

**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)  
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-**

**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.

#### **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-  
 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

#### **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*.

#### **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.

## Publications:

### Books:

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

Turkish edition: *Baku Kommunu: Rus Devriminde Milliyet ve Sinif*, trans. Kudret Emiroglu (Istanbul: Belge Yayinlari, 1990).

*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).

*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); second edition in preparation.

*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 Göçek 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).

*“They Can Live in the Desert But Nowhere Else”*: *A History of the Armenian Genocide* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015).

with Valerie Kivelson, *Russia’s Empires* (under contract with Oxford University Press).

*Red Flag Unfurled: Historians and the Soviet Union* (historiographical essays, under contract with Verso Books).

*Stalin, From Koba to Commissar* (in preparation).

**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. Wiczynski) (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: 1878-1905," *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. 30-47.

"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, 1860-1905," 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*, XXXVI, 5 (May 1993), pp. 1-3.

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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.

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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.

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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.

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](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.



**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): "Sovetologiya 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, 1801-1865: 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 10, 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."
- 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 10, 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 10, 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 20, 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: 50 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 *Perestroika*, 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 1921 Revolt: 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: "Istoriografiia 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 ogranichenost'" -- 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 Siege."
- 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 Roundtable 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 Anniversary 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 Comparative 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: "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 Genealogies 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 – Commentator 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 Moskvyy: 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, Freie Universität Berlin.
- December 18, 2000 – Paper – “Constructing Primordialism: 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 Primordialism: 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 21<sup>st</sup> 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: National 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 20-22, 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’svo* 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 kruzhek – “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 Terror 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 nasilliu.”
- 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 Evolution 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 Institut universitaire de hautes études internationales, 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: “‘Stalinism’ – 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 Perspective” and Chair and Paper-giver – “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 Geographic 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 Stability” – 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 Philologists 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 – “Roundtable 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 Российской 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 Eastern Europe, Russia, and Eurasia,’ University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.
- August 7, 2008 – Lecture at Midwest Institute for International/Intercultural Education, 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 études en sciences sociales, Paris: “The Young Stalin: The Making of a Bolshevik.”
- September 25, 2008 – Lecture at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven: “The Mountains Move: Russia, Caucasia, and the West.”
- September 30, 2008 – Lecture at the Centrum voor 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 the 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 большевика» [Young Stalin: Birth of a Bolshevik].
- December 15, 2008 – Lecture at Smolny University, St. Petersburg, Russia: “Молодой Сталин:

- рождение большевика» [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: Armenians 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 Merikijarvi, 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 Üniversitesi.

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 Üniversitesi.

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 Global War, 1914-1918: “Difference and Deportation: Strategy and Perception in the Young Turks’ Policies Toward Non-Muslims in World War I,” Istanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi.

April 22, 2014 – Lecture at the Institut für Geschichtswissenschaften Geschichte Osteuropas, 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,” ASEEEES 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 Carnegie 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 Historisches 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.”
- May 6, 2015 – Participated in program “Armenian Genocide: A Dark Paradigm” at the PEN World Voices Festival, New York City.  
<http://www.theguardian.com/books/2015/may/07/pen-world-voices-festival-books>  
<http://wordswithoutborders.org/dispatches/article/the-pen-world-voices-festival-as-it-happened-armenian-genocide-a-dark-parad>
- 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,” Pázmány 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*.”



**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)  
 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

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 young Stalin, his role in the revolutionary movement in Georgia and Russia, and the origins of the Soviet nationality problem, 1879-1924. The working title of the latter is: *Koba: Stalin and the Making of the Soviet Union*. It has been contracted for publication by Oxford University Press. It will be the first of a full two-volume biography.

A book (co-authored with Valerie Kivelson), *Russia's Empires* (contracted with Oxford University Press).

A book-length study of the Armenian Genocide at the end of the Ottoman Empire (contracted with Princeton University Press).

A collection of my essays on Russia, the Revolution, and their historiography (contracted with Verso Press).

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

Director, Armenian Studies Program, 1981-1994.

Vice-chairman, Advisory Council to the Manoogian Chair.

Executive Committee, Center for Russian and East European Studies, 1982-1983, 1984-1986, 2014-2015.

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.

Chairman, Search Committee for Early Modern Russian Historian (1988-1989).

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

University of Michigan Project on International Communism:

With my colleague Geoff Eley, I have 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, 2014-2015.  
 Chair, Alex Manoogian Chair in Modern Armenian Studies Search Committee, 2014-2015.

**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).