **Ronald Grigor Suny**

William H. Sewell, Jr. Distinguished University Professor of History (2015-Charles Tilly Collegiate Professor of Social and Political History (2005-2015) Alex Manoogian Professor of Modern Armenian History (1981-1995) Professor of Political Science (2005-The University of Michigan

Director, Eisenberg Institute of Historical Studies (2009-2012) The University of Michigan

Professor of Political Science (1995-2004) Professor of Political Science and History (2004-2005) Emeritus Professor of Political Science and History (2005-The University of Chicago

# Senior Researcher, National Research University – Higher School of Economics, Saint Petersburg, Russia (2014-2016)

Academic Director of international research project 'Comparative Historical Studies of Empire and Nationalism'

Birth date: September 25, 1940.

Family Status: Widowed. Three children (one deceased).

**Education:** B.A., Swarthmore College, 1962.

M.A., Columbia University, 1965. Certificate of the Russian Institute, 1965. Ph.D., Columbia University, 1968.

**Master's Essay:** "Stepan Shaumian and the Bolshevik Movement in Transcaucasia, 1878-1917."

**Dissertation:** The Baku Commune, 1917-1918: Political Strategy in a Social Revolution.

## Academic Honors (Undergraduate):

Phi Beta Kappa. High Honors in History.

#### **Graduate Fellowship Awards:**

Foreign Area Fellowship (American Council of Learned Societies). Inter-University Committee on Travel Grants to the USSR, 1965-1966.

## Post-Graduate Awards, Fellowships, and Appointments:

Oberlin College Grants in Aid; H. H. Powers Travel Grants, Summer 1970; January 1975; Summer 1979; Research Status Appointments, 1971-1972; 1980-1981.

International Research and Exchanges Board Grant to the USSR, 1971-1972; 1975-1976; 1992.

Fulbright Grant for research in the USSR, 1975-1976.

Senior Fellow at the Russian Institute, Columbia University, Spring 1976.

National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship (Category A), 1980-1981; Summer Stipend, 1993.

Fellow at Russian Research Center, Harvard University, 1980-1981.

H.H. Rackham Grant, Summer 1982; Faculty Fellowship and Grant (for research in Finland), summer 1985; Faculty Fellowship (for research in Russia), summer 1993.

John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Fellowship, 1983-1984.

Title VIII Soviet and East European Studies Research Fellowship, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, January-March, June-August 1987.

National Council for Soviet and East European Research, 1991-1992.

Arthur H. Dadian Armenian Heritage Award of the Armenian Students' Association of America, June 20, 1992.

Elected to International Heritage Hall of Fame, Cobo Center, Detroit, MI, April 30, 1993.

Fellow, Center for International Security and Arms Control, Stanford University, 1996.

Research and Writing Grant, Program on Global Security and Sustainability, John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, 1998-1999.

Appointments at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Palo Alto, CA, 2001-2002, 2005-2006.

Middle East Studies Association Academic Freedom Award, 2005, for organizing the Workshop for Armenian-Turkish Scholarship (WATS).

Richard Hudson Research Professor of History, The University of Michigan, Fall 2008.

Everett and Marian Gordon Fellowship, United States Holocaust Museum, July-December 2013.

ASEEES 2013 Distinguished Contributions to Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies Award, presented November 23, 2013.

Berlin Prize, Anna-Marie Kellen Fellow, American Academy in Berlin, January-May 2014.

Short-term Fellow, Kennan Institute, Wilson Center, Washington, DC, August 2014.

Visiting Research Fellow, Graduiertenschule für Ost- und Südosteuropastudien, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, July-August 2016.

Visiting Research Scholar, GWZO - Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas e.V. an der Universität Leipzig, November-December 2016.

Mission, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris, France, January 2017.

#### **Employment Record:**

Lecturer, Columbia University, 1967-1968.

Assistant Professor, Oberlin College, 1968-1972.

Associate Professor, Oberlin College, 1972-1981.

Tenured Appointment, Oberlin College, 1973.

Visiting Professor of Armenian and Russian History, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1977-1978.

Alex Manoogian Professor of Modern Armenian History, University of Michigan, 1981-1994

Director, Armenian Studies Program, University of Michigan, 1981-1994 Distinguished Visiting Professor of Russian and Soviet History, University of California, Irvine, March-June, September-December 1987.

Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago, 1994-2005.

Professor of History, University of Chicago, 2004-2005.

Visiting Professor of History, Stanford University, 1995-1996.

Charles Tilly Collegiate Professor of Social and Political History, University of

Michigan, 2005-2015.

William H. Sewell Jr. Distinguished University Professor of History, University of Michigan, 2015-

Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan, 2005-

Emeritus Professor of Political Science and History, University of Chicago, 2005-

Director, Eisenberg Institute for Historical Studies, University of Michigan, 2009-2012

Senior Researcher, National Research University – Higher School of Economics, Saint Petersburg, Russia, 2012-2016.

#### **Professional Associations:**

American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies; member of the Board, 1999-2001; elected vice-president, 2004; elected president, 2005.

American Historical Association.

American Political Science Association

Study Group on European Labor History (AHA).

Study Group on the Russian Revolution (Britain).

Society for Armenian Studies (SAS). Elected member of the Administrative Council, 1978-1979, 1980-1981, 1983-1984; chairman, 1981, 1984.

Society for the Study of Caucasia.

Member, Board of Directors, The Zoryan Institute for Contemporary Armenian

Research and Documentation, Cambridge, MA (until 1991).

Member, Editorial Committee, Soviet Studies in History, 1980-1982.

Member, Editorial Board, Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies.

Member, Editorial Board, The Armenian Review.

Member, Editorial Board, Journal of Armenian Studies.

Member, Board of Consulting Editors, *International Labor and Working-Class History*.

Member, Editorial Board of *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (1999-2005)

Member, Advisory Board, Indiana-Michigan Series on Russian and East European Studies (1989-1994).

Member, Editorial Board, *Slavic Review* (1992-1996); and consultant on Transcaucasian Books.

Contributing Editor, Armenian International Magazine.

Member, Editorial Board, Armenian Forum.

Member, Editorial Advisory Board, ACE: Analysis of Current Events.

Social Science Research Council, Regional Advisory Panel, Eastern

Europe and Eurasia.

Member, Editorial Board, Ab Imperio.

Member, Editorial Board, Journal of Eurasian Studies.

Member, Editorial Board, The Turkish Review.

Member, International Advisory Board, Central Asian Survey until 2020.

Co-editor, book series, Routledge Press: Imperial Transformations -- Russian,

Soviet, and Post-Soviet History

#### **Professional Service Outside the University:**

Series Editor, Ann Arbor Paperbacks for the Study of Russian and Soviet History and Politics, University of Michigan Press.

Judge for European history awards for the National Endowment for the Humanities, 1983, 1984, 1988.

Member, Armenian Assembly Committee for the Holocaust Museum.

- Member, Genocide Project Oversight Committee, The Zoryan Institute, Cambridge, MA.
- Co-chairman, Mid-West Slavic Convention, 1987.
- Reader of manuscripts for Princeton, University of California, Stanford, Cornell, Rutgers, Harvard, Yale, Cambridge, Oxford, Northern Illinois, Indiana, and other university presses.
- Outside honors examiner, Swarthmore College, 1971, 1974, 1988.
- Member, Visiting Committee to evaluate the History Department, Williams College, April 1988.
- Lecturer, Smithsonian Institution Tour of USSR, Summer 1988.
- Evaluator of American Reportage on the USSR for the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media, New York University; lecturer on nationalities problems at Briefing for American correspondents in Moscow, March 1989.
- Evaluator of Georgian-language broadcasts to the USSR for Radio Liberty, summer 1989.
- Member, Committee on Developmental Fellowships, International Research and Exchanges Board, 1990, 1991.
- Member, Eastern Europe/Eurasia Regional Advisory Panel, SSRC, 1997-
- Evaluator of the Department of History and the Program in Russian, School of Humanities, University of California, Irvine, April 1999.
- Evaluator of the Departments of History and Political Science, International Studies, and Center for Russian and East European Studies, the University of Toronto (May 1999).
- Evaluator of International Studies Program at the Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington (May 2002).
- Visiting Committee, Davis Center for Russian Studies, Harvard University, 2000-2006.
- Member, Regional Advisory Panel for Eurasia, Social Sciences Research Council, 1999-2002.
- Member, Executive Committee, American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, 1999-2001.
- Member, Board of Directors, National Council for East European and Eurasian Research, 2001-2006; Executive Committee, 2001-2006.
- Member, Executive Committee, Association for the Study of Nationalities, 2001-
- Member, Presidential Ad Hoc Tenure Committee, Harvard University (February 10, 2006).
- Evaluator, Central Eurasian Program, Davis Center, Harvard University (March 8-9, 2006).
- External Evaluation Committee, Department of History, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (September 2006).
- External Evaluation Committee, Center for East European, Eurasian, and Slavic Studies, University of California, Berkeley (September 2006).
- Founder, organizer, and ongoing member of executive committee of the Workshop for Armenian-Turkish Scholarship (WATS), that has held a series of workshops bringing Armenian, Turkish, and other scholars together to investigate the Armenian Genocide, 2000-2012.
- Academic Director of international research project "Comparative Historical Studies of Empire and Nationalism," School of History, Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg, Russia.
- Member, Editorial Board of Russian History.

## **Publications:**

#### **Books**:

The Baku Commune, 1917-1918: Class and Nationality in the Russian Revolution (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1972).

Turkish edition: *Bakü Kommünü: Rus Devriminde Milliyet ve Sınıf*, trans. Kudret Emiroğlu (Istanbul: Belge Yayınları, 1990; Aras Yayıncilik, 2019).

Armenia in the Twentieth Century (Chico, CA.: Scholars Press, 1983).

(editor), *Transcaucasia, Nationalism and Social Change: Essays in the History of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia* (Ann Arbor: Michigan Slavic Publications, 1983; Revised edition: Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996).

The Making of the Georgian Nation (Bloomington, IN. and Stanford, CA.: Indiana University Press in association with the Hoover Institution Press: 1988; London: I. B. Taurus & Co., 1989; second edition: Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1994).

with Diane C. Koenker and William G. Rosenberg (editors), *Party, State, and Society in the Russian Civil War: Explorations in Social History* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1989).

with Arthur Adams (editors), *The Russian Revolution and Bolshevik Victory: Visions and Revisions* (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath, 1990).

Looking Toward Ararat: Armenia in Modern History (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1993).

Turkish edition: Ararat'a Bakmak: Modern Tarihte Ermenistan (Istanbul: Aras, 2015).

The Revenge of the Past: Nationalism, Revolution, and the Collapse of the Soviet Union (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993).

with Lewis H. Siegelbaum (editors), *Making Workers Soviet: Power, Class, and Identity* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994).

with Geoff Eley (editors), *Becoming National: A Reader* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

The Soviet Experiment: Russia, the USSR, and the Successor States (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998; 2011).

with Michael D. Kennedy (editors), *Intellectuals and the Articulation of the Nation* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999; paperback, 2001).

with Terry Martin (editors), A State of Nations: Empire and Nation-making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

Russian edition: Gosudarstvo natsii: Imperiia i natsional'noe stroitel'stvo v epokhu Lenina i Stalina, trans. by V. I. Matuzovoi. (Moscow: ROSSPEN: Fond "Prezidentskii tsentr B.N. El'tsina", 2011).

(ed. and introductions), *The Structure of Soviet History: Russia, the Soviet Union, and the Successor States in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003; 2013).

Associate editor, Encyclopedia of Russian History, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 2004).

Editor, Cambridge History of Russia, Volume III: The Twentieth Century (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Editor, with Fatma Müge Goçek and Norman Naimark, *A Question of Genocide: Armenians and Turks at the End of the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011; paperback edition, 2012).

Turkish Edition: *Soykırım Meselesi: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Son Döneminde Ermeniler ve Türkler* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayinları, 2015).

"They Can Live in the Desert But Nowhere Else": A History of the Armenian Genocide (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015). Winner of the Wayne S. Vucinich Book Prize from the Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies for the most important contribution to Russian, Eurasian, and East European studies in any discipline of the humanities or social sciences.

Turkish edition: Ancak Cölde Yasayabilirler: Bir Soykırımın Tarıhı (Istanbul: Aras, 2016).

Hungarian edition: "A sivatagban élhetnek, de másutt sehol" Az örmény népirtás története (Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2016).

with Valerie A. Kivelson, Russia's Empires (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

Red Flag Unfurled: Historians, the Russian Revolution, and the Soviet Experience (London and New York: Verso Books, 2017).

*Red Flag Wounded: Stalinism and the Fate of the Soviet Experiment* (London and New York: Verso Books, 2020, forthcoming).

Stalin, Passage to Revolution (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020, forthcoming).

#### **Articles**:

"Old Left, New Left, and the USSR," The Activist, no. 24 (Spring 1969), pp. 3-7.

"A Journeyman for the Revolution: Stalin and the Labour Movement in Baku, June 1907-May 1908," *Soviet Studies*, XXIII, 3 (January 1972), pp. 373-394.

"The Kolkos' View of the Cold War," The Activist, XIV, 2 (35) (Spring 1974), pp. 27-31.

"Labor and Liquidators: Revolutionaries and the 'Reaction' in Baku, May 1908-April 1912," *Slavic Review*, XXXIV, 2 (June 1975), pp. 319-340.

"Some Thoughts on 1917: In Lieu of a Review of William Rosenberg's *Liberals in the Russian Revolution: The Constitutional Democratic Party, 1917-1921,*" *Sbornik: Papers of the First Conference of the Study Group on the Russian Revolution* (Leeds, 1975), pp. 24-27.

"Antonov Peasant Rebellion (1920-1921)," "Azizbekov, Meshadi Azim-bek-ogly (1876-1918)," "Baku Commissars," "Baku Commune, 1918," in *The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History*, I (ed. by Joseph L. Wieczynski) (Academic International Press: Gulf Breeze, Florida, 19), pp. 49-52; 210-212; III (19), pp. 17-19; 19-22.

"The Early Years of Stepan Shaumian: 1878-19O5," *Ararat*, XVIII, 2 (Spring 1977), pp. 2-10.

"Perspective on Karabagh," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, XLV, 38, April 8, 1978; 39, April 15, 1978; reprinted in ibid., ; and in *The Armenian Observer*, December 2, 1987.

"'The Peasants Have Always Fed Us': The Georgian Nobility and the Peasant Emancipation, 1856-1871," *The Russian Review*, XXXVIII, (January 1979), pp. 27-51.

"Russian Rule and Caucasian Society in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century: The Georgian Nobility and the Armenian Bourgeoisie," *Nationalities Papers*, VII, 1 (Spring 1979), 53-78.

"Soviet Georgia in the Seventies," Occasional Paper, no. 64, Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, The Wilson Center, Washington, D.C.

"Populism, Nationalism, and Marxism: The Origins of Revolutionary Parties Among the Armenians of the Caucasus," *The Armenian Review*, XXXII, 2-126 (June 1979), pp. 134-151.

"Marxism, Nationalism, and the Armenian Labor Movement in Transcaucasia, 1890-1903," *The Armenian Review*, XXXIII, 1-129 (March 1980), pp. 3O-47.

"Georgia and Soviet Nationality Policy," in Stephen F. Cohen, Alexander Rabinowitch, and Robert Sharlet (eds.), *The Soviet Union Since Stalin* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), pp. 200-226.

"The Emergence of Political Society in Georgia," Occasional Paper, no. 90, Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, The Wilson Center, Washington, D.C.

"Nationalism and Social Class in the Russian Revolution: The Cases of Baku and Tiflis," Occasional Paper, no. 93, Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, The Wilson Center, Washington, D.C.

"Images of the Armenians in the Russian Empire," in *The Armenian Image in History and Literature*, edited by Richard G. Hovannisian (Malibu: Undena, 1981), pp. 105-137.

"Looking at Soviet Armenia: The View After Sixty Years," *The Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, XLIX, 18, November 14, 1981.

"Violence and Class Consciousness in the Russian Working Class," *Slavic Review*, XLI, 3 (September 1982), pp. 436-442. A comment in a discussion of Daniel R. Brower's "Labor Violence in Russia in the Late Nineteenth Century," *ibid.*, pp. 417-431.

"Russian Labor and Its Historians in the West: A Report and Discussion of the Berkeley Conference on the Social History of Russian Labor," *International Labor and Working Class History*, no. 22 (Fall 1982), pp. 39-53.

"Toward a Social History of the October Revolution," *American Historical Review*, LXXXVIII, 1 (February 1983), pp. 31-52.

"Amirspasalar," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* (Joseph R. Strayer, editor-in-chief) (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1982), I, p. 235; "aznauri," "Bagratids (Bagratuni), Georgian," II (1983), pp. 28-29; pp. 48-49; "Chosroids," III (1983), pp. 307-308; "David II (IV) the Builder," "David of Tao," "Erist'aw," IV (1984), pp. 111-112, 113-114, 506; "Georgia: Political History," "Georgians (Iberians)," V (1985), pp. 404-407, pp. 419-420..

"Modernization Soviet Style: the Case of Armenia," *Armenian Review*, XXXVI, 1 (Spring 1983), pp. 34-45.

"Marxism and the Georgian Working Class: The Menshevik Hegemony," Research Working Group Papers, no. F-17, Fernand Braudel Center for the Study of Economies, Historical Systems, and Civilizations, State University of New York at Binghamton, 1983.

"The Emergence of Political Society in Georgia," in R. G. Suny (ed.), *Transcaucasia*, *Nationalism and Social Change* (Ann Arbor: Michigan Slavic Publications, 1983), pp. 109-140.

"Nationalism and Social Class in the Russian Revolution: The Cases of Baku and Tiflis," in R. G. Suny (ed.), *Transcaucasia, Nationalism and Social Change* (Ann Arbor: Michigan Slavic Publications, 1983), pp. 239-258.

"The Formation of the Armenian Patriotic Intelligentsia in Russia: The First Generations," *Armenian Review*, XXXVI, 3 (Autumn 1983), pp. 18-34.

"Background to Genocide: Western Historiography and the Armenian Massacres," in *The Impact of the Genocide on Armenian Culture* (New York: Diocese of the Armenian Church of America, 1984).

"Andropov: The First Appraisals," *Michigan Quarterly Review*, XXIII, 4 (Fall 1984), pp. 576-86.

"Konstantin Chernenko," "Andrei Gromyko," Yuri Andropov," "USSR," in *The Americana Annual, 1985: An Encyclopedia of the Events of 1984* (Danbury, Conn.: Grolier, 1985), pp. 132-133, 133-134, 390- 391, 529-534.

"Recalling Armenian Genocide," Detroit News, April 24, 1985.

"History From the Outside In: Local and Non-Russian Perspectives -- The Case of Georgia," *Russian History*, XII, 2-4 (Summer-Fall-Winter 1985), pp. 349-354.

"The Evil Empire Revisited," *Michigan Quarterly Review*, XXV, 3 (Summer 1986), pp. 590-599. [A review of Stephen F. Cohen, *Sovieticus: American Perceptions and Soviet Realities* (New

York: W. W. Norton, 1985) and *Rethinking the Soviet Experience: Politics and History Since 1917* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).]

"Mikhail Gorbachev," "Konstantin Chernenko," "USSR," in *The Americana Annual, 1986:* An Encyclopedia of the Events of 1985 (Danbury, Conn.: Grolier, 1986), pp. 135-136, 395, 526-530.

"Tiflis, Crucible of Ethnic Politics, 186O-19O5," in Michael F. Hamm (editor), *The City in Late Imperial Russia* (Indiana-Michigan Series in Russian and East European Studies) (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), pp. 249-281.

"Armenia," "Brezhnev, Leonid Ilyich," in Academic American Encyclopedia

"Chernenko, Konstantin U.," "Gorbachev, Mikhail," in The New Book of Knowledge

and Geoff Eley, "University of Michigan Project on International Communism," *International Labor and Working Class History*, no. 30 (Fall 1986), pp. 103-107.

"USSR," in *The Americana Annual, 1987: An Encyclopedia of the Events of 1986* (Danbury, Conn.: Grolier, 1987), pp. 536-540.

"A Delicate Balance: The Nationality Question," *The Nation*, CCXLIV, 23, June 13, 1987, pp. 808-810.

"Gorbachev and Soviet History," *Tikkun*, II, 4 (September-October 1987), pp. 32-35, 91-96.

"Revising the Old Story: the 1917 Revolution in Light of New Sources," in Daniel H. Kaiser, editor, *The Workers' Revolution in Russia, 1917: The View from Below* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 1-19.

"Second-guessing Stalin: International Communism and the Origins of the Cold War," *Radical History Review*, no. 37 (1987), pp. 101-115. [A review of five books on the Cold War by Milovan Djilas, Vojtech Mastny, Gregory W. Sandford, Paolo Spriano, and William Taubman.

"Marx, Russia, and Soviet History," *International Labor and Working-Class History*, no. 33 (Spring 1988), pp. 68-79. [A review of five books on Soviet history by Morton H. Cosden, David Mandel, Michal Mirski, and Teodor Shanin.]

"Glasnost in Armenia Puts Gorbachev on the Spot," The Detroit News, July 28, 1988, p. 18A.

"Baku II. History in the 19th-20th Centuries," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (ed. Ehsan Yarshater) (London and New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1988), III, pp. 566-567.

"Maurice Hindus and *Red Bread*," Foreword to reissue of Maurice Hindus, *Red Bread* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), pp. vi-xvii.

"Class and State in the Early Soviet Period: A Reply to Sheila Fitzpatrick," *Slavic Review*, XLVII, 4 (Winter 1988), pp. 614-619.

"Prison of Nations?" The New Internationalist, no. 190 (December 1988), pp. 14-15.

"Russian Nationalism in the Era of *Glasnost'* and *Perestroika*," *Radio Liberty Research Bulletin*, Special Edition on "Russian Nationalism Today," December 19, 1988, pp. 37-42.

"Rehabilitating Tsarism: The Imperial State and its Historians," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, XXXI, 1 (January 1989), pp. 168-179.

"Making Sense of Stalin: Some Recent and Not-So-Recent Biographies," *Russian History*, XVI, 2-4 (1989), pp. 435-448.

"A Georgia for the Georgians is Suddenly not so Soviet," *The Los Angeles Times*, April 17, 1989.

"A Lost World Regained," The Armenian Mirror-Spectator, June 24, 1989, p. 9.

"Nationalist and Ethnic Unrest in the Soviet Union: Gorbachev's Search for Accommodation," *World Policy Journal*, VI, 3 (Summer 1989), pp. 503-528.

with Ziva Galili y Garcia, "Chkheidze, Nikolai Semenovich," in George Jackson and Robert Devlin (editors), *Dictionary of the Russian Revolution* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1989), pp. 120-123.

"Transcaucasia, Revolution in, 1917-1921," in Jackson and Devlin, *Dictionary of the Russian Revolution*, pp. 573-577.

"Nationalism and Democracy in Gorbachev's Soviet Union: The Case of Karabagh, *Michigan Quarterly Review*, XXVIII, 4 (Fall 1989), pp. 481-506.

"Commentary: Administration and State Building," in *Party, State, and Society in the Russian Civil War: Explorations in Social History*, edited by Diane Koenker, William G. Rosenberg, and Ronald Grigor Suny (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1989), pp. 227-230.

"Social Democrats in Power: Menshevik Georgia and the Russian Civil War," in ibid., pp. 315-338.

"Armenia," The World Book Encyclopedia, I (Chicago: World Book, 1989), pp. 719-720.

"Return to Ararat: Armenia in the Cold War," *The Armenian Review*, XLII, 3/167 (Autumn 1989), pp. 1-19.

"Tribal Conflicts at the Heart of a Civil War," *The Guardian*, January 16, 1990, p. 19.

"Editorial: Lenin's Legacy," The Nation, February 26, 1990, p. 1.

"Nationalities and Nationalism," in *Chronicle of a Revolution: A Western-Soviet Inquiry into Perestroika*, edited by Abraham Brumberg (New York: Pantheon Books, 1990), pp. 108-128.

"Transcaucasia: Cultural Cohesion and Ethnic Revival in a Multinational Society," in *The Nationalities Factor in Soviet Politics and Society*, edited by Lubomyr Hajda and Mark Beissinger (Boulder, San Francisco & Oxford: Westview Press, 1990), pp. 228-252.

"Test in Lithuania," The Nation, April 23, 1990, p. 549.

"Bearing the Burden of History: Armenians and Their Genocide," *Torchbearer*, XLIII, 5 (May 1990), pp. 6-8.

"Roots of a Conflict: How the Struggle Over Karabagh Began," *Armenian International Magazine*, I, 1 (July 1990), pp. 22-23.

"Non-Russian Peoples and the Writing of Soviet History," introduction to "Roundtable on the Nationality Question," *Soviet Studies in History*, XXIX, 1 (Summer 1990), pp. 3-6.

"The Revenge of the Past: Socialism and Ethnic Conflict in Transcaucasia," *New Left Review*, no. 184 (November-December 1990), pp. 5-34.

"Caucasus Neighbors: New Armenian Leadership Evaluates its Relations with Georgia," *Armenian International Magazine*, II, 2 (February 1991), pp. 20-21.

"The Winter of His Discontent," *The Arizona Republic*, March 10, 1991, pp. C1-C2.

"Introduction: A Test for Perestroika," to special issue edited by R. G. Suny on "The Problems of Nationalism in the Soviet Union," *The Armenian Review*, XLIII, 2-3/170-171 (Summer/Autumn 1990), pp. vii-x.

"The Soviet South: Nationalism and the Outside World," in Michael Mandelbaum, editor, *The Rise of Nations in the Soviet Union: American Foreign Policy & the Disintegration of the USSR* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1991), pp. 64-88.

"Beyond Psychohistory: The Young Stalin in Georgia," *Slavic Review*, L, 1 (Spring 1991), pp. 48-58.

"The Vulnerable Southern Tier," The New York Times, August 29, 1991, p. A19.

"The Problematic Neighbor," *Armenian International Magazine*, II, 8 (August/September 1991), pp. 32-33.

"State, Civil Society, and Ethnic Cultural Consolidation in the USSR: Roots of the National Question," in Alexander Dallin and Gail W. Lapidus (editors), *The Soviet System in Crisis: A Reader of Western and Soviet Views* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991), pp. 414-429.

"Sovetskii soiuz: natsionalizm i vneshnii mir," *Obshchestvennye nauki i sovremennost'*, 1991, no. 3, pp. 105-118.

"Rethinking Social Identities: Class and Nationality," Working Paper no. 3, Series 5, MacArthur Interdisciplinary Program on Peace and International Cooperation, Institute of International Studies, University of Minnesota, October 1991.

"The End of the Soviet Union?" Michigan Today, XXIII, 3 (October 1991), p. 4.

"Soviet Centrism," *The Nation*, November 11, 1991, p. 576.

"Incomplete Revolution: National Movements and the Collapse of the Soviet Empire, *New Left Review*, no. 189 (September-October 1991), pp. 111-125.

"Proletarian Dictator in a Peasant Land: Stalin as Ruler," CSST Working Paper #69, CRSO Working Paper #460, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, October 1991.

"Natsiia i klass v revoliutsii: Azerbaidzhan v 1917 g.," Vostok, no. 5 (1991), pp. 25-32.

"Nationalism and Class in the Russian Revolution: A Comparative Discussion," in Edith Rogovin Frankel, Jonathan Frankel, and Baruch Keni-Paz (editors), *Revolution in Russia: Reassessments of 1917* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 219-246.

"President Whose Rule Was 'Divide and Conquer'," [on Zviad Gamsakhurdia of Georgia], *The Guardian* (London), January 9, 1992, p. 8.

"Gamsakhurdia in Armenia," Armenian International Magazine, III, 1 (January 1992), p. 26d.

"Trying to Reconcile the Irreconcilable," *Los Angeles Times*, March 17, 1992, p. B7; reprinted as "The Little War in Nagorno-Karabakh that Threatens to Become a Big One," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 19, 1992, p. A19.

"Georgian Civil War and Armenian Survival," *Ararat*, XXXIII, no. 131 (Summer 1992), pp. 2-5.

"Soviet Nationalities Issues: Implications for U.S. Policy," followed by testimony, *United States-Soviet Relations: 1991. Joint Hearings before the Subcommittees on Arms Control, International Security and Science and on Europe and the Middle East of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives and the Joint Economic Committee* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1992), pp. 289-366.

"State, Civil Society, and Ethnic Cultural Consolidation in the USSR -- Roots of the National Question," in Gail W. Lapidus, Victor Zaslavsky, with Philip Goldman, (eds.), *From Union to Commonwealth: Nationalism and Separatism in the Soviet Republics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 22-44. [revised and updated version of essay in Dallin and Lapidus, above.]

"Bosnia in the Caucasus?" The New York Times, September 1, 1992, p. A15.

"After the Fall: Stalin and His Biographers," *Radical History Review*, no. 54 (Fall 1992), pp. 187-196.

and Lewis Siegelbaum, "Making the Command Economy: Western Historians on Soviet Industrialization," *International Labor and Working-Class History*, no. 43 (Spring 1993), pp. 65-76. Revised version: "Conceptualizing the Command Economy: Western Historians on Soviet Industrialization," in William G. Rosenberg and Lewis H. Siegelbaum (editors), *Social Dimensions of Soviet Industrialization* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1993), pp. 1-14.

"A Second Look at Sovietology and the National Question," *AAASS Newsletter*, XXXIII, 3 (May 1993), pp. 1-2.

"The First Holocaust of Our Century," *Torchbearer*, XXXXVI, 5 (May 1993), pp. 1-3.

"Class and Nationality in the Russian Revolution: New Approaches," *The Marxist Monthly*, V, 1 (April-May 1993), pp. 12-25; 2 (June-July), pp. 71-78.

"Crisis in the Caucasus: Independence and its Discontents," *Against the Current*, VIII, 3 (July-August 1993), pp. 19-21.

"Making Nations in Transcaucasia," in Marco Buttino (ed.), *In a Collapsing Empire: Underdevelopment, Ethnic Conflicts and Nationalisms in the Soviet Union* (Milan: Fondazione Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, 1993), pp. 181-187.

"Detour to Democracy: Coup d'etat and Counter-Revolution in Moscow," *Armenian International Magazine*, IV, 9 (November 1993), pp. 22-23.

"The New Safety Net: Moscow Redefines its Terms of Hegemony," *Armenian International Magazine*, IV, 10 (December 1993), pp. 22-23.

"Revision and Retreat in the Historiography of 1917: Social History and Its Critics," *The Russian Review*, LIII, 2 (April 1994), pp. 165-182.

- "Political Conflicts in the Caucasus," in Dick Clark, *Russia, Ukraine, The Caucasus and the U.S. Response, Fourteenth Conference, January 12-17, 1994* (Queenstown, MD: The Aspen Institute, 1994), pp. 31-35.
- "Fourth Millenium Society Forum: What Options?," a discussion of foreign policy options for the Republic of Armenia, *Armenian International Magazine*, V, 6 (June-July 1994), pp. 21-27, 30-34.
- "Armenians," in *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Russia and the Former Soviet Union*, edited by Archie Brown, Michael Kaser, and Gerald S. Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 35-37.
- and Lewis H. Siegelbaum, "Class Backwards? In Search of the Soviet Working Class," in Lewis H. Siegelbaum and Ronald Grigor Suny (eds.), *Making Workers Soviet: Power, Class, and Identity* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp. 1-26.
- "Moscow's Dangerous Game," *The New York Times*, December 22, 1994; reprinted in *The International Herald-Tribune*, December 23, 1994; and in The Armenian Mirror-Spectator, December 31, 1994, pp. 15-16.
- "In Memoriam: Mark Saroyan," *The Armenian Review*, XLV, 4/180 (Winter 1992), pp. xi-xiii.
- "Rethinking Soviet Studies: Bringing the Non-Russians Back In," in Daniel Orlovsky (ed.), *Beyond Soviet Studies* (Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1995), pp. 105-134.
- and Glenn E. Curtis, "Armenia," in *Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia: Country Studies* (edited by Glenn E. Curtis) (Washington: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1995), pp. 3-78.
- "Natsionalizm I demokratizatsiia v Russkoi revoliutsii 1917 g.," intervention in discussion, and concluding word, in *Anatomiia revoliutsiia*, eds. V. Iu Cherniaev, et.al, (St. Petersburg: Glagol', 1994), pp. 266-267, 278-291, 349-350.
- "Ambiguous Categories: States, Empires and Nations," *Post-Soviet Affairs*, XI, 2 (April-June 1995), pp. 185-196.
- "Elite Transformation in Late-Soviet and Post-Soviet Transcaucasia, or What Happens When the Ruling Class Can't Rule?" in Timothy J. Colton and Robert C. Tucker (eds.), *Patterns in Post-Soviet Leadership* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1995), pp. 141-167.
- "Ruslands rolle I Det Naere Udland," [Russia's Role in the Near Abroad], *Information* (Copenhagen), LI, no. 242 (October 17, 1995), p. 14; no. 243 (October 18, 1995), p. 10.
- "Karabakh: A Soluble Problem," *Newsletter*, The Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies, Graduate Training and Research Program on the Contemporary Caucasus, I, 1 (Winter 1995), pp. 11-14.
- "The State of Nations: The Ex-Soviet Union and its Peoples," *Dissent*, XLIII, 3 (Summer 1996), pp. 90-96.
- "The Russian Empire," in Karen Barkey and Mark Von Hagen (eds.), *After Empire: Multiethnic Societies and Nation-Building: The Soviet Union and the Russian, Ottoman, and Habsburg Empires* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997), pp. 142-154.

- "Stalin and his Stalinism: Power and Authority in the Soviet Union, 1930-53," in Ian Kershaw and Moshe Lewin (eds.), *Stalinism and Nazism: Dictatorships in Comparison* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 26-52.
- "Eastern Armenians under Tsarist Rule," "Soviet Armenia," in Richard G. Hovannisian (ed.), The Armenian People From Ancient to Modern Times, Volume II: Foreign Dominion to Statehood: The Fifteenth Century to the Twentieth Century (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), pp. 109-137, 347-387.
- "Living with the Other: Conflict and Coopertion Among the Transcaucasian Peoples," *AGBU News Magazine*, VII, 3 (September 1997), pp. 27-29; also published in *The Transcaucasus Today: Prospects for Regional Integration, June 23-25, 1997: Edited Conference Report* (Erevan: Armenian University of Armenia, 1998), pp. 51-57.
- "A Revolução de Outubro e o Problema Das Nacionalidades," *Sociedades em Transformação*, [São Paulo, Brazil] IV, 2 (October-December 1997), pp. 30-39.
- "Nationality Policies," and "The Revolution in Transcaucasia," in Edward Acton, Vladmir Iu. Cherniaev, and William G. Rosenberg (eds.), *Critical Companion to the Russian Revolution*, 1914-1921 (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1997), pp. 659-666, 719-727.
- and Gail W. Lapidus, "Introduction," Mark Saroyan, *Minorities, Mullahs, and Modernity: Reshaping Community in the Former Soviet Union*, ed. Edward W. Walker (Berkeley, CA: International and Area Studies, 1997), pp. 1-7.
- "Zhivia s drugimi: Konflikt I sotrudnichestvo mezhdu Kavkazskimi narodami" ["Living with Others: Conflict and Cooperation Among the Caucasian Peoples'], *Kavkazskie Regional'nye Issledovaniia*, I, 2 (1997), pp. 3-9; also published as "Living With the Other: Conflict and Cooperation Among the Transcaucasian Peoples," *Caucasian Regional Studies*, I, 2 (1997), pp. 3-8.
- "Speaking About Genocide in Turkey," *The Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, June 6, 1998; reprinted as "Prof. Ronald G. Suny Discusses Armenian Genocide in Seminar in Istanbul, Turkey," *The Armenian Reporter*, June 20, 1998; and with original title in *The Armenian Weekly*, July 18, 1998.
- "Empire and Nation: Armenians, Turks, and the End of the Ottoman Empire," *Armenian Forum*, I, 2 (Summer 1998), pp. 17-51; reply to critics, pp. 131-136.
- "Oil and Politics in the Caucasus: United States Policy in the 'Mountain of Tongues'," *Analysis of Current Events*, X, 7-8 (July-August 1998), pp. 7, 14-15, 17.
- "Scholarship and its Enemies: Opening Dialogue on the Armenian Genocide," *The Armenian Reporter*, August 29, 1998, p. 7.
- "Russian Revolution of 1905," and "Russian Revolution of 1917," in *The Encyclopedia of Political Revolutions*, ed. Jack A. Goldstone (Washington, D. C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1998), pp. 428-435.
- "Socialism, Post-Socialism, and the Appropriately Modern: Thinking About the History of the USSR," *The Journal of the International Institute*, VI, 2 (Winter 1999), pp. 8-9, 22. <a href="http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.4750978.0006.207">http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.4750978.0006.207</a>
  - "Genocide and the Millennium," AGBU, IX, 2 (April 1999), pp. 23-25.
- "Returning to Ararat: Diaspora and 'Homeland' Armenians," in *The Becoming of Returnee States: Palestine, Armenia, Bosnia* (Birzeit, Palestine: The Graduate Institute of International Studies, Birzeit University, 1999), pp. 5-26.

- "Southern Tears: Dangerous Opportunities in the Caucasus and Central Asia," in Rajan Menon, Yuri E. Fedorov, and Ghia Nodia (eds.), *Russia, the Caucasus, and Central Asia: The 21st Century Security Environment* (Armonk, N.Y. and London: M. E. Sharpe, 1999), pp. 147-176.
- "Identities and Institutions in a Changing Europe," Occasional Paper, Claus M. Halle Institute for Global Learning, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia, 1999.
- With David D. Laitin, "Armenia and Azerbaijan: Thinking a Way Out of Karabakh," *Middle East Policy*, VII, 1 (October 1999), pp. 145-176.
- With Michael D. Kennedy, "Introduction," "Toward a Theory of National Intellectual Practice," in Ronald Grigor Suny and Michael D. Kennedy (eds.), *Intellectuals and the Articulation of the Nation* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), pp. 1-51, 383-417.
  - "Confessions," in ibid., pp. 52-56.
- "Provisional Stabilities: The Politics of Identities in Post-Soviet Eurasia," *International Security*, XXIV, 3 (Winter 1999/2000), pp. 139-178.
- "Als Armenier in Georgien," *Armenisch-Deutsche Korrespondenz*, no. 106, Jg. 1999/Heft 4, pp. 12-13.
- "History and the Making of Nations," in Zvi Gitelman, Lubomyr Hajda, John-Paul Himka, and Roman Solchanyk (eds.), *Cultures and Nations of Central and Eastern Europe: Essays in Honor of Roman Szporluk* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Ukrainian Institute Publications, 2000), pp. 569-588.
- "Nationalities in the Russian Empire," *The Russian Review*, LIX, 4 (October 2000), pp. 487-492.
- "History," in *Encyclopedia of Nationalism, vol. I, Fundamental Themes*, edited by Alexander J. Motyl (San Diego: Academic Press, 2001), pp. 335-358.
- "Making Minorities: The Politics of National Boundaries in the Soviet Experience," in André Burguière and Raymond Grew (eds.), *The Construction of Minorities: Cases for Comparison Across Time and Around the World* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), pp. 245-264.
- "The Century That Was: Dependence and Independence," *Armenian International Magazine*, XII, 1 (January-February 2001), pp. 42-50.
- "Religion, Ethnicity, and Nationalism: Armenians, Turks, and the End of the Ottoman Empire," in Omer Bartov and Phyllis Mack (eds.), *In God's Name: Genocide and Religion in the Twentieth Century* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2001), pp. 23-61.
- "A History of Armenia" and "A History of Karabagh," in Matthew Karanian and Robert Kurkjian, *Edge of Time: Traveling in Armenia and Karabagh* (Washington, D.C.: Stone Garden Productions, 2001), pp. 47-56, 130-134.
- "Russian Revolution," in Joel Krieger (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Pressk, 2001), pp. 747-748.
- Transcript of remarks, *Negotiations on Nagorno-Karabagh: Where Do We Go From Here? Summary and transcript from a Panel Discussion held on April 23, 2001* (Cambridge, MA: Caspian Studies Program, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 2001), pp. 13-17, 19, 25-27.

- "The Sassoun Massacre: A Hundred Year Perspective," introduction to special guest edited edition of *Armenian Review*, XLVII, 1-2 (Spring-Summer 2001), pp. 1-4.
- "The Empire Strikes Out: Imperial Russia, "National" Identity, and Theories of Empire," in Ronald Grigor Suny and Terry Martin (eds.), *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 23-66.
- "Constructing Primordialism: Old Histories for New Nations," *Journal of Modern History*, LXXIII, 4 (December 2001), pp. 862-896.
- "Obituary or Autopsy? Historians Look at Russia/USSR in the Short 20th Century," *Kritika*, III, 2 (Spring 2002), pp. 303-319.
- With Fatma Müge Göçek, "Discussing Genocide: Contextualizing the Armenian Experience in the Ottoman Empire," *The Journal of the International Institute*, IX, 3 (Spring/Summer 2002), pp. 1, 22-23.
- "Nuevos desórdenes mundiales," ["New World Disorders"] *La Vanguardia* (Barcelona), September 14, 2002.
- "The Holcaust Before the Holocaust: Reflections on the Armenian Genocide," in Hans-Lukas Kieser and Dominik J. Schaller (eds.), *Der Völkermord an den Armeniern und die Shoah, The Armenian Genocide and the Shoah* (Zurich: Chronos, 2002), pp. 83-100.
- "Back and Beyond: Reversing the Cultural Turn?" in *American Historical Review*, CVII, 5 (December 2002), pp. 1476-1499.
- "East European Jewish Politics in Comparative Perspective," in Zvi Gitelman (ed.), *The Emergence of Modern Jewish Politics: Bundism and Zionism in Eastern Europe* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2003), pp. 220-225.
- "The Limits of Comparative History: Theda Skocpol and the Russian Revolution," in Sibelan Forrester and Thomas Newlin, eds. *Towards a Classless Society: Studies in Literature, History, and Politics in Honor of Thompson Bradley* (Bloomington, IN: Slavica, 2003), 1–13.
- "Don't Paint Nationalism Red!': National Revolution and Socialism Anti-Imperialism," in Prasenjit Duara (ed.), *Decolonization: Perspectives from Now and Then* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), pp. 176-198.
- "Why We Hate You: The Passions of National Identity and Ethnic Violence," Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies, Working Paper Series (Spring 2004) (50pp.)
- "Dialoga o genotside: Usiliia armianskikh i turtetskikh uchenykh osmyshlenniiu deportatsii I rezni armian vo vremia Pervoi mirovoi voini" [Dialogue on Genocide: Efforts by Armenian and Turkish Scholars to Comprehend the Deportations and Massacres of Armenians During the First World War], *Ab Imperio*, 2004, no. 4, pp. 87-131.
- "Dialektika imperii: Rossiia i Sovetskii Soiuz" [The Dialectics of Empire: Russia and the Soviet Union], in I. Gerasimov, S. Glebov, A Kaplunovskii, M. Mogil'ner, and A. Semenov (eds.), *Novaia imperskaia istoriia postsovetskogo prostranstva* (Kazan: Tsentr issledovanii nationalizma i imperii, 2004), pp. 163-196.
- "Soviet Armenia, 1921-91," in Edmund Herzig and Marina Kurkchiyan (eds.), *The Armenians: Past and Present in the Making of National Identity* (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), pp. 113-125.

"Ethnic Cleansing: Armenia," in Matthew J. Gibney and Randall Hansen, eds., *Immigration and Asylum From 1900 to the Present* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC Clio, 2005), vol. I, pp. 185-190.

"Introduction: Nation-making Among the Ruins of Empire," in Zoltan Barany and Robert G. Moser (eds.), *Ethnic Politics After Communism* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2005), pp. 1-13.

"Learning from Empire: Russia and the Soviet Union," in Craig Calhoun, Frederick Cooper, and Kevin W. Moore (eds.), *Lessons of Empire: Imperial Histories and American Power* (New York and London: The New Press, 2006), pp. 73-93.

"Introduction," to Ronald Grigor Suny (ed.), *Cambridge History of Russia, Volume III: The Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 1-4.

"Reading Russia and the Soviet Union in the Twentieth Century: How the 'West' Wrote its History of the USSR," ibid., pp. 5-64.

And Dmitry P. Gorenburg, "Where Are We Going? What Is To Be Done?" *NewsNet*, XLVIII, 4 (August 2006), pp. 1-4.

"History and Foreign Policy: From Constructed Identities to 'Ancient Hatreds' East of the Caspian," in Brenda Shaffer (ed.), *The Limits of Culture: Islam and Foreign Policy* (Cambridge, MA, and London: The MIT Press, 2006), pp. 83-109.

"Nationalism, Nation Making, and the PostColonial States of Asia, Africa, and Eurasia," in Lowell W. Barrington (ed.), *After Independence: Making and Protecting the Nation in Postcolonial and Postcommunist States* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2006), pp. 279-295.

"Hrant Dink (1954-2007)," *The Nation Website*, January 22, 2007 http://www.thenation.com/Hrant Dink (1954-2007)

"Fifteen Years Après le Déluge: What's Left of Marx?" *NewsNet*, XLVII, 1 (Janaury 2007), pp. 1-7.

"Living in the Hood: Russia, Empire, and Old and New Neighbors," in Robert Legvold (ed.), *Russian Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century and the Shadow of the Past* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), pp. 35-76.

"Russian Terror/ism and Revisionist Historiography," *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, LIII, 1 (2007), pp. 5-19.

Participant in the Discussion, "Roundtable: What is a School? Is There a Fitzpatrick School of Soviet History?" *Acta Slavica Japonica*, XXIV, pp. 240-241.

"What's Left of Marx?" The Michigan Daily, September 14, 2007, pp. 2B, 11B.

"On Ideology, Subjectivity, and Modernity: Disparate Thoughts About Doing Soviet History," *Russian History/Historie Russe*, XXXV, 1-2 (Spring-Summer-Fall-Winter 2008), pp. 251-258.

"In Memoriam: Daniel Brower (1936-2007)," Kritika, VIII, 4 (Fall 2007), pp. 915-918.

"Globalization, the Nation, and Shifting Identities: Living in the Post 9/11 World," *Bulletin: Anthropology, Minorities, Multiculturalism, New Series*, I, 4 (December 2006) [appeared January 2008], pp. 334-347; translated into Russian as: Глобализация, нация, и меняющися идентичности: жизнь в мире после 11 сентября," ibid., pp. 348-363.

"The Emotions of Genocide: Revisiting Morgenthau's Account of the Armenian Genocide," in Barlow Der Mugrdechian (ed.), *Between Paris and Fresno: Armenian Studies in Honor of Dickran Kouymjian* (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2008), pp. 511-532.

"Studying Empires," Ab Imperio, 1 (2008), pp. 205-213.

"The New Post-Soviet World," New York Times Online, August 11, 2008. http://topics.blogs.nytimes.com/2008/08/11/the-new-post-soviet-world/

with Khatchig Mouradian, "South Ossetia and the Remaking of the Post-Soviet World: An Interview with Ronald Suny," *The Armenian Weekly*, August 16, 2008, p. 7; and ZNet, August 16, 2008. http://zcommunications.org/znet/viewArticle/18457

"An Interview with Ronald Grigor Suny. Russian-Georgian Clash," *Against the Current*, no. 136 (September/October 2008), p. 26.

"Trois historiens de la révolution d'Octobre et de la Russie soviétique," *La revue international des livres et des idées*, no. 8 (November-Decmeber 2008), pp. 32-35.

"A Look Ahead: The Obama Administration and Change in U.S. Policy Toward Russia and Caucasia," *The Armenian Reporter*, December 30, 2008.

"Memo to President Obama," The Armenian Weekly, December 27, 2008, pp. 19-20.

"sakartvelos tsarsulis amsakhveli masalebis datsva ("Saving the Archive: A Tale of Preserving the Georgian Past"), *saarkivo moambe/The Archival Bulletin*, no. 3 (October 2008), pp. 129-134.

"Explaining Genocide: The Fate of the Armenians in the Late Ottoman Empire," in Richard Bessel and Claudia B. Haake (eds.), *Removing Peoples: Forced Removal in the Modern World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 209-253.

"Ascensão e Queda da União Soviética: O império de Nações," *Lua Nova: Revista de cultura e politica*, no. 75 (2008), pp. 77-98.

"Южная Осетия и переделка постсоветского мира: Интервью" ["South Osetia and the Remaking of the Post-Soviet World"], *Пушкин*, но. 1 (2008), сс. 20-22.

"The Mother of Cities: Tbilisi/Tiflis in the Twilight of Empire," in Kristof Van Assche, Joseph Salukvadze, and nick Shavishvili (eds.), *City Culture and City Planing in Tbilisi: Where Europe and Asia Meet* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2009), pp. 17-58.

Марксизм як традиція і перспектива, Україна Модерна, no. 3 (14) (Kiev 2009), pp. 41-44.

with Gail W. Lapidus, "Alexander Dallin: A Singular Voice," in Alexander Dallin, *The Uses of History: Understanding the Soviet Union and Russia*, ed. Gail W. Lapidus (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009), pp. 1-11.

"Truth in Telling: Reconciling Realities in the Genocide of the Ottoman Armenians," *American Historical Review*, CXIV, 4 (October 2009), pp. 930-946.

«Осмысляя Сталина» ["Making Sense of Stalin"], Ab Imperio, 1 (2009), pp. 51-81.

"The Pawn of Great Powers: The East-West Competition for Caucasia," *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, I (2010), pp. 10-25.

- "De la Commune de Bakou," *Nouvelles d'Arménie*, no, 162 (April 2010), pp. 80-81.
- «Аффектиние сообщества: Структура государства и нации в россииской империи,» in Jan Pamper, Shamma Shakhadat, and Marc Elie (eds.), *Россииская империя чувства: подход к культурной истории эмоции* (Moscow: Новое литературное обозрение, 2010), pp. 78-114.
- "Reconsidering Lenin: What Can be Said about *What Is to Be Done?*," *Historical Materialism: Research in Critical Marxist Theory*, XVIII, 3 (2010), pp. 34-46.
- "Preface: Georgia on Everybody's Mind: The Aftermath of War," in Stephen F. Jones (ed.), War and Revolution in the Caucasus: Georgia Ablaze (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), pp. xiv-xv.
- "Writing Russia: The Work of Sheila Fitzpatrick," in Golfo Alexopoulos, Julie Hessler, and Kiril Tomoff (eds.), *Writing the Stalin Era: Sheila Fitzpatrick and Soviet Historiography* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 1-19.
  - "Moshe Lewin, 1921-2010," Slavic Review, LXX, 1 (Spring 2011), pp. 240-242.
- "Диалог о Геноциде: Усилия армянских и турецких учених по осмышлению депортации и резни армян во время Первой мировой воини," in Il'ia Gerasimov, Marina Mogil'ner, and Aleksandr Semenov (eds.), *Империя и нации в зеркале исторической памяти:* Сборник статей (Moscow: Новое издательство, 2011), pp. 75-114.
- "Historicizing Genocide," a review essay on Cathie Carmichael, *Genocide Before the Holocaust* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), *History Workshop Journal*, no. 71 (Spring 2011), pp. 259-266.
- "Thinking About Feelings: Affective Dispositions and Emotional Ties in Imperial Russia and the Ottoman Empire," in Mark Steinberg and Valeria Sobol (eds.), *Interpreting Emotions in Russia and Eastern Europe* (Dekalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2011), pp. 102-127.
- "tbilisi rusetis imperiashi: mosakhleobis etnikuri, sotsialuri da klasobrivi shemadgeblobis shesakheb" ("Tbilisi in the Russian Empire: On Ethnic, Social and Class Composition of the Population"), in Ioseb Salukvadze, Kristof Van Assche, and Nika Shavishvili (eds.), tbilisi tsvlilebebis khanashi: urbanuri sivrtsisa da kalakdagegmarebis sotsialur-kulturuli ganzomilebani (Tbilisi in Times of Change: Socio-Cultural Dimensions of Urban Space and Urban Planning) (Tbilisi: Tbilisi University Press, 2010), pp. 38-73
- "Foreword," in Nino Tsitsishvili (ed.), Cultural Paradigms and Political Change in the Caucasus: Collection of Essays edited by Nino Tsitsishvili (Saarbrücken: Lambert Academic Publishing, 2010), pp. 3-4.
- "Globalisation and the Nation-State: The Future of Failures," in Daphne Halikipoulou and Sofia Vasilopoulou (eds.), *Nationalism and Globalisation: Conflicting or Complementary?* (New York: Routledge, 2011), pp. 100-117.
  - "Ben Stolz: A Memory," Armenian Studies Program Newsletter, no. 5 (Fall 2011), p. 15.
- "Россииская империя и СССР: традиции и револьюция," in *История сталинизма: Итоги и проблем изучения: Материалы международной научной конференции, Москва 5-7 декабря 2008 г.* (Moscow: Посспен, 2011), pp. 667-670.
- "Dealing with Diversity in Two Empires: Language, Religion, and Ethnicity in the Tsarist Russian and Ottoman Cases," in Y. Takashina (ed.), *Toward Hetero-Symbiosis and Tolerance:*

*Lingua-Culture Contextual Studies in Ethnic Conflicts of the World* (Lahore, PakistanL: Sang-E-Meel Publications, 2012), pp. 31-50.

"The Contradictions of Identity: Being Soviet and National in the USSR and After," in Mark Bassin and Catriona Kelly (eds.), *Soviet and Post-Soviet Identities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 17-36.

"Joseph Stalin (1878-1953)," in Stephen M. Norris and Willard Sunderland (eds.), *Russia's People of Empire: Life Stories from Eurasia*, 1500 to the Present (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2012), pp. 243-252.

"tsinasitqvaoba" [Forward], in Meri Nerbieridze (ed.), *stalinis dedis mogoneteti* [The Memoirs of Stalin's Mother] (Tbilisi: Bakur Sulakauri Publishing, 2012), pp. 5-45.

"Living in the Soviet Century: Moshe Lewin, 1921-2010," *History Workshop Journal*, Autumn 2012), LIIIV, 1, pp. 192-209.

With Vicken Cheterian, "Making States and Breaking States: Kosovo and the Caucasus in 2008: Introduction," in special issue of *Nationalities Papers*, XL, 5 (2012), edited by Ronald Grigor Suny and Vicken Cheterian, pp. 657-660.

«Предисловие,» Екатерина Джугашвили, *Мои сын Иосиф Сталин* (Moscow, 2013), pp. 3-14.

"The Young Stalin and the Revolution of 1905 in Georgian," in Stephen F. Jones (ed.), *The Making of Modern Georgia, 1918-2012: The First Georgian Republic and its Successors* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), pp. 287-315.

"Völkermord in Armenien: Die Türkei muss sich mit ihrer Geschichte abfinden," *Die Zeit Online*, April 28, 2014.

"A Tempest in a Glass of Water:' Stalin the Underground Revolutionary and the Conflicts within Bolshevism," *Moving the Social/Journal for the History of Social Movements/Zeitschrift für Geschichte sozialer Bewegnunger*, special issue on "Lives on the Left: Biography and the European Workers Movements," no. 51 (2014), pp. 31-50.

"Introduction: Bringing Empire Back," in Eric Lohr, Vera Tolz, Alexander Semonov, and Mark von Hagen (eds.), *The Empire and Nationalism at War* (in the series Russia's Great War and Revolution, vol. 2) (Bloomington, IN: Slavica, 2014), pp. 1-7.

"The Cost of Turkey's Genocide Denial," The International New York Times, April 24, 2015.

http://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/24/opinion/the-cost-of-turkeys-genocide-denial.html? r=0

«Советское и национальное: Единство противоречий», in *Советские нации и* национальная политика в 1920-1950ье годы: Материалы международной конференции, Киев 10-12 октрябя 2013 г. (Моссоw: Ельцин Центр, Росспен, 2014), pp. 17-40.

"Империи России: взгляд на историю сквозь имперскую линзу," Электронный научнообразовательный журнал История 5.7 (30) (2014).

- "Last Word.... With Ronald G. Suny," *Turkish Review*, V, 2 (March-April 2015), p. 184. http://www.turkishreview.org/last-word/the-last-word-with-ronald-grigor-suny 550505
- "The Accidental Historian: Balint Kovacs and the Transylvanian Armenian Diaspora," *The Armenian Weekly*, June 12, 2015.
- "Foreword," in Alexis Demirdjian (ed.), *The Armenian Genocide Legacy* (London-New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. xi-xii.
- "Foreword," in Mark Bassin, *The Gumilev Mystique: Biopolitics, Eurasianism, and the Construction of Community in Modern Russia* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2016), pp. ix-xi.
- "Effects of Empire: Tsarism as Enabler and Constraint on the Peoples of Caucasia," *Princeton Papers: Interdisciplinary Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, XVII (2016), pp. 87-115.
- "MEI Insight 142: The Pernicious Practice of Historical Denial," Middle East Institute, National University of Singapore, March 14, 2016.
  - $\underline{https://mei.nus.edu.sg/index.php/web/publications} \underline{TMPL/insight-142-the-pernicious-practice-of-historical-denial}$
- "The Genocide They Want Us to Forget," *Detroit News*, April 22, 2016. https://mail.google.com/mail/u/0/#inbox/1543e6b8906cdec4
- "Learning About the Armenian Genocide," PEN America, PEN World Voices Festival, New York City, May 4-10, 2015. http://worldvoices.pen.org/nonfiction/learning-about-armenian-genocide
- "Gerçeğin, intikamını almak için dönmek gibi kötü bir alışkanlığı vardır'," *Agos*, Aprile 24, 2016.
- http://www.agos.com.tr/tr/yazi/15103/gercegin-intikamini-almak-icin-donmek-gibi-kotu-bir-aliskanligi-vardir
- "Effects of Empire: Tsarism as Enabler and Constraint on the Peoples of Caucasia," in Michael A. Reynolds (eds.), *Constellations of the Caucasus: Empires, Peoples, and Faiths* (Princeton: Marcus Weiner Publishers, 2016), pp. 87-115.
- "Interview with Prof. Ronald Grigor Suny on Empires, Nations, Socialism and Democracy," in *Graduiertenschule für Ost- und Südosteuropastudien Jahresbericht 2016*, pp. 99-102.
- "Foreword," in Timothy K. Blauvelt and Jeremy Smith (eds.), *Georgia After Stalin: Nationalism and Soviet Power* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. xi-xii.
- "Rethinking if not Resetting," *OUPblog*, January 10, 2017. http://blog.oup.com/2017/01/rethinking-russian-usa-relations/
- "Bu dönemin sonsuza dek süreceği düşünülmrmeli'," (interview), Agos, January 27, 2017, p. 6.
- "Answers to Ten Questions on the Basic Problems of the Historiography of the February Revolution," and "Национальный вопрос и Революция 1917 года в России," in V. V. Kalashnikov (ed.), Международная научная конференция ФЕВРАЛЬСКАЯ РЕВОЛЮЦИЯ 1917 ГОДА: проблемы истории и историографии: Сборник докладов 3 марта 2017 года (St. Petersburg: Izdatel'stvo SPbGTEU "LETI", 2017), pp. 102-107, 345-352.
- "Revolution and Democracy," John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation News, March 7, 2017.

- http://www.gf.org/news/foundation-news/the-centennial-of-the-russian-revolution/
- "I Cannot Imagine Armenia Without Russia," *CivilNet*, May 23, 2017.

  <a href="http://www.civilnet.am/news/2017/05/23/Ronald-Grigor-Suny-I-Cannot-Imagine-Armenia-Without-Russia/315002">http://www.civilnet.am/news/2017/05/23/Ronald-Grigor-Suny-I-Cannot-Imagine-Armenia-Without-Russia/315002</a>
- "USA teadlane: armeenia kultuur reab vastu," interview published in Estonian, written up by Brigitta Davidjants, in *Diplomaatia*, no. 5/165 (May 2017), pp. 7-9.
- "Young Collective Farmer," in Andre Liebich and Svetlana Yakimovich (eds.), From Communism to Anti-Communism: Photogrphs from the Boris Souvarine Collection at the Graduate Institute, Geneva (Geneva: The Graduate Institute, Geneva, 2017), p. 92.
- "Revolutsiooni pårand," in *Sirp*, June 16, 2017 [interview of Ronald Suny by Viacheslav Morozov on the 1917 revolution, in Estonian].
- "Is Putin's Russia the Critical Threat that Americans Believe it to Be?" *The Conversation*, June 26, 2017; *Alternet*, July 18, 2017.

  <a href="https://theconversation.com/is-putins-russia-the-critical-threat-americans-believe-it-to-be-77531">https://theconversation.com/is-putins-russia-the-critical-threat-americans-believe-it-to-be-77531</a>

  <a href="http://www.alternet.org/news-amp-politics/putins-russia-critical-threat-americans-believe-it-be-2akid=15882.314750.5W-H-9&rd=1&src=newsletter1079871&t=25">http://www.alternet.org/news-amp-politics/putins-russia-critical-threat-americans-believe-it-be-2akid=15882.314750.5W-H-9&rd=1&src=newsletter1079871&t=25</a>
- "Krieg, die Grossmächte und das Vorspuel zum Völkermord," in Rolf Hosfeld and Christin Pschichholz (eds.), Das Deutsche Reich und der Völkermord an den Armeniern (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2017), pp. 41-66.
- "The Empire that Dared Not Speak its Name: Making Nations in the Soviet State," *Current History*, CXVI, 792 (October 2017), pp.251-257.
- "Lessons of October," Science and Society, LXXXI, 4 (October 2017), pp. 587-594.
- "An Empire to End Imperialism," *Socialist History* 52 (2017), Special Anniversary Issue "Legacies of October," pp. 95-102.
- "The Crisis of Bourgeois Democracy: The Fate of an Experiment in the Age of Nationalism, Populism, and Neo-Liberalism," *New Perspectives on Turkey*, no. 57 (Fall 2017), pp. 115-141.
- "Nationalism and the Russian Revolution: From Anti-Imperialism to a Soviet Empire," in The Left and Nationalism Monthly Series, *H-Nationalism*, December 20, 2017. <a href="https://networks.h-net.org/node/3911/discussions/1118710/left-and-nationalism-monthly-series-%E2%80%9Cnationalism-and-russian">https://networks.h-net.org/node/3911/discussions/1118710/left-and-nationalism-monthly-series-%E2%80%9Cnationalism-and-russian</a>
- "Foreword," in George Bournoutian, *Armenia and Imperial Decline: the Yerevan Province, 1900-1914* (London and New York: Routledge, 2018), pp. x-xi.
- "Why I Wrote The Making of the Georgian Nation."

 $\underline{\text{https://www.facebook.com/prosperosbooks/photos/a.928690790480257.1073741843.172029182813092/222805}\\ \underline{9757210014/?type=3\&theater}$ 

- "Orphans of the Armenian Genocide: A Place to Remember," *Reinventing Peace*, World Peace Foundation [Blog], July 10, 2018.
- https://sites.tufts.edu/reinventingpeace/2018/07/10/orphans-of-the-armenian-genocide-a-place-to-remember/
- "The Hamidian Massacres, 1894-1897: Disinterring a Buried History," Etudes arméniennes contemporaines,

- no. 11 (2018), pp. 125-134.
- "Morgenthau visszaemlékezése," (Morgenthau's Report), in Czézár Nikolett, Kováca Bálint, and Öze Sándor (eds.), *Az örmény nép tragédiája az I. Világháborúban: 100 éve történt az örmény népirtás* (The Tragedy of the Armenians in the World War I. 100 Years Ago Happened the Armenian Genocide) (Budapest: Magyar Napló Kiadóó, Irott Szó Alapitvány, 2018), pp. 77-83.
- "Megnagyarázni az őrmény népirtást," in Botos Máté and Kovács Bálint (eds.), *As Emlékezet Száz Éve igy látja az utókor z örmeny népirtást* (Budapest: L'Harmattan—Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem, 2019), pp. 11-26.
- "A Bridge over a Troubled Century: Celebrating Hoover Fellow Norman M. Naimark," *Hoover Digest*, 2019, no. 4, pp. 147-152.
- "Tarih, hafiza ve gelecek" ["History, Memory, and the Future"], *Agos* [Istanbul], April 24, 2020. http://www.agos.com.tr/tr/yazi/239s51/tarih-hafiza-ve-gelecek
- "Epilogue," in Jo Laycock and Francesca Piana (eds.), *Aid to Armenia: Humanitarian and Intervention from the 1890s to the Present* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), pp. 187-189.
- "Salgından dersler" ["Lessons from the Plague"], *Agos*, May 31, 2020. [in my new, regular column in the newspaper named "Michigan Mektupları" ["Letters from Michigan"] <a href="http://www.agos.com.tr/tr/yazi/24099/salgindan-dersler">http://www.agos.com.tr/tr/yazi/24099/salgindan-dersler</a>
- "Sokaklar alev alev" ["Fires in the Streets"], *Agos*, June 6, 2020. http://www.agos.com.tr/tr/yazi/24133/sokaklar-alev-alev
- "Yetişkin gibi davranmak" ["Acting Like a Grownup"], *Agos*, June 13, 2020. http://www.agos.com.tr/tr/yazi/24168/yetiskin-gibi-davranmak
- "Foreword," to David Leupold, Embattled Dreamlands: The Politics of Contested Armenian, Kurdish and Turkish Memory (New York and London: Routledge, 2020), pp. xi-xv.e

["The View from Home"], Agos,

["Enigmatic Russia"], Agos,

## **Reprints and Translations:**

"The Marxist Image of the Commune," *The Activist*, XIV, 1 (34) (Winter 1974), pp. 36-39. (From the appendix to *The Baku Commune*.)

"The Struggle for Baku, 1918," *Ararat*, XXI, 1 (Winter 1980), pp. 2-13. (From *The Baku Commune*).

"Populism, Nationalism, and Marxism: The Origins of Revolutionary Parties Among the Armenians in the Caucasus," *The Armenian Weekly*, July 26, 1986, pp. 11-16.

"Gharabaghi hartse," *HEM Erameai* (October 1987 - August 1988), pp. 4-18. Translation into Armenian of "Perspective on Karabagh."

"Nationalism and Democracy in Gorbachev's Soviet Union: The Case of Karabagh," in Rachel Denber (ed.), *The Soviet Nationality Reader: The Disintegration in Context* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1992), pp. 485-507.

"Gharabaghe Bosniayits bolorovin heru che," *Azg* (Erevan), October 16, 1992. Translation into Armenian of "Bosnia in the Caucasus?"

"Khaghakakan hakamartutiunner Kovkasi mej," *Baikar Amsagir*, I, 10-11 (January-February 1994), pp. 17-24. Translation into Armenian of "Political Conflicts in the Caucasus."

"Sozialismus und Nationalitatenkonflikt in Transkaukasien," *Das Argument* (1991), no. 186, pp. 213-225.

"Haiastane sare paterazmi mej," Mitk ("Azatamart" Weekly), no. E (May 1993).

"On the Road to Independence: Cultural Cohesion and Ethnic Revival in a Multinational Society," in R. G. Suny (ed.), *Transcaucasia, Nationalism and Social Change: Essays in the History of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia* (Revised edition: Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), pp. 377-400.

"A Revolução de Outubro e o problema das nacionalidades," *Estudos Avançados*, XII, 32 (January-April 1998), pp. 37-56.

"Living With the Other: Conflict and Cooperation Among the Transcaucasian Peoples," *Georgica*, no. 3 (September 1998), pp. 28-31; also published in *The Transcaucasus Today: Prospects for Regional Integration, Edited Conference Report, June 23-25, 1997* (Yerevan: American University of Armenia, 1998), pp. 51-57; and as "Zhit' riadom s drugimi: Konflikty I sotrudnichestvo sredi Zakavkazskikh narodov," in *Zakavkaz'e Sevodnia: Perspektivy regional'noi integratsii, Otredaktirovannye teksty vystuplenii, 23-25 iiunia, 1997 g.*, pp. 52-58.

"State-Building and Nation-Making: The Soviet Experience," in Martin Miller (ed.), *The Russian Revolution: The Essential Readings* (Malden, MA and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001), pp. 238-255.

"Russia's Identity Crisis," [from "Provisional Stabilities"], in Archie Brown (ed.),. *Contemporary Russian Politics: A Reader* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 363-366.

«Империя как она есть: Имперский период в историй Россий, 'национальная идентичность и теории империи,» *Ab Imperio*, 1-2 (2001), pp. 9-72.

"droebiti stabiluroba: identurobata politika postsabchourevraziashi," *analebi*, no. 1 (2001), pp. 82-86. [partial translation of "Provisional Stabilities" into Georgian]

"Stalin and His Stalinism: Power and Authority in the Soviet Union, 1930-1953," in David L. Hoffman (ed.), *Stalinism: The Essential Readings* (Oxford and Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003), pp. 16-35.

«Социализм, пост-социализм и нормативная модерность: Размысчленные об истории СССР,» ["Socialism, Post-Socialism, and the Appropriately Modern: Thinking About the History of the USSR"], *Ab Imperio*, 2 (2002), pp. 19-54.

"National Revolutions and Civil War in Russia" [from *The Revenge of the Past*], in Rex A. Wade (ed.), *Revolutionary Russia*, *New Approaches* (New York: Routledge, 2004), pp. 119-139.

«Империя как она есть: Имперский период в истории России, 'национальная идентичность и теории империи,» in V. A Tishkov and V. A Snirel'man (eds.), *Национализм в мировой истории* (Moscow: Nauka, 2007), pp. 36-82. ["The Empire Strikes Out: Imperial Russia, "National" Identity, and Theories of Empire"]

"Диалектика империи: Россия и Советской Союз,»

"Tiflisz: Az etnikai politika olvasztotegelye, 1860-1905," *Vilagtörtenet*, no. 3 (2014), pp. 433-454. ["Tiflis, Crucible of Ethnic Politics, 1860-1905]

"The Armenian Genocide One Hundred Years Later," *The Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, LXXXV, 40, April 25, 2015, pp. 5-7.

"Yes, the Slaughter of the Armenians Was Genocide," *The Daily Beast*, April 24, 2015. <a href="http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/04/24/yes-the-slaughter-of-the-armenians-was-genocide.html">http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/04/24/yes-the-slaughter-of-the-armenians-was-genocide.html</a>

#### **Interviews and Media Appearances:**

- "Glasnost and Nationalities Policy: An Interview with Ronald G. Suny," on KPFK FM, Los Angeles, February 28, 1988; published in Gerard J. Libaridian (ed.), *The Karabagh File: Documents and Facts on the Question of Mountainous Karabagh, 1918-1988* (Cambridge, Toronto: The Zoryan Institute, 1988), pp. 158-160.
- "La parole a Ronald Grigor Suny: L'Armenia aspetta la `perestroijka'," La Voce Repubblicana (Rome), March 20, 1988, p. 1.
- Interview with Barbara Fromm on The Journal, CBC Television, March 31, 1988.
- "What Happened in Soviet Armenia?, Middle East Report, XVIII, 4 (no. 153) (July-August 1988), pp. 37-40.
- Interview with Robert McNeil on McNeil-Lehrer Report, PBS, April 12, 1989.
- January 12, 1990 Interview on WDET, Detroit, on the nationality crisis in the Baltic republics of the USSR.
- January 15, 1990 Interview with Noah Adams on "All Things Considered" on National Public Radio.
- January 16, 1990 Interviews on Cable News Network; with Judy Woodruff on *McNeil-Lehrer Report*, PBS, (later rebroadcast on the Voice of America); and with Barbara Fromm on *The Journal*, CBC Television..
- January 18, 1990 Interview with Susan Weissman, KPFK (Pacifica Radio), Los Angeles; published as "Background on the Struggle in Nagorno Karabagh: The Crisis in the Caucasus," in *Against the Current*, V 2 (May-June 1990), pp. 40-42.
- January 20, 1990 Interview with Daniel Schorr and Dmitri Simes on *Weekend Edition*, National Public Radio.
- January 21, 1990 Interview with Ian on KPFK, Los Angeles.
- January 24, 1990 Interview with Kathleen Sullivan on CBS Morning News, CBS.
- January 24, 1990 Interview with David Newman, Detroit.
- April 25, 1990 Radio discussion, the Cambridge Forum: "Which Future for the Soviet Union?," with Viktor Kremenyuk and Marshall Goldman.
- October 25, 1990 Radio discussion with Richard C. Hottelet and Jeremy Azrael on Soviet nationality problems.
- September 13, 1991 Interview with John Hockenberry on the history of national movements in the Soviet Union, "Morning Edition," National Public Radio.
- December 3, 1991 Radio discussion with John Hockenberry and Peter Reddaway on "Talk of the Nation," NPR.
- December 9, 1991 Interview with Ken Barkus, Moniter Radio.
- December 13, 1991 Interview with Craig Debro, KPFA, Berkeley.

December 20, 1991 - Interview with Bob Edwards, Marshall Shulman, and Peter Reddaway, on "Morning Edition," NPR.

January 7, 1992 - Interview with Alex Chadwick, "Morning Edition," NPR.

January 9, 1992 - Interview with Susan Weissman on "Portraits of the (Former) Soviet Union," KPFK, Los Angeles.

January 14, 1992 - Interview with Robert Siegel on "All Things Considered," NPR.

January 15, 1992 - Interview with Craig Debro, KPFA, Berkeley.

February , 1992 - Interview with Charlene Hunter-Gault, *McNeal-Lehrer Report*, on Central Asia.

March 2, 1992 - Interview with Charlene Hunter-Gault, McNeal-Lehrer Report, on Georgia.

March 12, 1992 - Interview on CBS Evening News.

March 17, 1992 - Interview with Charlene Hunter-Gault, *McNeal-Lehrer Report*, on Armenia and Azerbaijan.

May 23, 1992 - Interview with Jonathan Sanders, CBS News.

January 12. 1994 - Interview on CBS Evening News.

August 9, 1994 - Interview on WBEZ (NPR), Chicago.

December 25, 1994 - Interview on CBS Evening News.

March 14, 1995 - Interview on CBC, The International Hour.

April 24, 1997 - Talk show with Christopher Lydon, "The Connection," WBUR (NPR), Boston.

December 3, 1997 - Talk show with Milton Rosenberg, WGN, Chicago.

June 14, 1998 - "Her ulus kendi öyküsünü anlatiyor," *Gazetepazar*, *Milliyet*, June 4, 1998. [in Turkish, interview with a Turkish journalist on the Armenian Genocide].

February 25, 1999 – on Stalin, with Sandor Vanocur, "Movies in Time," The History Channel.

April 23, 1999 – on Kosovo, WCBN, Ann Arbor, MI.

May 23, 1999 – "Ski and Skinner," on Kosovo, WSL, Chicago, IL.

August 21, 2000 – "Moneyline," CNN.

August 24, 2000 – Pacifica Radio.

September 1, 2000 – "The Voice of Greek Cyprus," radio interview.

September 25, 2000 – "Worldview," WBEZ, National Public Radio, Chicago.

November 11, 2002 – on Chechnya and Russia, Susan Weitzman, KPFA, Los Angeles.

2003 – Discussion of Anne Appelbaum's *Gulag*, on The Milt Rosenberg Show, WGN, 720 AM, Chicago

January 2004 – on Georgia, Radio Liberty, Prague.

January 26, 2004 – on Russian politics, The Milt Rosenberg Show, WGN, 720 AM, Chicago.

March 18, 2004 – on Adjarian crisis in Georgia, BBC from London.

September 9, 2004 – on Chechen crisis, on Paul W. Smith Show, WJR, 760 AM.

March 28, 2005 – on "revolution" in Kyrgyzstan, The Morning Show, KPFA, San Francisco.

July 18, 2006 – Video interview on Russian Revolution and Soviet Union with Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation, Seoul, Korea.

October 4, 2006 – Voice of America on the current Russo-Georgian conflict.

March 21, 2007 - "Georgia's Steps Toward Future Hampered by Past," Stars and Stripes.

August 24, 2007 – "Now and Then" with Ned Apigian, on the origins of socialism, WHFR, Detroit.

August 25, 2007 – on Russo-Georgian crisis, with David Rosenberg, KPFA, Pacifica radio, Oakland, California.

September 29, 2007 – on the political crisis in Georgia, with David Rosenberg, KPRA.

October 3, 2007 – on the recent politics in Georgia, Voice of America.

November 9, 2007 – Radio interview in Asuncion, Paraguay.

January 5, 2008 – KPFA, San Francisco (on Georgian elections).

January 16, 2008 – Voice of America (on Georgian elections).

February 10, 2008 – Interview with independent Russian political journal, *Smysl*.

March 6, 2008 – Interview with Alexander Osipovich, reporter, *The Moscow Times*.

May 7, 2008 – Voice of America, with Andre de Nesera, on Russo-Georgian tensions.

July 18, 2008 - Voice of America, with Andre de Nesera, on Russo-Georgian tensions.

August 7, 2008 – KPFA, San Francisco, on the Russo-German war over South Osetia.

August 8, 2008 – *Moscow Times* (Peter Slezkine) on the situation in South Osetia.

August 11, 2008 – *Stars and Stripes*; Suzi Weissman, Beneath the Surface, KPFK 90.7FM, Los Angeles; WJR 760, Detroit, on the crisis in Georgia.

August 12, 2008 – Interview with Khatchig Mouradian, *The Armenian Weekly*.

August 13, 2008 - Breakfast Club, Kingson, Jamaica; and Voice of America, with Andre de

- Nesnera; with the Brazilian journal, Veza; Detroit News, on the Georgian crisis.
- August 14, 2008 WJR, Detroit; Fox News.Com; on the Georgian crisis.
- August 19, 2008 Interview with Paul Sonne, Associated Press, Moscow, on Soviet nationality policies and Georgia (his article was published August 20, 2008,. http://www.pr-inside.com/why-does-south-ossetia-want-independence-r763709.htm
- August 19, 2008 Interview with Politifact.com on early Georgian history.

## http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/statements/634/

- August 27, 2008 Voice of America, with Andre de Nesera, on Russian recognition of the independence of South Ossetia and Abkhazia.
- October 15, 2008 -La Tercera, Santiago, Chile, on Russian economic crisis.
- November 10, 2008 KPFA, Pacifica Radio Los Angeles, on the Russo-Georgian conflict.
- November 24, 2008 telephone interview with Mark Brough, CNN, London.
- December 17. 2008 Радио Свобода (Radio Liberty, Moscow), Program "Документы прошлого», with Olga Edelman and Vladimir Tolz, on Georgian Social Democrats, early 1900s.
- April 1, 2009 Interview with the Turkish Service, BBC, London.
- April 7, 2009 Interview with KPFA, on Georgia.
- March 4, 2010 Interview with BBC on Armenian Genocide. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7042209.stm
- May 18, 2010 Interview with *Armenia.AZ All News from Azerbaijan in Armenian*, http://www.news.az/articles/9402.
- May 31, 2010 Interview with *Armenia.AZ All News from Azerbaijan in Armenian*, "Russian-Georgian War changed balance of power in South Caucasia." http://www.news.az/articles/16518.
- October 25, 2010 Interview with journalist Nana Kvajadze, published as "kobadan komisaramde: amerikeli istorikosis tsgni akhalgazrda stalinze," *batumelebi*, no. 41, October 27-November 3, 2010, p. 11.
- November 21, 2010 Interview with Irina Popova at ASEEES: "Voina I mir: Rossiia I Evraziia kak ob"ety issledovanii," VANews.com [Voice of America].

  <a href="http://www.voanews.com/russian/news/america/ASEEES-review-final-2010-1121-109665184.html">http://www.voanews.com/russian/news/america/ASEEES-review-final-2010-1121-109665184.html</a>
- September 1, 2011 Interview with Kathleen Dunn of Wisconsin Public Radio, WPR, on twenty years since the collapse of the Soviet Union.
- November 10, 2013 "To break stalemate with Armenia Turkey should resolve Nagorno-Karabakh conflict," interview with Lamiya Adilgizi, *Today's Zaman* (Istanbul).
- May 12, 2014 Interview with RT TV (Moscow) on the referenda in eastern Ukraine.

- June 15, 2014 Television interview with Aris Nalci, Istanbul, Gamurdj Program.
- June 24, 2014 Interview with RTTV (Moscow) on the events in eastern Ukraine.
- August 7, 2014 Interviews with Voice of America, Georgian Service and Armenian Service; Zerkalo <u>http://www.zerkalo.az/2014/amerikanskiy-analitik-armyanskogo-proishozhdeniya-prizyivaet-baku-i-erevan-dogovoritsya/</u>
- August 14, 2014 Interview with Voice of America, Armenian Service, Washington, D.C.
- October 27, 2014 "In America I was Attacked for Being a Marxist and Here I was Attacked as a 'Bourgeois Falsifier of History'," interview for the Higher School of Economics National Research University, St. Petersburg, Russia. <a href="http://sh.spb.hse.ru/en/history/chsen/news/137612921.html">http://sh.spb.hse.ru/en/history/chsen/news/137612921.html</a>
- November 21, 2014 "Caucasus is Caught Between Two Ambitious Powers," Democracy and Freedom Watch: <a href="http://dfwatch.net/caucasus-is-caught-between-two-ambitious-powers-25920">http://dfwatch.net/caucasus-is-caught-between-two-ambitious-powers-25920</a>
- December 18, 2014 Discussion of Stalin, Откытая студия ("Open Studio"), Petersburg-Channel 5, Russia. <a href="http://www.5-tv.ru/programs/broadcast/508494/">http://www.5-tv.ru/programs/broadcast/508494/</a> <a href="http://youtu.be/xJURtA2jFaQ">http://youtu.be/xJURtA2jFaQ</a>
- December 26, 2014 Interview by Professor Holy Case (Cornell University) in Istanbul for her blog
- January 19, 2015 Interview on "In the Now on RTTV on Ukraine.
- February 11, 2015 Interview with Ara Tadevosyan, Mediamax, Erevan, Armenia. Published on May 7, 2015. http://www.mediamax.am/en/news/interviews/14105/
- February 20, 2015 Interview with Elaine Reyes for General News, CCTV (China).
- March 10, 2015 Interview on the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Armenian Genocide, Al Jazeera America.
- March 10, 2015 Interview on the Armenian Genocide with Al Jazeera America.

  <a href="http://america.aljazeera.com/watch/shows/live-news/2015/3/bringing-awareness-to-the-tragic-armenian-genocide.html">http://america.aljazeera.com/watch/shows/live-news/2015/3/bringing-awareness-to-the-tragic-armenian-genocide.html</a>
- March 30, 2015 -- Interview with Russia Today, "In the Now," on the media and the Ukraine crisis. <a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xpH-Sh92j1s">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xpH-Sh92j1s</a>
- April 7, 2015 Skype interview with Pieternel Gruppen on the Armenian Genocide.
- April 8, 2015 -- Interview by telephone with Fred Petrossian of the Persian Service of Radio Free Europe, Prague.
- April 13, 2015 -- "Background Briefing with Ian Masters", on the Armenian Genocide and Pope Ap
- April 17, 2015 Interview on Armenian Genocide together with Eugene Rogan, on Saturday Extra, Radio National, Australian Broadcasting Corportion.
  - http://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/saturdayextra/armenia/6400352

April 21, 2015 – Podcast uploaded, "Origins: Current Events in Historical Perspective," Ohio State

University, Department of History:

http://origins.osu.edu/historytalk/armenians-turks-and-genocide-question

 $\underline{https://soundcloud.com/originsosu/armenians-turks-and-the-genocide-question}$ 

- April 22, 2015 -- "The Zoomer Week in Review," The New AM 740, on the Armenian Genocide.
- April 23, 2015 "On Air" with Larry Mantel, 89.3 KPCC (Pasadena-Los Angeles) on the Armenian Genocide.

 $\underline{http://www.scpr.org/programs/airtalk/2015/04/23/42533/the-100th-anniversary-of-the-armenian-genocide/$ 

April 23, 2015 – Interview on the Armenian Genocide with WBEZ, Chicago. <a href="http://www.wbez.org/programs/worldview/2015-04-24/worldview-anniversary-armenian-genocide-111941">http://www.wbez.org/programs/worldview/2015-04-24/worldview-anniversary-armenian-genocide-111941</a>

April 24, 2015 – Interview published in Brian Bethune, "The Opening Act of a Genocidal Century," McClean's.

http://www.macleans.ca/news/world/the-opening-act-of-a-genocidal-century/

- May 7, 2015 Interview with MediaMax: "Ronald Suny: 'Previously Diaspora Was Not Well Aware of Armenia'." <a href="http://www.mediamax.am/en/news/interviews/14105">http://www.mediamax.am/en/news/interviews/14105</a>
- July 25, 2015 Television interview with CCTV on Turkey's entry into the fight against ISIS.
- August 21, 2015 -- Television interview with RTTV on Turkey's fight against the Kurds and ISIS.
- October 14, 2015 "What Is Your Next Step? Are You Going to Kill 20 Million Kurds Now?, interview published in *Agos* (Istanbul).
- http://www.agos.com.tr/en/article/13025/what-is-your-next-step-are-you-going-to-kill-15-20-million-kurds-now
- http://www.agos.com.tr/tr/yazi/13025/ne-yapacaksin-bu-sefer-de-15-20-milyon-kurtu-mu-oldureceksin?utm\_source=dlvr.it&utm\_medium=facebook
- October 17, 2015 Television interview with RTTV on the European Court of Justice's ruling on genocide denial. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TbZLvgbjFkA">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TbZLvgbjFkA</a>
- November 1, 2015 Television interview with RTTV on the Turkish elections.
- November 28, 2015 Television interview with RTTV on the US request that Turkey close its border with Syria. <a href="https://youtu.be/CvgPKNwCa0o">https://youtu.be/CvgPKNwCa0o</a>
- December 30, 2015 -- Television interview with RTTV on the war on the Kurds in eastern Turkey. <a href="https://youtu.be/aF66OkrYf2E">https://youtu.be/aF66OkrYf2E</a>
- January 2, 2016 Television interview with RTTV on Turkish-Russian relations.

January 4, 2016 - Podcast interview with Kelly McFall of New Books in Genocide Studies.

#### http://newbooksingenocidestudies.com/

February 1, 2016 – Interview with RTTV on Turkish incursions into Syria against the Kurds.

#### https://youtu.be/DT-liFA0ekM

February 13, 2016 – Interview with RTTV on Turkish shelling of Kurdish sites in Syria.

February 15, 2016 - Interview with RTTV on Turkish actions against Kurds in Syria.

## https://youtu.be/5b99UjpakKE

March 2, 2016 - Interview with RTTV on Turkey and the Kurds. https://youtu.be/WuO qWOyI2I

March 4, 2016 – Interview with RTTV on the closing of the newspaper Zaman.

March 31, 2016 - Interview with RTTV on Erdoğan's interview with Christina Amanpoor

April 14, 2015 – Interview with RTTV on Turkey's closing of the Russian news outlet Sputnik.

April 18, 2016 - Interview with RTTV on Turkish attack on an American soldier.

#### https://youtu.be/IeNIjYnpR2c

June 2, 2016 – Interview with BBC on Germany's recognition of the Armenian Genocide.

June 28, 2016 – Interview with RTTV on ISIL bombing of Istanbul Atatürk Airport.

July 16, 2016 -- Interview with RTTV on the attempted military coup in Turkey.

July 16, 2016 – Interview with Fox News on the attempted military coup in Turkey.

July 25, 2016 – Interview with RTTV on the current violent attacks in Bavaria.

December 10, 2016 -- Interview with RTTV on the bombing in Istanbul (Beşiktaş stadium).

- February 11, 2017 "В Армении на меня обрушили сквал критики из моих антинациональные взглади": Профессор Суни на связи с Azeri. Today" ["In Armenia they launched a barrage of criticism because of my anti-nationalistic views."] [Interview on the effects of the election of Donald Trump on the South Caucaus], *Azeri Today*. <a href="https://azeri.today/articles/2674/">https://azeri.today/articles/2674/</a>
- March 2017 "'They Can Live in the Desert But Nowhere Else': A History of the Armenian Genocide an interview of Ronald Grigor Suny by Norman M. Naimark," in NewsNet (March 2017). <a href="http://aseees.org/news-events/aseees-blog-feed/they-can-live-desert-nowhere-else-history-armenian-genocide-interview">http://aseees.org/news-events/aseees-blog-feed/they-can-live-desert-nowhere-else-history-armenian-genocide-interview</a>
- April 24, 2017 Interview on the 102 anniversary of the Armenian Genoide, KNX 1070, CBS Radio Los Angeles.

- April 24, 2017 Interview on the 102 anniversary of the Armenian Genocide and the foreign policies of President Donald Trump, "Background Briefing," ianmasters.com. <u>ianmasters.com</u>
- May 23-24, 2017 interviews with various Armenian media at the conference on "End of Transition Shifting Focus: Armenia Twenty-five Years On, Now What?"
- June 2, 2017 Interview with Azeri Today. <a href="https://azeri.today/articles/5575/">https://azeri.today/articles/5575/</a>
- July 7, 2017 Interview with Stephen Loiaconi, WJLA Washington, DC, published as "Experts See Gains/Losses for Both Leaders in Trump-Putin Meeting."

  <a href="http://wjla.com/news/nation-world/experts-see-gains-losses-for-both-leaders-in-trump-putin-meeting">http://wjla.com/news/nation-world/experts-see-gains-losses-for-both-leaders-in-trump-putin-meeting</a>
- September 27, 2017 "Is Russia a Threat?" -- Interview "Top of Mind with Julie Rose," KBYU, Provo, Utah. <a href="https://www.byuradio.org/episode/ff5c0be4-b832-4a11-9800-b230df311b9c/top-of-mind-with-julie-rose-is-russia-really-a-threat-racism-in-the-nfl-internal-clocks">https://www.byuradio.org/episode/ff5c0be4-b832-4a11-9800-b230df311b9c/top-of-mind-with-julie-rose-is-russia-really-a-threat-racism-in-the-nfl-internal-clocks</a>
- September 29, 2017 Stephen Loiaconi, "Lawmakers, experts warn Russia interference extends beyond 2016 election," WJLA, Washington, DC. <a href="http://wjla.com/news/nation-world/lawmakers-experts-warn-russian-interference-extends-beyond-2016-election">http://wjla.com/news/nation-world/lawmakers-experts-warn-russian-interference-extends-beyond-2016-election</a>
- October 7, 2017 Interview for Pietro Shakarian's podcast, "Reconsidering Russia." <a href="https://www.mixcloud.com/reconsidering-russia/reconsidering-russia-podcast-16-ronald-grigor-suny/">https://www.mixcloud.com/reconsidering-russia/reconsidering-russia-podcast-16-ronald-grigor-suny/</a>
- November 6, 2017 Interview with Russian Service of Voice of America.
- November 6, 2017 Interview with Thiago Levado of *Veja* (Brazil); published online as "In Russia, the Ambivalence of the Revolutionary Past," November 11, 2017. <a href="https://exame.abril.com.br/mundo/na-russia-a-ambivalencia-do-passado-revolucionario/">https://exame.abril.com.br/mundo/na-russia-a-ambivalencia-do-passado-revolucionario/</a>
- November 15, 2017 Interview quoted in Jordan Michael Smith, "Is this Professor 'Putin's American Apologist'? How Stephen f Cohen Became the Most onroverial Russian Expert in America," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*.
- http://www.chronicle.com/article/is-this-professor-putin-s/241777?cid=wcontentgrid 41 2
- January 28, 2018 interview as part of BBC radio program "The Forty Days of Musa Dagh."

  http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b09pkmpc
- March 5, 2018 Interview with Valerie Kivelson, hosted by Marshall Poe on our book *Russia's Empires*.
- $\underline{\text{http://newbooksnetwork.com/valerie-kivelson-and-ronald-suny-russias-empires-oxford-up-2016/}$
- March 20, 2018 "Putin entrega o que Rússia quer, diz professor da Universidade de Michigan: Para Ronald Suny, após crise, população está satisfeita com ordem e crescimento módico," interview in *Folha de S.Paulo* on Vladimir Putin and Russia. <a href="https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/mundo/2018/03/putin-entrega-o-que-russia-quer-diz-professor-da-universidade-de">https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/mundo/2018/03/putin-entrega-o-que-russia-quer-diz-professor-da-universidade-de</a> michigan.shtml?utm source=twitter&utm medium=social&utm campaign=comptw

- April 7, 2018 Interview with Matthew Ghazarian, "They Can Live in the Desert," Ottoman History P Podcast. http://www.ottomanhistorypodcast.com/2018/04/suny.html
- April 23, 2018 "The History of the Armenian Genocide with Ronald Suny," podcast "The Road to Now," interviewed by Benjamin Sawyer. <a href="http://www.theroadtonow.com/episodes/e92">http://www.theroadtonow.com/episodes/e92</a>
- August 10, 2018 Interview with Sean Guillory for Sean's Russia Blog. https://seansrussiablog.org/2018/08/24/nation-nationality-and-empire/

October 23,2018 – Interview with *Global Michigan*, University of Michigan, on the US withdrawal from the INF Treaty.

 $\underline{\text{http://global.umich.edu/newsroom/u-s-threatens-to-leave-arms-control-treaty-that-marked-end-of-cold-war/}$ 

Feburary 1, 2019 – Radio Liberty interview, Georgian service, with Salome Asatiani.

 $\frac{https://www.radiotavisupleba.ge/a/29746652.html?fbclid=IwAR3QZ05u2S2OD-TVYe1IVEJpMcZrqehk5nBM9zBImUyaZUIviTkPpfiHKTQ}{}$ 

March 8, 2019 – Hour long interview with KWMR in Marin County on Stalin, Russia today, and the Armenian Genocide.

March 13, 2019 – Interview with NSN, Russia.

 $\underline{\text{http://nsn.fm/in-the-world/amerikanskiy-istorik-ocenil-shansy-trampa-povtorit-sudbuniksona.html}}$ 

November 4, 2019 – Interview on the passage of the Armenian Genocide resolution by the House of Representatives, on *Kresta in the Afternoon*, Ave Maria Radio, Ann Arbor.

January 10, 2020 – Interview with Frederick Schultz, KWMR, Point Reyes, CA, on Kurds, the Middle East crises, anarchism, and Grikor Suni's music.

## Film Appearances:

Armenian-Americans (Two Cats Productions)

The Armenians (Two Cats Productions)

The Armenian Genocide (Two Cats Productions, 2006)

The Russian Revolution (Lucasfilm)

Lenin (Lukacsfilm)

The Russian Revolution (Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation, Seoul, Korea).

The Great Famine (Austin Hoyt Productions), shown on "The American Experience," PBS, April 11, 2011.

German version: <a href="https://www.zdf.de/dokumentation/zdfinfo-doku/der-grosse-hunger102.html">https://www.zdf.de/dokumentation/zdfinfo-doku/der-grosse-hunger102.html</a>

#### **Reviews**:

- Bohdan B. Budorowycz, *Polish-Soviet Relations: 1933-1939* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), in *Journal of International Affairs*, XVII, 2 (1963), pp. 233-234.
- William E. Griffith, *Albania and the Sino-Soviet Rift* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1963) and Alexander Dallin (ed.), with Jonathan Harris and Grey Hodnett, *Diversity in International Communism: A Documentary Record, 1961-1963* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), in *Journal of International Affairs*, XVIII, 1 (1964), pp. 121-122.
- Paul Avrich, *Kronstadt 1921* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1970), in *Slavic Review*, XXX, 1 (March 1971), pp. 15O-151.
- Henry J. Tobias, *The Jewish Bund in Russia from its Origins to 1905* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1972), in *The Historian*, XXXV, 2 (February 1973), pp. 292-293.
- Nicholas Krasso (ed.), *Trotsky: The Great Debate Renewed* (St. Louis, Missouri: New Critics Press, 1972), in *The Activist*, XIII, 2 (33) (Spring 1973), pp. 33-34.
- D.L. Vateishvili, Russkaia obshchestvennaia mysl' i pechat' na Kavkaze v pervoi treti XIX veka (Moscow, 1973), in American Historical Review, LXXXI, 2 (April 1976), pp. 424-425.
- Alexander Rabinowitch, *The Bolsheviks Come to Power: The Revolution of 1917 in Petrograd* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1976), in *American Historical Review*, LXXXII, 3 (June 1977), pp. 701-702.
- Oliver H. Radkey, *The Unknown Civil War in Soviet Russia: A Study of the Green Movement in the Tambov Region, 1920-1921* (Stanford, California: Hoover Institution Press, 1976), in *International Labor and Working Class History*, no. 11 (May 1977), pp. 36-38.
- W.H. Roobol, *Tsereteli, A Democrat in the Russian Revolution: A Political Biography*, translated from the Dutch by Philip Hyams and Lynne Richards (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1976), in *American Historical Review*, LXXXIII, 1 (December 1977), pp. 1295-1296.
- Arthur Koestler, *The Thirteenth Tribe: The Khazar Empire and its Heritage* (New York: Random House, 1976), in *Ararat*, XVIII, 4 (Autumn 1977), pp. 40-41.
- Russell E. Snow, *The Bolsheviks in Siberia, 1917-1918* (Rutherford, Madison, Teaneck: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1977), in *The Review of Politics*, XL, 3 (July 1978), pp. 427-429.
- Nationalism in the USSR and Eastern Europe in the Era of Brezhnev and Kosygin: Papers and Proceedings of the Symposium held at the University of Detroit on October 3-4, 1975, edited by George W. Simmonds (Detroit: University of Detroit Press, 1977), in Comparative Studies in Society and History, XXI, 1 (January 1979), pp. 144-145.
- Richard Stites, *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia: Feminism, Nihilism, and Bolshevism, 1860-1930* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), and Vera Broido, *Apostles into Terrorists. Women and the Revolutionary Movement in the Russia of Alexander II* (New York: Viking Press, 1977), in *The Review of Politics*, XLI, 3 (July 1979), pp. 473-5.
- David Marshall Lang, *Armenia: Cradle of Civilization*, Second Edition, Corrected (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1978), in *Slavic Review*, XXXVIII, 4 (December 1979), p. 700.
- O.N. Znamenskii, *Vserossiiskoe uchreditel'noe sobranie, Istoriia sozyva i politicheskogo kruzheniia* (Leningrad, 1976), in *The American Historical Review*, LXXXIV, 4 (October 1979), pp. 1105-1106.

Manuel Sarkisyanz, *A Modern History of Transcaucasian Armenia: Social, Cultural and Political* (Nagpur, India: Udyama Commercial Press, 1975), in *Russian Review*, XXXVIII, 4 (October 1979), pp. 483-484.

Neil Harding, Lenin's Political Thought. Volume I: Theory and Practice in the Democratic Revolution (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977), in The American Historical Review, LXXXV, 5 (October 1980), pp. 497-498.

Rusudan Mepisashvili and Vakhtang Tsintsadze, *The Arts of Ancient Georgia* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979), in *The Russian Review*, XXXIX, 2 (April 1980), p. 274.

Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia and China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), in *Alternatives*, 10 (Summer 1980), pp. 51-52.

Christopher J. Walker, *Armenia: The Survival of a Nation* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980), in *Slavic Review*, XL, 2 (Summer 1981), p. 312.

Baruch Knei-Paz, *The Social and Political Thought of Leon Trotsky* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), in *Alternatives*, 11 (Special 1980-81), pp. 26-27.

Marc Ferro, *October 1917: A Social History of the Russian Revolution*, translated by Norman Stone (London, Boston and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), in *Slavic Review*, XL, 3 (Fall 1981), pp. 476-477.

John M. Thompson, *Revolutionary Russia, 1917* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1981), in *The Russian Review*, XLI, 3 (July 1982), pp. 331-332.

David Marshall Lang, *The Armenians: A People in Exile* (London, Boston & Sidney: George Allen & Unwin, 1981), in *Slavic Review*, XLI, 4 (Winter 1982), p. 739.

O.O. Gruzenberg, *Yesterday: Memoirs of a Russian-Jewish Lawyer*, edited with an introduction by Don C. Rawson (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1981), in *Russian History*, X, Part 1 (1983), pp. 108-109.

Neil Harding, *Lenin's Political Thought, Volume II: Theory and Practice in the Socialist Revolution* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981), in *Slavic Review*, XLI, 4 (Winter 1982), pp. 712-713.

George E. Snow, editor, *The Years 1881-1894 in Russia: A Memorandum Found in the Papers of N. Kh. Bunge. A Translation and Commentary* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1981), in *Russian History*, X, Part 1 (1983), pp. 107-108.

Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), in *The Russian Review*, XLII, 4 (October 1983), pp. 417-418.

Richard G. Hovannisian, *The Republic of Armenia, Volume II: From Versailles to London, 1919-1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), in *The Russian Review*, XLII, 4 (October 1983), pp. 450-451.

Leo Kuper, *Genocide: Its Political Use in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982), in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*,

Laura Engelstein, *Moscow, 1905: Working-Class Organization and Political Conflict* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982), in *Canadian-American Slavic Studies*, XVIII, 1-2 (Spring-Summer 1984), pp. 200-201.

David Lewis Hammarstrom, *Circus Rings Around Russia* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1983) and William Campbell, *Villi the Clown* (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1981), in *The Russian Review*, XLIV, 2 (April 1985), p. 200.

George A. Bournoutian, Eastern Armenia in the Last Decades of Persian Rule, 1807-1828: A Political and Socioeconomic Study of the Khanate of Erevan on the Eve of the Russian Conquest (Malibu, CA: Undena, 1982), in Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies, 1 (1984), pp. 207-209.

Ludmilla Alexeyeva, Soviet Dissent: Contemporary Movements for National, Religious, and Human Rights (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1985), in The Washington Post Book World, XV, 27, July 7, 1985; reprinted in The Guardian Weekly, CXXXIII, 5, August 4, 1985.

Claire Mouradian, *L'Armenie Sovietique depuis la mort de Staline* (Doctoral thesis in history from the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris, 1982), in *The Armenian Review*, XXXVIII, 2 (Summer 1985), pp. 105-112.

Neil Harding (editor), *Marxism in Russia: Key Documents 1879-1906* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), in *Russian History*,

Anahide Ter Minassian, *La Question armenienne* (Roquevaire: Editions Parentheses, 1983), in *The Russian Review*, XLV, 1 (January 1986), pp. 92-93.

Tadeusz Swietochowski, Russian Azerbaijan, 1905-1920: The Shaping of National Identity in a Muslim Community (Cambridge, London, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), in Soviet Studies, XXXVIII, 2 (April 1986), pp. 296-299.

Kevork B. Bardakjian, *Hitler and the Armenian Genocide* (Cambridge, MA: Zoryan Institute, 1985), in *Slavic Review*, XLV, 3 (Fall 1986), pp. 568-569.

Frederick Stanwood, War, Revolution & British Imperialism in Central Asia (London: Ithaca Press, 1983), in Iranian Studies, (Summer-Autumn 1986), pp. 297-299.

Reginald E. Zelnik, editor, A Radical Worker in Tsarist Russia: The Autobiography of Semen Ivanovich Kanatchikov (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986), in American Historical Review, XCII, 3 (June 1987), pp. 711-712.

Alex De Jonge, *Stalin and the Shaping of the Soviet Union* (New York: William Morrow, 1986), in *American Historical Review*, XCII, 5 (December 1987), pp. 1239-1240.

Michal Reiman, *The Birth of Stalinism: The USSR on the Eve of the "Second Revolution"* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), in *Slavic Review*, XLVII, 1 (Spring 1988), pp. 129-130.

Robert M. Slusser, *Stalin in October: The Man Who Missed the Revolution* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), in *Slavic Review*, XLVII, 3 (Fall 1988), pp. 538-539.

Abbot Gleason, Peter Kenez, and Richard Stites, editors, *Bolshevik Culture: Experiment and Order in the Russian Revolution* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), in *International Labor and Working-Class History*, no. 34 (Fall 1988), pp. 134-136.

- Khachig Tololyan, et al., editors, "What Is To Be Asked?" Proceedings/Colloquium I. January 1984 (Cambridge, Mass.: The Zoryan Institute, 1986), in Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies, 3 (1987), pp. 190-192.
- Richard G. Hovannisian, ed., *The Armenian Genocide in Perspective* (New Brunswick, N. J. and Oxford: Transaction, 1987), in *Slavic Review*, XLVIII, 1 (Spring 1989), pp. 123-124.
- Gerhard Simon, Nationalismus und Nationalitatenpolitik in der Sowjetunion. Von der totalitaren Dikatur zur nachstalinschen Gesellschaft (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1986), in Jahrbucher fur Geschichte Ostereuropas, XXXVII (1989), 2, pp. 300-301.
- Tim McDaniel, *Autocracy, Capitalism, and Revolution in Russia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), in *TheRussian Review*, XLIX, 2 (April 1990), pp. 210-211.
- A Civil War Diary: Alexis Babine in Saratov, 1918-1922, edited by Donald J. Raleigh (Durham, N.C. and London: Duke University Press, 1988), in Slavic Review, XLIX, 1 (Spring 1990), pp. 118-119.
- Robert H. McNeal, *Stalin: Man and Ruler* (New York: NYU Press, 1988); Daniel Rancour-Laferriere, *The Mind of Stalin: A Psychoanalytical Study* (Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1988), in *Slavic Review*, XLIX, 3 (Fall 1990), pp. 458-459.
- Tamara Dragadze, *Rural Families in Soviet Georgia: A Case Study in Ratcha Province* (London and New York: Routledge, 1988), in *The Armenian Review*, XLIII, 1/169 (Spring 1990), pp. 115-118.
- Evan Mawdsley, *The Russian Civil War* (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987), in *Journal of Modern History*, LXII, 4 (December 1990), pp. 894-895.
- Francesco Benvenuti, *The Bolsheviks and the Red Army, 1918-1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), in *Science and Society*, LV, 1 (Spring 1991), pp. 112-115.
- Roy Medvedev, *Let History Judge: The Origins and Consequences of Stalinism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), in *American Historical Review*, XCVI, 2 (April 1991), pp. 569-570.
- Richard Pipes, *The Russian Revolution* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990), in *American Historical Review*, XCVI, 5 (December 1991), pp. 1581-1583.
- Orlando Figes, *Peasant Russia, Civil War: The Volga Countryside in Revolution, 1917-1921* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), in *The Russian Review*, LI, 1 (January 1992), pp. 128-130.
- Lars T. Lih, *Bread and Authority in Russia, 1914-1921* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), in *Canadian-American Slavic Studies*, XXV, 1-4 (1991), pp. 306-307.
- R. W. Davies, *The Soviet Economy in Turmoil, 1929-1930* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), in *Business History Review*, (Summer 1991), pp. 466-468.
- John Riddell (ed.), Workers of the World and Oppressed Peoples, United: Proceedings and Documents of the Second Congress, 1920, vols. 1 and 2 (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1991), in Slavic Review, LI, 4 (Winter 1992), pp. 815-816.
- Helene Carrère d'Encausse, *The End of the Soviet Empire: The Triumph of the Nations* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), in *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, VII, 2 (June 1994), pp. 363-365.

- Gabor Tamas Rittersporn, Stalinist Simplifications and Soviet Complications: Social Tensions and Political Conflicts in the USSR, 1933-1953 (Reading, PA: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1991), in Russian Review, LIII, 4 (October 1994), pp. 591-593.
- Philip Pomper, *Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin: The Intelligentsia and Power* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), in *The Journal of Modern History*, LXVI, 4 (December 1994), pp. 893-894.
- Eduard M. Dune, *Notes of a Red Guard*, trans. and ed. by Diane P. Koenker and S. A. Smith (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993), in *Labour/Le Travail*, pp. 355-356.
- Susan Layton, Russian Literature and Empire: Conquest of the Caucasus from Pushkin to Tolstoy (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), in Slavic Review, LIV, 4 (Winter 1995), pp. 1041-1043.
- Robert J. Kaiser, *The Geography of Nationalism in Russia and the USSR* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), in *American Historical Review*, (February 1996), pp. 211-212.
- Stephen Blank, *The Sorceror as Apprentice: Stalin as Commissar of Nationalities, 1917-1924* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994), in *Russian Review*, LV, 2 (April 1996), pp. 334-335.
- Richard G. Hovannisian (ed.), *The Armenian Genocide: History, Politics, Ethnics*, in *The Armenian Review*, XLVI, 1-4/181-184 (Spring-Winter 1993), pp. 217-220.
- Vahakn N. Dadrian, *The History of the Armenian Genocide: Ethnic Conflict from the Balkans to Anatolia to the Caucasus* (Providence: Berghahn Books, 1995), in *Slavic Review*, LV, 3 (Fall 1996), pp. 676-677.
- George A. Bournoutian, *A History of the Armenian People, vol. 2: 1500 to the Present* (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 1994), in *Iranian Studies*, XXIX, 2 (1996), pp. 406-407.
- S. Frederick Starr (ed.), *The Legacy of History in Russia and the New States of Eurasia* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1994), in *Canadian-American Slavic Studies*, XXX, nos. 2-4 (Summer-Fall-Winter 1996), pp. 377-378.
- Timothy J. Colton, *Moscow: Governing the Socialist Metropolis* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, XXVIII, 1 (Summer 1997), pp. 135-136.
- Richard G. Hovannisian, *The Republic of Armenia: Volume III: From London to Sèvres, February-August, 1920*; and *The Republic of Armenia: Volume IV: Between Crescent and Sickle: Partition and Sovietization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), in *The International History Review*, XIX, 4 (November 1997), pp. 943-946.
- Celeste A. Wallander (ed.), *The Sources of Russian Foreign Policy After the Cold War* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996), in *Slavonica*
- Gregory Freeze (ed.), *Russia, A History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), and Robert Service, *A History of Twentieth-Century Russia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998); , in *Los Angeles Times Book Review*, June 28, 1998, pp. 6-7.
- Sarah Davies, *Popular Opinion in Stalin's Russia: Terror, Propaganda and Dissent, 1934-1941* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), in *Slavic Review*, LVII, 2 (Summer 1998), pp. 459-460.

- Orlando Figes, *A People's Tragedy: A History of the Russian Revolution* (New York: Viking, 1996), in *The Journal of Modern History*, LXXI, 1 (March 1999), pp. 263-266.
- Theodore R. Weeks, *Nation and State in Late Imperial Russia: Nationalism and Russification on the Western Frontier, 1863-1914* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1996), in *The Journal of Modern History*, LXXI, 2 (June 1999), pp. 511-513.
- James C. Scott, Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), in Slavic Review, LVIII, 1 (Spring 1999), pp. 190-191.
- Mary McAuley, *Russia's Politics of Uncertainty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), in *Slavonica*, V (1999), 2, pp. 85-86.
- Jeremy Smith, *The Bolsheviks and the National Question, 1917-23* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), in *America Historical Review*, CV, 3 (June 2000), pp. 1046-1047.
- Russia and the Armenians of Transcaucasia, 1797-1889: A Documentary History. Annotated Translation and Commentary by George A. Bournoutian (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 1998), in
- Joseph R. Masih and Robert O. Krikorian, *Armenia at the Crossroads* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1999), in *Eurasian Studies*
- Geoffrey Hosking, *Russia and the Russians* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), in *The New Leader*, LXXXIV, 2 (March/April 2001), pp. 30-31.
- Nikolas k. Gvosdev, *Imperial Policies and Perspectives Towards Georgia*, 1760-1819 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), in *Slavic Review* LX, 2 (Summer 2001), pp. 428-429.
- Amir Weiner, Making Sense of War: The Second World War and the Fate of the Bolshevik Revolution (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), in Journal of Modern History, LXXIV, 3 (September 2002), pp. 693-695.
- Peter Nasmyth, Georgia, In the Mountains of Poetry (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), and George Hewitt (ed.), The Abkhazians, A Handbook (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), in Turkish Studies Association Bulletin
- Yair Auron, *The Banality of Inedifference: Zionism and the Armenian Genocide* (New Brunswick, NJ and London: Transaction Publishers, 2000), and Richard G. Hovannisian (ed.), *Remembrance and Denial: The Case of the Armenian Genocide* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1999), in *Studies in Contemporary Jewry*, XVIII
- Lawrence R. Klein and Marshall Pomer (eds.), *The New Russia: Transition Gone Awry* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), in *Common Knowledge*, IX, 1 (Winter 2003), pp.165-166.
- Richard G. Hovannisian and David N. Meyers (eds.), *Enlightenment and Diaspora: The Armenian and Jewish Cases* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), in *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies*, XII (2001, 2002) [2003], pp. 94-95.
- Andrei P. Tsygankov, *Pathways after Empire: National Identity and Foreign Economic Policy in the Post-Soviet World* (Lanham, Boulder, New York, Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000), in *Perspectives on Politics*, I, 4 (December 2003), p. 839.
- A. C. Janos, East Central Europe in the Modern World: The Politics of the Borderlands from Pre- to Postcommunism (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), in Slavonica

Wayne Dowler, Classroom and Empire: The Politics of Schooling Russia's Eastern Nationalities, 1860-1917 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), in University of Toronto Quarterly, LXXIII, 1 (Winter 2003/4), pp. 235-236.

Simon Sebag Montgefiore, *Stalin: The Court of the Red Tsar* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicicolson, 2003) and Roy Medvedev and Zhores Medvedev, *The Unknown Stalin: His Life, Death, and Legacy* (Woodstock and New York: The Overlook Press, 2003), in *The Nation*, September 27, 2004, pp.

Valery Tishkov, *Chechnya: Life in a War-Torn Society* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004), *American Historical Review*, CX, 3 (June 2005), pp. 908-909.

"The Soviet Nation," [Review of Francine Hirsch, *Empire of Nations: Ethnogrtaphic Knowledge and the Making of the Soviet Union* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), in *The Moscow News, Arts and Ideas*, September 2-8, 2005, p. 4.

"Soviet Ice-breaker," a review of Moshe Lewin, *The Soviet Century* (London and New York: Verso, 2005), in *New Left Review*, Second Series, no. 35 (September-October 2005), pp. 153-160.

Stephen F. Jones, *Socialism in Georgian Colors: The European Road to Social Democracy,* 1883-1917 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), in *The Moscow Times, Arts and Ideas*, January 20-27, 2006.

Anthony Marx, *Faith in Nation: Exclusionary origins of Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), in *Journal of Modern History*, LXXVIII, 1 (March 2006), pp. 178-180.

Michael Mann, *The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, XXXVII (Summer, 2006), pp. 92-94.

Leonidas T. Chrysanthopoulos, *Caucasus Chronicles: Nation-Building and Diplomacy in Armenia, 1993-1994* (Princeton and London: Gomidas Institute Books, 2002); Donald E. Miller and Lorna Touryan Miller, *Armenia: Portraits of Survival and Hope* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2003); and *Vagabond Life: The Caucasus Journals of George Kennan*. Edited, with an Introduction and Afterword by Frith Maier, With Contributions by Daniel C. Waugh (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2003), in *Canadian Slavic Studies*, XL, 2-3-4 (2006), pp. 520-522.

"A Working Relationship," review of Robert D. Crews, For Prophet and Tsar: Islam and Empire in Russia and Central Asia (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), in The Moscow Times, Arts and Ideas, June 16-22, 2006, p. 4.

Nikolai Bukharin, *Philosophical Arabesques*, trans. Renfrey Clarke (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2005), in *The Nation*, CCLXXXIII, 6 (August 28/September 4, 2006), pp. 36-42.

Jochen Hellbeck, *Revolution on My Mind: Writing a Diary Under Stalin* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), in *Slavic Review*, LXVI, 1 (Spring 2007), pp. 106-108.

Geoffrey Hosking, *Rulers and Victims: The Russians in the Soviet Union* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press 2006), in *Nations and Nationalism*, XIII, 2 (April 2007), pp. 357-358.

Lynn Viola, *The War Against the Peasantry*, 1927-1930 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), in *The Historian*, LXIX, 1 (Spring 2007), pp. 174-175.

Simon Sebag Montefiore, *Young Stalin* (New York: A. Knopf, 2007), in *The Washington Post Book World*, November 4-10, 2007, p. 7.

Orlando Figes, *The Whisperers: Private Life in Stalin's Russia* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2007), in *The Moscow Times, Arts and Ideas*, November 16-18, 2007, pp. 1, 3.

Aviel Roshwald, *The Endurance of Nationalism: Ancient Roots and Modern Dilemmas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), in *American Journal of Sociology*, CXIII, 4 (January 2008), pp. 1217-1219.

Alexander Rabinowitch, *The Bolsheviks in Power: The First Year of Soviet Rule in Petrograd* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007) and Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Tear Off the Masks! Identity and Imposture in Twentieth-Century Russia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), in *The Nation*, March 3, 2008, pp. 30-36.

Martin Malia, *History's Locomotives: Revolutions and the Making of the Modern World*, ed. Terence Emmons (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2006), in *The Journal of Modern History*, LXXXI, 1 (March 2009), pp. 161-162.

Victor Sebestyen, Revolution 1989: The Fall of the Soviet Empire (New York: Pantheon, 2009); By Constantine Pleshakov, There is No Freedom Without Bread! 1989 and the Civil War That Brought Down Communism (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2009); and Stephen Kotkin, with a contribution by Jan T. Gross, Uncivil Society: 1989 and the Implosion of the Communist Establishment (New York: Modern Library, 2009), in "Empire Falls," The Nation, CCLXXXIX, 16 (November 16, 2009), pp. 25-31.

Helen Rappaport, *Conspirator: Lenin in Exile* (London: Hutchinson, 2009); and Robert Service, *Trotsky, A Biography* (London: Macmillan, 2009), in *History Today*, LX, 5 (May 2010), pp. 59-60.

Jo Laycock, *Imagining Armenia: Orientalism, Ambiguity and Intervention* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), in *English Historical Review*, CXXVI, 518 (February 2011), pp. 207-209.

"Historicizing Genocide," a review of Cathie Carmichael, *Genocide Before the Holocaust* (New Haven and London, 2009), in *History Workshop Journal*, no. 71 (Spring 2011), pp. 259-266.

Liliana Riga, *The Bolsheviks and the Russian Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), in *American Journal of Sociology*, CXIX 119, 3 (November 2013), pp. 863-865.

Donald Rayfield, *Edge of Empires: A History of Georgia* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012), *Reviews in History* <a href="http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/1375">http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/1375</a>

Azar Gat, with Alexander Yacobson, *Nations: The Long History and Deep Roots of Political Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), in *Social History*, XXXIX, 1 (February 2014), pp. 106-110.

Stephen Kotkin, *Stalin, vol. I: Paradoxes of Power, 1878-1929* (New York: Penguin Press, 2014), in *The Washington Post*, December 19, 2014. [http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/book-review-stalin-volume-1-paradoxes-of-power-1878-1928-by-stephen-kotkin/2014/12/19/2039c70a-577e-11e4-b812-38518ae74c67\_story.html]

Adrian Brisku, *Bittersweet Europe: Albanian and Georgian Discourses on Europe, 1878–2008* (Berghahn Books: New York and Oxford, 2013), in *European History Quarterly*, XLV, 2 (2015), pp. 367-368.

*The Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism*, ed. John Breuilly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)d in *The English Historical Review*, CXXX, 543 (April 2015), pp. 513–515. https://doi.org/10.1093/ehr/cev034

Alfred J. Rieber, *Stalin and the Struggle for Supremacy in Eurasia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), in *Journal of Modern History*, LXXXIX, 2 (June 2017), pp. 492-494.

Peter Whitewood, *The Red Army and the Great Terror: Stalin's Purge of the Soviet Military* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2015), in *The Historian*.

Geoffrey Robertson, *An Inconvenient Genocide: Who Now Remembers the Armenians?* (London: Biteback, 2015), in *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal*, X, 2, pp. 144-146.

Eugene Rogan, *The Fall of the Ottomans: The Great War in the Middle East* (New York: Basic Books, 2015), *H-Diplo*, Roundtable Review, Volume XVIII, No. 13 (2016), January 16, 2017. http://www.tiny.cc/Roundtable-XVIII-13

"The Left Side of History: The Embattled Pasts of Communism in the Twentieth Century," review essay, of *War and Revolution: Rethinking the 20th Century*. By Domenico Losurdo. Translated by Gregory Elliott. London and New York: Verso Press, 2015. *Fire and Blood: The European Civil War, 1914–1945*. By Enxo Traverso. Translated by David Fernbach. London and New York: Verso Press, 2016. *The Left Side of History: World War II and the Unfulfilled Promise of Communism in Eastern Europe*. By Kristin Ghodsee. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015, in *Perspectives on Politics*, XV, 2 (June 2017), pp. 455-464.

Stephen Kotkin, Stalin, vol. II: Waiting for Hitler, 1929-1941 (New York: Penguin Press, 2017), in The Washington Post, November 26, 2017.

 $\underline{https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/terror-and-killing-and-more-killing-under-stalin-leading-upto-world-war-ii/2017/11/22/7c4d26ca-b998-11e7-a908-a3470754bbb9\_story.html?utm\_term=.fd8a90bb83ea$ 

"Debating Famine and Genocide" [a review essay on Anne Applebaum, *Red Famine: Stalin's War on Ukraine* (New York: Doubleday, 2017)], in *Contemporary European History*, XXVII, 3 (2018), pp. 476–481.

Review essay on William Taubman. *Gorbachev. His Life and Times* (New York and London: W.W. Norton, 2017), in *H-Diplo*, XX, 1, September 4, 2018. <a href="http://www.tiny.cc/Roundtable-XX-1">http://www.tiny.cc/Roundtable-XX-1</a>

Andy Willimott, *Living the Revolution: Urban Communes and Soviet Socialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), *History*, CIII, 57 (October 2018), pp. 689-691.

Lara Douds, *Inside Lenin's Government: Ideology, Power and Practice in the Early Soviet State* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018), *History: Reviews of New Books*, XLVIII, 1 (January 2019), pp. 11-12.

"Film Review: *Intent to Destroy*, directed and produced by Joe Berlinger, 2017," *Nationalities Papers*, XL, 1 (January 2019), pp. 162-164. https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2018.46

Richard J. Evans, *Eric Hobsbawm: A Life in History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), *Labour History*, no. 117 (November 2019), pp. 213-215.

Stent, Angela, *Putin's World: Russia Against the West and with the Rest* (New York: Twelve Books, 2019), *H-Diplo*, no, 243 (June 9, 2020).

https://hdiplo.org/to/E243

-Diplo

## **Public Lectures and Professional Appearances:**

- October 16, 1969 Address to the Senior Assembly, Oberlin College: "Work, Study, Get Ahead...Kill!"
- March 27, 1970 Paper presented at the convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies in Columbus, Ohio: "Abuses of the Soviet Past."
- October 11, 1970 "Fifty Years of Soviet Armenia," a public lecture presented in Philadelphia, PA.
- January 25, 1971 Public lecture at Hiram College, Hiram, Ohio: "Karl Marx, a Man of His Age."
- May 8, 1971 Paper delivered at the Northeastern Conference of the AAASS in Montreal: "Journeyman for the Revolution: Stalin in Baku, 1907-1909."
- April 6, 1974 Commentator on a panel "The Problem of Dissent in Soviet History" at the Spring Meeting of the Ohio Academy of History, Columbus, Ohio.
- November 1, 1974 Public lecture delivered to the Armenian Students' Association in Philadelphia: "Soviet Nationality Policy and the Armenians."
- January 4, 1975 Chairman of a panel "The February Revolution" at the Conference on the Russian Revolution held in Norwich, England.
- April 9, 1975 Lecture delivered at Indiana University: "Nationalism and Revolution in Nineteenth-Century Georgia."
- April 17, 1975 Address to the Senior Assembly, Oberlin College: "Notes of an Oberlin Outsider."
- April 28, 1975 Public lecture at Oberlin College in the series "Chekhov's Russia": "Chekhov's Politics."
- December 25, 1975 Public lecture delivered to the Faculty of History of Tbilisi State University, Tbilisi, Georgian SSR (in Russian): "Sovetologiia v sovremennoi anglo-amerikanskoi istoriografii" ("Sovietology in Contemporary Anglo-American Historiography").
- April 13, 1976 Public lecture at the Russian Institute, Columbia University: "Researching Local History in the USSR: Social Democracy in Georgia."
- April 22, 1976 Public lecture delivered for the Seminar of the Program on Nationality Problems in the USSR, Columbia University: "New Nationality Awareness in Georgia and Armenia: Some Thoughts about the 1970's."
- October 7, 1976 Commentator on a panel "The Revolution of 1917 in the Provinces" at the annual convention of the AAASS in St. Louis, Missouri.
- November 1, 1976 Public lecture at Rochester University: "Class and Nationality in the Russian Revolution of 1917."
- November 12, 1976 Paper delivered at the convention of the Middle East Studies Association (in conjunction with the Society for Armenian Studies) in Los Angeles: "From Populism to Marxism: The Origins of Social Democracy among Caucasian Armenians."

- May 6, 1977 Chairman and Commentator on a panel "Nationalities and the Russian Revolution of 1917" at the Mid-West Slavic Conference of the AAASS in Ann Arbor, Michigan.
- May 12, 1977 Lecture to Phi Beta Kappa, Oberlin, Ohio: "Privileged Sanctuary."
- September 30, 1977 Lecture to the Advisory Council of the Armenian Studies Program, Columbia University: "The New Nationalism in Soviet Armenia: A Political Response to Social Change."
- November 8, 1977 Public Lecture given at Swarthmore College: "The October Revolution: Recent Reinterpretations."
- November 14, 1977 Lecture given at the Center for Near East and North African Studies of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor: "Class and Nationality in the Russian Revolution: A Case Study Based on Transcaucasia."
- February 24, 1978 Public lecture at Michigan State University: "Recent Reinterpretations of the October Revolution."
- March 17, 1978 Public lecture for the AGBU Alex Manoogian Cultural Fund, Detroit, Michigan: "Karabagh and Nakhichevan: An Historical Perspective."
- April 15, 1978 Paper delivered at the Mid-West Slavic Conference of the AAASS, Bloomington, Indiana: "Georgia Since Stalin: A Case Study in Soviet Nationality Policy."
- April 16, 1978 Commentator on a panel at the Mid-West Slavic Conference of the AAASS, Bloomington, Indiana: "Ethnicity and Urbanization in the Russian Empire."
- April 23, 1978 Public lecture on the occasion of the 63rd anniversary of the Armenian massacres, Southfield, MI: "Incomplete Mourning."
- May 12, 1978 Public lecture at the University of Chicago, Armenian Students' Association: "Populism, Nationalism, and Marxism: The Origins of Revolutionary Parties among the Caucasian Armenians, 1880-1903."
- June 9-10, 1978 Invited participant in Conference on Russian Nationalism, Kennan Institute, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- October 8, 1978 Lecture for the Smithsonian Associates, Washington, D.C.: "Georgia and Azerbaijan."
- October 14, 1978 Paper read at AAASS annual convention, Columbus, Ohio: "Russian Rule and Caucasian Society, 18O1-1865: The Georgian Nobility and the Armenian Bourgeoisie."
- October 22, 1978 Two lectures at Social Science Conference, Wayne State University: "Soviet Georgia: A Case Study of Nationality Conflict"; and "The History of Official Soviet Nationalities Policy in Relation to Marxist-Leninist Ideology."
- November 6, 1978 Organizer, Chairman, and Commentator on a panel discussion, Southfield, Michigan: "The Relevance of the Armenian Past for the Armenian Present."
- November 7, 1978 Organizer and Chairman of an all-day symposium for the Society for Armenian Studies, held at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor: "Rewriting Armenian History: New Views on the Society and Politics of Armenia."
- November 30, 1978 Lecture at Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pennsylvania: "Nationalism and Social Class: The Case of the Russian Revolution."

- December 28, 1978 Paper at the American Historical Association annual convention, San Francisco: "Tiflis: Urbanization and Ethnic Politics, 1860-1900."
- January 22, 1979 "Nationalism and Social Protest in Soviet Georgia," at University of California, Berkeley.
- January 24, 1979 "Nationalism and Social Protest in Georgia (Transcaucasia)" at Stanford University.
- March 16, 1979 "Class and Nationality in the Russian Revolution: Tiflis and Baku," at Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, Canada.
- April 22, 1979 Public lecture at St. John's Armenian Church, Southfield, Michigan: "Up From the Ashes."
- May 15, 1979 Paper at Conference on Soviet Caucasus sponsored by the United States International Communications Agency at the Kennan Institute, Washington, D.C.: "Soviet Georgia in the Seventies."
- June 3, 1979 Public lecture for the Armenian Progressive League, Southfield, Michigan: "Grikor Mirzoian Suni: Activist and Artist."
- November 8, 1979 Lecture at the University of California, Riverside: "The October Revolution: Recent Reinterpretations."
- November 10, 1979 Public lecture at the University of California, Los Angeles, in the symposium on "The Armenian Image in History and Literature": "Armenian Images in the Russian Empire."
- January 24-26, 1980 Discussant on panel on "Social and Political Implications" at the Research Conference on the Second Economy in the USSR, held at the Kennan Institute, Washington, D.C.
- April 12, 1980 Lecture at the National Association for Armenian Studies and Research Conference, Harvard University: "Recent Writings in Modern Armenian History."
- April 24-25, 1980 Chairman and Coordinator of the Conference on "Nationalism and Social Change in Transcaucasia" at the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, Washington.

Chairman and Commentator on panel "Russian Rule and Caucasian Society"

Presented paper "The Emergence of Political Society in Georgia."

Presented paper "Nationalism and Social Class in Russian Revolution: The Cases of Baku and Tiflis."

Commented on panel "Transcaucasia Since Stalin" on "Transcaucasia: The Political Dimension."

- April 28, 1980 "Armenians in the Russian Empire," at Columbia University, in the John and Haigouhie Takakjian Lecture Series: "Armenians in a Dominant Society."
- May 7, 1980 Participant in panel discussion at Columbia University on the theme "Armenians in a Dominant Society."
- May 31, 1980 Paper at the Seminar on the History of Russian Society in the Twentieth Century at the University of Pennsylvania: "The Social History of the October Revolution."

- July 1O, 1980 Commentator at Colloquium on Peter Kenez's "The Origins of the Soviet Press," Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, Washington, D.C.
- Spring 1981 "Armenia in the Twentieth Century," five lectures presented at Columbia University as the 1981 John and Haigouhie Takakjian Lecture Series.
  - February 25 "Armenia on the Eve: The Formation of a Nationality."
  - March 11 "Armenia and the Russian Revolution: The Quest for Independence."
  - March 25 "'Modernization' and 'Nation-Building' in a Non-Capitalist Society: The Experience of Soviet Armenia."
  - April 8 "Stalin and the Armenians."
  - April 22 "The New Nationalism in Armenia: A Political Response to Soviet Modernization."
- May 10, 1981 Paper presented at the symposium "Modernization and Armenian Society," sponsored by the American Armenian International College and the Society for Armenian Studies in Pasadena, California: "Modernization in the Soviet Context: The Building of a New Armenian Nation."
- May 14, 1981 Speech at Finney Chapel Assembly at Oberlin College: "Final Word."
- June 7, 1981 Commencement Address at A.G.B.U. Alex Manoogian School, Southfield, Michigan: "On Being Armenian in Modern America."
- September 21, 1981 Participant on a panel at the Thirteenth National Convention of the AAASS, Asilomar, California: "Controversies in Soviet History, I: Russian Social Democrats and Workers 1900-1921;" commentator on a panel "Controversies in Soviet History, II: October 1917;" commentator on a panel "Values and Attitudes in Contemporary Soviet Society."
- November 1, 1981 Speech at the 61st Anniversary Celebration of the Rebirth of Armenia, Southfield, Michigan: "Looking at Soviet Armenia: The View after Sixty Years."
- December 28, 1981 Paper at the Armenian Historical Association annual convention, Los Angeles: "The Limits of Comparative History: Theda Skocpol and the Russian Revolution."
- March 26-27, 1982 Participant and commentator at the conference on the Social History of Russian Labor, University of California, Berkeley.
- April 24, 1982 Lecture at the Armenian Diocese's Commemoration of the Armenian Genocide, New York City: "Background to Genocide: Western Historiography and the Armenian Massacres."
- April 25, 1982 Lecture for the Armenian General Benevolent Union, Washington, D.C.: "From Genocide to Rebirth: Armenia in the Twentieth Century."
- June 5, 1982 Lecture at the Annual Assembly of the National Association for Armenian Studies and Research, Bentley College, Waltham, Mass.: "Background to Genocide: Western Historiography and the Armenian Massacres."
- September 3, 1982 Commentator on a panel at the American Political Science Association annual convention, Denver: "The Quest for Nationhood: The Case of Armenia -- The Disappearance and Reappearance of Reality.

- October 16, 1982 Paper at the annual convention of the AAASS, Washington, D.C.: "The Use of Local and Non-Russian Perspectives to Illuminate Soviet Social History in the Thirties."
- January 27-28, 1983 Two lectures delivered at the University of Toronto for the Centre for Russian and East European Studies: "Stalin and the Revolutionary Movement in Georgia, 1894-1904: An Exercise in Historical Reconstruction," and "Bolshevizing Georgia: Lenin's Last Struggle Revisited."
- January 29-30, 1983 Third annual conference of the National Seminar on the History of Russian Society in the Twentieth Century: Chairman of the panel, "Bureaucracy and Nobility."
- April 8, 1983 Organizer and participant in panel discussion on "The Role of the Armenian Intellectual in the Diaspora," Southfield, Michigan (an event in the "Armenian Odyssey," a Festival of Armenian Culture and Humanities sponsored by the University of Michigan and the Michigan Council for the Humanities).
- April 9, 1983 Paper read at a one-day symposium at the University of Michigan on "The Making of the Armenian People: Cultural Formation and National Renaissance:" "The Formation of the Armenian Patriotic Intelligentsia in Russia: The First Generations." (An event in the "Armenian Odyssey" Festival)
- May 13, 1983 Lecture at the East Asian Center, Harvard University for the National Association of Armenian Studies and Research: "Soviet Armenia and the Diaspora: Their Roles and Mutual Responsibilities." [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DY4QBwW5Xz4]
- September 2, 1983 Participant in a roundtable on "Marxism and the National Question" at the American Sociological Association, Detroit.
- October 2, 1983 Lecture at Social Science Conference on Nationality and Ethnicity in the Soviet Union, Wayne State University: "Contemporary Soviet Republics: Tensions and Change."
- October 22, 1983 Spoke on Tiflis in a roundtable on "The City in Late Imperial Russia" at the AAASS annual convention, Kansas City.
- November 14-18, 1983 Fourth U.S.- U.S.S.R. Colloquium on World Labor and Social Change, Moscow and Tallinn, USSR, read a paper (in Russian): "Marxism and the Georgian Working Class: The Menshevik Hegemony."
- December 1, 1983 Lecture at Alma College, Alma, Michigan: "Soviet Foreign Policy in the Nuclear Age."
- December 29, 1983 Comment on Panel at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, San Francisco: "The Historiography of the Armenian Question: An Analysis of Armenian, American, and Turkish National Histories." Sponsored by the Society for Armenian Studies.
- February 1O, 15, 21, 1984 Lectures at University of California, Berkeley, Irvine, and San Diego: "Beyond Psychohistory: Stalin and the Georgian Revolutionary Movement, 1894-1904 -- An Exercise in Historical Reconstruction."
- February 11, 1984 -- Lecture at the Symposium "The Armenian Case: A Quest for Legal Remedies" at the University of San Francisco: "The History of the Armenian Case: A Review of the Events and How They Have Been Perceived."
- February 16, 1984 -- Lecture at University of California, Riverside: "Rehabilitating Tsarism: The New Bureaucratic History of the Russian State."

- February 28, 1984 -- Lecture at the University of California, Los Angeles: "Soviet Georgia and the Contemporary Caucasus."
- February 29, 1984 -- Lecture at the Symposium on the Russian Revolutions of 1917, Grinnell College: "Revising the Old Story: The 1917 Revolutions in Light of New Research."
- April 15, 1984 -- Lecture at Central Michigan University, Mount Pleasant, MI: "The Armenian Genocide."
- June 3, 1984 -- Lecture at Wayne State University: "Soviet Foreign Policy Aims in the Nuclear Age."
- September 18, 1984 -- Public lecture at the Grosse Pointe War Memorial: "Soviet Foreign Policy Aims in the Nuclear Age."
- September 25, 1984 -- Public lecture at St. John's Armenian Apostolic Church, Southfield, Michigan, for Cranbrook Academy: "An Armenian Odyssey."
- October 1O, 1984 -- Lecture at Albion College: "Soviet Policy in the Nuclear Age."
- October 26, 1984 -- Public lecture for the Tekeyan Cultural Association of Philadelphia: "Looking Toward Ararat: Diaspora Armenians and the Homeland."
- October 27-28, 1984 -- Paper presented to the National Seminar on the Social History of Twentieth Century Russia, Philadelphia, Pa.: "Social Democrats in Power: The Georgian Mensheviks and the Russian Civil War."
- November 2, 1984 -- Participant in a roundtable on "Interpreting the Russian Revolution" at the national convention of the AAASS in New York City.
- November 29, 1984 -- Lecture at University of California, Berkeley: "Social Democrats in Power: The Georgian Mensheviks and the Russian Civil War."
- December 9, 1984 -- Lecture for the Princeton Middle East Society: "The Current Situation of Armenians in the Middle East and the United States."
- January 7, 1985 -- Lecture for the Naples (Florida) Council on World Affairs: "Soviet Foreign Policy Aims in the Nuclear Age."
- January 31, 1985 -- Lecture for the Village Club, Bloomfield Hills, MI: "Soviet Foreign Policy in the Nuclear Age."
- March 23, 1985 -- Moderator and commentator on a panel at Columbia University: "Changing Perceptions of the Armenian Genocide."
- April 13, 1985 -- Lecture at Harvard University: "Gestation of a Genocide: A Search for the Social Roots of the Armenian Massacres and Deportations of 1915."
- April 2O, 1985 -- Lecture at the symposium "The Crime of Silence: The Armenian Genocide," sponsored by the Diocese of the Armenian Church of America, in New York City: "Gestation of a Genocide."
- April 24, 1985 -- Public address at Civic Center, Chicago, Illinois: "The Function of Memory: Seventieth Anniversary of the Armenian Genocide."
- September 26, 1985 -- Lecture for 100 Hyes, Dearborn: "Soviet Armenia Today."

- October 19, 1985 -- Paper presented at the Conference on "The Armenians: Image of a People," in Venice Italy: "Some Notes on the National Character, Religion, and Way of Life of the Armenians."
- February 16, 1986 -- Lecture at Wayne State University: "Soviet Foreign Policy in the Nuclear Age."
- February 24, 1986 -- Lecture at Duke University: "Beyond Psychohistory: Stalin and the Revolutionary Movement in Georgia, 1879-1904."
- March 10, 1986 -- Lecture at Southern Methodist University: "Stalin's Childhood."
- April 3, 1986 -- Lecture at Armenian Lawyers' Club, Detroit: "Rethinking the Unthinkable: New Views on the Armenian Genocide."
- April 4-6, 1986 -- Discussant and chairman of a session at the Conference on Reform in Russia and the Soviet Union, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
- April 11-13, 1986 -- Organizer and participant in "The Armenians: Preservation and Persistence," a weekend-long observance sponsored by the Michigan Council of the Humanities and the Armenian Studies Program of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- April 12, 1986 Chairman of symposium: "New Perspectives on the Armenian Genocide." Read paper on "Background to Genocide: A Social Ecological View."
- May 7-9, 1986 -- Commentator at the Conference on the History of Public Health in Russia and the Soviet Union at the University of Toronto.
- May 11, 1986 Participant in a Workshop on the Turkish Denial of the Armenian Genocide at the Zoryan Institute, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- May 19, 1986 Paper presented at conference on "The Purge: 5O years Later," at Michigan State University: "The Purge as Phenomenon: New Trends and Scholarly Interpretations."
- August 18, 21, 1986 Lectures at University of Michigan Alumni Camp: "Rethinking the Unthinkable: New Views on the Armenian Genocide" and "The Evil Empire Revisited: Soviet Foreign Policy in the Nuclear Age."
- September 25, 1986 Lecture in Southfield, MI: "History and Myth in the Armenian Past."
- October 22, 1986 Lecture at the Armenian Community Center, Dearborn, MI: "Socialism and Nationalism in the Armenian Revolutionary Movement: The Russian Connection."
- November 21, 1986 Paper at the AAASS annual convention, New Orleans: "Social Democrats in Power: Menshevik Georgia and the Russian Civil War."
- December 4, 5, 1986 Lectures at Princeton University and the Harriman Institute for Advanced Soviet Studies, Columbia University: "Beyond Psychohistory: Stalin and the Revolutionary Movement in Georgia."
- March 21, 1987 Discussant for paper by Moshe Lewin on "Urbanization and the Polity in the USSR" at the Irvine Seminar on Social History and Theory, UC-Irvine.
- April 22, 1987 Two lectures at Emory University: "Nationality Dynamics: The Case of Transcaucasia" and "Nationalities Issues in Historical Context: The Case of Transcaucasia."

- April 24-25, 1987 Co-chair of Program Committee for the Mid-West Slavic Convention, Ann Arbor.
  - Chairman of panel "The Formation of Soviet Working-Class Culture".
  - Chairman of panel "Synthesis and Social History: A Look at Moshe Lewin's *The Making of the Soviet System*.
- April 26, 1987 "Memory and Mourning," a speech delivered for the 72nd commemoration of the Armenian Genocide, Southfield, Michigan.
- May 2, 1987 "Intelligentsia and Clergy: Sources of Authority in a Dispersed People," paper read at the Zoryan Institute conference on "Power and Legitimacy in the Armenian Community," University of Southern California.
- May 18, 1987 Two lectures at the University of California, Davis: "Gorbachev and the Nationality Question" and "Beyond Psychohistory: The Young Stalin and the Russian Revolutionary Movement."
- May 22, 1987 Lecture in Los Angeles: "Armenia in the Twentieth Century."
- October 15, 1987 Lecture at University of California, Irvine: "Soviet Foreign Policy Aims in the Nuclear Age."
- October 21, 1987 Lecture at California State University, Fullerton: "A Soviet Dilemma: Gorbachev and the Nationality Question."
- November 19, 1987 Lecture at Stanford University: "Beyond Psychohistory: The Young Stalin in Georgia.
- November 21, 1987 Lecture to Armenian Professional Society, San Francisco: "The National Character of the Armenians."
- December 1, 1987 Lecture at UCLA: "A Soviet Dilemma: Gorbachev and the Non-Russian Peoples."
- December 18, 1987 Lecture at Columbia University: "On Georgians and Georgia."
- January 6, 1988 Paper delivered at conference on "The Russian Revolutions of 1917: 70 Years After" at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem: "Nationalism and Class as Factors in the Revolution of 1917."
- January 9, 1988 Lecture at Bir Zeit University: "Gorbachev and Lenin's Nationality Policy."
- January 11, 1988 Lecture at Tel Aviv University: "Nationalism and Class as Factors in the Revolution of 1917."
- March 5, 1988 Organizer of and participant in "Symposium 88: Whither Armenian Studies? Themes and Perspectives," University of Michigan; read paper on "The Making of a Nationality."
- March 31, 1988 Participant in panel discussion on "Perestroika and the Nationality Question in the Soviet Union: The Question of Karabagh," at the University of Toronto.
- April 20, 1988 Participant in panel discussion on Soviet Nationality Policy and the Karabagh Question, Tekeyan Cultural Society, Southfield, MI.

- April 22-24, 1988 Participant in Conference on Industrialization and Change in Soviet Society, 1928-1941, at the University of Michigan; presentation on "Industrialization in the Historiography of the USSR."
- May 26, 1988 Seventh Annual George and Dorothy Carson History Lecture at Oregon State University: "Beyond Psycho- History: The Young Stalin and the Revolutionary Movement in Georgia."
- June 1, 1988 Lecture delivered at Wayne State University's "Two Journeys into Night: A Remembrance of Holocaust and Genocide": "Rethinking the Unthinkable: An Historian's Reading of the Armenian Genocide."
- August 16, 1988 September 8, 1988 Lectures on Soviet history for Smithsonian Institute Associates, in the USSR.
- September 20, 1988 Lecture at Turner Geriatric Center, Ann Arbor: "Gorbachev and the Non-Russian Peoples."
- September 22-23, 1988 Two lectures at Colby College: "Beyond Psycho-history: Stalin and the Revolutionary Movement in Georgia;" and "Class and Nationality in the Russian Revolution and Civil War: A New Appraisal of the Making of the Soviet Union."
- September 28, 1988 Chair of panel "Karabagh Visited," Southfield.
- October 2, 1988 Lecture in Southfield at "Brunch with our Congressmen: "Memory and Mourning: The Armenian Genocide."
- October 7, 1988 Paper at conference on "Soviet Armenia: Problems and Prospects" at the University of Pennsylvania: "Return to Ararat: Armenia and the Origins of the Cold War."
- November 4, 1988 Paper read at conference on "State Organized Terror: The Case of Violent Internal Repression," Michigan State University: "Ideology or Social Ecology?: Rethinking the Armenian Genocide."
- November 20-21, 1988 Commentator on panel on "The Caucasus and the Russian Imperial Mentality;" and chair of panel on "Social Chaos and State Strategies for Stabilization: Work, Family, and Party in the 1930s," AAASS Convention, Honolulu.
- December 7, 1988 Public lecture in Distinguished Lecture Series on Perestroika and Gorbachev at the University of Michigan: "Gorbachev and the Non-Russian Peoples."
- March 14, 1989 Briefing on the Nationalities Question in the Soviet Union for American correspondents in Moscow, organized by the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media, New York University.
- March 21-22, 1989 Lectures at Emory University: "Class and Nationality in the Russian Revolution: Comparative Perspectives;" and "Gorbachev and the Non-Russian Peoples."
- March 28, 1989 Lecture at Rutgers University: "Gorbachev and the Non-Russian Peoples: A Soviet Dilemma."
- March 31, 1989 Paper at Conference on National Identity in Russia/USSR and Eastern Europe, University of London: "Class and Nationality in the Russian Revolution: Comparative Perspectives."

- April 4, 1989 Public lecture to the Armenian Community of Greater London: "Gorbachev and Soviet Nationality Policy: The Case of the Armenians."
- May 30, 1989 Lecture at Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, The Wilson Center, Washington, D. C.: "Class and Nationality in the Russian Revolution: Roots of the Nationality Question in the USSR." (Videotaped and televised by C-Span)
- May 31, 1989 Presentation on Soviet Georgia in seminar series on "The Non-Russian Response to *Perestroyka*, organized by the Office of Soviet Analysis, Central Intelligence Agency, Washington, D. C.
- June 12, 1989 Talk at the Second Annual Workshop on Soviet Domestic Politics and Society, University of Toronto: "Stalin and the Genesis of the Soviet Nationalities Crisis."
- September 25, 1989 Lecture for Middle East Faculty Seminar, University of Michigan: "The Armenian-Azerbaijani Conflict: Nationalism and Democracy in the Era of Gorbachev."
- November 1, 1989 Participant in panel discussion: "The Impact of the State on National Identity in Eastern and Western Europe," University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- November 2, 1989 Chair and Commentator on panel "Russia and Her Borderlands in the 19th Century: Cultural Perceptions," at AAASS annual convention, Chicago.
- November 4, 1989 Commentator on roundtable "Report from the Donbass: The Miners' Strikes of Summer 1989, AAASS convention, Chicago.
- November 21, 1989 Public lecture: "Ethnic Conflicts in the Age of Gorbachev," in the series "Gorbachev's Revolution" at the International Institute, Flint, MI.
- December 13-14, 1989 presented paper on "The Georgian Situation in the Context of the General Soviet Nationality Crisis," chaired a panel, and gave a comment at the Conference on Soviet Georgia in 1989 at the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, Washington, D.C., and George Mason University, Fairfax, Virginia.
- December 28, 1989 presented paper entitled "'Don't Paint Nationalism Red'-- National Revolution and Socialist Internationalism: Comintern and the Baku Congress of the Peoples of the East" and chaired the panel on "Radicalism, Nationalism, and the Origins of the Comintern" at the AHA Convention, San Francisco.
- January 31, 1990 Public lecture at Michigan State University: "Empire and Democracy: Gorbachev and the Non-Russian Peoples."
- February 9-10, 1990 Three lectures at the University of Alberta, Edmonton: "The Russian Revolution and Bolshevik Victory: Visions and Revisions," "Empire and Democracy: Gorbachev and the Crisis in the Caucasus," and "Class and Nationality in the Russian Revolution: A Re-examination of Social Categories."
- February 15, 1990 Paper for Comparative Study of Social Transformations Seminar, University of Michigan: "Class and Nationality in the Russian Revolution: A Re-examination of Social Categories."
- February 22, 1990 Public lecture at Wellesley College: "Empire and Democracy: The Genesis of the Nationality Crisis in the USSR."
- March 2-4, 1990 Participant and commentator at conference on "Ukraine Under Stalin, 1928-1939," University of Toronto.

- March 10, 1990 Lecture at Wayne State University: "Understanding Change in the Soviet Union."
- March 15, 1990 Commentator on the luncheon talk at the Council on Foreign Relations, New York City, of Giorgi Gachechiladze, head of the National Council of the Rustaveli Society, Georgian SSR, "Ethnic Crisis in Georgia: A View from the Rustaveli Organization."
- March 16, 1990 Public lecture at the AGBU (Armenian General Benevolent Union), Saddle Brook, NJ: "The Making of the Armenians: Our Sense of Ourselves."
- April 18, 1990 Paper delivered at the International Conference on the 75th Anniversary of the Armenian Genocide: History, Theory, Political Responsibility, held in Erevan, Soviet Armenian: "Roots of Genocide: A Social-Ecological Approach."
- April 19, 1990 Lecture before the history faculty, Erevan State University: "New Approaches in Western Social Science: Conceptions of Class and Nationality."
- April 24, 1990 Public lecture on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide, Southfield, MI: "Bearing the Burden of History: Armenians and Their Genocide."
- May 5, 1990 Talk to the graduating history concentrators, University of Michigan: "The End of History: Views of a Tenured Radical."
- May 19, 1990 Lecture on panel "Perestroika: Its Roots and Ramifications" at the University of Pennsylvania: "After the Rage: Non-Russian Peoples and the Process of Reform."
- June 29, 1990 Lecture to Summer Faculty Seminar, Center for Near Eastern and North African Studies, University of Michigan: "Armenians in the Middle East and Diaspora."
- July 12, 1990 Lecture at the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University: "Empire and Democracy: Gorbachev and the Non-Russian Peoples."
- July 16-18, 1990 Participated in and presented paper on "State, Civil Society, and Ethnic Cultural Consolidation in the USSR: Roots of the National Question" at the Workshop on "Perestroika in Historical Perspective, King's College, Cambridge, England.
- July 18-20, 1990 Presented paper on "Democracy, Nationalism, and the End of Colonialism in Transcaucasia" at the conference on "Society and History in Soviet Transcaucasia" at the University of London.
- July 21-26, 1990 Presented a paper at the IV World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies, Harrogate, England: "Socio-ethnic Structures and National Movements in the Late Russian Empire."
  - -- chaired a panel on "Marxism and the Polish Question."
  - -- commented on panels on "Ethnic Issues Among the Peoples of Transcaucasia" and "Perestroika and the National Problem: Causes and Effects."
- August 18, 1990 September 6, 1990 Lectures on Soviet history for Smithsonian Institute Associates, in the USSR.
- October 19-20, 1990 Participated in two roundtables, AAASS, Washington, D.C.: "Critical Reassessments: Left-Wing Scholars Discuss Russian/Soviet Historiography; and "Approaches to the Study of Russia's Imperial Borderlands."

- October 25-26, 1990 Paper at Conference on Soviet Nationalities and American Foreign Policy, Council on Foreign Relations, New York City: "The Soviet South: Nationalism and the Outside World."
- October 27, 1990 Organized symposium at University of Michigan, "Before the Lamp Darkened: Armenian Life in the Late Ottoman Empire," and presented paper: "Ordinary Lives, Extraordinary Experiences: Ottoman Armenians in the Twilight of the Empire."
- November 9-11, 1990 Co-organized conference on "The Making of the Soviet Working Class" and acted as chair of a session and commentator on another, Michigan State University.
- November 16, 1990 Commentator on Soviet Nationalities Issues at the Conference on the Future of the Soviet Union, Council on Foreign Relations, New York City.
- November 28, 1990 Public lecture, "The Russian Revolution, Then and Now," Galveston College, Galveston, Texas.
- November 29, 1990 Lecture, "Class and Nationality in the Russian Revolution," at Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas.
- February 8, 1991 presentation on the current nationalities crisis in the Soviet Union at a Congressional breakfast, Washington, D. C., sponsored by the Aspen Institute.
- February 17, 1991 Lecture as part of a symposium on the February 1921 revolt in Soviet Armenia, Dearborn, MI: "The February 1921Revolt: The Use and Abuse of History."
- February 23, 1991 Lecture for seminar on "The Soviet Caucasus: Prospects for the Republics of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia," at the Commonwealth Club of California, San Francisco.
- February 25-27, 1991 delivered the Donald M. Kendall Lectures on Soviet Affairs at Stanford University: "The Revenge of the Past: The Nationalities Problem in the Soviet Union." "Class, Nationality, and Revolution;" "State-Building and Nation-Making;" and "Nationalism and the Soviet State."
- March 16, 1991 Paper at the 14th Annual Social History and Theory Seminar, University of California, Irvine: "Rethinking Social Categories: Nationality and Class in the Russian Revolution."
- March 19, 1991 Lecture at seminar for teachers, University of Michigan: "The Nationality Question and the Future of the USSR."
- March 21, 1991 First annual Paul Beik Lecture in History, Swarthmore College: "Rethinking Social Categories: Class and Nationality in the Russian Revolution."
- April 5-6, 1991 Organized and chaired first Workshop for Midwest Russian/Soviet Historians, Ann Arbor.
- April 13, 1991 Presentation at retreat for Republican Senators on "The New World Order: In the Superpower Relationship," Williamsburg, VA.
- April 16, 1991 Talk to University of Michigan Alumni, Ann Arbor: "The Revenge of the Past: Ethnic Conflict in the Soviet Union."
- April 20, 1991 Talk at 76th commemoration of the Armenian Genocide at the University of Michigan: "Survival of a Nation."

- April 24, 1991 Presentation on panel on the Armenian Genocide, Southfield, MI: "Genocide and the Future."
- May 6, 1991 Co-organizer and papergiver at Conference on "Soviet Ethnic Relations and International Peace," University of Michigan: "Looking Toward Ararat: Soviet and Post-Soviet Armenia and the Diaspora."
- May 17, 1991 Paper at Conference on "Underdevelopment, Ethnic Conflict and Nationalisms in the Soviet Union," Cortona, Italy: "Class and Nationality in the Russian Revolution and Civil War: the Caucasus."
- June 5, 1991 Press briefing at Council on Foreign Relations, New York City, on "The Rise of Nations in the Soviet Union: American Foreign Policy and the Disintegration of the USSR;" panel discussion at Council on Foreign Relations, Washington, D.C., on "The Nationalities Problem in the Soviet Union: Implications for the West."
- June 6, 1991 Press briefing at the National Press Club, Washington, D.C., on "The Rise of Nations in the Soviet Union."
- July 15-17, 1991 Participated in Third Finnish-U.S. Conference sponsored by Finnish Institute of International Affairs and the Woodrow Wilson Center, in Kerimaki, Finland, on "Scandinavia in the Post-Cold War Era;" presented paper on "The Crisis in the Soviet Union."
- July 23, 1991 Luncheon address at conference sponsored by Office of Soviet Analysis, CIA, on "The Future of the Armenian and Georgian Economies," Reston, VA: "The Future of Armenia and Georgia: A Historian's Perspective."
- July 31, 1991 Testified on the Soviet nationalities' crisis before the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East, House Committee on Foreign Relations (Congressman Lee Hamilton, Chairman), Washington, D. C.
- September 12, 1991 Paper delivered at the opening plenary session of the "Conference on Interethnic Problems and Conflicts: Investigations of Ways of Solving Them," sponsored by the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Kyrgyz State University, and the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan: "Natsional'nost i klass vo vremeni russkoi revoliutsii i grazhdanskoi voiny: Novye zapadnye vzglady."
- September 21, 1991 Paper delivered at Conference on Russia/USSR and Germany in the 20th Century in Comparative Perspective, Philadelphia: "Proletarian Dictator in a Peasant Land: Stalin as Ruler."
- September 24-25, 1991 Participated in panel on "Political Developments" in the Soviet Union; and delivered the 1991 Harriet Wiseman Elliot Lecture, University of North Carolina Greensboro: "Revenge of the Past: Revolution of the Non-Russian Peoples in the USSR."
- September 26, 1991 Lectures at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill: "Proletarian Dictator in a Peasant Land: Stalin as Ruler; and at the Center for East-West Trade, Duke University: "The Revenge of the Past: Nationality Problems in the (Former?) Soviet Union."
- October 11, 1991 Paper at Shelby Cullom Davis Center for Historical Studies, Princeton University: "Rethinking Social Identities: Class and Nationality."
- October 15, 1991 Public lecture in the Cranbrook P.M. Program, Bloomfield Hills, MI: "The Revolt of the Soviet Nations."

- October 17, 1991 Paper discussed at Russian and Soviet Studies Workshop, University of Chicago: "Nationality and Class in the Revolutions of 1917: A Re-examination of Social Categories."
- October 18-19, 1991 Participant in Midwest Workshop of Historians of Modern Russia and the USSR, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.
- October 24-25, 1991 Public lecture at the University of Minnesota: "Revenge of the Past: Origins of the Soviet Nationalities Crisis." Workshop (with Ann Stoler) on our working papers at the MacArthur Program Workshop on Reconceptualizing Nationalism for the Twenty-First Century.
- October 28, 1991 Public lecture at St. John's Armenian Apostolic Church, Southfield, MI:
- November 22, 24, 1991 Chaired and commented on panel "Imagining Armenia" and gave a paper "The Revival of the Cold War Consensus in Russian/Soviet Historiography: The View from 1917" at the AAASS annual convention, Miami, Florida.
- February 29, 1992 Public lecture at Acton Town Hall, West London, England, for Centre for Armenian Information and Advice: "Armenia in the Post-Soviet Period."
- April 4, 1992 Lecture at Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO): "Natsional'nost' i klass: Novye poniatiia sotsial'nykh kategorii na Zapade."
- April 9, 1992 Lecture at Pedagogical University, Moscow: "Istoriographiia Sovetskoi istorii na Zapade: Krizis sovetologii i novye napravleniia."
- June 2-9, 1992 Series of lectures and briefings on Russian, Soviet, and Baltic history, on board the *Polaris* on the Baltic Sea.
- July 24, 1992 Presentation of paper "Rethinking Soviet Studies: Bringing the Non-Russians Back In," at Soviet Studies Workshop, Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, Washington.
- October 30, 1992 Commentator on panel, "Alternative Nationalisms," at conference on "Utopian Revisions: Nationalism and Civil Society in Eastern Europe," Institute of Humanities, University of Michigan.
- November 3-6, 1992 Delivered paper -- "Class and Nationality in the Russian Revolution: New Approaches" -- chaired a session, and participated in an International Symposium on "The XXth Century and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination," Barcelona.
- November 19-20, 1992 gave a talk on non-Russian peoples on panel on "The Vanishing Soviet Union" and a commentary on panel on "The Russo-Centric Image of the USSR: Here and There" at AAASS annual convention, Phoenix.
- December 4-5, 1992 participated in and chaired session at a two-day symposium on Armenian collections and museums, Southfield, MI.
- December 11, 1992 gave a lecture on "Class and Nationality in the Russian Revolution" at the Department of History, University of Houston.
- December 27, 30, 1992 gave a paper -- "History in a Unified World: Research Opportunities and Pitfalls" -- at a plenary session; and a comment on a panel on "The Construction of Social Categories in the Formation of the Soviet Union, 1917-31," AHA Annual Meeting, Washington.
- January 11-15, 1993 participated in and gave paper -- "Natsionalizm i demokratizatsiia v russkoi revoliutsii 1917 goda: Imperiia i ee politicheskaia ogranichennost'" -- at International Colloquium on "1917 in Russia: Masses, Parties, Power," St. Petersburg, Russia.

- February 12, 1993 talk at the Department of Political Science, University of Chicago: "The Revenge of the Past: Nationalism and the Fate of Soviet Socialism."
- February 23, 1993 Public lecture and faculty seminar at the Center for Comparative Research in History, Society, and Culture at the University of California, Davis: "Empire and Democracy: Nationalism and the End of Soviet Socialism."
- February 24, 1993 Public lecture -- "Rethinking Social Identities: Class and Nationality" -- and Joint graduate student and faculty seminar "Rethinking Soviet Studies: Bringing the Non-Russians Back In" -- at the University of California, Berkeley.
- February 25, 1993 Public lecture -- "Rethinking Soviet Studies: Bringing the Non-Russians Back In" -- at Stanford University.
- March 13, 1993 Organizer and chair of symposium at the University of Michigan: "Building a Transnational Community: Armenians and Their Diaspora."
- April 15, 1993 Public lecture in Distinguished Lecture Series, Oberlin College: "Utopia and its Discontents: The Soviet Experience and the Fate of Socialism."
- April 25, 1993 Public lecture, St. John's Church, Southfield, MI: "Past and Present: The Shadow on the Nation."
- April 28, 1993 Lecture in Olin Critical Issues Series on "Post-Soviet Leadership" at Russian Research Center, Harvard University: "Elite Transformation in Late-Soviet and Post-Soviet Transcaucasia, or What Happens When the Ruling Class Can't Rule?".
- May 2, 1993 Chair and commentator on panel "Soviet Gender Roles in Transition: Industrialization, War, and the Thaw," at Midwest Slavic Conference, Michigan State University.
- May 6, 1993 Presentation at conference on "The Armenian-Azerbaijani Conflict: Implications for Regional Security and U.S. Interests," Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington.
- May 21, 1993 Presentation -- "Democracy in Russia and Eurasia: Lessons of History" -- at "Conference on Democracy Building in the Former Soviet Union," Department of State, Washington.
- June 7-19, 1993 Series of lectures and briefings on Russian, Soviet, and Baltic history, on board the *Polaris* on the Baltic Sea.
- June 29, 1993 Commentary at conference on the Russian Civil War, Russian State Pedagogical University, Moscow.
- July 14-29, 1993 Series of lectures and briefs on Mongols, Russian and Soviet history, on board the Orient Express from Beijing to Moscow.
- September 15, 1993 Address to Project Hope, Southfield, MI: "Armenia Under Seige."
- October 14, 1993 presented talk at the Beer Barrel Seminar, Department of History, Rice University: "Yeltsin and the Detour to Democracy;" and The Erwin Frederick Kalb Lecture in History, Rice University: "The Revenge of the Past: Nationalism, Communism, and the New World Disorder."

- October 15, 1993 Luncheon address to CERA Rountable on "The Former Soviet Union: Energy, Politics, & Foreign Investment," sponsored by Cambridge Energy Research Associates, Houston: "Azerbaijan: Nation-building & Conflict."
- October 19, 1993 Commentary at a roundtable discussion on "Russia and the Near Abroad," Foreign Service Institute, Department of State, Washington, D. C.
- October 22, 1993 Commentary at Symposium on "Struggle for the State in Post-Soviet Central Asia," University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- November 20, 1993 Chair and papergiver on roundtable "'Class Backwards'?: Rethinking the Concept of Class in Russian and Soviet Historiography;" and chair and commentator on panel "On the Edge of Empire: Russians and Others, 1859-1914" at AAASS annual convention, Honolulu.
- January 13-16, 1994 participated in Aspen Institute Eighth Congressional Soviet Relations Conference; presented paper on "Political Conflicts in the Caucasus, Montego Bay, Jamaica."
- February 10, 1994 Lecture: "Ethnic Politics and the Winding Road to Democracy: or What Happens When the Ruling Class Can't Rule," at the Nanovic Center for European Studies, University of Notre Dame, South Bend, IN.
- February 22, 1994 Lecture: "Rethinking Social Identities: The Case of Transcaucasia," at Emory University.
- February 24, 1994 Lecture: "Ethnic and Religious Conflicts in the Former Soviet Republics," Georgia Southern University, Statesboro, Georgia.
- February 25, 1994 Participant in exercise and roundtable discussion of Russian-American relations, at the Foreign Service Institute, Department of State.
- March 5, 1994 Organizer, chair, and commentator for symposium on "Crisis in Karabagh: From Civil and Ethnic War to International Conflict," University of Michigan.
- March 19, 1994 Lecture: "Rethinking the Nation: From Social Communication to Imagination and Beyond," at symposium on Identity, Macalester College, Saint Paul, Minnesota.
- April 7, 1994 Seminar talk: "Developments in the Caucasus: Implications for Regional Security," at the Center for Foreign Policy Development of the Thomas J. Watson, Jr. Institute for International Studies, Brown University.
- April 7-8, 1994 Public lecture: "Ethnic Conflict, Nationalism, and Identity: The Soviet Case;" and seminar on *The Revenge of the Past*, Connecticut College.
- April 15-17, 1994 Keynote address: "Reinventing the Past: The Politics of Ethnic Conflict in the Post-Soviet World," and participation in weekend conference "Divergent Paths of Development in the Post-Communist World," Center for Slavic and East European Studies, University of California, Berkeley.
- April 19, 1994 The Tenth Annual Colin Miller Lecture: "Utopia and its Discontents: The Soviet Experience and the Fate of Socialism," University of California, Berkeley.
- May 5, 1994 Luncheon address at the International Negotiating Network conference at The Carter Center, Atlanta, Georgia: "The Situation in Georgia."

- May 24, 1994 Presentation at the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Congress of the United States: "Russia's Relations with the States of the 'Near Abroad:' The End of Retreat and its Implications for American Foreign Policy."
- May 28-29, 1994 Participant in symposium on the Karabagh Conflict, ARPA Institute, Pasadena.
- June 15-July 8, 1994 lectures on the Soviet Union and the Baltic states aboard the Polaris.
- October 19, 1994 paper delivered at Comparative Politics and Historical Sociology Workshop, University of Chicago: "Elite Transformation in Late-Soviet and Post-Soviet Transcaucasia, or What Happens When the Ruling Class Can't Rule?."
- October 21, 1994 lecture at Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, IL: "Building Soviet Identities."
- October 31, 1994 lecture at Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan: "Building Soviet Identities."
- November 1, 1994 paper delivered at Russian Studies Workshop, University of Chicago: "Rethinking Soviet Studies: Bringing the Nationalities Back In."
- November 17, 1994 Discussant on panel on "Language and Ethnicity in Post-Soviet Republics: Preliminary Results from Mass Surveys," AAASS, Philadelphia, PA.
- November 20, 1994 Discussant on panel on "Bolshevization in the 1920s," AAASS, Philadelphia.
- November 21, 1994 paper on "The End of the Tsarist Empire: Consequences from the Local to the Global," delivered at SSRC workshop on "The End of Empires: Causes and Consequences," Columbia University.
- December 1-3, 1994 participant and presenter on the nationality question at the Khrushchev Centenary Conference, Brown University.
- January 8, 1995 chaired discussion and showing of film on the First Congress of the Peoples of the East, Baku, September 1920, AHA, Chicago.
- February 3, 1995 discussant on roundtable: "The Future of Central Asia," at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- February 21, 1995 talk at Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, "The Road to Chechnya."
- February 24, 1995 Paper at conference on "Oil and Caviar in the Caspian, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London: "States and Minorities."
- March 3, 1995 talk at symposium on "Current Prospects for Armenia, University of California, Berkeley: "Imagining a New Armenia: Democratic Politics in the Post-Soviet World."
- March 6, 1995 talk at Center for International Security and Arms Control, Stanford University: "Beyond Benedict Anderson: New Thinking about Nationalism."
- March 23, 1995 talk at conference on "Prospects for the Space of the Former Soviet Union," sponsored by the National Intelligence Council, Washington, D. C.: "The Future of the Former Soviet Union: Perspectives from Transcaucasia."
- March 25, 1995 Chair and commentator on panel "Shifting Borders: Nations, Identities, and Ethnicities," at conference on "Beyond the Wall," The Advanced Study Center, University of Michigan.

- March 30, 1995 participated in meeting sponsored by the MacArthur Foundation on "U.S. National Interests."
- March 31, 1995 talk at Ohio State University: "Revision and Retreat in the Historiography of the Russian Revolution: Another Look."
- April 1, 1995 talk at conference on "Russia's Foreign Policy: Imperial or Democratic?, "Ohio State University: "Russian Foreign Policy and the Caucasus."
- April 7, 1995 participant in meeting of Midwest Russian Historians' Workshop.
- April 23-May 7, 1995 lectures on Western European nation formation on board the *Polaris*, Portugal to Britain.
- May 10, 1995 public lecture to the Armenian community, London: "Imagining a New Armenia: Democratic Politics in the Post-Soviet World."
- May 22-23, 1995 Meeting on U. S. Policy toward Russia with the Secretaries of State and Defense, sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation, Washington, D. C. Presented paper on "Russia's Role in Conflicts in the Near Abroad."
- May 23, 1995 Participated in panel discussion on "Identity, Ethnicity, and Conflict" at the SSRC-MacArthur Fellows' Conference, Washington, D. C.
- May 30 June 1, 1995 presented paper -- "The Making of Nations, Minorities, and Diasporas in the Soviet and Post-Soviet World," at the international conference on "The New Politics of Ethnicity, Self-Determination, and the Crisis of Modernity," at the Morris E. Curiel Center for International Studies, Tel Aviv University.
- June 6, 1995 lecture at Beir Zeit University, occupied Palestine: "Is Russia Still a Great Power?"
- June 12-13, 1995 presented paper -- "Making Minorities: The Politics of National Boundaries in the Soviet Experience" -- at CSSH-Annales Conference on Comparative Studies "The Invention of Minorities," at Le Centre de Recherches Historiques de l'EHESS, Paris.
- June 14-17, 1995 presented paper -- "Ukraine in Revolution and Civil War: Some Thoughts About the Building of the Nation" -- at the third conference on "Peoples, Nations, Identities: The Russian-Ukrainian Encounter," University of Koln, Cologne, Germany.
- June 29, 1995 participated in a meeting sponsored by the MacArthur Foundation on "U. S. National Interests."
- August 3, 1995 participated as part of U. S. team in policy planning exercise on Conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh at the National Foreign Affairs Training Center, Department of State, Arlington, VA.
- September 5, 1995 participated in ambassadorial seminar for the American Ambassador-designate to Georgia, William Courtney, and presented paper on "The Relevance of History," at the National Foreign Affairs Training Center, Department of State, Arlington, VA.
- September 17-October 7, 1995 lectures on Central Asia, aboard train traveling from Tashkent, Uzbekistan to Beijing, China.
- October 25, 1995 delivered paper on "Nation-making and Identity Formation in the Soviet Union: Azerbaijan and its Neighbors," at the conference on "Culture and Cinema in Soviet Azerbaijan, 1900-1990," Kennan Institute, Washington, D. C.

- October 26, 1995 Discussant on panels -- "Russians in the Near Abroad" and "Ethnicity, Language, and Politics in the Early Soviet Period" -- at the 27th National AAASS Convention, Washington.
- November 7, 1995 commentator at conference on "The War in Chechnya," at the Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA.
- November 21, 1995 lecture at UC-Berkeley, Armenian Studies Program: "The Conflict in Karabakh: A Soluble Problem."
- January 10-11, 1995 Participant and Discussant at conference on "The Disintegration and Reconstitution of Empires: The USSR and Russia in Coparative Perspective," UC San Diego.
- February 26, 1996 Talk to Russian History Seminar, Stanford University: "Utopia and its Discontents."
- February 29, 1996 Lecture at UC Santa Cruz: "Theories of Nationalism."
- March 2, 1996 address to UC-Berkeley Armenian Alumni: "Making Armenians: Being Ethnic in a Post-Ethnic America."
- March 8, 1996 Talk on "Identities Under Fire" at XXth Annual Stanford-Berkeley Conference, "Strategies of Nationhood in Multiethnic Settings," Stanford University.
- March 14, 1996 Paper presented at Center for International Security and Arms Control, Stanford University: "Russia, the Soviet Union, and Theories of Empire."
- April 21, 1996 Keynote address at Martyrs' Day Program, St. Andrew Armenian Church, Cupertino, CA.
- May 1, 1996 Vardanantz Day Armenian Lecture at the Library of Congress: "Nation-making, Nation-breaking, and the End of Empire: A New Perspective on the Events of 1915."
- May 3, 1996 Paper at the colloquium on "The Historian, Nationalism, and the End of Empire," Princeton University: "Nation-making, Nation-breaking: The End of the Ottoman Empire and the Armenian Community."
- May 17, 1996 Paper at the conference "The Past as Prelude: The Cultural, Social, and Political Roots of Identity in the Caucasus," UC-Berkeley: "Nation-making, Nation-breaking: The Caucasus in the Soviet Empire."
- May 18, 1996 Lecture to the Armenian Professional Society of the Bay Area, San Mateo: "Looking Toward Ararat: The Diaspora and the 'Homeland'."
- June 14-15, 1996 participant in conference on the 1700 anniversary of Armenian Christianity, sponsored by the Catholicos of All-Armenians, Paris.
- August 24, 1996 September 7, 1996 lectures on the history and politics of the Mediterranean, on board *Polaris*, Lisbon to Naples.
- September 17, 1996 commentator at conference organized by the National Intelligence Council, "The Future of Russia, 2010," National Defense University, Washington, D. C.
- October 7, 1996 Lecture and seminar for the Department of Political Science at the University of Wisconsin, Madison: "Russia, the Soviet Union, and Theories of Empire."

- October 10-11, 1996 Paper on "External Provocations and Reactions: Conditions and Context for an Ambitious Russian Foreign Policy in the Decade 1996-2006," delivered at SAIC-organized conference for the Department of Defense, Office of Net Assessment, Tysons Corners, VA.
- October 10, 1996 Report on the Russian Near Abroad, Office of the Ambassador-at-Large for the Newly Independent States, Department of State, Washington, D. C.
- October 25-27, 1996 Paper -- "Russia, the Soviet Union, and Theories of Empire" -- delivered at the conference on "Recasting Political and Social Identities in Eastern Europe," University of Colorado, Boulder.
- November 14-17, 1996 Discussant on panel "Expression in Soviet Public Space;" participant in roundtable on "Categories of Social Identity and Social Analysis in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Russia;" and participant on roundtable on "Revising Revisionism: Martin Malia's "The Soviet Tragedy" at the AAASS annual convention, Boston, MA.
- December 3, 1996 Lecture at the Chicago Council of Foreign Relations: "Legacies of Empire: Soviet-Made Nations and the Post-Soviet Sphere."
- January 18, 1997 Discussant at the workshop on "Doing History in the Shadow of the Balkan Wars," University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- March 19, 1997 Lecture as Center for Post-Soviet and East European Studies Distinguished Speaker, University of Texas, Austin: "The Empire Strikes Out: Russia, the USSR, and Theories of Empire.
- March 21, 1997 Talk at the "Theory, Methodology, and Interpretation in Russian History" roundtable, Midwest Russian Historians' Workshop, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.
- April 8, 1997 Lecture at Marquette University, Milwaukee, WI: "The Empire Strikes Out: Russia, the USSR, and Theories of Empire.
- April 21, 1997 Two talks at Cornell University: "Weak States, Incomplete Nations, and Russia's Role in the 'Near Abroad';" and 'Nation-making, nation-breaking, and the End of Empire: A New Perspective on the Armenian Genocide."
- April 22, 1997 Lecture at Tufts University, "Nation-making, nation-breaking, and the End of Empire: A New Perspective on the Armenian Genocide."
- April 23, 1997 Public lecture -- "Nation and Diaspora in the Armenian Imagination" -- at the Armenian Library and Museum of America, Watertown, MA.
- April 24, 1997 Address at St. James Armenian Church, Watertown, MA: "The Function of Memory: Remembering the Armenian Genocide of 1915."
- April 25, 1997 Keynote remarks at the 82nd Anniversity Commemoration of the Armenian Genocide, House of Representatives Chamber, State House, Boston, MA.
- May 3, 1997 Lecture -- "Fragments and Forms: National and Supranational Identities in Georgia" -- at conference on "Institutions, Identity, and Ethnic Conflict: International Experience and its Implications for the Caucasus," University of California, Berkeley.
- May 11, 1997 Paper -- "Religion Constructed as Ethnicity in the Ottoman Empire" delivered at the conference on "Genocide, Religion, and Modernity," U. S. Holocaust Museum, Washington.

- June 23-25, 1997 Paper -- "Living with the Other: Conflict and Cooperation among the Transcaucasian Peoples" -- at conference on "The Transcaucasus Today: Prospects for Regional Integration," American University of Armenia, Erevan, Armenia.
- June 28, 1997 Comment at conference on security of the Georgian republic, Tbilisi, Georgia.
- June 29-30, 1997 Comment at conference on peacekeeping in the Caucasus, sponsored by the Royal Institute of International Affairs and the Caucasian Institute, Tbilisi, Georgia.
- August 28-31, 1997 Commentator on panels at the 93rd American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington D. C.: "Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict, and International Relations;" and "Regionalism, Nationalism and Institutional Change in the Russian Federation."
- September 5-6, 1997 presented a paper -- "Fragments and Forms: National and Supranational Identities in Georgia" -- at an ACLS conference on "The Formation and (Re)construction of Social Identities, New York.
- October 10-11, 1997 organized and chaired Midwest Russian Historians' Workshop, University of Chicago.
- October 24-26, 1997 co-organized and co-chaired conference on "Nations and Empire: The Soviet State and the Peoples of the USSR" and presented a paper: "The Empire Strikes Out: Russia, the Soviet Union, and Theories of Empire," University of Chicago.
- November 3-5, 1997 presented a paper, "The October Revolution and the Nationalities Problem," in the Seminário Internacional Revolução de Outubro 80 Anos, Universidade de São Paulo, Brazil.
- November 21, 1997 Chaired and commented on panels "The Left Socialist Revolutionaries During the First Year of Soviet Power" and "Moscow's Dialogues with the Soviet Nations, 1927-1955" at the Twenty-Ninth National AAASS Convention, Seattle.
- December 5, 1997 Paper presented on the panel "A Survey of Nationalism in the Field" at the Understanding Nationalism Workshop, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton.
- January 21, 1998 presented the Dean's Inaugural Lecture at the University of Chicago: "The Empire Strikes Out: Russia, the Soviet Union, and Theories of Empire."
- January 22, 1998 Lecture at the Center for International and Comara; tive Studies and the Political Science Department, Northwestern University: "The Empire Strikes Out: Russia, the Soviet Union, and Theories of Empire."
- February 15-16, 1998 Commentator at conference on "A Century of Modern Jewish Politics: Bund and Zionism in Poland and Eastern Europe," at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- March 7, 1998 participated in a roundtable on "Teaching Diversity In Russian and Soviet History," at the Midwest Russian Historians' Workshop, Indiana University.
- March 16, 1998 Lecture at Wellesley College: March 16, 1998 Lecture at Wellesley College: "The Empire Strikes Out: Russia, the Soviet Union, and Theories of Empire."
- March 17, 1998 Lecture at Central Asian Forum, Harvard University: "The Empire Strikes Out: Russia, the Soviet Union, and Theories of Empire."
- March 17, 1998 Public Lecture at the National Association for Armenian Studies and Research, Belmont, MA: "Fall of a President: Political Crisis in Armenia."

- March 19, 1998 Lecture at Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies, Program on Politics, Culture and Identity, Brown University: "Provisional Stabilities: Pre-modern and Modern Ethnic Identities."
- March 24, 1998 Participated in conference -- "Nagorno-Karabakh: Situation Hopeless? A Search for Solutions to the Impasse" -- at the United States Institute of Peace, Washington, DC, and presented a paper on "Consequences of Political Developments in Armenia."
- April 3, 1998 Commented on panel on "Identifying Centers and Peripheries" at conference on "Vocabularies of Identity in Russia and Eastern Europe," University of Michigan.
- April 13, 1998 Lecture at the Armenian Patriarchate, Jerusalem: "Armenians, Turks, and the End of the Ottoman Empire."
- April 16-May 1, 1998 Lectures on board the Caledonian Star on the Mediterranean.
- May 2-3, 1998 Paper given at conference on "Russia's Total Security Environment: The Southern Tier:" "After Empire: The Dangerous Opportunities of Independence in Transcaucasia and Central Asia," for the Institute for East-West Studies, London.
- May 11, 1998 Chaired panel on "Systemic Identities and Problems" at Workshop on Identity Formation and Social Issues in Global Perspective," University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- May 19, 1998 Luncheon address at US Department of State and National Intelligence Council conference on "Turkey and Russia" An Evolving Relationship?": "Does History Matter?"
- May 20-21, 1998 Lecture at Koç University, Istanbul: "Empire and Nations: Turks, Armenians, and the End of the Ottoman Empire; and seminar: "The Empire Strikes Out: Russia, the USSR, and Theories of Empire."
- May 26-28, 1998 Participation in and talk at the Noe Jordania International Conference on Georgia and the Caucasus, Tbilisi, Georgia: "Learning from the Georgian Past: The Experience of Social Democracy."
- July 13-21, 1998 Taught at Diversity and Democracy Seminar, sponsored by the Transregional Center for Democratic Studies of the New School for Social Research in Cracow, Poland.
- July 28, 1998 presented talk on political reform in Armenia to the Caspian Basin Forum Focus on Georgian & Armenia, sponsored by the Eurasia Group, Houston, Texas.
- July 30, 1998 gave lectures on Armenian history and current affairs in a seminar on Armenia for Ambassador-designate Michael Lemmon at the National Foreign Affairs Training Center, Arlington, VA.
- September 16, 1998 Brown-bag lecture at the Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Michigan: "Is There a Crisis in Russia?"
- September 17, 1998 Lecture at the Open Society Institute (Soros Foundation), New York City: "Odd Man Out: Armenia and the Politics of Oil."
- September 17, 1998 Lecture at the Armenian Center, Columbia University: "Armenia -- Nationalism and Geo-Politics in the Post-Cold War World."
- September 18, 1998 Lecture at the Harriman Institute, Columbia University: 'The Empire Strikes Out: Russia, the Soviet Union, and Theories of Empire."

- September 26, 1998 Discussant on two panels -- "The Russian Intelligentsia and the Soviet State" and "Empire and the Genelogies of Identity" -- at the AAASS annual convention, Boca Raton, Florida.
- October 7, 1998 Lecture -- "Socialism, Post-Socialism, and the Appropriately Modern: Thinking About the History of the USSR" -- for the Program in Comparative Studies in Social Transformations, University of Michigan.
- October 17-18, 1998 Paper -- "Southern Tiers: The Dangerous Opportunities of Independence in Transcaucasia and Central Asia" -- delivered at the second writers' conference of the Russian Total Security Environment Project for the East-West Institute, Istanbul.
- November 6-7, 1998 "Concluding Remarks," at the Claus M. Halle Institute for Global Learning, conference on "Identities and Institutions in a Changing Europe," at Emory University.
- November 13, 1998 Public lecture, "Grikor Mirzaian Suni, Artist and Activist," in Southfield, MI.
- November 24, 1998 Lecture at Macalaster College, St. Paul, MN: "The Empire Strikes Out: Tsarist Russia and Theories of Empire."
- December 3, 1998 Brownbag lecture at Center for Russian and East European Studies, The University of Michigan: "Religion, Ethnicity, and Nationalism: Armenians, Turks, and the End of the Ottoman Empire."
- December 11-12, 1998 Presentation at a meeting of American and Russian scholars, "Identity and Social Science," Moscow, Russian Federation.
- January 8, 1999 Paper at annual convention of American Historians' Association, Washington, D. C.: "Return to Ararat: Diaspora and 'Homeland' Armenians."
- January 20, 1999 Paper at Nations and Nationalism Workshop, University of Chicago: "History and Nationalism."
- January 28, 1999 Public lecture at the Armenian General Benevolent Union: "Stalinism and the Armenians."
- March 13-16, 1999 Chaired sessions and presented two papers "Marxisms and Agency Theory" and "Nationalisms: Current Debates" at the SSRC Faculty Development Seminar, Korolev, Russia.
- April 19, 1999 Lecture at the Department of History, University of California, Berkeley: "History and Nationalism: Collaboration or Conflict?"
- April 20, 1999 Lectures at the Slavic Program and the Center for International Security and Cooperation, Stanford University: "Provisional Stabilities: Identities, Interests, and Independence in Russia, South Caucasia, and Central Asia;" and "Ethnic Conflict in Karabakh: Thinking a Way Out."
- May 7, 1999 Talk at Committee on International Relations, University of Chicago, with David Laitin: "Ethnic Conflict in Karabakh: Thinking a Way Out."
- May 8, 1999 Keynote address at the First Chicago Caucasian Conference, University of Chicago: "The Past Meets the Future: Caucasian History and Current Conflicts."

- May 11, 1999 Lecture and seminar at the National Foreign Service Training Center, Washington, D. C.: "Provisional Stabilities: Identities, Interests, and Independence in Russia, South Caucasia, and Central Asia.
- May 12, 1999 Presentation on South Caucasia at the Central Intelligence Agency, Langley, VA.
- May 21, 1999 Lecture and participation on a panel on "The Armenian Genocide and Contemporary Historiography," Southfield, MI.
- June 11, 14, 1999 Presentations at the "Psychology and Ethnopolitical Conflict" Summer Institute,
   Solomon Asch Center for the Study of Ethnopolitical Conflict, University of Pennsylvania:
   "Nations, Nationalisms, and Identities: Notes on the Constructivist Approach;" and (with David Laitin) "Ethnic War in Karabakh: Thinking a Way Out."
- September 4, 1999 Commentator on panel "Nationalism After Independence in the Transcaucasus and Russia," American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Atlanta, Georgia.
- September 15, 1999- Participant on panel discussion on "Diasporas," Program in the Comparative Study of Social Transformations, University of Michigan.
- September 20, 1999 October 3, 1999 Lectures on Mediterranean history and politics, on board the Caledonian Star, Malta to Kusadasi, Turkey.
- October 6, 1999 Paper "Provisional Stabilities: The Politics of Identity in Post-Soviet Eurasia" presented at Nations, States, and Politics in Comparative Perspective Workshop, University of Chicago.
- October 9, 1999 Chair of panel on 'Implications for Southeast Europe, Germany, and Russia," at workshop on 'What After: NATO's Battle for Kosovo/a?", University of Michigan.
- October 16, 1999 Paper "The Empire Strikes Out! Imperial Russia, 'National' Identity, and Theories of Empire," at the Midwest Russian Historians' Workshop, University of Michigan.
- November 21, 1999 Commenatator on panel "Bolshevik Political Culture, 1926-1953," at AAASS Annual Convention, St. Louis, Missouri.
- November 30, 1999 Lecture at the London School of Economics, "Stalinism in Armenia."
- December 2, 1999 Paper "Authoritarian Democracy: Making States in Post-Soviet Eurasia" -- at the International Conference on Political Transitions in the Arab World: Historical, Theoretical, Comparative, and Present Perspectives, Birzeit University, Palestine.
- January 9, 2000 Commentator on a panel "Waging War: Spies and Traitors in Imperial and Soviet Russia" -- at the American Historical Association, Chicago, IL.
- January 31, 2000 Lecture at the University of Notre Dame: "The Empire Strikes Out! Imperial Russia, 'National' Identity, and Theories of Empire."
- March 2-3, 2000 Lectures at the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis: "Empire, Nation, Genocide, Law: The Armenians and the End of the Ottoman State;" and "The Empire Strikes Out: Imperial Russia, 'National' Identity, and Theories of Empire."
- March 3, 2000 Keynote Address at the Associated Colleges of the Midwest Conference on "Integrating Post-Communist Transformations into the Liberal Arts Curriculum: "Reforms and Revolutions, Transitions and Transformations: The Attempt to Create Democratic Capitalist Regimes in the Post-Soviet World," Carleton College.

- March 4, 2000 Public lecture 'Rethinking the Armenian Genocide" at The University of St. Thomas, St. Paul, MN.
- March 5, 2000 "Concluding Remarks" at the ACM Conference on "Integrating Post-Communist Transformations," St. Olaf College.
- March 13, 2000 Briefing of the Director of Central Intelligence on the South Caucasus, Langley, VA.
- March 17-19, 2000 Organized, chaired, and presented paper "When Genocide? Interpretations of the Timing and Causes of the Armenian Deportations and Massacres" -- at conference on "Armenians and the End of the Ottoman Empire" at the University of Chicago.
- March 19, 2000 Public lecture at AGBU, Chicago: Book Review of Gerard J. Libaridian's *Armenia at the Crossroads*.
- March 28, 2000 Participated in and gave keynote address at the Azerbaijan Country Risk Workshop for BP Amoco, Weybridge, Surrey, England.
- March 31, 2000 Presented a paper "States, Clans, and Corruption in the South Caucasus" at a symposium on "Informal Economies and Civil Society in Post-Soviet Eurasia," University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- April 15, 2000 Commentary on Valerie Tishkov's paper at plenary session at the Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York.
- April 28, 2000 Lecture "When Genocide? Interpretations of the Timing and Causes of the Armenian Deportations and Massacres" at the Center for International Security and Arms Control, Stanford University.
- May 5, 2000 Paper for the Conference on 'Evolving Identities in the Middle East: Armenians, Turks, Kurds, and Arabs:" "Identifying Armenians in Modern Times: Religion, Nation, Diaspora."
- May 12, 2000 Lecture -- "When Genocide? Interpretations of the Timing and Causes of the Armenian Deportations and Massacres" at the Davis Center, Harvard University.
- May 13, 2000 Presentation and discussion -- "The Karabakh Conflict: Approaches to its Resolution" at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.
- June 29, 2000 Lecture at the London School of Economics: "The Empire Strikes Out! Imperial Russia, 'National' Identity, and Theories of Empire."
- July 3, 2000 Participated in a seminar at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, London on the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh.
- August 1, 2000 Chaired panel and delivered paper "Soviet Nationality Policy Revisited: How Western Scholars Understood the 'National Question'" at the VI International Council for Central and East European Studies World Congress, Tampere, Finland.
- September 27, 2000 Chaired discussion on the South Caucasus and participated in workshop on "The Future of Democracy in Russia and the Former Soviet Union," sponsored by the Strategic Assessments Group of the Central Intelligence Agency's Directorate of Intelligence.
- October 11, 2000 Lecture to the History Department, Loyola University, Chicago: "The Empire Strikes Out! Tsarist Russia, 'National' Identity, and Theories of Empire."

- October 20, 23, 2000 Presentations of my paper, "Constructing Primordialism: Old Histories for New Nations," at the Wilder House Board Meeting and the Social Theory Workshop, University of Chicago.
- November 10, 11, 2000 Participated in the roundtable "The Importance of Regional Area Studies for the Caspian and Black Sea Regions" and chaired the panel "Daleko ot Moskvy: Alternate Loci of Soviet Identity During Late Stalinism, 1945-1953," at the AAASS convention, Denver.
- December 11, 2000 Presented a paper "The Empire Strikes Out! Imperial Russia, 'National' Identity, and Theories of Empire" to the Zentrum für Vergleichende Geschichte Europas, Frei Universität Berlin.
- December 18, 2000 Paper "Constructing Primoridalism: Old Histories for New Nations," delivered at Interacademy Symposium, organized by the National Academy of Sciences of the USA and the Russian Academy of Sciences, on 'States in Transition and the Challenge of Ethnic Conflict: Russian and International Perspectives," Moscow.
- January 26, 2001 Participated in a public forum, "Armeno-Turkish Dialogue: Prospects and Possibilities," sponsored by the Armenian National Committee of New York, in New York City.
- February 26, 2001 Lecture to the History Department, Yale University: "The Empire Strikes Out! Tsarist Russia, 'National' Identity, and Theories of Empire."
- March 22, 2001 Lecture "History and the Nation" at Belmont University, Nashville, TN.
- March 22, 2001 Lecture -- "The Empire Strikes Out! Tsarist Russia, 'National' Identity, and Theories of Empire" at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN.
- March 23, 2001 Lecture "Genocide and Empire: Armenians, Turks, and the End of the Ottoman Empire" at Belmont University.
- March 23, 2001 Led seminar and discussion on paper "Constructing Priomordialism: Old Histories for New Nations" at Vanderbilt University.
- April 5-6, 2001 Lectures at the University of Washington: "When Genocide? Interpretations of the Causes and Timing of the Armenian Genocide" and "Constructing Primordialism: Old Histories for New Nations."
- April 23, 2001 Panelist in discussion -- "Negotiations on Nagorno-Karabagh: Where Do We Go From Here?" -- Kennedy School, Harvard University.
- April 27, 2001 "Welcoming Remarks," CASPIC conference, University of Chicago.
- June 7-9, 2001 Participated in Carnegie Endowment conference "Russia: Ten Years After," and chaired panel on "How Does Russia Interact with its Muslim Neighbors, and What Security Threats Do They Pose to Each Other?" Washington, D. C.
- June 11, 2001 Led seminar and delivered paper, "Constructing Primordialism: Old Histories for New Nations," at the Solomon Asch Center for the Study of Ethnopolitical Conflict, University of Pennsylvania.
- June 15-17. 2001 Chaired and participated in workshop on "Official and Vernacular Identities: Situating Russia" at Geliopark, Russia.

- June 28-July 1, 2001 Participated in and delivered papers -- "Making Nations Soviet-style: The Unanticipated Consequences of Leninist Nationalities Policies" and "Constructing Primordialism: Old Histories for New Nations" -- at research training course funded by the Nordic Academy of Advanced Study, in Narva and Tallinn, Estonia.
- November 5, 2001 Lecture, University of California, Berkeley: "Constructing Primordialism: Old Histories for New Nations."
- November 5, 2001 Lecture, Stanford University: "Diasporas."
- November 7, 2001 Lecture, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Palo Alto, CA: "Back and Beyond: Reversing the Cultural Turn?"
- November 12, 2001 Lecture, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor: "Constructing Primordialism: Old Histories for New Nations."
- November 15, 2001 Commented on panel at the annual convention of the AAASS, Crystal City, VA: "Counting and Classifying: Nationality and Language Categories in the First Post-Soviet Census;." chaired and commented at roundtable: "Knowledge, narrative, and the Soviet Past: Post-Soviet Reflections on Soviet Histories;" chaired and commented on panel: "Becoming Kazak: The Rise of Kazak National Consciousness in a Colonial Context."
- November 18, 2001 Participated in roundtable at the annual convention of MESA, San Francisco: "Author Meets Critics: A Look at Stephen Kinzer's New Book, *Crescent and Star: Turkey Between Two Worlds.*"
- February 12, 2002 Lecture, World Affairs Council, San Francisco: "Europe's Frontier: The Caucasus Between East and West."
- February 19, 2002 Lecture, Departments of History and Political Science and the Russian Studies Program, University of California, San Diego: 'Constructing Primordialism: old Histories of New Nations."
- February 20, 2002 Lecture, Department of History and Center for European and Russian Studies, UCLA: "Constructing Primordialism: New Histories for Old Nations in the Post-Soviet Republics."
- February 21-22, 2002 Lecture, Departments of History, Political Science, the Interdisciplinary Humanities Center, and the Global and International Studies Program, University of California, Santa Barbara: "Constructing Primordialism: Old Histories for New Nations in the Post-Soviet World;" and discussion around article: "Provisional Stabilities: The Politics of Identity in Post-Soviet Eurasia."
- March 8-10, 2002 Co-organizer and panel chairman of workshop: "Contextualizing the Armenian Experience in the Ottoman Empire: From the Balkan Wars to the New Turkish Republic;" presented paper "Reading Genocide: Western Historiography on the Armenian Massacres and Deportations of 1915" and final review of the workshop in the public session.
- March 22, 2002 Talk at the New Directions in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies Seminar, Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies, University of California, Berkeley: "Confessions."
- April 11, 2002 Presented paper at Graduate Colloquium, Department of Politics, University of California, Santa Cruz: "Back and Beyond: Reversing the Cultural Turn?"
- April 26, 2002 Presented paper at XXVI Annual Stanford-Berkeley Conference on Russia, Eastern Europe and the Former USSR, Stanford University: "Why We Hate You: The Passions of Ethnic and Religious Violence."

- May 24-25, 2002 Participated in workshop on "Mass Killing and Genocide," at Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, CA. Spoke on emotions and ethnic conflict.
- July 8-9, 2002 Participated in conference on "The Caucasus and the Cold War," in Tsinindali, Georgia. Presented talk on Western historiography of the Cold War.
- September 12-14, 2002 Participated in and presented paper "New World Disorders" at the William Jovanovich Symposium "September 11: A Year Later" at Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Colorado.
- September 19-21, 2002 Participated in and presented paper -- "Civil War and Ethnic Violence in the South Caucasus: Historians and Social Scientists Take a Look" at conference on "The Silk Route in the 21st Century: Security and Insecurity in Central Asia and the Caucasus: A Regional Challenge with Global Implications" at Yale University.
- October 6, 2002 Public lecture at the Armenian Institute, London: "Rethinking the Nation: An Ongoing Discussion of Armenian Identity."
- October 8, 2002 Lecture at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London: "Constructing Primordialism: Naional Identities in the South Caucasus and Central Asia."
- October 10-12, 2002 Participated in two conferences organized by the Collaborative Research Network on Official and Vernacular Identifications in St. Petersburg and Zelinogorsk.
- November 7, 2002 Lecture in the Sears Lecture Series at Purdue University: "Why We Hate You: The Passions of Ethnic and Religious Violence."
- November 10, 2002 Public Lecture at Oberlin College: "Why We Hate You: The Passions of Ethnic and Religious Violence."
- November 15-16, 2002 Participated in and presented paper "Reform, Revolution, Transition, Transformation: Façade Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Post-Soviet World" at a conference on "Transitions from Communist Rule in Comparative Perspective," Center for Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law, Stanford University.
- December 6-7, 2002 Participated in workshop on "Mass Killing and Genocide," at Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, CA.
- January 27, 2003 Lecture in the Rotunda at the University of Virginia: "Why We Hate You: The Passions of Ethnic and Religious Violence."
- March 14-15, 2003 Participated in workshop on "Mass Killing and Genocide," at Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, CA.
- March 20-222, 2003 Participated in and presented paper "The Dialectic of Empire: Russia and the Soviet Union" at the conference "Empires in Modern Times," Institut Universitaire de Haute Études Internationales, Geneva, Switzerland.
- March 27-30, 2003 Organized, participated in, and presented paper "Russia and the Armenian Genocide" at the Third Armenian-Turkish Workshop on the Armenian Genocide, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.
- April 4, 2003 Participated in roundtable on Terry Martin's *Affirmative Action Empire* at Association for the Study of Nationalities Convention, New York City.
- April 5, 2003 Discussant on panel "The Census Like an 'Election'" at ASN Convention, New York City.

- April 25, 2003 Organizer of Symposium "Identity and Conflict: Caucasia in Our Time," at the Franke Institute for the Humanities, University of Chicago; presented paper, "Why We Hate You: The Passions of National Identity and Ethnic Conflict."
- May 1, 2003 Commentator at seminar, "Eurasia in Transition: State-Building and Institutional Development," Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University.
- May 30-31, 2003 Participant in conference "Identity Matters and How" at Ohio State University.
- June 10, 2003 Lecture at the Solomon Asch Center, University of Pennsylvania: "Constructivist Theories of Ethnic Identity."
- September 24-25, 2003 Commentator at conference on "Social Change in Poland: What Have We Learned So Far?" at the University of Michigan.
- September 26-27, 2003 Participated in and delivered a paper "The Dialectics of Empire: Russia and the Soviet Union" at the SSRC sponsored conference at New York University on "Lessons of Empire."
- October 8, 2003 Presentation of paper "Why We Hate You: The Passions of National Identity and Ethnic Violence" at the Modern European History Workshop, University of Chicago.
- October 10, 2003 Public lecture -- "Why We Hate You: The Passions of National Identity and Ethnic Violence" at Colorado College.
- October 13-14, 2003 Participation in Ambassador's Diaspora Roundtable, held by the American Ambassador to Armenia, John Ordway, in Chicago.
- October 17, 2003 Lecture at Greenhills School, Ann Arbor, MI: "From Anger to Hatred: The Contours of the Conflict in the Middle East."
- October 24-25, 2003 Participation in and presentation of article "Constructing Primordialism: Old Histories for New Nations" at conference on "Partisan Histories," New York University.
- October 31, 2003 Lecture in the Russian and East European Center's Colloquium Series at the University of Illinois at Urban Champaign: Why We Hate You: The Passions of National Identity and Ethnic Conflict."
- November 6-7, 2003 Writers' workshop for volume on "Russian Foreign Policy in Historical Perspective," Belmont Conference Center, Baltimore, MD.
- November 20-23, 2003 Commentator on panel "In Search of a Humane Bolshevism: The Politics of *pokrovitel'stvo* in the 1920s;" and paper giver "Stalin, Georgia, and the Revolution of 1905" on the panel "Provincial Perspectives on the 1905 Revolution," at the annual convention of the AAASS, Toronto.
- November 24, 2003 Chaired panel and participated in Workshop on Emotions, Department of History, University of Chicago.
- December 5-6, 2003 Participated in workshop on "Responses to Mass Killing and Genocide," at Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, CA.
- December 9-11, 2003 Lecture on Armenian history and the Karabakh conflict for the Armenia and Azerbaijan State Partnership Program, organized by the Naval Postgraduate School for the National Guards of Kansas and Oklahoma, Wichita, Kansas.
- December 11-12, 2003 Two papers presented at the University of California, Berkeley: for the Russkii kruzhok "Socialism, Post-Socialism, and the Appropriately Modern: Thinking About the History of the

- USSR;" for the Carnegie Seminar "Why We Hate You: The Passions of National Identity and Ethnic Conflict."
- January 10, 2004 Luncheon Address to the Modern European History Section of the American Historical Association: "Why We Hate You: The Passions of National Identity and Ethnic Conflict," Washington DC.
- January 27, 2004 Chaired and participated in presentation on "The Making of Chechen Terrorists," with Georgi Derluguian, Center for International Studies, International House, University of Chicago.
- February 19, 2004 Lecture at the Marian Miner Cook Athenaeum "Why We Hate You: The Passions of National Identity and Ethnic Conflict" Claremont McKenna College.
- February 23, 24, 2004 Lansdowne Lectures at the University of Victoria, British Columbia: "Stalin in Georgia, or the Making of a Bolshevik;" "Socialism, Post-Socialism, and the Appropriately Modern: Thinking Through the Soviet Experience;" and "Why Do We Hate You: The Passions of National Identity and Ethnic Conflict."
- February 26, 2004 Lecture for the Institute of European Studies and the Departments of History and Political Science, University of British Columbia: "Socialism, Post-Socialism, and the Appropriately Modern: Thinking Through the Soviet Experience."
- March 19, 2004 Lecture at Michigan State University: "Why Do We Hate You: The Passions of National Identity and Ethnic Conflict."
- April 16-17, 2004 Chair on panel "The Constructivist Approach to the Study of Nationalism," and commentator on "Rountable on Valery Tishkov's New Book *Chechnya: Life in a War-Torn Society*" at the annual convention of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, Columbia University.
- April 22, 2004 Commentator on Soviet history and culture panel at the Slavic Forum Conference, University of Chicago.
- April 26, 2004 Speaker on panel on "US Foreign Policy, the 2004 Elections, and the Middle East," at the University of Chicago.
- April 30, 2004 Presented paper on "Is History a Social Science?" at Historiography Workshop, University of Chicago.
- August 23, 2004 Talk "Why We Hate You: The Passions of National Identity and Ethnic Conflict" at Rockefeller Foundation Study and Conference Center, Bellagio, Italy.
- September 13, 2004 Talk on the Armenian Genocide, Oakland University, Rochester, MI.
- September 15, 2004 Brown bag lecture at CREES, University of Michigan: "Reading Russia."
- October 16, 2004 Keynote address at the Central Eurasian Studies Society Convention, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN: "The Dialectics of Empire."
- October 22, 2004 Paper delivered to the International Conference, "Armenia/South Caucasus and Foreign Policy Challenges," University of Michigan: "Living in a Dangerous Neighborhood: Armenia's Foreign Relations in the Short Twentieth Century, 1918-2991."
- November 5, 2004 Presentation to the National Intelligence Council, Langely, VA: "The South Caucasus, 2003-2004: Reform, Revolution, or More of the Same."

- December 4-5, 2004 Chair and commentator on panel on "Violence and Teror in Russia, 1917-1930s;" and chairman of roundtable on "Thinking About Feelings: Emotions in Russian/Soviet History and Culture," AAASS, Boston.
- January 13, 2005 Keynote address to the University of Michigan Model United Nations 2005: "Why We Hate You: The Passions of National Identity and Ethnic Conflict."
- February 5, 2005 Keynote address to Conference on "Identifying the Self-Repairing Dynamics in Post-Conflict Societies: The Caucasus and Central Asia," Northwestern University: "Why We Hate You: The Passions of National Identity and Ethnic Conflict."
- April 4, 2005 Presented the Miriam Fischel Lecture "When Genocide: Interpretations of the Causes and Timing of the Armenian Deportations and Massacres" at the 25<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference on the Holocaust, Millersville University.
- April 10, 2005 Public lecture "Explaining the Armenian Genocide" at the University of Michigan Commemoration of the 90<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Genocide of 1915.
- April 15-17, 2005 Organizer and participant in Fourth Workshop in Armenian and Turkish Studies, Salzburg, Austria; presented paper: "The Emotions of Genocide: Explaining the Ottoman Turkish Deportations and Massacres of the Armenians, 1915-1916."
- May 11, 2005 Lecture at the Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies: "Why We Hate You: The Passions of National Identity and Ethnic Conflict."
- May 20-21, 2005 Participant and commentator at conference on Nazism and Stalinism, University of Chicago.
- June 28, 2005 Keynote Address to the Sixth Congress of Russian Ethnologists and Anthropologists, Saint Petersburg: "Pochemu my nenavidim vas: strasti po natsional'noi identichnosti i etnicheskomu nasiliiu."
- July 4-5, 2005 Participant on the roundtable "The National Question in the Integration and Disintegration of the Soviet Union. The Role of Historiography;" and read paper "Russian Terror" on the panel "Terrorism and a Historical Problem: Concept, Approaches, Findings" at the 20<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Historical Sciences, Sydney, Australia.
- July 5, 2005 Lecture "The Emotions of Genocide" at Shalom College, University of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia; discussion with Professor Deborah Lipstadt of Emory University.
- July 8, 2005 "An Evening with Professor Ronald Grigor Suny: History, Identity and the Genocide," at the AGBU Centre, Sydney, Australia.
- July 12-14, 2005 Papers and participation at the Australasian Association for European History XVth Biennial Conference:
  - July 12 Paper "The Emotions of Genocide: Explaining the Ottoman Turkish Deportations and Massacres of the Armenians, 1915-1916."
  - July 13 Paper "Stalin in the 1905 Revolution."
  - July 14 Chair of panel on Stalinism; participant on round table on "Human Rights and Terror in the French and Russian Revolutions."
- July 15, 2005 Public lecture at AGBU Centre, Melbourne, Australia: "The Emotions of Genocide."
- July 19, 2005 Lecture at University of Otago: "Livng in the Hood: Russia, Empire, and the Old and New Neighbors."
- July 21, 2005 Public Lecture at University of Otago: "Why We Hate You: The Passions of National Identity and Ethnic Conflict."

- September 26, 2005 "Why We Hate You: The Passions of National Identity and Ethnic Conflict," a lecture for the Social Psychology Workshop, Stanford University.
- November 3, 5, 2005 Chair and commentator on panel "De-ideologizing Ideology: Reassessing the History of Stalinism;" commentator on Yuri Slezkine's *The Jewish Century*, AAASS Convention, Salt Lake City.
- November 14, 2005 Presentation for the National Security Council at the State Department, Washington, D..C. "What's Up in the Southern Caucasus? Democracy and Conflicts in the Age of Colored Revolutions."
- January 6, 2006 Participant in "Presidential Session: Failed Nationalisms: Winners and Losers in the History of Nationality Roundtable," at the American Historical Association, Philadelphia.
- January 19, 2006 Presented paper "Why We Hate You: The Passions of National Identity and Ethnic Violence" at the Center for East European and Eurasian Studies, Stanford University.
- January 31, 2006 Presented paper "Why We Hate You: The Passions of National Identity and Ethnic Violence" at Stanford Center on International Conflict and Negotiation, Law School, Stanford University.
- March 3, 2006 Lecture "The Costs of Glasnost' Toward the End of Empire" at the Thirtieth Berkeley-Stanford Slavic Conference, Stanford University.
- March 5, 2006 Participated on panel "Perspectives on the Armenian Genocide and Freedom of Speech," University of California, Berkeley.
- March 9, 2006 Lecture at the Director's Seminar, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University: "Looking Anew at the Young Stalin: The Making of a Bolshevik."
- March 18, 2006 Lecture for Armenian Professional Association and Armenian Students'
  Association, Stanford University: "Why the Armenian Genocide: How We Can Understanding the Deportations and Massacres of the Ottoman Armenians."
- March 20, 2006 Seminar Presentation at Russkii Kruzhok, Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies, University of California, Berkeley: "Reading Russia and the Soviet Union in the Twentieth Century: How the 'West' Wrote its History of the USSR."
- April 4, 2006 Lecture at the University of California, Berkeley: "Becoming Stalin: The Evolution of a Bolshevik."
- April 9, 2006 Talk at St. John's Armenian Church, San Francisco: "Imagining Armenia."
- April 14, 2006 Public lecture for the ARPA Institute, Sherman Oaks, CA: "Why Genocide: How Can We Understand the Turkish Deportations and Massacres of the Ottoman Armenians."
- April 21, 2006 Paper "Explaining Genocide: The Fate of the Armenians in the Late Ottoman Empire" -- at conference on "Removing Peoples: Forced Migration in the Modern World (1850-1950)," University of York (England).
- April 24, 2006 Lecture in the Russian and East European Studies Research Seminar series "Russians and their Neighbours" at St. Antony's College, Oxford: "Why We Hate You: The Passions of National Identity and Ethnic Conflict."
- April 26, 2006 Paper presented to the Birmingham Russian History Seminar Series, University of

- Birmingham: "Becoming Stalin: The Evoluion of a Bolshevik."
- April 27, 2006 Lecture in the Research Seminar in Russian, East European and Eurasian Studies, University of Manchester: "Why We Hate You: The Passions of National Identity and Ethnic Conflict."
- April 28, 2006 Lecture -- "Why We Hate You: The Passions of National Identity and Ethnic Conflict" at the Institute universitaire de hautes etudes internationals, Geneva.
- May 3, 2006 Lecture at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, CA: "Why Genocide: Explaining the Deportations and Mass Killing of the Ottoman Armenians in 1915."
- May 14-16, 2006 Participant, chair, and presenter at the Fifth Workshop on Armenian-Turkish Scholarship, New York University.
- May 31, 2006 Participant in panel discussion on the film "The Armenian Genocide," Stanford University.
- July 4, 2006 Keynote address "Sheila Fitzpatrick: An Appreciation" at Sheila Fitzpatrick Festschrift Conference, University of Melbourne.

  July 5 Discussant on panel "Is there a 'Fitzpatrick School' of Soviet History?"
- July 10, 2006 Presented paper "Looking Anew at Stalin: The Making of a Bolshevik" at the Russian History and Culture Workshop, University of Western Australia, Perth.

  July 11 Chair, panel "Beyond Stalinism."

  Participant in Roundtable: "'Stlainism' Still a Useful Category of Analysis?"
- August 31, 2006 September 1, 2006 Discussant on panel "Migration and Ethnoreligious Hostility in Russia: Subnational Variation in Cross-National Perspetive" and Chair and Papergiver "Emotions in Politics: National Solidarity and Ethnic Conflict" -- on panel "Nations and Nationalisms Reconsidered," at the American Political Science Association 102<sup>nd</sup> Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, PA.
- September 13, 2006 Brownbag Talk at CREES, University of Michigan: "Making Stalin: The Evolution of a Bolshevik."
- October 12, 2006 Presented paper "The Mountains Move: Russia, the West, and Caucasia" at a seminar on current developments in the Caucasus for the National Intelligence Council, held at the Department of State.
- October 30, 2006 Public talk at "Teach-Out," University of Michigan: "The Contemporary Crisis: From Cold War to War on Terror."
- November 15, 2006 Lecture for the National Intelligence Council, Washington, DC, at conference on "The Putin Era in Historical Perspective."
- November 16-19, 2006 Participated in panel "Fifteen Years After the Fall: Historiography of the USSR, 1991-2006;" chaired plenary session "How Can Academic Historical Work Influence Debates About the Present and Future of Our Region?;" chaired and commented on panel on "Stalinism and Ideology;" and delivered the presidential address "Fifteen Years Après le Déluge: What's Left of Marx?" at the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies Convention, Washington, DC.
- December 8-9, 2006 Organized and chaired workshop on Revolution and State Terror" in the Mellon

- Seminar Series on "Mass Violence and Genocide in the Twentieth Century;" and presented a paper "Revolution, Violence, and the Soviet State," at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, CA.
- February 1, 2007 Public lecture "Globalization, the Nation, and Shifting Identities" -- in series on globalization at San Diego State University.
- February 5, 2007 Lecture "The Mountains Move: Russia, the West, and Caucasia" -- in the International Relations Collquium, Pomona College.
- February 6, 2007 Participant in commemorative symposium "The Life, Death and Vision of an Armenian in Turkey: A Tribute to Hrant Dink" University of Michigan.
- February 25, 2007 Public lecture for the Armenian Institute, London: "Truth in Telling: Reconciling Realities in the Genocide of the Ottoman Armenians."
- February 27, 2007 Lecture at the Oriental Institute, Oxford University: "Explaining Genocide: The Fate of the Armenians in the Late Ottoman Empire."
- February 28, 2007 Address in a program "Sincerity, My Only Weapon': A Tribute to Hrant Dink" -- Amnesty Internatal UK, London.
- March 1, 2007 Lecture "Stalin" in the series "Writing Russian Lives: Perspectives on the Biographies of 'Great Men" at Robinson College, Cambridge University.
- March 30, 2007 Commentator on panel "Armenian Identity: Past, Present, Future," for the Armenian Studies Program, University of Michigan.
- April 26, 2007 Talk at Stanford University, with Taner Akçam: "Hrant Dink and Free Speech in Turkey."
- May 14-28, 2007 Lectures on board National Geogaphic Endeavour, from St. Petersburg to Copenhagen: "From Tsars to Commissars;" "What's Wrong with Russia?"; "Dangerous Opportunities: The Future of the Baltic;" "The Hansa and the Baltic;" and "Nations and Nationalism."
- May 31 June 1, 2007 Seminars at the Aleksanteri Institute, University of Helsinki: "Thinking About Empire" and "Russia and the West."
- August 23, 2007 Speaker on panel, "Prospects and Challenges Facing Armenia," Tekeyan Cultural Association, Southfield, MI.
- October 19-21, 2007 Participant in conference "The Caucasus co-operation for Stablity" Tbilisi, Georgia.
- November 6-7, 2007 Presented paper "The Rise and Fall of the Soviet Union: The Empire of Nations" at the International seminar on the Russian Revolution, 90 Years, Sao Paulo, Brazil.
- November 15-18, 2007 Participant in the national convention of the AAASS, New Orleans:
  - Paper "Breaking Eggs, Making Omelets: Terror under Lenin and Stalin" on the panel "Political Violence in Comparative and Historical Perspective."
  - Participant in presidential plenary session roundtable 'The Persistence of Empire."
  - Discussant on panel "Alexander Rabinowitch: Historian, Mentor, Comrade Mensch."
  - Discussant on panel "The Imperium of Knowledge: Modern Knowledge in the 'Archaic Empire'."
- November 29, 2007 Lecture at the Eisenberg Institute for Historical Studies, University of Michigan:

- "Breaking Eggs, Making Omelets: Explaining Terror in Lenin and Stalin's Revolutions."
- December 7-9, 2007 Organized, chaired, and participated in a writers' conference "A Question of Genocide, 1915: Armenians and Turks at the End of the Ottoman Empire."
- January 26-February 1, 2008 Lectures and seminars in Japan.
  - January 26 Keynote Address: "Caucasia as a Civilization," for the conference 'The Caucasus and its Inhabitants Between Russia and the Middle East: Reactions and Reflections for the Sake of Religion and State," at the University of Tokyo.
  - January 28 Lecture: "Effects of Empire: Tsarism as Enabler and Constraint on the Peoples of Caucasia," at the Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University, Sapporo.
  - January 30 Keynote Address in Special Seminar on the Caucasus "In Search of the Caucasian as Culture: Seeking the New Perspectives from the Dialogue Between Philogists and Historians" (conducted in Russian): "Making Nations in Caucasia: The Soviet Experience," at Kyoto University.
  - February 1 Comment on lecture in Georgian "From the History of Inter-relations of Christianity and Islam in Georgia," at Waseda University, Tokyo.
- February 27 March 1, 2008 Co-organizer of Sixth Workshop on Armenian-Turkish Scholarship (WATS), Geneva, Switzerland; chaired panel and discussion of future directions.
- March 7-8, 2008 Participated in roundtables at Sixteen International Conference of the Council for European Studies, Chicago: "Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town: Author [Rogers Brubaker] Meets Critics;" and "The Future of Nostalgia [Svetlana Boym]."
- March 15, 2008 Lecture at Wellesley College: "Young Stalin: The Making of a Revolutionary."
- March 14, 2008 Lecture at the Davis Center, Harvard University: "The Affective Turn: Emotions and the Writing of History."
- March 28, 2008 Presented paper "Breaking Eggs, Making Omelets: Explaining Terror in the Lenin and Stalin's Revolutions."
- March 28, 2008 Participated in plenary session panel "Rountable Retrospective on Ron Suny's Scholarly Contributions" at the Southern Conference on Slavic Studies, Emory University. Keynote address ""Breaking Eggs, Making Omelets: Explaining Terror in the Lenin and Stalin's Revolutions," at the Southern Conference on Slavic Studies, Emory University.
  - March 29, 2008 Chaired roundtable panel on "Emotions in Russian and Soviet History" at the SCSS, Emory University.
- April 4-6, 2008 Presented paper «Чувствуемые Сообщества: Структура государства и нации в Российскои Империи» ("Affective Communities: The Structure of the State and Nation in the Russian Empire") –at conference on "Emotions in Russian History and Culture," Centre Franco-Russe de recherche en sciences humaines et sociales de Moscou and Deutsches Historisches Institut Moskau, in Moscow.
- May 8-9, 2008 Chaired panel and commented on papers at conference on "The Cultural Politics of European Union Energy Security," University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- May 15-18, 2008 Organized and chaired international conference on "Georgia: The Making of a National Culture," University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

- May 22-23, 2008 Presented paper "Breaking Eggs, Making Omelets: Explaining Terror in Lenin and Stalin's Revolutions" at Workshop on "Political Violence and the Growth of Anti-Americanism," Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, CA.
- May 30, 2008 Keynote address "Globalization and the Nation-State: The Future of a Failure" at the first Hrant Dink Memorial Workshop "Migrations, Connections, Perspectives: Anatolia and Its Neighboring Regions in the Twentieth Century," Sabancı University, Istanbul.
- June 20, 2008 Keynote address "Thinking About Feelings: Affective Dispositions and Emotions in the Study of the Past" at the 2008 Ralph and Ruth Fisher Forum, 'Interpreting Emotion in EasternEurope, Russia, and Eurasia," University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.
- August 7, 2008 Lecture at Midwest Institute for International./Intercultural Eduction, Kalamazoo Valley Community College: "Globalization, the Nation-State, and Human Rights."
- September 6-21, 2008 Lectures on board the National Geographic Endeavour: "Nations and Nationmaking;" "A New Cold War?: Russia and Georgia;" "France, Nation of Nations;" and "Why Portugal?"
- September 24, 2008 Lecture at the Ecole des hautes etudes en sciences sociales, Paris: "The Young Stalin: The Making of a Bolshevik."
- September 25, 2008 Lecture at the Katholieke Universieteity Leuven: "The Mountains Move: Russia, Caucasia, and the West."
- September 30, 2008 Lecture at the Centrum voor for Holocaust-en Genocidestudies, Amsterdam: "Writing Genocide: The Fate of the Ottoman Armenians in the Eyes of Historians."
- October 10-11, 2008 Co-organizer and presenter at conference "Commemorating the 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of *Imagined Communities*," University of Chicago; presented paper: "Affective Communities: Making Nations in the Russian Empire."
- October 16, 2008 Lecture at conference "A Chill from the Caucasus: The Russo-Georgian War and its Implications:" "The Mountains Move: Russia, the West, and the Crisis in Caucasia," at Emory University.
- November 17, 2008 Talk to the Middle East Studies Students' Association, University of Chicago: "The Mountains Move: Russia, Caucasia, and the West."
- November 20-22, 2008 AAASS National Convention, Philadelphia: Participant in Roundtable on "Russian Nation vs. Russian Empire;" chair of panel "Marxism, the Soviet Working Class, and the Formation of the Soviet System;" and commentator on panel "New Perspectives on the 'Great Terror': Stalinist State Violence in the Late 1930s."
- December 6, 2008 Paper presented at the "International Conference: History of Stalinism, Results and Problems of Study:" «Российская империя и СССР: Традиция и революция» [The Russian Empire and the USSR: Tradition and Revolution]; and a commentary on the panel «Гражданство и национальность в истории сталинского государства» [Citizenship and Nationality in rthe History of the Stalinist State].
- December 10, 2008 Public lecture at the Centre Franco-Russe de recherche en sciences humaines et sociales de Moscou: "Молодой Сталин: рождение больсчевика» [Young Stalin: Birth of a Bolshevik].
- December 15, 2008 Lecture at Smolny University, St. Petersburg, Russia: "Молодой Сталин:

- рождение больсчевика» [Young Stalin: Birth of a Bolshevik].
- January 9-16, 2009 Lectures on Caribbean history on board the Sea Cloud II.
- February 12, 2009 Tenth Annual R. Stanton Avery Lecture at Pomona College: "Globalization and the Nation-State: The Future of Failure."
- February 17, 2009 Lecture at the University of California, Santa Barbara: "Affective Communities: The Construction of State and Nations in the Russian Empire."
- February 18, 2009 Lecture at Stanford University: "Young Stalin: The Making of a Bolshevik."
- February 19, 2009 Lecture at the University of California, Berkeley: "The Mountains Move: Russia,
  - Caucasia, and the West."
- March 6, 2009 Lecture at University of Central Oklahoma, Edmond, OK: "The Mountains Move: Russia, Caucasia, and the West."
- March 7, 2009 Luncheon Address at the Oklahoma Association of Professional Historians and Phi Alpha Theta Oklahoma Regional Conference: "Koba, The Young Stalin: The Making of a Bolshevik."
- March 11, 2009 Lecture at Princeton University: "Writing Genocide: Historians and the Fate of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire."
- March 20, 2009 Lecture at University of Birmingham, England: "The Mountains Move: Russia, Caucasia, and the West."
- March 22, 2009 Opening Lecture at the Conference on "National identity in Eurasia I: Identities and Traditions," Oxford: "The Contradictions of Identity: Being Soviet and National in the USSR."
- March 30, 2009 Participant on a Roundtable at the Annual Conference of the British Association of Slavic and East European Studies, Cambridge: "Nationalism and the Fall of Communism."
- March 30, 2009 Public Lecture at the Armenian Institute, London: "The Mountains Move: Russia, Caucasia, and the West."
- April 1, 2009 Participant on a Roundtable at the Annual Conference of the Association for the Studies of Nationalities: "Globalization and the Nation-State."
- April 17, 2009 Commentary on panel "Violence in Public and Private," Fellow Symposium: "Topographies of Violence," Eisenberg Institute of Historical Studies, University of Michigan.
- May 1, 2009 Keynote address "Capitalism and the Common Good: What's Left of Marx?" at conference on "The Common Good After Communism," Bowdoin College.
- June 19, 2009 Paper "The Contradictions of Identity: The Legacy of Being Soviet and National in the USSR and Post-Soviet Eurasia" at the first international conference of the HK Eurasia Research Project, Hanyang University, Seoul, Korea.
- November 13-14, 2009 Participated in roundtable "Whither Soviet History" and in roundtable

- "Emotions Across the Disciplines: Past, Present, Future" at the AAASS annual convention, Boston.
- December 8, 2009 Collegiate Professorship Lecture, University of Michigan: "Affective Communities: The Contradictions of National and Soviet Identity in the USSR."
- December 29, 2009 Lecture "Grigor Mirzaian Suni" (in Armenian) at the Hovhannes Tumanyan Museum, Erevan, Armenia.
- March 1, 2010 Presenter on panel "Where is Soviet History Today and Where is it Going" at The Melikian Center, Arizona State University.
- March 1, 2010 Public Lecture "The Ottoman Armenians and the Question of Genocide" at Arizona State University.
- March 4-6, 2010 Organized and participated in the Workshop on Armenian-Turkish Scholarship (WATS VII) "From Empire to Nation: The Ottoman Case in Comparative Perspective" at the University of California, Berkeley.
- March 19, 2010 Presenter at the Colloquium "Third Party Intervention in Armenian History and Turkish/Armenian Relations" at the University of Michigan.
- April 23, 2010 Public lecture for commemoration of the Armenian Genocide, Southfield, MI: "How to Confront Denial."
- April 28, 2010 Lecture at Bilgi University, Istanbul: "Capitalism and the Common Good: What's Left of Marx?"
- May 3, 2010 Lecture at Boğaziçi University, Istanbul: "Working Toward Understanding: History and the Entwined Fates of Turks and Armenians."
- May 4, 2010 Lecture at Sabancı University, Istanbul: "Armenian Diaspora: Social Dynamics and Political Spectrum."
- May 8-9, 2010 -- Keynote Address at the workshop on "New Geopolitics & the Role of Diplomacy in the Caucasus" at the Graduate Institute, Geneva: "The Hegemons Clash: Caucasia in the Context of a Global Struggle."
- July 26-29, 2010 Participated in the VIII World Congress of the International Council of East European and Slavic Studies, Stockholm:
  - July 29 Chaired and commented on panel: "Asia through Russian Eyes."
  - July 29 Moderated panel on "Russia's Domestic Developments and Prospects for Wider Euro-Asian Cooperation.
- August 2-4, 2010 Participated in and read paper "Breaking Eggs, Making Omelets: Explaining Terror in Lenin and Stalin's Revolutions" at the conference on "Stalinist Terror: Origins, Contexts and Dynamics," University of Leeds, England.
- September 27, 2010 Public lecture at Grinnell College, Rosenfield Program in Public Affairs, International Relations and Human Rights: "Breaking Loose: Georgia after Empire."
- October 25, 2010 Presented paper "Finding Stalin: How the Archives Change What We Know" at the conference "XX Century in the Materials of the Georgian Security Archive: Post-Soviet Archives and Memory" Batumi, Georgia.
- October 28, 2010 Public lecture at the Ivan Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University: "The Young

- Stalin: Making of a Revolutionary."
- November 19, 20, 2010 Organized and chaired panel, "Disciplining Area Studies: The Place of Comparative Politics;" and commented on panel, "The Quest for the Historical Lenin: World Revolution and Socialism in One Country During World War I" at the 42th annual convention of the Association for Slavic, East European, & Eurasian Studies (ASEEES), Los Angeles.
- February 15, 2011 Lecture for the Shipman Society, University of Michigan: "Understanding the Armenian Genocide."
- April 15-16, 2011 Presented paper "Ruling the Russian Empire: Metropolitan Elites and Peripheral Agents" at the conference "Between Friction and Collaboration: Imperial Elites and Local Powerbrokers," Northwestern University.
- May 2, 2011 Keynote address "Dealing with Diversity in Two Empires: Language, Religion, and Ethnicity in the Tsarist Russian and Ottoman Cases" in the conference "100 Years of Languages and Nations," Osaka University, on the occasion of its 80<sup>th</sup> anniversary.
- May 12-14, 2011 Co-organizer, panel chairman, commentator, and final rapporteur at workshop on "Imperial Nation: Empire and Nations in Tsarist Russia," University of Michigan.
- May 28, 2011 Chair and discussant on roundtable, "Freedom of Expression in Media and Publishing," Hrant Dink Symposium, Istanbul.
- June 16, 2011 Lecture at Koc University, Istanbul: "Troubled Truths: Turks, Armenians and the Pain of the Past."
- July 13, 2011 Public Talk in Foça, Turkey, on Eastern Anatolia, the Armenian Genocide, and the Kurds.
- August 27, 2011 Presentation of *A Question of Genocide*, with Norman M. Naimark, at the University Club of Pasadena, sponsored by the Armenian Assembly of America.
- October 21-22, 2011 Presented paper -- "Toward the End of Empire: Failing the Test of Glasnost' and Perestroika" at the UCLA conference "Assessing the Collapse of the Soviet Union Twenty Years Later."
- October 26, 2011 Presented keynote address "Back in the USSR: Affective Communities, Soviet and National" at the Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies: "Social History and Social Memory Studies After the Linguistic Turn."
- October 27-30, 2011 Co-organized, chaired a panel, and gave a public lecture -- "The New Turkey and the Issue of Genocide" at the Eighth Workshop for Armenian and Turkish Scholarship (WATS), "Ethnic Tensions and Violence at the End of the Ottoman Empire," at the International Institute of Social History and NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Amsterdam.
- November 17-20, 2011 Participated in a memorial meeting for Moshe Lewin (1921-2010) and a roundtable on "Atrocities We (Do Not) Want to Remember," and chaired a panel on "Literature and Empire in Russia and the Soviet Union I: Peripheral Identities" at the 43<sup>rd</sup> ASEEES annual convention, Washington, DC.
- December 6, 2011 Lecture for Armenian Studies Program, University of Michigan: "The New Turkey and the Issue of Genocide: Armenians in a Progressive Imagination."
- January 20, 2012 Presentation at the symposium on Wendy Z. Goldman's *Inventing the Enemy: Denunciation and Terror in Stalin's Russia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), at Carnegie-Mellon University, Pittsburgh, PA.

- February 28, 2012 Lecture at St. Edmond's Hall, Oxford University: "From Koba to Stalin: The Making of a Bolshevik."
- March 1, 2012 Lecture at the Armenian Institute, London: "The New Turkey and the Issue of Genocide: Armenians in a Progressive Imagination."
- April 17, 2012 Presentation at Russian Studies Workshop, University of Chicago: "Stalin: From Koba to Commissar."
- April 18, 2012 Critique of Ipek K.Yasmaoglu's manuscript "A World Undone: Religion, Violence, and the Politics of Nationhood in Ottoman Macedonia, 1878-1908" at the Department of History, Northwestern University.
- April 19, 2012 -- Commentator on the book panel on Ronald Grigor Suny, et al. (eds.), *A Question of Genocide: Armenins and Turks at the End of the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford, 2011), at the Association for the Study of Nationalities (ASN) annual convention, New York City.
- April 21, 2012 Commentator on the book panel on Ugur Umit Ungor, *The Making of Modern Turkey: Nation and State in Eastern Anatolia, 1913-1950* (Oxford, 2011), at ASN annual convention, New York City.
- April 23, 2012 Public lecture "The Persistent Past: How Violence and Genocide in Ottoman Turkey Affect Our World Today" at the Holocaust and Genocide Studies Center, University of South Florida, Tampa.
- April 24, 2012 Keynote address at the Armenian Genocide Commemoration at St. Hagop Armenian Church, organized and sponsored by the Florida Holocaust Museum: "Why Genocide? The Fate of the Armenians in the Late Ottoman Empire."
- June 12, 2012 Lecture "The Making of a Bolshevik: Stalin in Georgia" at the International School of Economics of Tbilisi State University, Tbilisi, Georgia.
- June 15, 2012 Lecture at Caucasus Institute, Erevan, Armenia: "The Persistence of the Past: How Violence and Genocide in Ottoman Turkey Affect Our World Today."
- June 27-28, 2012 Lecture and workshop for the National Endowment for the Humanities Seminar, American University, Washington, DC: "Why Genocide? Turks and Armenians at the End of the Ottoman Empire;" and "The Persistence of the Past: How Violence and Genocide in Ottoman Turkey Affect Our World Today."
- August 27-28, 2012 participated in conference in Merkijarvi, Finland, on 1956 in Georgia.
- August 29, 2012 Keynote address at Conference on Finland and Georgia, at the University of Eastern Finland, Joensuu: "Finland and Georgia: National Movements and Revolution."
- September 12-24, 2012 lectures on board the Caledonian Star, circumnavigation of the Black Sea.
- February 15, 2013 Commentator on the panel "Armenian Life in Istanbul," Armenian Studies Program, The University of Michigan.
- March 6, 2013 Public lecture at UCLA: "The Persistent Past: How Violence and Genocide in Ottoman Turkey Affect Our World Today"
- March 21, 2013 Lecture at the University of Notre Dame: "Niko Nikoladze and the Emergence of Modern Georgia."

- April 19, 2013 Participated on book panel: Jeremy Smith, *Red Nations: The Nationalities Experience In and After the USSR* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); and chaired book panel on Şener Aktürk, *Regimes of Ethnicity and Nationhood in Germany, Russia, and Turkey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), at Association for the Study of Nationalities Convention, New York City.
- April 24, 2013 Public Lecture at the Maxwell School, Syracuse University: "The Persistence of the Past: How Violence and Genocide in Ottoman Turkey Affect Our World Today."
- April 25, 2013 Public Lecture at Cornell University: "Explaining Genocide: The Fate of the Armenians in the Late Ottoman Empire."
- June 1, 2013 Talk at the Hrant Dink Memorial Workshop, Istanbul: "Catching Up with the Armenian Genocide: A Hundred Years Later," on the origins and legacy of the Workshop on Armenian-Turkish Scholarship.
- August 2, 2013 Lecture in Armenian Program, Venice: "Armenia, Russia, and the Caucasus."
- August 16, 2013 Lecture in Armenian Program, Venice: "The Armenian Genocide."
- September 16, 2013 Talk at University of Pennsylvania: "The Making of a Bolshevik: Stalin From Koba to Commissar."
- September 27, 2013 Talk at Georgetown University, Russian history workshop: "The Making of a Bolshevik: Stalin From Koba to Commissar."
- October 10, 2013 Keynote address «Советское и национальное: Единство противоречий» at the international conference on Сталинизм и национальный вопрос, Institute of History, Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences, Kiev, Ukraine.
- October 21, 2013 Schwoerer Lecture at Smith College: "Affective Communities: Tensions and Ties Between the National and the Soviet in the USSR."
- October 22-23, 2013 Public lecture and seminar "Capitalism and the Common Good: What's Left of Marx?" at Brown University.
- November 3, 2013 chaired panel at the conference "Islamicized Armenians," Boğazici Universitesi.
- November 7, 2013 Keynote address "The Persistence of the Past: How Violence and Genocide in Ottoman Turkey Affect Our World Today" at conference on "States, Societies, and Reconciliation: Turkish-Armenian Relations in the Light of the French-German Experience on the 50th Anniversary of the Elysée Treaty," Istanbul Şehir Universitesi.
- November 13-14, 2013 Lecture "How the 'West' Understood (and Understands) the USSR" -- at the Конференция "Меняющееся восприятие России в США. Меняющееся восприятие США в России. 1933 2013, Institute of General History, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow; chaired panel.
- November 21, 23, 2013 Discussant on panel "Rethinking Antisemitism in Eastern Europe I: State, Society and the Jews;" discussant on panel "Imperial and Anti-Imperial Revolutions and the Russia's City of the Early Twentieth Century" at the ASEES convention, Boston.
- December 4, 2013 Talk at George Mason University: "Stalin and His Stalinism."
- December 5, 2013 Lecture at Foreign Service Institute: "Recent Research and Caucasus History."

- December 10, 2013 Lecture at George Washington University: "Explaining Genocide: The Fate of the Armenians in the Late Ottoman Empire."
- December 11, 2013 Lecture at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum: "Understanding Genocide, the Armenian Case: The Affective Disposition of the Perpetrators."
- January 31, 2014 Public lecture and discussion with Cem Özdemir (Green Party deputy), "Schatten der Vergangenheit: Die weltpolitischen Folgen des Völkermords im Osmanischen Reich," Literaturhaus Stuttgart.
- February 3, 2014 Lecture at Central European University, Budapest: "The Persistence of the Past: Violence and Genocide in the Ottoman Empire and their Repercussions in Turkey Today."
- February 7, 2014 Lecture at Lepsiushaus, Potsdam: "Warum Genozid? Der Blick des Historikers auf die Deportationen und Massaker an den Armeniern" ["Explaining Genocide: The View of Historians on the Deportations and Massacres of the Armenians"].
- February 24, 2014 Lecture at Leipzig University: "Why Genocide? Historians Look at the Deportations and Massacres of Armenians and Assyrians in the Late Ottoman Empire."
- March 6, 2014 Anna-Maria Kellen Lecture at the American Academy in Berlin: "Why Genocide? The Fate of the Armenians and Assyrians at the End of the Ottoman Empire."
- March 13-14, 2014 Lecture at the National Research University, Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg, Russia: "Legacies of Empire: Russia's Empires: Thinking about Concepts;" and a master class in the Doctoral School of the History Department, Higher School of Economics on contemporary historical methodologies and approaches in social and cultural history.
- March 24-25, 2014 Paper presented at conference "Birzeit University's Digital Archive in an International Perspective Toward a Chaotic Order," at the Ibrahim Abu-Lughod Institute of International Studies, Birzeit University: "Razsekrechevanie: The Un-secreting of the Soviet Archives."
- April 9, 2014 Paper presented at conference "Not All Quiet on the Ottoman Fronts: Neglected Perspectives on a GlobalWar, 1914-1918: "Difference and Deportation: Strategy and Perception in the Young Turks' Policies Toward Non-Muslims in World War I," Istanbul Bilgi Universitesi.
- April 22, 2014 Lecture at the Institut für Geschictswissenschaften Geschichte Oszeuropas, Humboldt University, Berlin: "Explaining Genocide: Historians and the Fate of the Armenians in the Late Ottoman Empire."
- April 29, 2014 Lecture at the Center for the History of Emotions, Max-Planck-Institut für Bildungsforschung, Berlin: "Explaining the Armenian Genocide: Strategic Choices within the Affective Disposition of Ottoman Perpetrators."
- May 7, 2014 "Head-to-Head: *Der Garten Der Dissidenten*. Gedanken aus Amerika, with Jonathan Lethem, Literaturhaus Stuttgart.
- May 8, 2014 Lecture "War and Genocide: The Fate of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire" -- at the Seminar für Mittlere und Neuere Geschichte, University of Göttingen.
- May 27, 2014 Lecture at Freie Universität, Berlin: ""War and Genocide: The Fate of the Armenians and Assyrians, 1912-1922."

- June 2, 2014 Paper presented at conference "The Long Global Crisis, c. 1912-c.1922," at the European University Institute, Florence, Italy: "War and Genocide: The Fate of the Armenians and Assyrians, 1912-1922."
- June 5, 2014 Paper "War and Genocide: Armenians, Assyrians, and the Caucasian Front" at the conference "Le front caucasien de la Grande Guerre," Collège de France, Paris.
- June 10, 2014 Lecture for Emek-Tar Labor Historians Group, Istanbul Universitesi: "Explaining Genocide: The Fate of the Armenians and Assyrians at the End of the Ottoman Empire."
- August 5, 2014 Appearance at the Kennan Institute, Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, DC: "Putting the South Caucasus in Historical Perspective," with Stephen Jones, moderated by Ambassador Ken Yalowitz.
- August 14, 2014 Lecture on forthcoming book: "They Can Live in the Desert But Nowhere Else" A History of the Armenian Genocide," Kennan Institute, Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, DC.
- August 27, 2014 Keynote address at the international conference ""Picturing the Empire.

  Photography and Social Change in Nineteenth Century Multi-Ethnic Environments,"

  University of Basle, Switzerland: "Modernizing Empires: Maintaining the Imperial in the Age of Nations.
- September 27, 2014 Talk at conference "Armenians and Progressive Politics," MIT, Cambridge, MA: "The New Turkey and the Issue of Genocide: Armenians in a Progressive Imagination."
- November 7, 2014 Discussant on panel "History" at symposium "Russian Imperial Legacies," Jean and Samuel Frankel Center for Judaic Studies, University of Michigan.
- November 21-22, 2014 Discussant on panel "Stalin: New Archival Revelations;" chair of panel "Searching for Usable Frames: Comparisons in Russian and Soviet History," ASEEES convention, San Antonio.
- December 16, 2014 Public lecture at the National Research University—Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg: "Imperial Overreach: Russia in the World."
- December 17, 2014 Public lecture at European University, St. Petersburg: "Imperial Overreach: Russia in the World."
- December 18, 2014 Public lecture at the National Research University—Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg: "They Can Live in the Desert But Nowhere Else': Explaining the Armenian Genocide."
- December 19-21, 2014 Workshop "Imagining Post-Imperial Order: New Historical Study of the Imperial Crisis," Repino, Russia (organized by the National Research University—Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg).
- January 3-5, 2015 Chair and commentator on panel "The Social Origins of Political Repression and Mass Violence;" organizer and chair, roundtable on "Considering Genocide: Understanding the Fate of Ottoman Armenians and Its Legacy One Hundred Years Later;" and presented a paper "Modernization or Modernity? Conflicting Visions of the Soviet Experience" on roundtable on "Socialism and the Twentieth Century: Master Narratives and Historiographies" at the AHA Annual Convention, New York City.

- January 15, 2015 Lead discussant at conference "New Histories for Enduring Conflicts: Armenia-Turkey – History and 2015," sponsored by the Wilson Center, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, American Institute for Contemporary German Studies, and the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, at the Carnegi Endowment.
- January 23, 2015 Skype lecture for Seaholm High School students on Russia, nationalism, and the current crisis.
- January 29, 2015 Director's Lecture, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University: "They Can Live in the Desert But Nowhere Else': Explaining the Armenian Genocide."
- January 30, 2015 Presentation on "Roundtable: The Politicization of Research in Central Asia and the Caucasus...and the way forward," at the symposium on "Belonging, Politics, and Knowledge in Central Asia and Caucasia," Program on Central Asia and the Caucasus, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University.
- February 12, 2015 Public lecture at Eastern Michigan University: "They Can Live in the Desert But Nowhere Else': Explaining the Armenian Genocide."
- February 19, 2015 Public lecture at Mount Holyoke College: "They Can Live in the Desert But Nowhere Else': Explaining the Armenian Genocide."
- March 2-4, 2015 Comment on panel "German-Ottoman Policy and the Armenian Question" and participant in the conference "Witness to a Crime of the Century The German Empire and the Armenian Genocide" at the Deutsches Historishches Museum, Berlin.
- March 5, 2015 Keynote address "Genocide and Justice: The Fate of a Forgotten Tragedy Armenians, 1915" "Roads to Justice 2015 Series," Netherlands Institution for Advance Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Humanity House, The Hague.
- March 6-7, 2015 Keynote address "'They Can Live in the Desert But Nowhere Else': Explaining the Armenian Genocide," and participant in the conference "The Armenian Genocide Legacy 100 Years On," The Hague Institute for Global Justice.
- March 14, 2015 Keynote address at the tenth anniversary celebration of the Society for Orphaned Armenian Relief, Philadelphia, on the Armenian Genocide.
- March 17, 2015 Discussant on panel discussing Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper's, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference*, Department of History, University of Michigan.
- March 18, 2015 Public lecture "'They Can Live in the Desert but Nowhere Else': Explaining the Armenian Genocide" for the Genocide and Holocaust Education Program, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio.
- April 2-4, 2015 Co-organizer and chair of a panel for the workshop "From the Armenian Genocide to the Holocaust: The Origins of Modern Human Rights," University of Michigan.
- April 8, 2015 -- Lecture "They Can Live in the Desert but Nowhere Else': Explaining the Armenian Genocide One Hundred Years Later" at the Athenaeum, sponsored by The Mgrublian Center for Human Rights, Claremont McKenna College.
- April 9, 2015 Book presentation -- "They Can Live in the Desert but Nowhere Else": A History of the Armenian Genocide (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015) -- lecture at the Center for European and Eurasian Studies, University of California, Los Angeles.

- April 10, 2015 Commentary on panel "Writing Armeno-Turkish History Before the Genocide" at "Genocide and Global History: A Conference on the 100<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Armenian Genocide," University of California, Los Angeles; and a keynote address at "Remembering the Armenian Genocide: An Evening of Commemoration and Music," UCLA.
- April 16, 2015 Public lecture at Stanford University: "They Can Live in the Desert But Nowhere Else': Explaining the Armenian Genocide after 100 Years."
- April 18, 2015 Presented paper -- "They Can Live in the Desert But Nowhere Else': Explaining the Armenian Genocide" -- at the conference "The Origins of the Armenian Genocide: The Crucial Years, 1912-1915," at the University of California, Berkeley.
- April 24-25, 2015 Presentations on two book panels at the Association for the Study of Nationalities Annual Convention, Columbia University, New York City: Tom de Waal, *Great Catastrophe: Armenians and Turks in the Shadow of Genocide* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); Ronald Grigor Suny, "They Can Live in the Desert But Nowhere Else:" A History of the Armenian Genocide (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015).
- April 27, 2015 Public lecture at the National World War I Museum, Kansas City, Missouri: "They Can Live in the Desert But Nowhere Else': Explaining the Armenian Genocide." https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1wOsyi5eDZE
- May 6, 2015 Participated in program "Armenian Genocide: A Dark Paradigm" at the PEN World Voices Festival, New York City.

  <a href="http://www.theguardian.com/books/2015/may/07/pen-world-voices-festival-books">http://www.theguardian.com/books/2015/may/07/pen-world-voices-festival-books</a>

  <a href="http://wordswithoutborders.org/dispatches/article/the-pen-world-voices-festival-as-it-happened-armenian-genocide-a-dark-parad">http://wordswithoutborders.org/dispatches/article/the-pen-world-voices-festival-as-it-happened-armenian-genocide-a-dark-parad</a>
- May 16, 2015 Keynote address -- "They Can Live in the Desert But Nowhere Else': Explaining the Armenian Genocide" at "Hundred Years of Memory: International Conference on the Armenian Genocide," Pàzmany Péter Catholic University, Budapest, Hungary; and chair of panel "Planning and Realization of Armenian Genocide."
- June 1, 2015 Public lecture at the German Historical Institute, Moscow: "They Can Live in the Desert But Nowhere Else': Explaining the Armenian Genocide"
- June 4, 2015 Presented a short talk -- "Remembering Richard Stites" -- and participated in a roundtable: "Cosmopolitan Historiography of Russian History and Culture," National Research University -- Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg, Russia.
- June 5-6, 2015 Presented a paper -- "Transforming Empires: Reform and War" and participated in a conference "Ruptures and Continuities in Histories of Empire: Federalism, Regionalism, and Autonomies As Alternative Political Imaginaries of Post-Imperial Political Order," organized by the National Research University Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg, Russia, in Zelenogorsk.
- June 7-11, 2015 Participated in the summer school "Comparative Studies of Power and Diversity in Historic Empires" -- organized by the National Research University Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg, Russia, in Zelenogorsk.

  June 9 Presented master class based on the book "They Can Live in the Desert But Nowhere Else:" A History of the Armenian Genocide.
- August 4, 2015 Presented a paper "Dilemmas of the Damned: Dealing with 'Internal Enemies' in

- the Imperial crisis of World War I" on the panel "Politics in the Composite Space of Empire: Nationality, Locality, and Supranational Identities in the Rusisan Empire and the Soviet Union," International Council for Central and East European Studies IX World Congress (ICCEES), Makuhari, Japan.
  - August 6, 2015 Chaired panel "Mountains of Nations: Historical and Political Topographies of Nationality in the Soviet South Caucasus" at ICCEES Congress, Makuhari, Japan.
- August 28, 2015 Presented a paper "The Armenian Genocide and its Historical Interpretations" -- through Skype to the conference on "Orientalism, Colonial Thinking, and the Former Soviet Periphery" at Vilnius University, August 28, 2015.
- September 2, 2015 Lecture to history students at Di Tella University, Buenas Aires, by Skype: "The Soviet Union as Empire."
- September 18, 2015 Lectures to midshipmen at the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis: "Breaking Eggs, Making Omelets: Violence in the Russian Revolution and Civil War;" and "They Can Live in the Desert But Nowhere Else': Explaining the Armenian Genocide One Hundred Years Later."
- September 21, 2015 Lecture and discussion on "The History and Politics of the Armenian Genocide After 100 Years," Institute for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies, George Washington University.
- October 1-4, 2015 Organizer and commentator, Ninth Workshop on Armenian-Turkish Scholarship, Sabancı University, Istanbul.
- October 23, 2015 Discussion of "They Can Live in the Desert But Nowhere Else": A History of the Armenian Genocide with Peter Holquist and Taner Akcam, Clark University, Worcester, MA.
- October 25, 2015 Chaired panel and commented at Frankel Institute Symposium "Resistance in Red: Soviet Jewish Combattants in World War II, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- November 5, 2015 Public talk "What Does Putin Want? Russia and the Ukrainian Crisis" on panel "Ukraine: Post-Conflict Strategies," Gerald R. Ford School of Public Policy, University of Michigan.
- November 13, 2015 Presentation "Rationality, Affect, and Faith: The Young Turks and the Armenian Genocide" on the panel "Religion and Genocide," Social Science History Association Annual Conference, Baltimore, MD.
- November 17, 2015 Three talks at Penn State University: "Thinking Comparatively about Genocides;" "The Fate of Marxism: The Soviet Experiment and After;" and "'They Can Live in the Desert But Nowhere Else': Explaining the Armenian Genocide 100 Years Later."
- November 20, 21, 2015 Commentator on panel "To the Center via the Periphery (by Way of the Balkans);" and paper giver on panel "Modernization or Modernity? Conflicting Visions of the Soviet Experience," at the ASEES annual convention, Philadelphia, PA.
- December 3, 2015 Lecture for graduate students and faculty -- "They Can Live in the Desert But Nowhere Else': Explaining the Armenian Genocide" Modern Europe Colloquium, Yale University.

- December 7, 2015 Lecture -- "They Can Live in the Desert But Nowhere Else': Explaining the Armenian Genocide" for the Middle East Institute and the Institute for Religion, Culture, and Public Life Columbia University.
- December 14-21, 2015 Taught course "Thinking About Empires: Russia" at the Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg, Russia.
- January 13, 2016 Talk "What Does Putin War" for panel on Russian foreign policy sponsored by the *Michigan Journal of International Affairs*, University of Michigan.
- Janury 19, 2016 Public lecture "'They Can Live in the Desert But Nowhere Else': Explaining the Armenian Genocide" -- Middle East Institute, National University of Singapore. https://vimeo.com/152663990
- January 21-25, 2016 Talks and panels at the Jaipur Literature Festival, Jaipur, India:
  - January 22 Panel: "The Peace to End All Peace" with Eugene Rogan, Margaret Macmillan, and Anthony Sattin, moderated by Vedica Kant.
  - January 24 "The Forgotten Genocide: Ronald Grigor Suny in conversation with Eugene Rogan and Vedica Kant."
  - January 24 Talk on "The Soviet Experiment" for YPO (Young Presidents' Organization).
- March 18, 2016 Presented chapters of *Russia's Empires* to faculty seminar at Roosevelt University, Chicago, sponsored by the University of Chicago.
- March 22, 2016 Distinguished University Professor Inaugural Lecture -- "They Can Live in the Desert But Nowhere Else': Explaining the Armenian Genocide One Hundred Years Later" University of Michigan. <a href="http://media.rackham.umich.edu/rossmedia/Play/fa7fda41e76b4e60a2cee15eeea6fd311d">http://media.rackham.umich.edu/rossmedia/Play/fa7fda41e76b4e60a2cee15eeea6fd311d</a>
- April 5, 2016 Lecture at Department of History, Michigan State University: "They Can Live in the Desert But Nowhere Else': Explaining the Armenian Genocide One Hundred Years Later."
- April 7, 2016 -- The Aristides De Sousa Mendes Lecture, Keynote Speech, Millersville University: "The Persistence of the Past: How Violence and Genocide in Ottoman Turkey Affect Our World Today."

  <a href="http://lancasteronline.com/news/local/at-millersville-speaker-on-genocide-traces-links-between-history-and/article\_570ee98c-fd8a-11e5-87c3-07b310b1a95f.html">http://lancasteronline.com/news/local/at-millersville-speaker-on-genocide-traces-links-between-history-and/article\_570ee98c-fd8a-11e5-87c3-07b310b1a95f.html</a>
- April 11, 2016 Presentation to the Baker Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies: "The Persistence of the Past: The Legacy of the Armenian Genocide in Turkey Today;" and the keynote address for Genocide Awareness and Action Week, Juniata College: "They Can Live in the Desert But Nowhere Else': Explaining the Armenian Genocide a Century Later."
- April 14, 2016 -- Keynote address for the Belmont Undergraduate Research Symposium (BURS), Belmont University: "They Can Live in the Desert But Nowhere Else': Explaining the Armenian Genocide 100 Years Later."
- April 16, 2016 Lecture for workshop "Seventy Years after Nuremberg: Genocide and Human Rights in Comparative Perspective," Kalamazoo College: "The Persistence of the Past: The Legacy of the Armenian Genocide in Turkey Today."
- May 13-15, 2016 Discussant at conference "Imperial Reverb: Exploring the Postcolonies of Communism," Princeton University.
- May 24-26, 2016 Participated in and chaired panel, "Stalinism in Central Asia and Muslim Regions," Conference on "Stalinism and War," Higher School of Economics, Moscow.

- May 29-June 5, 2016 Gave lectures on board National Geographic Orion, Lindblad Expeditions: "How France Was Made: Constructing a Nation."
- June 6, 2016 Lecture sponsored by the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Center for International Studies, Lichstern Fund and the Department of Antropology, and the Middle East History and Theory Workshop, University of Chicago: "They Can Live in the Desert But Nowhere Else': A History of the Armenian Genocide."
- July 6, 2016 Lecture and colloquium at the Graduiertenschule für Ost- und Südosteuropastudien (GSOSES) Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München: "Russia's Empires: Understanding the History of Russia and the USSR Through an Imperial Lens."
- July 11, 2016 Presented papers and discussed them with graduate students and faculty at the Study Group on Empires at the Graduiertenschule für Ost- und Südosteuropastudien (GSOSES) Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München.
- August 1, 2016 Public lecture at Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München: "They Can Live in the Desert But Nowhere Else': Explaining the Armenian Genocide One Hundred Years Later." <a href="http://www.gs-oses.de/video-podcasts.html">http://www.gs-oses.de/video-podcasts.html</a> and/or <a href="https://youtu.be/h2-mH-mAXmo">https://youtu.be/h2-mH-mAXmo</a>
- August 10, 2016 Lecture at Graduate School for East and Southeast Europe Studies, Regensburg, Germany: "Palimpsests of Violence: How Genocide in the Ottoman Turkey and the Persistence of the Past Affect Our World Today."
- August 22-25, 2016 Workshop on "The Problems and Politics of Diversity: The Russian Empire and Soviet Union in Comparative Perspective," Far Eastern Federal University, Vladivostork, Russia; presentation "Imperial Anxieties: The Russian Empire and Soviet Union in the Age of Revolution Today."
- September 21, 2016 Lecture at European University, St. Petersburg, Russia, "The Persistence of the Past: How Violence and Genocide in Ottoman Turkey Affects Our World Today."
- September 29, 2016 Keynote address at the conference "Demographic Concepts, Population Policies, Genocide: World War I as a Caesura?" "Imperial Choices: Perceiving Threats and the Descent to Genocide."
- October 7-8, 2016 Participated in conference (RonFest) at the University of Michigan: "Nationalism, Revolution, and Genocide: A Conference Inspired by Professor Ronald Grigor Suny."
- November 8, 2016 Lecture at GWZO Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas e.V. an der Universität Leipzig: "Perceptions of a People: Armenians in the Tsarist Empire."
- November 11, 2016 Paper given at the conference on "The Social, Cultural and Economic History of Van and the Region" organized by the Hrant Dink Foundation, Istanbul: "Tsarist Russia and the Armenians of Van, 1914-1915."
- November 18, 2016 Discussant on panel "Crossing Borders in the South Caucasus;" presenter on roundtable on "New Turns in the Imperial Turn: Empire and the Russian Past;" and discussant on panel "Photography and Modernity in the Late Tsarist and Soviet Empires," at ASEEES, Washington, D.C.
- November 29, 2016 Public lecture at Pázmány Péter Catholic University, Budapest: "Perceptions of a People: Armenians in the Tsarist Empire."
- November 30, 2016 Talk and Seminar, at Pázmány Péter Catholic University: "They Can Live in the Desert But Nowhere Else" Explaining the Armenian Genocide 100 Years Later."

- December 1, 2016 Public lecture at ELTE (Eötvös Loránd) University, Budapest: "Affective Communities: Contradictions of National and Soviet Identities, 1917-1991."
- December 2, 2016 Talk and Seminar at Pázmány Péter Catholic University: "Looking Toward Ararat: the Armenian Diaspora."
- December 3, 2016 Talk and Seminar at Pázmány Péter Catholic University: "The Persistence of the Past: The Effects of the Armenian Genocide on Politics in Turkey Today."
- December 5, 2016 Book Presentation in Budapest: "They Can Live in the Desert But Nowhere Else': A History of the Armenian Genocide."
- December 14, 2016 Lecture at GWZO Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas e.V. an der Universität Leipzig: ""The Persistence of the Past: How Violence and Genocide in Ottoman Turkey Affect Our World Today."
- January 5, 12, 2017 Two lectures for the series "Le Caucase entre les empires (XVIe-XXIe siècle). Impact des enjeux régions et des pratiques impériales sur les peuples, les États et les sociétés du Caucase, "Écoles des hautes études en science sociale, CERCEC Centre d'études des mondes russe, caucasien et centre européen, Paris: "Stalin and the National Question: Origins of a Policy;" and "Russia's Empires: History and Russian Policy Today."
- January 16, 2017 Lecture at the Écoles des hautes études en science sociale -- "The Evolution of a Bolshevik: Stalin and the Prerevolutionary Social Democratic Movement" in the series "Octobre 1917: Nouvelles approches historiographiques."
- January 17, 2017 A public talk "Hrant Dink (1954-2007)" -- on the Pénice Anako, Paris, for the Commémoration du 10° anniversaire de l'assassinat de Hrant Dink.
- January 19, 2017 Hrant Dink Memorial Lecture at Boğaziçi University, Istanbul: "The Crisis of Contemporary Democracy: The Fate of an Experiment in the Age of Nationalism, Populism, and Neo-liberalism."
- February 16 April 7, 2017 A series of five public lectures at the Hrank Dink Foundation, Istanbul: "Armenians and Armenia in the Age of Extremes:"
  - February 16 "Making Modern Armenians: National Formation in the Russian and Ottoman Empires."
  - February 23 -- "The Dilemma of the Damned: Ottoman and Russian Armenians in the Last Years of Imperial Rule."
  - March 16 -- "The Soviet Experience: Armenians in the USSR."
  - March 23 -- "Dispersion and Resurgence: Armenians in the Diaspora.
  - April 7 "The Persistence of the Past: The Historical Shaping of Armenians in the World Today."
  - Link to Russian subtitled version of the last lecture:
  - https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B1IVzLFym2KLRUJ1TnJPcm5BTGc/view?usp=sharing
- March 8-10, 2017 Participated in and delivered a paper "The Year of Two Revolutions: Empire-Shattering and Empire-Making" -- and a final commentary at the conference: "Revolutionary Longings: The Russian Revolution and the World, 1917-1929," University of Michigan.
- March 11, 2017 Talk at teach-in at the University of Michigan: "The Crisis of Bourgeois Democracy: The Fate of an Experiment in the Age of Populism, Nationalism, and Neo-Liberalism."
- March 15, 2017 Lecture at the Orient-Institute, Istanbul: "Between Two Empires: Russian and

- Ottoman Armenians."
- March 28, 2017 Public lecture at Tarih Vakfı (History Foundation), Ankara: "Between Two Empires: The Fate of the Ottoman and Russian Armenians at the End of Imperial Rule."
- April 5, 2017 Talk on history for high school students at the *Türkiye Yardım Sevenler Deneği Anadolu Lisesi*, Van, Turkey.
- May 4, 2017 Lecture at Izmir Economic University: "Lessons of October: Understanding Empire and Revolution 100 Years Later."
- May 11, 2017 Lecture at Bilgi University, Istanbul: "Asking the 'Armenian Question': Reflections on Changing Perspectives in the Twenty-First Century."
- May 18, 2017 The Södertörn Lecture, No. 13 at Södertörn University, Stockholm Sweden: "They Can Live in the Desert But Nowhere Else" Explaining the Armenian Genocide 100 Years Later."
- May 23-24, 2017 Lecture "Where Have All the Transitions Gone? Façade Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Post-Soviet World" and participation in a roundtable discussion with Ambassadors Jack Matlock and Edward Djerejian, at the conference "End of Transition Shifting Focus: Armenia Twenty-five Years On, Now What?" sponsored by the University of Southern California Armenian Studies Program and Civilitas, Erevan, Armenia.
- May 29, 2017 Talk on my life and work at the Gendronakan Armenian School, Istanbul.
- June 4, 2017 Keynote address "Lessons of October: The Fate of Democracy and Socialism in the Age of Revolution and Counter-Revolution" -- at the Second Annual Tartu Conference on Russian and East European Studies, "The Russian Revolution and Its Legacies: Taking Stock a Century Later," University of Tartu, Estonia.
- September 12, 2017 Keynote address "Modernizing Imperialisms: The Making and Breaking of Nations in the Tsarist and Soviet Empires" at the the seminar: "The Tsarist/Soviet Empires and the History of Modernity in Asia," September 12--13, 2017, Graduate School for East and South East European Studies, Munich, Germany.
- September 15-17, 2017 -- Organized and participated in the Tenth Workshop for Armenian Turkish Scholarship (WATS X), "Past and Present: European Approaches to the Armenian Genocide," Berlin, Germany.
- September 27, 2017 Public lecture at the David M. Kennedy Center for Interntional Studies at Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah: "Lessons of October: The Fate of Democracy and Socialism in the Age of Revolution and Counterrevolution."
- October 11, 2017 Presentation at Roundtable Discussion on "Scholars Under Fire: The Turkish State, Nationalists, and the Repression Against the Study of the Armenian Genocide…102 Years After the Events," with Fatma Müge Göçek, Armenian Studies Program, University of Michigan. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eutL206jNCQ&t=194s">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eutL206jNCQ&t=194s</a>
- October 13, 2017 Talk for the Symposium in Honor of Ziva Galili, "Revolution and War in the Twentieth Century," Rutgers University: "The Dangerous Shoals of Socialism: Ziva Galili's Intellectual Odyssey from Kibbutzim to Commissars."
- October 17, 2017 Talk in the series "The Revolution on My Mind: Ten Historians Reflect on 100 Years of the Russian Revolution," Princeton University: "Lessons of October: What We Should have Learned about the Revolutions of 1917."

- October 20, 2017 Seminar at the University of Montana, Missoula, MT: "Koba, the Yong Stalin: The Making of a Revolutionary; and keynote lecture "Lessons of October: The Fate of Democracy and Socialism in the Age of Revolution and Counter-Revolution" at the conference "Reflections of the Revolution: the October Revolution and Global Order, 1917-2017."
- October 27, 2017 Presentation "Persistence of the Past: How Violence and Genocide in Ottoman Turkey Affect Our World Today" -- and participation in a workshop, "The Role of History and Memory in Exiting Extreme and Mass Violence," at the University of Wisconsin, Madison.
- November 2, 2017 Summary comments at the public symposium "1917: The Russian Revolutionary Moment in Global Context" University of Delaware, Newark, DE; and public lecture: "Lessons of October: The Fate of Democracy and Socialism in the Age of Revolution and Counter-Revolution."
- November 3, 2017 Participation in the Workshop on Eric Weitz's manuscript "A World Divided: A Global History of Nation-States and Human Rights since the Eighteenth Century," City College of New York.
- November 7, 2017 Principal speaker, along with Martin Jay, at symposium "Remembering the 'Bright Future': Legacies of Revolution at the Russian Centenary," Russian, East-European, and Eurasian Studies Program, Emory University.
- November 10, 12, 2017 Participant in a roundtable "Russia 1917, Mobilization or Demobilization?;" chair and commentator on panel "Making Soviet National Identities: The Case of Armenia."
- November 29, 2017 Discussion of my book *Red Flag Unfurled: History, Historians, and the Russian Revolution* at the European History Workshop, University of Michigan.
- December 8, 2017 Principal speaker, along with Geoff Eley, at the workshop "Constellations of Empire, Nationalism and Revolution in 1917 and 2017," Joukowsky Forum, Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs, Brown University.
- January 16, 2018 Presented talk "Lessons of October" on the panel "The October Revolution of 1917: One Hundred Years Later" at the Gaidar Forum, Russian Academy of National Economy, Moscow.
- January 25-27, 2018 Participant in the workshop, "The Role of History and Memory in Exiting Extreme and Mass Violence," Madrid, Spain.
- February 12, 2018 Gave the Robert Kragalott Lecture on Genocide, Mass Atrocity and Human Rights at Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio: "They Can Live in the Desert But Nowhere Else': Explaining the Armenian Genocide a Century Later."
- March 23-25, 2018 Participated in and gave concluding keynote speech at conference, "Soviet Socialism in Labor, Materil Culturem and Migration: A Conference Honoring Lewis Siegelbaum," Michigan State University: "A Perspective From Left Field: The Subversive Scholarship of Lewis Siegelbaum."
- April 19, 2018 Keynote address at Holocaust and Genocide Studies Conference, Middle Tennessee State University: "The Persistence of the Past: How Violence and Genocide in Ottoman Turkey Affect Our World Today."
- April 26, 2018 Lecture at the University of Rochester: "Lessons of October: The Fate of Democracy and Socialism in the Age of Revolution and Counter-Revolution."

- May 11-12, 2018 Participant and keynote panel member in "100 Years of Armenian Statehood Centennial Confeence," Columbia University.
- June 11-12, 2018 Paper "The Limits of a Paradigm: Historians look at Russia/USSR as Civilizations" on the panel "The Politics of Civilizations in Eurasian History" and discussant panel "Disintegration of the USSR and Yugoslavia and Their Legacies" at the Third Annual Tartu Conference, Tartu, Estonia.
- June 14, 2018 Participant on panel for the Harriman Institute Oral History Project at Columbia Global Center (Reid Hall) "Will We Ever Understand Each Other? Area Studies and Western Policy toward Russia."

  <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=toaqfcxdGhU&feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=toaqfcxdGhU&feature=youtu.be</a>
- June 20-22, 2018 Participant in International Panel on Exiting Violence (IPEV) Conference in Beirut, Lebanon, as part of the Working Group on "History and Memory after Mass Violence: Comparative Lessons."
- June 22-24, 2018 Keynote address at conference "Armenia 2018: Reality and Perspectives," Erevan: "The Five Cons of History: Remembering (and Learning from) the First Republic of Armenia 100 Years Later."
- June 25-26, 2018 Paper -- "Socialism in a Bourgeois Republic: The Georgian Experiment, 1918-1921" -- at the conference "The Democratic Republic of Georgia, 1918-21: Social Democracy, Nationalism and Self-Determination in the Caucasus," Tbilisi, Georgia.
- July 16-19, 2018 Participant and papergiver "" on panel "The Ottoman First World War 100 Years Later: New Perspectives" at the World Congress of Middle East Studies, Seville, Spain.
- October 19-20, 2018 -- Talk "War of Liberation or Genocide? Questioning the Narratives on the Fate of the Ottoman Armenians" -- at the conference on *Genocide in Twentieth-Century History: The Power and the Problems of an Interpretive, Ethical-Political, and Legal Concept,* Holodomor Research and Education Consortium, University of Toronto.
- October 24, 2018 Public lecture at the Wesleyan History Seminar, Wesleyan University, Middletown, CN: "Looking Back at the Armenian Genocide."
- October 25-26, 2018 Roundtable on "Continuity and Break From Abdül Hamid to Genocide," at conference on Abdül Hamid, Clark University.
- October 29, 2018 Discussant at the Harriman Institute Oral History Project, Columbia University.
- November 9, 2018 Talk at Russian History Seminar of Washington, DC, Georgetown University: "Red Flag Wounded: Historians, Stalinism, and the Soviet Experience."
- December 5-9, 2018 Presenter on rountable at the ASEEES convention in Boston. on Yuri Slezkine's *The House of Government: A Saga of the Russian Revolution*.
- February 22, 2019 Co-organizer, introducer, and panel chairman at the Armenian Studies Workshop, "Contested Lanscapes, Competing Narrtives: Armenian and Global Perspectives," University of Michigan.
- February 27, 2019 -- "Introductory Remarks A Historic Perspective on the Karabagh Conflict," for the Tekeyan Cultural Association and the AGBU Alex and Marie Manoogian School, Southfield, MI.
- March 20, 2019 Speaker on panel on "Academic Freedom at a Global University: A Transnational Perspective," University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

- April 6, 2019 Keynote address, "Peering into the Darkness: Norman Naimark's Illumination of Revolution, Terrorism, and Mass Killing," for the Conference: "Redefining Eastern Europe: Norman Naimark and the Shaping of a Scholarly Generation," Stanford University.
- April 20-21, 2019 Paper "Since the Centennial: New Departures in the Scholarship on the Armenian Genocide, 2015-2019," at the conference "Debating the Origins, Development, and Impact of the Armenian Genocide (1850s to the Present)," University of California, Berkeley.
- May 18, 2019 -- Talk at the Retirement Symposium for Margaret R. Somers, "Theorizing and Historicizing: Political Economy, Rights, and Moral Worth," University of Michigan, May 17-18, 2019: "Working-Class Formation and the Making of Citizenship Rights: The Soviet Experience."
- June 2-3, 2019 Participant and panel chair in conference "Versailles and Rights a Centenary Appraisal," Helsinki Collegium for Advanced studies, University of Helsinki.
- June 9-11, 2019 Chair of panel "Post-Colonialism, Post-Territoriality, Regionalism;" chair and discussant on panel "Affective Communities and Bottom-up Nationalism(s); and discussant on panel "Alternative Spaces of Socialist Modernity," at the Fourth Annual Tartu Conference on Russian and East European Studies, Tartu, Estonia.
- June 20, 2019 Keynote address,: "Imperial Over-Achievement: Confidence and Crisis in the Twilight of the Tsarist Empire," at conference "Making the Empire Great Again: Challenges in Modernising the Russian Empire;" and participant and commentator, June 20-21, Vilnius, Lithuania.
- June 28-30, 2019 participant and commentator in the international conference, "Picturing Russian Empire," University of Tyumen, Tyumen, Russia.
- October 7, 2019 attended by ZOOM a closed-door off-the-record roundtable consultation at United States Institute of Peace headquarters (Washington, DC) on the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.
- October 11-12, 2019 Commented as final rapporteur on the conference "Moscow x Detroit: Transnational Modernity in the Built Environment," The University of Michigan.
- October 16, 2019 Public lecture at Amherst College: "They Can Live in the Desert But Nowhere Else': Explaining the Armenian Genocide One Hundred and Four Years Later."
- October 24, 2019 Lecture at the Government Accountability Office (GAO), Washington, DC: "The Persistence of the Past: The Making of Erdoğan's Turkey and His Ambitions to Regional Power."
- November 8-9, 2019 Presented paper "Nation and Socialism in the Age of Neoliberal Globalization: The Fate and Future of Bourgeois Democracy" -- at the conference "1989: Reconsidering the Nation and its Alternatives in Central and Eastern Europe," Nanovic Institute for European Studies, University of Notre Dame.
- November 23-26, 2019 –Presented papers at ASEEES annual convention, San Franciso, CA: Presidential Plenary Panel "Illuminating the Darkness: Practices of Belief and Disbelief" "Stalin as True Believer or 'So, What is Socialism, Anyway?';" comments on panel "Biography and Historiography: Richard Pipes, Martin Malia, Sheila Fitzpatrick;" and comments on panel "Russian Exceptionalism: Multidisciplinary Perspectives."
- December 9-23, 2019 Appointment as an Academic Visitor at the Asia Research Institute (ARI), National University of Singapore (NUS).
- December 17, 2019 Public lecture at ARI, NUS: "Why Now? The Rise of Populist Nationalism and the Crisis of Bourgeois Democracy."

- February 1920, 2020 Public lectures at the St. Petersburg Conference on World A?ffairs, University of South Florida, St. Petersburg, on panels: "As Turkey and Eastern Europe Look East, What Happens to NATO?" and "Authoritarian Capitalism: Does Development Need Democracy?"
- February 22, 2020 Lecture for high school teachers in the MENA-SEA Teacher Program, University of Michigan: "'They Can Live in the Desert But Nowhere Else': Explaining the Armenian Genocide One Hundred and Five Years Later."

## **Courses Taught:**

# EUROPEAN AND WORLD HISTORY (COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, OBERLIN COLLEGE, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO)

Contemporary Civilization
Medieval and Modern Europe
Marx and His Critics
Marxism and History

The Left in Europe, 1789 to the Present

Drama and Society, 1870-1914

Theater and the Left, 1918-1939

Origins of the Cold War, 1943-1953

Nations and Nationalism (Undergraduate, Graduate Lecture Course)

**Empires and Nations** 

A History of the Present (originally taught as A History of Our Own Times)

# RUSSIAN/SOVIET HISTORY (COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, OBERLIN COLLEGE, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, IRVINE, STANFORD UNIVERSITY)

Imperial Russia, 1462-1917

History of the Soviet Union, 1917 to the Present

Labor and Socialism in Russia, 1861-1917

Russian Revolution and Civil War, 1917-1921

Problems in the History and Historiography of Soviet Society

Stalin and Stalinism

Ethnic Minorities and Nationality Policy in Tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union

Autocracy and Dictatorship, From Muscovy to Stalinism

Empire, Russia and the Soviet Union

Survey of Russia: The Russian Empire, the Soviet Union, and the Successor States

Autocracy and Dictatorship

Russia's Empires

## ARMENIAN HISTORY (UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN)

History of the Armenian People from Prehistoric to Modern Times Armenia and the Armenians in the 19th and 20th Centuries Soviet Nationality Policy and the Armenians

## POLITICAL SCIENCE (UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO)

Politics and Society from Lenin to Stalin.

A Short Course in the History and Politics of the Soviet Union.

The Nation and Its "Others."

Nations and Nationalism (Graduate Seminar)

From Restructuring to Revolution: Why Did the Soviet Union Collapse?

Empire and Nations: Russia and the Soviet Union.

Russian Studies Workshop.

Workshop on Nations and Nationalism.

Revolution.

Macrohistories.

#### THE COMMON CORE (UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO)

Self, Culture, and Society, I: Perspectives on Modernity: The Social Organization of Capitalist Production.

Self, Culture, and Society, II: Systems of Meaning and Social Life.

### Languages:

English, Russian, Armenian, French, Turkish, Georgian, German, Latin, Italian.

#### **Current Research:**

A book on the history and current politics of nationalism: Forging the Nation: The Making and Faking of Nationalisms.

#### **University Service (University of Michigan):**

Director, Armenian Studies Program, 1981-1994.

Vice-chairman, Advisory Council to the Manoogian Chair.

Executive Committee, Armenian Studies Committee, 2005-

Executive Committee, Center for Russian and East European Studies, 1982-1983, 1984-1986, 2014-2016.

Executive Committee, Department of History, 2005-2006.

Executive Committee, Frankel Institute for Advanced Judaic Studies, 2014-2016.

Acting Director, Center for Russian and East European Studies, 19

Curriculum Committee, Department of History, 1982-1983, 1984-1985.

Program Committee, Center for Near Eastern and North African Studies, 1984-1986.

Fellowship Committee, Department of History, 1982-1983, 1984-1985.

Organizer and Director, "The Armenian Odyssey: A Festival of Armenian Arts and Humanities," Winter term, 1983.

Placement Officer, Third World, for Department of History, 1985-1986.

Honors Committee, Fall term, 1986.

Concentration Advisor, Department of History, 1988.

Review panelist for promotion for Louise Tilly, Peter Arneson, Juan Cole, Valerie Kivelson, Melanie Tanielian.

Chairman, Search Committee for Early Modern Russian Historian (1988-1989) that resulted in the appointment of Valerie Kivelson.

Chairman, Search Committee for Alex Manoogian Chair in Modern Armenian History (2014-2015) that resulted in the appointment of Hakem Al-Rustom.

Minority Recruitment Officer, Department of History, 1989-1990.

University of Michigan Project on International Communism:

With my colleague Geoff Eley, I organized and participated in an ongoing series of symposia and research projects on the history of the Comintern and the post-Comintern international Communist movement. On November 15, 1985, a one-day symposium was held in Ann Arbor to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the Popular Front. On November 14-15, 1986, a second symposium was held to discuss the post-Comintern period: "From the Politics

of Anti-Fascism to the Crisis of Stalinism, 1943-1956." A third symposium was held in early 1989.

Armenian Odyssey, II (1989-1990): a commemoration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Armenian Genocide; I organized a series of lectures, symposia, workshops, cultural events, and a major conference.

Social Science Divisional Evaluation Committee, 2004-2005, 2006-2007.

Coordinator, Russian/Soviet History Workshop, The University of Michigan.

Chair, Fred Cuny Chair Search Committee, 2007.

Promotion Committee for Fernando Coronil, 2007.

Executive Committee, Department of History, 2007-2008.

Director, Eisenberg Institute of Historical Studies, 2009-2011.

Steering Committee, Frankel Institute for Advanced Judaic Studies, 2014-2018.

### **University Service (University of Chicago):**

Undergraduate chairman, Department of Political Science (1996-1998).

Chair, Departmental Committee on Reform of Undergraduate Program, 1996-1997.

Member, College Council (1999-2002).

Chair, tenure committee for Susan Stokes.

Member, review committee for Lisa Wedeen, James Fearon, Michael Dawson Charles Lipson.

Member, Admissions Committee, Department of Political Science (2000-2001).

Member, Social Science Division Collaborative Research Grants Committee (2000, 2001).

Member, Committee on International Relations

Member, Center for Russian and East European Studies

Member, Center for Middle Eastern Studies

Co-Coordinator, Russian Studies Workshop.

Coordinator, Nations and Nationalism Workshop.

Member, Omnibus Search Committee, Department of Political Science (2002-2003).