January 2014

# Biographical Résumé WALTER C. CLEMENS, JR.

Professor Emeritus, Department of Political Science Boston University 232 Bay State Road Boston, Massachusetts 02215 Tel: (781) 863-0199; fax (617) 353-5508 E-mail wclemens@bu.edu

# **Education:**

Columbia University, Ph. D., International Relations (1961); M.A. (1957), and Certificate of Russian Institute (1957); research at Moscow State University, 1958-59; Notre Dame University, A.B. (*Magna Cum Laude*), 1955; University of Vienna, 1952-53; Purcell High School, Cincinnati, 1947-51, First Honors.

# **Employment:**

Professor (1969-2012) and Associate Professor, Boston University (1966-68)

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, and Research Associate, Center for International Studies, M.I.T., Cambridge, Mass., 1963-66.

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1961-63.

Chairman, Language Department, Iolani School, Honolulu, 1960-61.

## Academic and Other Honors Received:

Associate, Harvard University Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, 1963--; Editorial Advisory Board, *Asian Perspective*, 2013--; Usage Panel, *American Heritage Dictionary*, 1982--; Associate, Harvard University Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, 1986-2003; Associate, Madrona Institute, 2009-2010; Research Fellow, East-West Center, University of Hawaii, 2006; Fulbright-Hayes Research-Lecturing Award, University of Ljubljana, 2005; International Advisory Board, Sakharov Archives, Brandeis University, 2001-2004; Fellow, Södertörns University College, Stockholm, summer 1999; Fulbright Distinguished Lecturer on Arms Control, China, 1999-2000; International Advisory Board, Russian Science Foundation, 1992-95; Committee on Comparative and Interdisciplinary Studies, International Studies Association, 1993-95; Grantee, Russian Littoral Project, University of Maryland and SAIS, 1993; Fellow, Council on Economic Priorities, 1990; Lecturer, U.S. Information Service Specialist Programs, Europe (1992, 1976), Asia (1982-3, 1970) Latin America (1976). Senior Visiting Scholar, Center for International and Strategic Affairs, UCLA, 1980-81; Fulbright-Hays Lecturer, Institute of International Relations, Trinidad, 1977-78; Fellow, Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Smithsonian Institution, 1976-77; Rockefeller Foundation Humanities Fellow, 1975-76; President, New England, International Studies Association, 1972-73; NATO Fellow, 1970-71; *Military Review* Award for Outstanding Achievement, April 1970; Nominee, Harbison Distinguished Teaching Award, Danforth Foundation, 1969; Faculty, Salzburg Seminar in American Studies, 1965; Executive Officer, Disarmament Committee, White House Conference on International Cooperation, 1965; Research Fellow, Harvard University, 1965; Faculty Fellow, Institute of International Studies, University of California, 1962 and 1963; Ford Foundation Fellow, 1955-58, 1959-60; Lydig Fellow, Columbia University, 1958-59; Caron Scholar, Notre Dame University, 1954-55; Dean's Advisory Board, Notre Dame University, 1954-55; first honors, Purcell High School, Cincinnati, 1951.

#### Membership in Professional Societies in 2013 and earlier years:

Editorial board, *Asian Perspective;* International Institute for Strategic Studies (London); International Studies Association; American Political Science Association; Association for Korean Political Studies; Association for the Advancement of Baltic Studies; .Federation of American Scientists; American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies; Arms Control Association

#### **Consultantships and Project Reviews:**

Oxford University Press, 2014; European Security, 2013 and 2004; Europe-Asia Studies, 2012; Qatar National Research Fund, 2010-2012; Science; 2010; Cambridge U. Press, 2010; J of International Relations and Development, 2012 and 2010; George Washington U. 2009: J. of Baltic Studies. 2008: National Bureau of Asian Research, 2007; Division of Global Affairs, Rutgers University. 2007: National Endowment for the Humanities, J of Baltic Studies; Carl Beck Papers, University of Pittsburgh; SAGE Publications; Routledge. 2004, 2003, 1969-1971: National Science Foundation. 2005: East European Politics and Societies, 2004: Political Science Q. 2003: American Political Science Review; faculty promotion reviews, Northern Illinois, Cornell, and Rhode Island universities. 2004, 2001: Oxford University Press. 1996: Mershon International Studies Review, Ohio State University; Contemporary Security Policy, European Journal of International Relations, Journal of East-West Business, Conflict Quarterly. 1995: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1993: U.S. Institute of Peace, University of Illinois Press. 1991: International Studies Quarterly, Longman Publishing Group, 1991; Polity, 1981-89; Carl Beck Papers, University of Pittsburgh, 1986; World Policy Institute, 1984; Esalen Institute, 1982-84; The M.I.T. Press, 1981; Canadian Council, 1980; Educational Testing Service, 1969-1974; Institute for Defense Analyses, 1968-70; Westinghouse Electric Co., 1967-68; Arthur D. Little Co., 1966-67; Simulmatics Corporation, 1966; The Johns Hopkins University, 1965, 1993; Abt Assoc., Inc., 1965; EduTech, Inc., Washington, D.C., 1965; School of International Affairs, Columbia University, 1963; General Electric Technical Military Planning Operation, Santa Barbara, Calif., 196163; Special Operations Research Office, American University, Washington, D.C., 1960-61.

# <u>Courses Offered at Boston University, M.I.T., The Salzburg Seminar, and</u> <u>University of California</u>

International Relations; Negotiation in World Affairs; Nationalism in Post-Soviet Eurasia; Decision Making in U.S. Foreign Policy; Political and Cultural Foundations of Human Development, Great Myths of Four Civilizations.

#### Foreign Languages:

Read easily: Russian, German, French. Spoken easily: Russian, German. Reading only: Spanish, Italian.

## **MONOGRAPHS**

- Complexity Science and World Affairs, Foreword by Stuart A. Kauffman (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2013). Nominated for Los Angeles Times Book Prize in Science and Technology.
- *Getting to Yes in Korea,* Foreword by Gov. Bill Richardson (Boulder, Co.: Paradigm Publishers, 2010), x + 262 p. Korean language edition (Seoul: Hanul, 2010),

*Ambushed! A Cartoon History of the George W. Bush Administration*, with Jim Morin (Boulder, Co.: Paradigm Publishers, 2008), xiv + 209 p.

- Dynamics of International Relations: Conflict and Mutual Gain in An Era of Global Interdependence. 2d ed. (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004). xxv + 646 p. (1<sup>st</sup> ed., 1998, xxv + 575 p.).
- Study Guide to Accompany Dynamics of International Relations, with James P. Davis. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004. 81 p.
- Bushed! What Passionate Conservatives Have Done to America and the World, with Jim Morin. Skaneateles, N.Y.: Outland Books, 2004. xix + 242 p.
- *The Baltic Transformed: Complexity Theory and European Security*, Foreword by Jack F. Matlock, Jr. (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001), xxix + 281 p.
- *America and the World, 1898-2025: Achievements, Failures, Alternative Futures* (New York: St. Martin's, 2000), x + 255 p. 2d printing, with revisions (New York: Palgrave, 2000).

Baltic Independence and Russian Empire (New York: St. Martin's, 1991), 346 p.

- Can Russia Change? The USSR Confronts Global Interdependence (New York: Routledge, 1990), 384 p. Reissued as Routledge Revival, 2011.
- *The U.S.S.R. and Global Interdependence: Alternative Futures* (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1978), 113 p.
- *The Superpowers and Arms Control: From Cold War to Interdependence* (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1973), xxvi + 181 p.
- *The Prospects for Peace, 1973-1977*, computer data file and codebook at International Relations Archive, Inter-University Consortium for Political Research, University of Michigan (1973), ICPSR 5803, accessible at http://data.fas.harvard.edu/hdc/search/
- "Die Tschechoslowakei unter Husak," Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Supplement, Das Parlament (Bonn) B24/70 (June 13, 1970), 38 p.
- *The Arms Race and Sino-Soviet Relations* (Stanford: The Hoover Institution, 1968), 335 p.
- *Outer Space and Arms Control* (Cambridge: The M.I.T. Center for Space Research, 1966), 124 p.
- Principal investigator, with Lincoln P. Bloomfield and Franklyn Griffiths, *Khrushchev* and the Arms Race: Soviet Interests in Arms Control and Disarmament, 1954-1964 (Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1966), 338 p.
- Ed. and Introduction, *Toward a Strategy of Peace*, Foreword by Robert F. Kennedy (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965), 264 p.
- Ed. and Introduction, *World Perspectives on International Politics* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1965), 481 p.
- Soviet Disarmament Policy, 1917-1963: An Annotated Bibliography of Soviet and Western Sources (Stanford: The Hoover Institution, 1965), 151 p.
- "Origins of the Soviet Campaign for Disarmament: The Soviet Position on Peace, Security, and Revolution at the Genoa, Moscow, and Lausanne Conferences, 1922-23" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1961), 343 p.
- "Bolshevik Expectations of a German Revolution During War Communism," Russian Institute Certificate Essay, Columbia University, 1957, 201 p.

## **CONTRIBUTIONS TO BOOKS**

- "Balkans,":"Baltic States," "Korea, Democratic People's Republic of," "Korean War," in *Oxford Companion to Comparative Politics*, ed. Joel Krieger 2 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- "Why is the Baltic not the Balkans? Insights from Complexity Theory," in Eero Medijainen and Olaf Mertelsmann, eds., *Border Changes in 20<sup>th</sup> Century Europe: Selected Case Studies* (Berlin: Lit-Verlag [Tartu Studies in Contemporary History 1], 2010), pp. 237-270.
- "Disarmament, General and Complete (GDD)," "International Theory and Liberal Democracy" "Russia and Peace: History," "The Russian/Soviet Experience in Arms Control," and "Third Party Intervention" in *Oxford International Encyclopedia of Peace*, ed. Nigel Young. 3 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).
- "Understanding and Coping with Ethnic Conflict and Development Issues in Post-Soviet Eurasia," in *Complexity in World Politics: Concepts and Methods of a New Paradigm*, ed. Neil E. Harrison (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2006), pp. 73-93.
- "Comparative Repression and Comparative Resistance: What Explains Survival?" in *Sovietization of the Baltic States, 1940-1956*, ed. Olaf Mertelsmann (Tartu: Kleio, 2003), pp. 19-42.
- "Peace in Korea? Lessons from Cold War Détentes," in *Confrontation and Innovation on the Korean Peninsula\_*(Washington, D.C.: Korea Economic Institute, 2003), pp. 1-17.
- "Arms Control," The Hague Peace Conferences," "The Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty," *Encyclopedia of Russian History*.\_4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 2004), **1**, 85-88; **2**, 625; **2**. 672-673.
- "Complexity Theory and European Security: What Capacity to Describe, Prescribe, or Forecast?" in *Europe's New Security Challenges*, ed. Heinz Gärtner et al. (Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner, 2001), pp. 55-69.
- "Baltic States," in *The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World*, ed. Joel Krieger (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 65-67.
- Usage Panel, *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* (3d and 4th eds.; Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1992, 2000).
- "Baltic Independence Movements, 1987-1991," in R.S. Powers and W.B. Vogele, eds., *Protest, Power, and Change: An Encyclopedia of Nonviolent Action* (New York: Garland, 1997), pp. 35-39.

The American Heritage Book of English Usage (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1996).

- "Baltic Identities in the 1990s: Renewed Fitness," in Roman Szporluk, ed., *National Identity and Ethnicity in Russia and the New States of Eurasia* (Armonk NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1994), pp. 185-205.
- "Breathing Space' or Interdependence? How to Make the Most of Vulnerability," in Joseph L. Wieszynski, ed., *The Gorbachev Reader* (Los Angeles: Center for Multiethnic and Transnational Studies, 1994), pp. 153-61.
- "Arms Control and Disarmament in the Gorbachev Era," in Joseph L. Wieczynski, ed., *The Gorbachev Encyclopedia: Gorbachev, the Man and His Times* (Los Angeles: Center for Multiethnic and Transnational Studies, 1994), pp. 41-47.
- "Are East Asian Models Relevant to the Baltic?" *Issues and Studies*, 28, 10 (October 1992), pp. 71-89 and in Bih-jaw Lin, ed., *Contemporary China and the Changing International Community* (Taipei: Institute of International Relations, 1993), pp. 369-84.
- Preface to Jun Zhan, Ending the Chinese Civil War: Power, Commerce and Conciliation between Beijing and Taipei (New York: St. Martin's, 1993), pp. xvi-xxi.
- "China and Arms Control," in Richard D. Burns, ed., *Encyclopedia of Arms Control and Disarmament* (3 vols.; New York: Scribner's, 1993), 1, 59-74.
- "Soviet-U.S. Relations: Confrontation, Cooperation, Transformation?" in Michael Klare and Daniel C. Thomas, eds., *World Security: Trends and Challenges at Century's End* (New York: St. Martin's, 1991), pp. 25-44.
- "Baltic Communism and Nationalism: <u>Kto Kovo</u>?" in Uri Ra'anan, ed., *The Soviet Empire: The Challenge of National and Democratic Movements* (Lexington, Ma.: Lexington Books, 1990), pp. 95-121.
- "Soviet Nationalism: Controlled or Spurred by Glasnost," in Ladislav Bittman, ed., *Gorbachev's Glasnost: Challenges and Realities* (Boston: Boston University College of Communications, 1989), pp. 37-52.
- "Intellectual Foundations of Reagan's Soviet Policies," in Bernard Rubin, ed., *When Information Counts* (Lexington, Ma.: Lexington Books, 1985), pp. 155-172, 227-231.
- National Security and U.S.-Soviet Relations, Occasional Paper 26 (Muscatine, Iowa: The Stanley Foundation, 1981 and Rev. ed., 1982), 39 p. Reprinted in Australian Outlook, XXXVI, No. 2 (August 1982), pp. 1-11 and in Burns H. Weston, ed., Toward Nuclear Disarmament and Global Security (Boulder, CO. Westview Press, 1984), pp. 344-358.

- "The Changing Balance of Power and Implications for Other States," Papers, Golden Jubilee Conference, Australian Institute of International Affairs, Canberra, August 26-28, 1983.
- "Nonalignment and/or Interdependence?" in U.S. Bajpai, ed., *Non-alignment: Perspectives and Prospects* (New Delhi: Lancers, 1983, pp. 39-50 and Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1983).
- "The Superpowers and the Third World: Aborted Ideals and Wasted Assets," in C.W. Kegley and P.J. McGowan, eds., *Sage International Yearbooks in Foreign Policy Studies*, Vol. 7: *Foreign Policy: USA/USSR* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1982), pp. 111-135.
- Co-author, *Strategy for Peace, The Stanley Foundation U.S. Foreign Policy Conference, October 16-18*, 1981 (Muscatine, Iowa: The Stanley Foundation, 1981), pp. 59-66.
- Contributor, <u>Environmental and Economic Implications of</u> <u>Enhanced Oil Recovery Processes---An Overview</u> (Los Angeles: D.A. Campbell Co., 1980); also in *Environmental Conservation* (Lausanne), 8, 1 (Spring 1981), pp. 5-18.
- "Interdependence and/or Security: Soviet Dilemma," in W.R. Duncan, ed., *Soviet Policy in the Third World* (N.Y.: Pergamon, 1980), pp. 295-311.
- Co-author, *Strategy for Peace: Twenty-First Annual US Foreign Policy Conference, October 10-12, 1980* (Muscatine, Iowa: The Stanley Foundation, 1980), pp. 17-23.
- "Disarmament and Arms Control," *Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History*, IX (1979), pp. 145-151.
- "Independence and/or Security: Dilemmas for the Kremlin, the White House and Whitehall," *1977 Caribbean Yearbook of International Relations* (Alpen aan den Rijn: Sijthoff & Noordhoff for Institute of International Relations, University of the West Indies, Trinidad and Tobago), pp. 27-57.
- Co-author, Statement of the American Committee on U.S.-Soviet Relations (Dec. 8, 1976) in *Congressional Record*--Senate, February 21, 1977, S 2785.
- "The European Alliance Systems: Exploitation or Mutual Aid?" in Charles Gati, ed., *The International Politics of Eastern Europe* (New York: Praeger, 1976), pp. 217-238.
- "American Policy and the Origins of the Cold War in Central Europe, 1945-1947," in Peter J. Potichnyj and Jane P. Shapiro, eds., *From the Cold War to Detente* (New York: Praeger, 1976), pp. 3-25.

- Aggressionstrieb und Krieg, ed. Walter Hollitscher (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1973), 164 p.
- "Arms Control as a Way to Peace," in *World Affairs*, 135, 3 (Winter, 1972), pp. 197-219; also in R. Weiler and V. Zsifkovits, eds., *Unterwegs zum Frieden* (Vienna, Freiburg, Basel: Herder, 1973), pp. 369-390.
- Foreign Affairs 50-Year Bibliography (New York: Bowker Co., 1971).
- "Toward a Theory of Preventative Arms Control," in *Challenges from the Future, Proceedings of the International Future Research Conference.* (Tokyo: Kodansha, Ltd., 1971), 3, pp. 404-420.
- "Soviet Policy Toward Europe," in Roman Kolkowicz and others, *The Soviet Union and Arms Control: A Superpower Dilemma* (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1970), pp. 149-180.
- "Soviet Policy in the Third World in the 1970's: Five Alternative Futures," in W. Raymond Duncan, ed., Soviet Policy in Developing Countries (Waltham, Mass.: Ginn-Blaisdell, 1970), pp. 313-343. Also published in Korean in Non Dan (Seoul), 6, 4 (January-February, 1971), pp. 121-148. Earlier version in Orbis, 13, 2 (Summer 1969), pp. 476-501. Reprinted in Erik P. Hoffmann and Frederick J. Fleron, Jr., eds., The Conduct of Soviet Foreign Policy (Chicago-New York: Aldine-Atherton, 1971), pp. 426-447.
- "Military Technology in the 1970's," in Abdul A. Said, ed., *America's World Role in the* 70's (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970) pp. 161-173.
- Biographies for World Book Encyclopedia in 1969-89 of: Ceaucescu, N.; Dubcek, A.;
  Hoxha, E.; Husak, G.; Tito; Zhivkov, T.; Andropov, Y.V.; Grechko, A.A.;
  Ilichev, L.F.; Katushev, K.F.; Podgorny, N.V.; Polyansky, D.S.; Pomonarev,
  B.N.; Sakharov, A.D.; Semichastny, V.; Shelpin, A.N.; Shelest, P.Y.; Suslov,
  M.A.; Yepishev, A.A.; Brezhnev, L.I.; Kosygin, A.N.
- Institute for Defense Analyses, *Future Soviet Interest in Arms Control*, Report to U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, 1969.
- Robert E. Osgood, *Alliances and American Foreign Policy* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1969).
- "Government by White House Conference: Two Views," in Thomas E. Cronin and S. D. Greenberg, *The Presidential Advisory System* (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), pp. 144-149.
- "TEMPER and International Relations Theory: A Critical Inventory," *Systematics* (London), Vol. V, No. 4 (March 1968), pp. 279-318, published also as "A

Propositional Analysis of the International Relations Theory of TEMPER---A Computer Simulation of Cold War Conflict," in William D. Coplin, ed., *Simulation in the Study of Politics* (Chicago: Markham, 1968), pp. 59-101.

- "Multipolarization and Arms Control," in Thomas B. Manton, comp., *Background Papers: The United Nations in 1975* (Muscatine, Iowa: The Stanley Foundation, 1967).
- "The Nuclear Test Ban and Sino-Soviet Relations," *Orbis*, 10, 1 (Spring 1966) pp. 152-183, and in *Sino-Soviet Relations and Arms Control*, ed. Morton H. Halperin (Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1967), pp. 145-167.
- Co-author, *Report of the Conference to Plan a Strategy for Peace*, Seventh Conference (Muscatine, Iowa: The Stanley Foundation, 1966).
- Contributor, *Recommendations on Arms Control and Disarmament*, National Citizens Commission for the International Cooperation Year, 1965.
- *The Soviet Union and Disarmament*, Alexander Dallin and others (New York: Praeger, 1965), 282 p.
- "Peking, Moscow and the West in a Warless World," and "Implications for U.S. Policy, in *Toward a Strategy of Peace, op. cit.*, pp. 131-142, 191-201.
- "Soviet Policy Toward the League of Nations" and "Soviet Policy Toward Disarmament," in Thomas T. Hammond, ed., *Soviet Foreign Relations and World Communism* (Princeton University Press, 1965), pp. 1035-1039, 1050-1076.

#### JOURNAL ARTICLES

- "Hubris versus GRIT: Put Pride Aside and Help Korea Find Peace," *Global Asia* 8, 2 (Summer 2013): 20-26.
- "What to do about—or with—China?" *Asian Perspective* 37, 3 (July-September 2013): 463-472.
- "Why pick a fight with China?" *Global Asia* 7, 1 (Spring 2012): 116-119, , reproduced on *The-Diplomat* (on-line from Tokyo, May 2012).
- "Can—Should—Must We Negotiate with Evil?" *Pacific Focus* 26, 3 (December 2011): 316-335.

"Time for a Grand Bargain in Northeast Asia," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, October 24, 2011 web edition at <u>http://thebulletin.org/web-edition/op-eds/time-grand-bargain-northeast-asia</u>

"A Grand Bargain: Peace Terms for Korea', *e-International Relations*, 21 January 2011, available at: <u>http://www.e-ir.info/?p=6300</u>

"History Shows Us That Open Diplomacy Is Best," *Global Asia* 6, 1 (Spring 2011), pp. 48-50. and e-International Relations, 27 April 2011, available at <u>http://www.e-ir.info/?p=8413</u>

"Ethnic Peace, Ethnic Conflict: Complexity Theory on Why the Baltic is Not the Balkans," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 43 (2010), pp. 245-261.

"How Should Democrats Deal with Dictators?" Global Asia 5, 3 (Fall 2010), pp. 70-81.

"North Korea's Quest for Nuclear Weapons: New Historical Evidence," J. of East Asian Studies 10, 1 (January-March 2010), pp. 127-154.

"What Factors Shape Korea's Future? Forces and *Fortuna* versus Ideas" *Pacific Focus* 24, 2 (August 2009), pp. 187-204.

"Alternative Futures for North Korea," Global Asia 4, 2 (Summer 2009), pp. 40-47.

- "Culture and Symbols as Tools of Resistance," *J. of Baltic Studies*, 40, 2 (June 2009), pp. 169-177.
- "Negotiation with North Korea: Clinton vs. Bush," *Global Asia*, 3, 2 (Summer 2008), pp. 58-65.
- "North Korea and the World: A Bibliography of Books and URLs in English, 1997-2007," *J. of East Asian Studies* 8, 2 (May-August 2008), pp. 293-325.
- "A New Cold War?" International Affairs Forum IA-Forum.org July 31, 2007

"North Korea's Future: What Pyongyang, Seoul, and Washington Could Learn from East Europe, the former USSR, and China," *J. of East Asian Affairs* 21, 1 (Spring/Summer 2007), pp. 1-48.

- "Negotiating to Control Weapons of Mass Destruction in North Korea," *International Negotiation: A Journal of Theory and Practice* 10, 3 (2005), pp. 453-86.
- "The Role of Culture in Negotiations with the North," J. of East Asian Affairs 19, 2 (Fall/Winter 2005), pp. 43-66..
- "How to Cope with North Korea and Nuclear Weapons: What Bush Could Have Learned from Lenin, Osgood, and Clinton," *J of East Asian Affairs* 18, 2 (Fall/Winter 2004), pp. 221-247.

- "Almost back to square one [on North Korea]," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 60, 5 (September/October 2004), pp. 22-25.
- "Peace in Korea? Lessons from Cold War Détentes," J. of East Asian Affairs, 17, 2 (Fall/Winter 2003), pp. 258-290.
- "Comparative Repression and Comparative Resistance," *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 9, 3 (Fall 2003), pp. 74-101.
- Study guide for Ralph Bunche film module on Palestine for William Greaves Productions. 2003.
- "Why Study the Baltics? How?" *NewsNet*, American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, 42, 5 (December 2002), pp. 1-4.
- "Complexity Theory as a Tool for Understanding and Coping with Ethnic Conflict and Development Issues in Post-Soviet Eurasia," *International J. of Peace Studies*, 7, 2 (Autumn-Winter 2002), pp. 1-15.
- "Who terminates a treaty?" *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 57, 6 (November-December 2001), pp. 38-39. 42-43. [Helped catalyze suit against the President by members of the House of Representatives for usurping powers of Congress.]
- "Reforzando la seguridad baltica: ?es factible el modelo austriaco?" *El Periodico del CEID* (Buenos Aires: Centro de Estudios Interacionales para el Desarrollo), March 2001, p. 5.
- "Civil Wars and Civil Peace," *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 7, 1 (2001), pp. 89-90.
- "Our Missile Defense System: Safeguard--or Skylark?" *Bostonia*, 2 (Summer 2000), pp. 29-32.
- "Alternative futures AD 2000-2025," *OECD Observer*, No. 221/222 (Summer 2000), pp. 106-109.
- "The Human Cost of War" (with J. David Singer), *Scientific American*, 282, 6 (June 2000), pp. 56-57 and correspondence, ibid. (October 2000), pp. 8-10. Published as "Blutige Geschichte," in *Spektrum der Wissenschaft* (Sept. 2000), p. 44; summarized by George Musser and Sasha Nemecek, "Wojny naszych Czasow," in *Swiat Nauki* (Wrzesie), Sept. 24-25, 2000, p. 2 and in a science magazine published by Nikkei in Japan.
- "Why Not Indict War Criminals in Moscow?" *Behind the Breaking News*, 2, 1 (February 23, 2000), Institute for the Study of Conflict, Ideology and Policy (E-mail transmission).

- "Self-Organization versus Autocracy in Baltic Life, A.D. 1000-2000," *Lituanus*, 46, 1 (2000), pp 11-36.
- "Could More Force Have Saved the Soviet System?" Journal of Cold War Studies, 2, 1 (Winter 2000), pp. 116-123.
- "From AD 2000 to AD 2025: Six alternative futures," *International Journal* 54, 2 (Spring 1999), pp. 267-78.
- "China: alternative futures," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 32 (1999), pp. 1-21.
- "The Baltic Republics, Russia, and Energy: From Dependency to Interdependence?" SAIS *Review*, 19, 1 (Winter-Spring 1999), pp. 190-208.
- "The Baltic Reborn: Challenges of Transition," *Demokratizatsiya*, 6, 4 (Fall 1998), pp. 710-33.
- "National Revivals and Their Consequences," Review essay, Mershon International Studies Perspectives, 42 (1998), pp. 375-376.
- "Clashes of Civilizations and Interests in Central Asia," Review Essay, *Journal of Conflict Studies*, 17, 1 (Spring 1997), pp. 156-58.
- "Who or What Killed the Soviet Union? How Three Davids Undermined Goliath," *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 3, 1 (Spring 1997), pp. 136-58.
- "An alternative to NATO expansion," International Journal, 52, 2 (Spring 1997), pp. 342-65; reprinted in John T. Rourke, ed., Taking Sides: Clashing Views on Controversial Issues in World Politics (8th ed.; Guilford CT: Dushkin/McGraw Hill, 1998), pp. 26-35.
- "The Burden of Defense: Soviet Russia in the 1920s," *Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, 9, 4 (December 1996), pp. 786-99.
- "Was/Is Conflict Inevitable between Moscow and Washington? Comparing Individuals and Forces," *Soviet and Post- Soviet Review*, 22, 2 (1995), pp. 135-47.
- "Harmony vs. Self-Destruction: Switzerland and Yugoslavia," *Emphasis: A Journal of Hellenic Issues*, 1, 1 (April- June 1995), pp. 48-58.
- "Why Russia in the 1990s Is Not Germany After World War II," *Problems of Post-Communism*, 42, 2 (February-March 1995), pp. 54-61.
- "Jerome B. Wiesner, 1915-1994," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 51, 1 (January-February 1995), p. 10.

- "The Military under Tsar, Commissar, and Prezident: Professionals and Politicians," *Mershon International Studies Review*, 38, Supplement 2 (October 1994), pp. 321-325.
- "Estonia Rebuilds: The Second Year of Independence," *Nationalities Papers*, 22, 2 (Fall 1994), pp. 393-403.
- "Chiang Ching-kuo's Role in the ROC-PRC Reconciliation," with Jun Zhan, *American Asian Review*, 12, 1 (Spring 1994), pp. 140-63.
- "Can outsiders help? Lessons for third-party intervention in Bosnia," *International Journal*, 48, 4 (Autumn 1993), pp. 687-719.
- "Eesti Redux," Harriman Institute Forum, 7, 1-2 (September-October 1993), pp. 17-21.
- "Privileged Sources: Insider Accounts of Soviet Politics At Home and Abroad," Soviet and Post-Soviet Survey, 20, 2-3 (1993), pp. 233-39.
- "Soviet Centrifugalism: Republics as Independent Actors," *Nationalities Papers*, 21, 2 (Fall 1993), pp. 9-24.
- "Gorbachev's Role in International Détente: True GRIT?" *Soviet and Post-Soviet Review*, 20, 1 (1993), pp. 51-76.
- "Negotiating a New Life: Burdens of Empire and Independence," *Nationalities Papers*, 20, 2 (Fall 1992), pp. 67-78.
- "Honolulu Isn't the Half of It," (with Ali Ho Clemens), *World Monitor* [hereafter *WM*], 4, 10 (October 1991), pp. 70-78.
- "Why Crusoe's Island Is Still Special," WM, 4, 2 (February 1991), pp. 74-77.
- "The Superpowers" (in English with Estonian summary) in *Acta et commentationes Universitatis Tartuensis*, 923 (Tartu, 1991), pp. 5-27 and "Toward Complex Interdependence," ibid., pp. 34-52.
- "The Republics as International Actors," *Nationalities Papers*, 19, 1 (Spring 1991), pp. 73-76.
- "Why Gorbachev Has Georgia on His Mind," WM, 3, 9 (September 1990), pp. 52-58.

"How Commuting Has Changed!" WM, 3, 7 (July 1990), pp. 14-16.

Review of *Voices of Glasnost* and other books in *Christianity and Crisis*, 50, 8 May 28, 1990), pp. 177-78.

- "Foreign Policy Implications of Nationality Unrest," *Nationalities Papers*, 18, 1 (Spring 1990), pp. 21-23.
- "The Baltic Way," WM, 3, 5 (May 1990), pp. 56-60.
- "Remembering Stalin's Victims," WM, 3, 3 (March 1990), pp. 54-55.
- "Inside Gorbachev's Think Tank," WM, 2, 8 (August 1989), pp. 28-36.
- "Soviet Foreign Policy Since 1917: Achievements and Failures," *Survey*, 30, 4 (June 1989), pp. 87-112.
- "Estonia, A Place to Watch," The National Interest, No. 13 (Fall 1988), pp. 85-92.
- "The Price of Intervention," Superpower Rivalry in the Third World, *Harvard International Review*, 8, 3 (January/February 1986), pp. 20-21, 25.
- "Cold Light on Cold War: Enlightenment versus *dezinformatsiia*," *Worldview*, XXVII, No. 3 (March 1985), pp. 7-10 and correspondence, ibid., No. 5 (May 1985), p. 31.
- "A Five-Power Nuclear Pact," Worldview, 27, 3 (March 1984), p. 17.
- "A strategic precedent," Worldview, 26, 8 (August 1983), pp. 15-16.
- "The Third World in V.S. Naipaul," Worldview, 25, 9 (September 1982), pp. 12-14.
- "The Legacy of Eric Williams," <u>Worldview</u>, 24, 6 (June 1981), p. 14; also in *Sunday Guardian* (Trinidad) June 7, 1981, p.9.
- "Time for Moscow to Turn Right?" Worldview, 24, 5 (May 1981), pp. 15-16.
- "The U.S. and the USSR: Dilemmas of Power and Peace," *Worldview*, 24, 1 (January 1981), pp. 23-25.
- "Russia's Critical Intelligentsia," Worldview, 23, 8 (August 1980), pp. 5-8.
- "Freedom and Fidelity," Worldview, 23, 4 (April 1980), pp. 18-19.
- "How the Russians Look at SALT," Worldview 22, 9 (September 1979), pp. 13-18.
- "Alexander Yanov---Writing Between the Lines," *Problems of Communism*, 17, 3 (May-June, 1978), pp. 65-68.
- "A Balance Sheet on Sixty Years of Soviet Foreign Policy," *Worldview*, 20, 12 (December, 1977), pp. 15-19, and XXI, Nos. 1-2 (January, 1978), pp. 44-51.

- "An Open Letter to Leonid Brezhnev," Worldview, 20, 10 (October 1977), pp. 19-30.
- "Kto Kovo? The Present Danger, as Seen from Moscow," *Worldview*, 20, 10 (September, 1977), pp. 4-9.
- "Bomba n os raios da morte," Manchete (Rio de Janeiro), July 23, 1977, pp. 28-30.
- "The Fight Over Status: New Decision on Puerto Rico," *Worldview*, 19, 11 (November 1976), pp. 22-26.
- "So a detente pode salvar o mundo de uma guerra," interview in *Manchete* (Rio de Janeiro), September 4, 1976, pp. 46-49.
- "Lujos de superpotencia,: interview in Ercilla (Santiago de Chile) August 11, 1976, p. 77.
- "Games Sovietologists Play," *Teaching Political Science*, 3, 2 (January 1976), pp. 140-160.
- "Simulation in Soviet Studies," Soviet Union, 3, Pt. 1 (1976), pp. 109-126.
- "NATO and the Warsaw Pact: Comparisons and Contrasts," *Parameters*, 4, 2 (1974), pp. 13-22.
- "The Impact of Detente on Chinese and Soviet Communism," *Journal of International Affairs*, 28, 2 (1974), pp. 133-157.
- "Nicholas II to SALT II: Change and Continuity in East-West Diplomacy," *International Affairs* (London), 49, 3 (July, 1973), pp. 385-401.
- "GRIT at Panmunjom: Conflict and Cooperation in Divided Korea," *Asian Survey*, 13, 6 (June, 1973), pp. 531-559.
- "How and Why We Can Do Business With Nixon," by Genry Kissingirsky, *War/Peace Report*, 12, 3 (March/April, 1973), pp. 18-24.
- "The USSR and the Arms Race," *Worldview*, 16, 2 (February, 1973), pp. 40-47.
- "Ecology and International Relations," *International Journal*, 28, 1 (Winter, 1972-73), pp. 1-27.
- "Militias in the Missile Age," Military Review, 52, 8 (August, 1972), pp. 28-47
- "The Arms Race," (SIPRI Yearbook, 1969-70) in Problems of Communism (March-April 1972), pp. 85-86.

- "'Misperception' vs. 'Realism' in Superpower Relations: A Problem for Statesmen and Scholars," (Ulam, *The Rivals* and Rapport, *The Big Two*) in *Journal of International Affairs*, 26, 1 (1972), pp. 106-112.
- "European Arms Control: How, What, and When?" *International Journal*, 27, 1 (Winter, 1971-72), pp. 45-72.
- "Sakharov: A Man for Our Times," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 27, 10 (December, 1971), pp. 4-6, 51-56. Earlier version published in Korean in *Non Dan* (Seoul), VI, No. 3 (November-December, 1970), pp. 137-145.

"Behind Sadat's Eviction Order," The New Leader (October 2, 1971), pp. 6-8.

"Mutual Balanced Force Reductions," Military Review, 51, 10 (October, 1971) pp. 3-11.

"Evening with a 'T' Group," Dissent, (August, 1971), pp. 396-398.

- "Shifts in Soviet Arms Control Posture," Military Review, 51, 7 (July, 1971), pp. 28-36.
- "Gustav Husak: The 'King of Prussia" Returns from Prison," *Boston University Journal*, 19, 1 (Winter, 1971), pp. 49-56.
- "SALT, the NPT, and U.S. Japanese-Security Relations," *Asian Survey*, 10, 12 (December, 1970), pp. 1037-1045. Published in Japanese as "Strategic Weapons Limitation Negotiations and Japanese Security." in *Jiyu* (Tokyo), No. 9 (September, 1970), pp. 77-85.
- "The Soviet Alliance After Czechoslovakia," *Military Review*, 50, 10 (October, 1970), pp. 20-29. (Editions in English, Portuguese, and Spanish.)
- "Ecology of Weaponry," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 26, 7 (September, 1970), pp. 27-31. Reprinted as "The Dynamics of the Arms Race" in <u>Current</u>, No. 123 (November, 1970), pp. 57-62.
- "Maintaining the Status Quo in East Central Europe: The 1930's and 1960's," *World Affairs*, 133, 2 (September, 1970), pp. 98-105.
- "The Soviet World Faces West: 1945-1970," *International Affairs* (London), 46, 3 (July, 1970), pp. 475-489.
- "How the U.S.S.R. Brought Peace to the Middle East in 1972," and "Bibliographical Note on Recent Literature on the Middle East," *War/Peace Report*, 10, 6 (June/July, 1970), pp. 14-23.

- "Soviet European Policy in the 1970's," *Military Review*, 50, 4 (April, 1970), pp. 52-64 (editions in English, Portuguese, and Spanish). Awarded *Military Review* Award for Outstanding Achievement.
- "Czechoslovakia and U.S. Policy: All or Nothing at All?" *War/Peace Report*, 10, 1 (January, 1970) pp. 14-19.
- "Taganka: The Scene for Moscow's Avant-Garde Drama," *Boston University Journal*, 17, 1 (Winter, 1969), pp. 45-50.
- "Outer Space, Strategy, and Arms Control," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 23, 9 (November, 1969), pp. 24-28.
- "Great and Small Power Collaboration to Enforce the Status Quo: France and Czechoslovakia Against the Vienna Protocol," *East European Quarterly*, 2, 4 (January, 1969), pp. 385-412.
- "The Changing Warsaw Pact," *East Europe*, 17, 6, (June, 1968), pp. 7-12.

"The Future of the Warsaw Pact," Orbis, 11, 4 (Winter, 1968), pp. 996-1033.

- "China's Nuclear Tests: Trends and Portents," *China Quarterly*, (October-December 1967), pp. 111-113, reprinted *Military Digest* (New Delhi), No. 80 (January, 1969), pp. 9-26.
- "Arms Control in 1975---the Utility of a Modernist Approach," *Review of International Affairs* (Belgrade, editions also in French, German, Russian, Serbo-Croat, and Spanish), No. 418 (September 5, 1967), pp. 19-20 and No. 419 (September 20, 1967), pp. 16-19.
- "Outer Space, Strategy, and Arms Control," *Technology Review*, 69, 8 (June, 1967), pp. 18-21.
- "A World of Nuclear Powers?" War/Peace Report, 7, 4 (April, 1967), pp. 12-14.
- "Arms Control for Outer Space," *Disarmament* (Paris), No. 12 (December, 1966), pp. 5-11.
- "The Sino-Soviet Dispute: Dogma and Dialectics on Disarmament," *International Affairs* (London), 41, 2 (April, 1965), pp. 204-222.
- "Lenin on Disarmament," The Slavic Review, 23, 3 (September, 1964), pp. 504-525.

"The Soviet Militia in the Missile Age," Orbis, 8, 1 (Spring, 1964), pp. 81-105.

- "Ideology in Soviet Disarmament Policy," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 8, 1 (March, 1964), pp. 7-22; and excerpted in *Science and Human Survival*, Proceedings of the Second National Conference, Scientists on Survival, 1963 (New York: H. Gantt, 1964), pp. 2-7.
- "The First World Conference on World Peace Through World Law," One World, 11, 6 (January, 1964), pp. 2-7.
- "Soviet Disarmament Proposals and the Cadre-Territorial Army," *Orbis*, 7, 4 (Winter, 1964), pp. 778-799.
- Automated Inspection of Underground Nuclear Testing, Santa Barbara, California: General Electric Defense Programs Operation, December 20, 1962 (TAAO 62-5), pp. 39.

"Public Opinion in the U.S.S.R.," Science, 134, 3493 (1961), pp. 1917-24.

# **OP-EDS, OPINION ARTICLES, and BLOGS:**

"East Asia's Troubled Waters: Explosive Standoff or Joint Development?" *Global Asia Forum*, January 13, 2014, at

http://www.globalasia.org/Forum/Detail/31/east-asias-troubled-waters-explosive-standoff-or-joint-development-.html

"Why a deal with Iran may be easier than one with North Korea," Harvard University <u>http://iranmatters.belfercenter.org/blog/why-deal-iran-may-be-easier-one-north-korea</u>, December 16, 2013.

"A 'Prince' for Today," <u>http://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/16/opinion/a-prince-for-today.html</u>, December 15, 2013,

"West Wind Meets East Wind," *Global Asia Forum*,, November 4, 2013, at http://www.globalasia.org/Forum/Detail/26/west-wind-meets-east-wind.html

"To prevent a 'Washington Navy Yard' mass shooting, require gun permits," *Christian Science Monitor*, September 19, 2013, at <a href="http://www.csmonitor.com/Commentary/Opinion/2013/0919/To-prevent-a-Washington-Navy-Yard-mass-shooting-require-gun-permits">http://www.csmonitor.com/Commentary/Opinion/2013/0919/To-prevent-a-Washington-Navy-Yard-mass-shooting-require-gun-permits</a>

"Democracy as Chimera," *International Herald Tribune*, September 10, 2013, op-ed and at . <u>http://www.nytimes.com/2013/09/11/opinion/global/democracy-as-chimera.html?ref=global-home</u>

"What the Science of Human Evolution May Say About Your Choice for President," with Stuart A. Kauffman, Opinion Page, WBUR, November 1, 2012, at http://cognoscenti.wbur.org/2012/11/01/evolution-politics-clemens-kauffman

"Self-fulfilling Prophecies in US-China Relations," *China-US Focus*, May 17, 2012 at <u>http://www.chinausfocus.com/foreign-policy/self-fulfilling-prophecies-in-us-china-relations/</u>

"Listening to the Axis of Evil," *IHT Global Opinion*, November 4, 2011, at <u>http://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/04/opinion/listening-to-the-axis-of-</u>evil.html? r=1&ref=contributors

- "Neutral mediation needed on N Korea," Financial Times, May 18, 2005.
- "Without Books on Paper, So Much Is Lost." *The New York Times*, May 17, 2005, editorials/letters.
- "Is Our Civilization in Decline?" The New York Times, January 5, 2005, editorials/letters.
- "It Takes Two to Tear It Up: Congress and the President Share the Responsibility," *Washington Post* Outlook, August 5, 2001, p. B4.
- "How to Lose Friends and Inspire Enemies," *Washington Post* Outlook, May 20, 2001, p. 2.
- "The Divided Justices: Two Days, Two Jolts; Democracy Ill Served," *The New York Times*, December 11, 2000, Editorials/letters.
- "Why Not Indict War Criminals in Moscow?" *Behind the Breaking News*, 2, 1 (February 23, 2000), Institute for the Study of Conflict, Ideology and Policy (E-mail transmission).
- "We Need to Forget the Past," lead story interview in Farsi, *Jameaha* (Tehran), April 28, 1998, p. 1. (The paper was aligned with Iranian President Khatami.)
- "Interests Clash but Civilizations Can Cooperate," *International Herald Tribune*, January 7, 1997.
- "Russia Has No Business Holding Chechnya," *International Herald Tribune*, February 28, 1995, p. 8; also published as "Mengapa Chechnya Harus Tetar Menjadi Bagian Rusia?" *Suara Pemearuan* (Jakarta), February 8, 1995, p. 2.
- "What the World Needs Now: A Genocide Court," *Christian Science Monitor* [hereafter *CSM*], July 26, 1994, p. 17.

- "Ungerechtfertige Verweigerung der Rechthilfe," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, March 18, 1994, p. 69.
- "It's High Time to Embrace Havana," CSM, October 21, 1993, p. 19.

"Americans in the Dark on Defense," CSM, August 31, 1993, p. 20.

"Don't Recognize Change by Force," *Washington Post*, August 4, 1993, p. A 17, published also as "The World Can't Afford to Allow Gain by Conquest," in *International Herald Tribune*, August 6, 1993.

"Mapping Path for China-Taiwan Relations," with Jun Zhan, CSM, July 13, 1993, p. 19.

- "Yeltsin's Ominous Move to Resume Nuclear Testing," CSM, May 11, 1992, p. 18.
- "If Not a Marshall Plan for the East, What?" CSM, February 25, 1992, p. 19.
- "Independence for Slovenia and Croatia," CSM, December 24, 1991, p. 19.
- "Why Israel Is in a Strong Position to Bargain," CSM, November 6, 1991, p. 19.
- "Baltics Sang Their Way to Independence," CSM, September 5, 1991, p. 19.
- "The Soviet Crackup," CSM, May 30, 1991, p. 18.
- "The Rights of Nations," CSM, April 24, 1991, p. 19.
- "In Moscow, a Pendulum Swings," CSM, February 4, 1991, p. 18.
- "Can a Poet Stop Nuclear Testing?" CSM, December 26, 1990, p. 19.
- "Sakharov's Legacy," CSM, December 19, 1990, p. 19.
- "Babies, Armies, and Mideast Politics," CSM, November 26, 1990, p. 18.
- "A Soviet Melting Pot? Nyet," WSJ, June 8, 1990, p. A10.
- "Russia Should Let 'Its' People Go," *CSM*, May 25, 1990, p. 18; translated and critiqued in *Karagandiskii Universitet*.
- "Promoting Baltic Independence," CSM, April 5, 1990, p. 18.
- "Straddling Cultures: An Azeri in Moscow," CSM, March 12, 1990, p. 18.
- "Bush's Bankrupt Realism," CSM, February 2, 1990, p. 19.

"Perestroika Needs a Work Ethic to Work," *Wall Street Journal* [hereafter WSJ], December 5, 1989, p. A22, also in *Asian WSJ* and broadcast by Voice of America; reprinted in Sheridan Baker, *Practical Stylist with Readings* (7th ed.; New York: HarperCollins, 1991).

"All Germans Have the Right to Be Free," CSM, November 15, 1989, p. 18.

"Communism's Milestones of Failure," CSM, October 27, 1989.

"Will Russia Make Another Historic Switch?" CSM, August 8, 1989, p. 19.

"An Austrian Solution for Eastern Europe," *The New York Times*, July 10, 1989, p. A18, reprinted in *International Herald-Tribune* (Paris), July 11, 1989 and summarized
 "Österreich als Vorbild fur Ost- Staaten," *Der Standard* (Vienna), July 12, 1989; translated and critiqued in *Sovetskaia Estoniia*, November 22, 1989, p. 3.

"Complexities of European arms control," CSM, June 22, 1989, p. 19.

"As Khrushchev Found Out, the China Card Doesn't Work," WSJ, June 8, 1989, p. A 17.

"Soviet citizens, too, question the INF Treaty," CSM, May 11, 1988, p. 13.

"70 years of Soviet power," CSM, November 5, 1987, p. 16.

"Glasnost on the arms front," CSM, September 24, 1987, p. 13.

"Goliath and the Exocet," CSM, August 18, 1987.

"America's greatest achievement in foreign affairs," CSM, June 4, 1987, p. 17.

"Is the West afraid of arms control?" CSM, April 30, 1987, p. 17.

"A second 'revolution' in the Soviet Union," CSM, January, 15, 1987, p. 16.

"Open covenants--a strategy for truth," CSM, December 15, 1986, p. 18.

"Nuclear arms cuts: 50% 'da'; 100%, 'nyet', CSM, November 13, 1986, p. 17.

"Government by whim," CSM, October 14, 1986, p. 14.

"Of generations, experience, and peace," CSM, August 7, 1986, p. 18.

"Disarmament by stages: Is Gorbachev serious?" CSM, February 25, 1986, p. 13.

- "Good Offense Beats a Good (Star Wars) Defense," *WSJ*, April 24, 1985, op. ed., and *Asian Wall Street Journal*, May 8, 1985; correspondence in *WSJ*, May 9, 1985; reprinted *East-West Outlook*, 9, 2 (March 1986), p. 3.
- "US and USSR: an agenda for a new detente," CSM, March 21, 1985, p. 16.
- "The USSR may be willing to work with the West on global problems," *CSM*, February 6, 1985, p. 15.
- "How not to develop Lexington," Lexington Minute-Man," September 20, 1984, p. 5.
- "What if the Whole Fleet Sank?" CSM, August 14, 1984, p. 14.
- "The Kremlin's global dilemmas," CSM, February 16, 1984.
- "Forward policy' endangers the globe," interview, *The Muslim* (Pakistan), April 10, 1983.
- "In Search of Peace," interview, The Times of the Deccan (Bangalore), April 3, 1983.
- "From enlightened compassion," CSM, March 15, 1983.
- "Realigning the nonaligned," CSM, February 23, 1983.
- "Nepal: a yam between two stones," CSM, January 4, 1983, p. 23.
- "What the world owes Britannia," *CSM*, April 28, 1982, p. 23, reprinted in *Canberra Times*, June 17, 1982.
- "All quiet on Moscow's western front?" CSM, April 13, 1982, p. 23.
- "Good faith' bid to Europeans," interview in Boston Herald, November, 19, 1981, p. 5.
- "The Fulbright Program: it's a bargain," CSM, November 18, 1981.
- "Strategic Arms: fewer is better," CSM, October 9, 1981, p. 23.
- "Will the Soviet Empire Survive 1984?" CSM, July 10, 1981.
- "A Quiz for a Peaceful Sunday," *Los Angeles Times*, March 22, 1981, cited also in *Fortune*, October 19, 1981, p. 142.
- "Waltzing with Moscow: Republicans do it better," CSM, January 26, 1981, p. 23.
- "How Much Terror for Deterrence?" The New York Times, op-ed, July 28, 1980 p. A21.

"Let Us Not Fear to Negotiate," CSM, May 27, 1980, p. 27.

- "Before It's Too Late," *Just for the Press* (American Committee on East-West Accord) III, No. 1 (April-May 1980), p. 7.
- "The U.S.--Still Second to None," CSM, December 10, 1979, p. 27.
- "Remember What Happened to Moscow's 'China Card'," CSM, February 13, 1979.
- "SALT and Moscow's 'Old Buddy' System," Washington Post, December 1, 1978.
- "U.S.-Soviet Detente--Trojan Horse or Road to Peace?" American Enterprise Institute Syndicate, November 1978, e.g., Oklahoma *Herald*, November 26, 1978.
- "How to Harvest Soviet Cooperation," CSM, July 24, 1978.
- "How the Generals--on each side--Come to SALT," CSM, June 23, 1978.
- "A Play for All Seasons," *Sunday Guardian*, May 21, 1978, p. 6, 9.
- "No Tango in the Middle East," Sunday Guardian, February, 19, 1978, p. 9.
- "The Caribbean in an Interdependent World," *Sunday Guardian* (Trinidad), February 12, 1978, p. 7.
- "The 'Dangerists': Whipping the Arms Race," Newsday, January 9, 1978.
- "When Diplomacy Dallies," CSM, November 11, 1977, p. 27.
- "Czechs and Chileans--lessons for the U.S.," CSM, September 9, 1977, p. 35.
- Translation from the Russian: Alexander Yanov, "Economic Colonialism in the Soviet," *The New York Times*, August 11, 1977, p. 27.
- "It's a game to win or lose," Seattle Times, May 7, 1977.
- "Arms Control: how both sides can win," CSM, March 9, 1977, p. 27.
- "Soviet Inefficiencies and the Lesson for American Priorities," *The New York Times*, December 11, 1976, p.23.
- "Does Yugoslavia Need U.S. Protection?" CSM, November 29, 1977, p. 27.
- "Behind Brazil's Boom," CSM, November 24, 1976, p. 35.
- "America Already is 'Second to None'," Washington Post, November 15, 1976, p. A23.

"Chile's Dismay at U.S. Brush-off," CSM, September 24, 1976. p. 31.

- "Return of the Native 1976," CSM, June 16, 1976 p. 27.
- "The Kremlin has its European defense headaches, too," *The Times* (London), May 18, 1976.
- "U.S.: Self-defeating prophecies," CSM, May 3, 1976.
- "Must U.S. Do what Russia Does?" CSM, July 28, 1975.
- "Nuclear Energy: America's Aswan?" Washington Post, April 20, 1975.
- "Initiatives for Peace," North American Newspaper Alliance, March 18, 1975
- "The Pressures on Israel," North American Newspaper Alliance, December 17, 1974.
- "What is Detente?" CSM, November 22, 1974.
- "Meaningful Therapy Needed for Peace and Prosperity," North American Newspaper Alliance, October 24, 1974.
- "Integrity in the Armed Forces," North American Newspaper Alliance, July 10, 1974.
- "Volunteer Army Succeeding," North American Newspaper Alliance, June 19, 1974.
- "The Lessons of Cuba," CSM, April 4, 1974.
- "Arms Control by Example," CSM, March 25, 1974.
- "Of Troops and Europe," CSM, December 4, 1973.
- "Mid-East War Game Provides Possible Peace Plan," North American Newspaper Alliance, November 1, 1973.
- "SALT II: Can It Succeed?" CSM, October 5, 1973.
- "SALT II: Who's Got What," CSM, October 2, 1973.
- "Sakharov: Why He Deserves the Peace Prize," *Christian Science Monitor*, September 26, 1973.
- "Lexington and Vietnam: Environments in Danger," *Lexington Minuteman*, August 26, 1971.

Articles on Eastern and Western Europe in the *Herald Tribune* (Paris), Honolulu *Star-Bulletin*, Cincinnati *Times Star*, Santa Barbara *News-Press*, *Science*, and the North American Newspaper Alliance, 1952-62.

#### **BOOK REVIEWS**

Byung-Kook Kim and Ezra F. Vogel, eds., The Park Chung Hee Era: The Transformation of South Korea (Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 2011) in Memory Studies, Special Issue: On Korean Memory 6, 2 (April 2013), pp. 232-234.

Stephan Haggard & Marcus Noland, Witness to Transformation: Refugee Insights into North Korea, in Korea Review 2, 1 (May 2012), pp. 123-126.

- Joshua B. Spero, Bridging the European Divide: Middle Power Politics and Regional Security Dilemmas in Slavic Review, 65, 1 (Spring 2006), p. 170.
- Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier, 1150-1500, ed. Alan V. Murray in The Catholic Historical Review, 90,.4 (2004), pp. 759-761.
- Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War* in *Journal of Cold War Studies*\_(Spring 2004), pp. 78-80.
- Daina Stukuls Eglitis, *Imagining the Nation* in *Slavic Review*, 62, 4 (Winter 2003), pp. 843-844.
- Roger D. Petersen, *Resistance and Rebellion: Lessons from Eastern Europe* in *Slavic Review*, 61, 3 (Fall 2002), pp. 610-611.
- Yongnian Zheng, Discovering Chinese Nationalism in Asia: Modernization, Identity, and International Relations in Nationalism and Ethnic Politics, 8, 1 (Spring 2002), p. 140.
- P. Joenniemi and Jan Prawitz, eds., *Kaliningrad: The European Amber Region* in *Slavic Review*, 58, 4 (Winter 1999), pp. 902-03.
- Paola Ferretti, A Russian Advocate of Peace: Vasilii Malinovskii (1765-1814) in Russian Review, 58, 4 (October 1999), pp. 696-97.
- William Safran, ed., Nationalism and Ethnoregional Identities in China in Nationalism and Ethnic Politics, 5, 2 (Spring 1999), pp. 134-35.
- Robert Latham, The Liberal Moment, in Slavic Review, 57, 3 (Autumn 1998), pp. 631-32.
- Neil Hood et al., *Transition in the Baltic States: Micro-Level Studies* in *Demokratizatsiya*, 6, 3 (Summer 1998), p. 608.

- Richard D. Brown, *Strength of a People*, in *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 3, 1 (Spring 1997), pp. 162-63.
- James Kurth, "America's Grand Strategy," *The National Interest*, No. 44 (Summer 1996), pp. 120-21.
- David M. Crowe, *The Baltic States and the Great Powers* in *Russian Review*, 54, 3 (July 1995), p. 477.
- Marion Gräfin Dönhof, Namen die keiner mehr nennt: Ostpreussen--Menschen und Geschichte, reviewed in Journal of Baltic Studies, 25, 4 (Winter 1994), pp. 363-64.
- Three books on Ukraine and the Soviet periphery in *Conflict Quarterly*, 7, 3 (Summer 1993), pp. 94-96.
- Carol Fink, The Genoa Conference in Slavic Review, 44, 4 (Winter 1985), pp. 723-724.
- V.S. Naipaul, Finding the Center in Worldview, 28, 6 (June, 1985), pp. 26-27.
- E. Valkenier, *The Soviet Union and the Third World* in *Slavic Review*, 43, 3 (Fall 1984), pp. 485-486.
- M. Nincic, The Arms Race in Perspective, 11, 8 (October 1982), p. 165.
- J.B. Barton, The Politics of Peace in Perspective, 11, 2 (March 1982), p. 37.
- J.L. Nogee and R.H. Donaldson, *Soviet Foreign Policy Since World War II* in *Russian Review*, 41, 1 (January 1982), pp. 90-91.
- R. Pipes, U.S.-Soviet Relations in the Era of Detente in Slavic Review, 42, 1 (Spring 1983), pp. 117-118.
- O. Sik, *The Communist Power System* and S. Bialer, *Stalin's Successors* in *Journal of Politics*, 44, 4 (November 1982), pp. 1113-1114.
- A.G. Arbatov, *Bezopasnost' i iadernyyi vek i politika Vashingtona* in *Slavic Review*, 41, 1 (Spring 1982), pp. 145-146.
- S. Bialer, *Domestic Context of Soviet Foreign Policy* in *Russian Review*, 41, 1 (January 1982), pp. 90-91.
- Stephen S. Kaplan, *Diplomacy of Power*, "Feature Review" in *Perspective*, 10, 7 (September 1981), pp. 122-123.

- Honore M.Catudal, *Kennedy and the Berlin Wall* in *American Political Science Review*, 75, 4 (December, 1981), pp. 1035-1036.
- F.A. Long and J.Reppy, *The Genesis of New Weapons* in *Perspective*, No. 2 (March 1981), p. 43.
- Hugh Seton-Watson, *The Imperialist Revolutionaries* in *Slavic Review*, 39, 3 (September 1980), p. 502.
- Lawrence Freedman, U.S. Intelligence and the Soviet Strategic Threat in Slavic Review, 38, 4 (December 1979), p. 685.
- Christen Jonsson, *Soviet Negotiating Behavior* in *International Journal*, 30, 3, p. 603-604.
- Richard Pipes, ed., Soviet Strategy in Europe (New York: Crane, Russak & Co., 1976) and Coffey, Joseph I., Arms Control and European Security: A Guide to East-West Negotiations (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1977) in Slavic Review, 38, 2 (June 1979), pp. 309-311.
- Ali Al'amin Mazrui, *A World Federation of Cultures* in *Worldview*, 22, 3 (March 1979) pp. 55-57.
- Thomas B.Larson, *Soviet-American Rivalry* in *American Political Science Review*, 73, 3 (September 1979), p. 948.
- W. Berner, *The Soviet Union, 1976-1977* in *Slavic Review*, 38, 1 (March 1979), pp. 122-123.
- K. Knorr and F. Trager, *Economic Issues and National Security* in *Perspective*, 8, 1 (January/February 1979), p. 10.
- "The Caribbean in an Interdependent World," in *Caribbean Yearbook of International Relations* (1978).
- D. Jones, ed., *Soviet Armed Forces Review Annual*, in *Russian Review*, 37, 4 (October 1978), p. 468.
- Alexander Solzhenitsyn, *Warning to the West* (1976) in *Slavic Review*, 36, 4 (September 1977), pp. 506-507.
- Edward Wegener, *The Soviet Naval Offensive* in *Slavic Review*, 35, 4 (December 1976), p. 742.
- Arthur M. Cox, *Dynamics of Detente* (1976) in *Russian Review*, 36, 2 (April 1977), p. 229.

- H. Nau, *Technology Transfer and U.S. Foreign Policy* (1976) in *Perspective*, 6, 2 (March 1977), p. 37.
- Ishi in Two Worlds and various other works in Wilson Quarterly, 1976-77.
- Willrich, Energy and World Politics in Perspective (January/February 1976), pp. 19-20.
- *East European Perspectives*, ed. King and Dean and *The Future of Inter-Bloc Relations*, ed. Mensonides and Kuhlman in *East European Quarterly*, 10, 1 (1976), pp. 133-135.
- "Proceeding in a Disgraceful Way" (review of Schurmann, *The Logic of World Power* and Kolko, *America and the Crisis of World Capitalism*) in *Worldview*, 18, 4 (April 1975), pp. 49-51.
- Hingley, *Joseph Stalin: Man and Legend* in *Perspective*, 3, 2 (November/December 1974), p. 32.
- "Controlling Nuclear Spread" (review of Quester, *The Politics of Nuclear Proliferation* and Jensen, *Return from the Nuclear Brink*) in *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 30, 7 (September 1974), p. 63-64.
- Dodd and Ciccoritti, U.S.-Soviet Cooperation in Space in Perspective (September 1974), p. 168.
- Handbook of Soviet Social Science Data, ed., E. Mickiewicz in Perspective, 2, 9 (October 1973), p. 201.
- Foreign Relations of the U.S., 1946, I, in American Historical Review, April 1974.
- Review of Foreign Policy (Fall 1972) in Foreign Policy, No. 10 (Spring 1973), pp. 182-185.
- Logue, The Fate of the Oceans in Perspective, 1, 8 (August 1972), pp. 157-158.
- Gallagher and Spielmann, Soviet Decision-Making for Defense in Perspective, 2, 3 (March 1973), pp. 56-57.
- H. Kovaly and E. Kohak, *The Victors and the Vanquished* in *Perspective*, July/August 1973, pp. 137-138.
- World Armaments and Disarmament: SIPRI Yearbook 1972 in World Affairs, 135, 4 (Spring 1973), pp. 358-360.
- Suny, The Baku Commune, 1917-1918: Class and Nationality in the Russian Revolution, in Perspective, 1, 5 (May 1972), p. 93.

- SIPRI Yearbook of World Armaments, 1969-70; To End War; and Impact of New Technologies on the Arms Race in Western Political Quarterly, 24, 3 (September 1971), pp. 599-602.
- SIPRI Yearbook of World Armaments and Disarmament, 1968-1969 and Walter Wentz, Nuclear Proliferation in Western Political Quarterly, 23, 3 (September 1970), pp. 659-661.
- John Gittings, *Survey of the Sino-Soviet Dispute* in *Pacific Affairs*, 43, 2 (Summer 1970), pp. 285-287.
- Andrew W. Cordier and Wilder Foote, *The Public Papers of the Secretaries-General, I: Trygve Lie*, in *American Political Science Review*, (December 1969), pp. 460-461.
- David W. Wainhouse et al., Arms Control Agreements: Designs for Verification and Observation in American Political Science Review, (June 1969), pp. 615-616.
- Harold J. Berman and Peter B. Maggs, *Disarmament Inspection and Soviet Law in Slavic Review*, 27, 4 (December 1968), pp. 667-668.
- Arthur Freud, *Of Human Sovereignty* in the *American Political Science Review*, 60, 4 (December 1966), pp. 1020-1021.
- Burton, *Peace Theory*; Etzioni, *The Hard Way to Peace*; and Spanier and Nogee, *The Politics of Disarmament* in the *American Political Science Review*, 58, 3 (September 1963), pp. 678-680.
- Isaac Deutcher, Russia in Transition and Other Essays in *Journal of International Affairs*, 12, 1 (1958), p. 20.

## PARTICIPATION IN PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

## **Conferences and presentations:**

"The Costs of Hubris," presentation at Engaging Enemies Conference, University of Indiana, April 19-20, 2013.

"Complexity Science as a Paradigm: Case Studies," ISA National Meeting, San Francisco, April 6, 2013.

"Comparing 'Fitness' in North and South Korea: Insights from Complexity Science," ISA National Meeting, San Francisco, April 3, 2013.

"What Does It All Mean?" Korea Art Forum International Symposium, Columbia University, March 2, 2013.

"Can--Should--Must We Negotiate with Evil?" Lecture, Korean Fellows, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, September 27, 2012.

Lecture: "Complexity Theory and Creativity," School of Fine Arts, College of Fine Arts, Boston University, March 22, 2011.

"Complexity Theory as a Paradigm for International Studies," International Conference on Complex Systems," Boston, June 30, 2011.

"Can—Should—We Negotiate with Evil? Spirituality, Emergent Creativity, and Reconciliation," Glasmacher Lecture in Ottawa on February 3, 2011, at the Symposium on Conflict Resolution, Centre for Research on Conflict of Saint Paul University, Department of Law of Carleton University, and the Faculty of Law of the University of Ottawa.

"Toward a New Paradigm for International Studies: The Complexity of Interdependence," invited paper: Western Sydney University and Academy of Social Sciences of Australia, January 2011.

"Interdependence: The Club of Rome and/or *Globalistika*," paper accepted for Russian-American Links Conference, St. Petersburg, Russian Academy of Sciences, October 2010; not presented due to logistical difficulties.

Live interview on North Korean crisis, 20 minutes, "Stand-up," Serius Radio, November 24, 2010.

Interview on North Korea, "Steel on Steel," Information Radio/USA Network, August 14, 2009

Interview on North Korea, 20 minutes, "Here and Now," WBUR, National Public Radio, August 5, 2010.

Interview on North Korea, "Steel on Steel," Information Radio/USA Network, August 14, 2009

Interview on North Korea, "Here and Now," WBUR, National Public Radio, August 5, 2010.

"America and the World" and "Negotiating with North Korea," lectures at John F Kennedy Library, for University of Massachusetts, July 12 and 13, 2010.

Interview on negotiating with North Korea, Diego Radio, Santa Fe, New Mexico, July 14, 2010.

Live interview on North Korean crisis, 20 minutes, Serius Radio, May 20, 2010.

Seminars on complexity theory and nonproliferation, Madrona Institute, Santa Fe, October 2009 and February 2010.

2010: Mss reviews for *Science*, for *Journal of International Relations and Development*; for Cambridge University Press; faculty review for George Washington University

"What Factors Shape Korea? Forces, Fortuna, and Free Will," Invited paper, Comparative Interdisciplinary Studies Section, International Studies Association, Potsdam, June 2009.

"Complex Adaptive Systems and Virtues," letter of intent, Arete program, University of Chicago, February 2009.

"Political Science and the Sacred," interview filmed for a documentary at the Harvard Divinity School, February 20, 2009

"The Human Development Index and Complexity Science," paper presented at Harvard Divinity School seminar, February 19, 2009

"Negotiating Arms Control with Authoritarians: the USSR, Libya, North Korea" paper presented at International Studies Association Annual Convention, New York, February 17, 2009.

- Invited lecture, "What Factors Shape Korea's Future," Institute for Korean Studies, Seoul, November 17, 2008, and invited lectures at Hanyang, Yonsei, and Incheon universities
- Panel chair, Association for Korean Political Studies, APSA National Meeting, Boston, August 29, 2008.
- "What keeps us apart, what keeps us together," invited paper, 2<sup>nd</sup> Global International Studies Conference, Ljubljana, Slovenia, July 25, 2008
- "Culture and Symbols as Tools of Resistance," Invited lecture, President's conference "From Budapest to Vilnius," Vilnius, Lithuania, June 6, 2008.
- "Getting to Yes in Korea," International Studies Association, Annual Convention, San Francisco, March 27, 2008.
- Invited to teach negotiation at University of Business and Technology, Pristina, Kosovo, August 2006. Cancelled for logistical reasons.

- "North Korea's Future: What Pyongyang, Seoul, and Washington Could Learn from East Europe, the USSR, and China," lecture at the East-West Center, University of Hawaii, April 24, 2006.
- Faculty Adviser, Liberty in North Korea (LINK) 2005-2007
- "Toward a New Paradigm for International Studies" paper delivered to International Studies Association Annual Meeting, March 23-25, 2006, San Diego, where also served as a discussant for papers on Baltic affairs.
- "Culture and Development," presentation to New England Complex Systems Institute, Cambridge, Mass., February 17, 2006.
- "Literacy, Individual Freedom, and Human Development," public lecture at Al -Akhawayn University, Ifrane, Morocco, October 6. 2005.
- Invited to present paper, chair panel, and serve as discussant, First Global International Studies Conference, Bilgi University, Istanbul, August 23-27, 2005. Cancelled for logistical reasons.
- "Ethnic Peace, Ethnic War," paper delivered at International Studies Association National Meeting, Honolulu, March 4. 2005.
- "Why Is the Baltic Not the Balkans? Insights from Complexity Theory," paper delivered at Tartu University, February 3, 2005
- "Successes and Failures of the Bush Administration," presentation to the Department of Political Science, Boston University, April 20, 2004.
- Founder, Boston University Committee on Ralph Bunche Centenary, 2003/2004.
- Invitation to editorial board of the North Korea Review
- "The 2d edition of *Dynamics of International Relations*"—talk at a reception at the International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Montreal, March 18, 2004.
- "The Executive and Congress in U.S. Foreign Policy," lecture, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia, March 10, 2004.
- Discussant, five papers on Kazakstan, Annual Conference, Central Eurasian Studies Society, Harvard University, October 4, 2003.
- "Peace in Korea? Lessons from East-West Détente," American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, August 28, 2003.

"The Future of the Baltics" and "Culture and Survival," lectures for the workshop on Baltic studies, University of Washington, Seattle, August 8-9, 2003. Workshop lectures replayed many times on the University of Washington Television Research Channel in and available at http://www.uwtv.org/programs/displayevent.asp?rid=2127

Invited lecture, "Latvia and the World," Riga, May 14, 2003.

- Paper, "Comparative Repression and Comparative Resistance: What Explains Survival?" International Workshop, "Sovietization of the Baltic States, 1940-1956," Rannarootsi Museum, Haapsalu, Estonia, May 9-11, 2003.
- Invited participant in all-day symposium, "Fifty Years After Stalin," Harvard U. Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, March 7, 2003.
- Panel on complexity theory, ISA Annual Meeting, Portland, Oregon, February 22, 2003.
- "The Future of U.S.-Chinese Relations," guest lecture, University of Hawaii, February 12, 2003.
- "The Culture of Democracy," Marsh Chapel luncheon lecture, Boston University, April 2, 2002.
- Participant, panel on *Dynamics of International Relations* by Walter Clemens at the ISA Annual Meeting, sponsored by Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Company, March 25, 2002.
- Chair, panel on Ethnic Conflict, ISA Annual Meeting, March 24, 2002.
- "Complexity Theory as a Tool for Understanding and Coping with Ethnic Conflict," paper delivered to International Studies Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, March 24. 2002.
- "Russia and the Olympics," interview, Metro West Radio, February 18, 2002.
- "Les théories en relations internationales," U. of Quebec, Montreal, February 15, 2002
- "Plus ça change, plus c'est pareil: Unilateralism in U.S. Foreign Policy," U. of Quebec, Montreal, February 15, 2002.
- "Social and Economic Development within the Baltic States," lecture with overhead transparencies for inter-agency workshop on "The Baltics Before the Second Decade," Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State, Meridian International Center, Washington, D.C., November 20, 2001, followed by the swearing-in of Brian Colson as U.S. Ambassador to Latvia by Secretary of State Colin Powell.

- "From Unilateralism toward Multilateralism," panel on U.S. responses to terrorism, Boston University School of Law, November 5, 2001.
- "Russia and the War on Terrorism," hour-long talk show on WRKO with call-ins, October 13, 2001.
- American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, August 28-September 1, 2001.
- "The U.S. president and treaty law," Pacifica Radio interview at WGBH, August 9, 2001.
- "China and the United States: Alternative Futures," paper presented by Susan Gray at International Studies Association Conference, Hong Kong, July 29-30, 2001.
- Briefing for U.S. ambassadors-designate to Estonia and Latvia, Washington, D.C., July 12, 2001.
- "United States Foreign Policy Today," lecture at University of Bologna in Buenos Aires, June 6, 2001, reported in *Clari'n* (Buenos Aires).
- "La Politica Exterior de Rusia desde la Perspectiva de los EE.UU.," lecture at Escuela National de Inteligencia, Presidencia de la Nacion Argentina, Secretarua de Inteligencia de Estado, Buenos Aires, June 5, 2001.
- "America and the World," digital video conference with seminar on U.S. foreign policy at U.S. Embassy, Athens, April 9, 2001.
- "Baltic Miracles," paper presented at 6th Annual Conference, Association for the Study of Nationalities, Columbia University, April 4-7, 2001.
- "VI Simposio Electronico Internacional, Centro de Estudios Internacionales para el Desarrollo," Buenos Aires, August 28-September 22, 2000.
- Consultant, *Contemporary Russian Politics: A Reader*, ed. Archie Brown (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).
- Faculty promotion reviews at Cornell University, University of New Mexico, and University of Rhode Island, 1995-2000.
- Participant in conferences, "After the Berlin Wall" and "NATO: Fifty Years After," American Academy of Arts and Sciences, November 1999 and on June 2, 2000.
- Participant, CIA-Columbia University study of state capacity (Estonia), spring 2000.
- "International Law and Chechnya," address to Boston University Chapter, Pi Sigma Alpha Honorary Fraternity Dinner, January 19, 2000.

Field research, Narva and Tallinn, Estonia, July 2-6, 1999.

- "Liberal Theory and Baltic Politics," lecture for Baltic Research Program, Södertörns University College, June 23, 1999.
- "Trust and Voluntarism," lecture at Baltic Sea Foundation Summer Course, Södertörns University College, June 21, 1999.
- "Self-Government vs. Autocracy in the Baltic, A.D. 1000-2000" paper presented at 3rd Conference on Baltic Studies in Europe, Stockholm, June 17-20, 1999.
- "Security and Development through the Lens of Complexity Theory," paper presented at the ISA Annual Meeting, Washington DC, February 18. 1999, where served also as a discussant of papers on new approaches to international relations theory.
- Chaired panel on ethnicity at Northeastern Political Science Association Meeting, Boston, November 12, 1998.
- "Complexity Theory and European Security," paper presented at Third Pan-European Conference on International Relations. Vienna, September 18, 1998.
- Interview on democratization in the Baltic countries for Ukrainian service of Voice of America, June 22, 1998.
- Lectured on BU Alumni Travel Program "Changing Tides of History" in the Baltic, June 5-18, 1998.
- "Graduated Reciprocation in Tension-Reduction," paper presented at International Seminar on Central Asia and the Caucasus, The Role of Regional Powers in Conflict Resolution and Development, Foreign Ministry of Iran, Institute for Political and International Studies, Tehran, April 27-28, 1998 (summarized in *Tehran Times*, April 30, 1998, p. 2); mentioned on Voice of America in Farsi, May 9, 1998.
- "Will China Follow the Soviet Path?" paper presented at ISA Annual Meeting, Minneapolis, March 18-21, 1998, where also chaired panel on complexity theory.
- "Who or What Killed the Soviet Union?" paper presented at ISA Annual Meeting, Toronto, March 20, 1997.
- "The Politics of Negotiation," presentation at the American Association for Baltic Studies, Bentley College, June 28, 1996.

Interview on the Russian elections, ABC Radio, June 16, 1996.

- "Building Civil Society," a featured address at the conference on "Nation-Building in the Baltic States," Irving B. Harris School of Public Policy, University of Chicago, May 3, 1996.
- Paper on recent events in the Baltic region, International Studies Association Annual Meeting, San Diego, April 17-20, 1996.
- "How Much Is Enough?" paper for Working Group on the Defense Budget, Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies, 1995.
- "Two Decades of Success" seminars at Harvard Center for Science and International Affairs, May 18-20, 1995.
- Briefing for ambassador-designate to Estonia, National Foreign Affairs Training Center, U.S. Department of State, May 3, 1995.
- Consultation on Baltic affairs, Voice of America, December 2, 1994.
- Invited to chair session at conferences of the International Political Science Association, Berlin, August 1994. Declined for logistical reasons.
- Interview on Russia and the Baltic, Voice of America, August 18, 1994.
- "Baltic Foreign Policies"--invited presentation to a conference at Ohio State University. April 16, 1994.
- Conference on U.S. Policy toward the former Soviet Union, Harvard Center for Science and International Affairs, March 22, 1994.
- Conference on Journalism in the former Soviet Union, Northeastern University, March 21, 1994.
- "Baltic Identities in the 1990s: Renewed Fitness," invited paper, Russian Littoral Project, School for Advanced International Studies, Washington DC, June 14, 1993.
- "Developments in the Baltic," invited paper, Fifth Annual Workshop on the Post-Soviet Nations, Harriman institute, Columbia University, April 30, 1993.
- Invited paper with Jun Zhan on Chiang Ching-kou at 11th Annual Asian Conference, Center for Asian Studies, St. John's University, April 2-3, 1993.
- Member, Social Science Curriculum Committee, Boston University, 1992-93.
- "Mediating International Conflict," paper at International Studies Association, Acapulco, March 26, 1993.

- Paper on East Asia and the Baltic at Institute for International Relations, Taipei, August 1992.
- Recipient, Fulbright Lectureship in China, 1992-93. Declined.
- Lectures and seminars in Denmark, Germany, and Greece, May 17-June 6, 1992, sponsored by U.S. Information Agency.
- "Negotiating a New Life: Burdens of Empire and Independence," paper for Columbia University Nationalities Workshop, May 1, 1992.
- Participant, Roundtable on the Republics After the Soviet Union, Harvard University, April 3, 1992.
- Interview Yevgeny Yevtushenko, Boston, February 23, 1992.
- Voice of America interview for broadcast to the Baltic republics, January 23, 1992.
- "Can Asian Tigers Grow on the Baltic Coast?" talk at Conference on Small Nations Research, Boston University, November 22, 1991.
- "History's Legacy," lecture for Baltic Symposium, U.S. Foreign Service Institute, Rossyln, Virginia, October 22, 1991.
- "The Changing Union," lecture for College of Liberal Arts Forum, Boston University, September 23, 1991.
- Half-hour interview discussing Baltic independence on National Public Radio, "Fresh Air," September 6, 1991.
- "Republics as Independent Actors," talk to Annual Conference, Program on Nationality and Siberian Studies, Columbia University, April 26, 1991.
- "Can the United States Cooperate with a Disintegrating Empire?" paper presented at the International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Vancouver, March 22, 1991.
- "Models of Empire," talk at University of Idaho, March 4. 1991.
- "Future of the Baltic States," talk at International Relations Society, Boston University, February 5. 1991.
- Interviews on Monitor Forum, Monitor Today, Monitor Radio (short-wave radio world wide) throughout 1990-1991.
- Hosted delegations of the Lithuanian and of the Kazakh governments in Boston, November 1990.

Guest and interpreter (Russian-English), Olympic Education Center, Northern Michigan University, December 20-29, 1990.

Interviewed for Dari service, Voice of America, November 1990.

Participant in annual meeting of International Institute for Strategic Studies, "The Role of the United States in a Changing World," Hot Springs, Va., September 1990. Wrote a report entitled "What the World Thinks of America" (15 p.).

Organized exhibition of Kazakh children's art at Lexington Public Library, August 1990.

- Guest, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Georgian SSR, June 1990. Lectured (in Russian) at the Ministry ("The Austrian Model and the Border Republics") and "The Future of the USSR" at the Geography Department, University of Georgia, Tbilisi, June 1990.
- Took part in a study of demilitarization of United States and USSR sponsored by Committee on Economic Priorities, New York, in conjunction with the Institute of World Economics and International Relations (IMEMO), USSR Academy of Sciences. Traveled to Moscow in May-June 1990 for meetings with IMEMO and the Institute for USA and Canada. Wrote two papers for internal discussion: "Toward "Complex Interdependence' in Soviet-U.S. Relations" (46 p.) and "Can the United States Cooperate with a Declining Empire?" (18 p.)
- Guest, "Nevada-Semipalatinsk Movement," Alma-Ata and Semipalatinsk, Kazakhstan, May 1990.
- Invited participant, "Soviet Nationalities Against Gorbachev," Program on Nationality and Siberian Studies, Columbia University, May 4, 1990.
- Guest, Estonian Academy of Sciences and Congress of the Estonian People, Tallinn, March 1990.
- Paper on the Baltic for Institute for the Study of Conflict, Boston University, November 8, 1989.

Hour talk-show on USSR, Public Radio Station WILL, Urbana, Illinois, August 17, 1989.

- Monitor Forum, TV Channel 68 and short-wave radio worldwide, July 29-30, 1989.
- Organized panel and gave paper, "Ideological Change Under Gorbachev," Annual Meeting, International Studies Association, London, April 1, 1989.
- Guest, Institute of World Economics and International Relations, Moscow, and Estonian Academy of Sciences, March 1989.

- "Estonian Claims and Kremlin Responses," presentation to Seminar on Ethnic Claims and the State, Harvard Center for International Affairs, March 15, 1989.
- "Reagan Years Retrospect," WEEI hour-long discussion, January 21, 1989.
- "Soviet Policy in Europe," lecture, Amherst College, January 19, 1989.
- Chaired panel on nationality questions, conference on crisis in the USSR, Boston University Institute for the Study of Conflict, November 30, 1988.
- Achievements and Failures of Soviet Foreign Policy, 1917-1987," theme paper for panel at the American Association for Advancement of Slavic Studies Annual Meeting, Honolulu, November 18, 1988.
- Lecture: "Driving Forces in Soviet Arms Control Policy," Williams College, Mass., May 6, 1988.
- "The Changing U.S.-Soviet Balance," New England Political Science Association annual meeting, April 15, 1988, Cambridge, Mass.
- Met with editors of Sovetskaia Estoniia, alone and with BU students, January 7-8, 1988.
- Organized and conducted conference on U.S. security policies for International Visitors' Program, USIA, at Boston University, and gave talk on U.S. policies toward the USSR and Eastern Europe, August 14, 1987.
- "Models of Soviet Foreign Policy," Glassboro Summit Commemorative Conference, Glassboro College, N.J., April 29, 1987.
- "Gorbachev's New Thinking: Security and Interdependence," International Studies Association, Washington, D.C., April 17, 1987.
- Biweekly meeting, Avoiding Nuclear War Project, Center for Science and International Affairs, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 1986-1989.
- Discussant, panel on Chernobyl, Northeastern Political Science Association Meeting, Boston, November 13, 1986.
- Interviews with Associated Press, WEEI and <u>Boston Herald</u> regarding events in the U.S.S.R. and in U.S.-Soviet relations throughout September and October 1986.
- Symposium on Chernobyl, Harvard University Faculty Club, October 6, 1986.
- Participant in symposium on negotiating with the U.S.S.R., Harvard University Faculty Club, May 6, 1986.

- "Continuity and Change in Russia's Disarmament Policy," Keynote address, Alternative Approaches to Arms Control Symposium, Center for International and Strategic Affairs, UCLA, March 10, 1986.
- "The USSR and Afghanistan," address at the Mershon Center for Security Studies, Ohio State University, Columbus, February 18, 1986.
- "Can We--Should We--Negotiate With the Russians?" Ohio State University, Mansfield, Ohio, February 17, 1986.
- "U.S. Interests in Arms Control," Lecture for the Department of Political Science, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, February 13, 1986.
- Research at Lenin Library, Moscow, January, 1986.
- Paper, "Soviet Interests in Arms Control, 1917-1985," Third World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies, Washington, D.C., October 30-November 4, 1985.
- Invited paper, "Soviet Interests in Arms Control," Institute for East-West Security Studies, New York, October 18, 1985.
- "Moscow's Response to the Club of Rome: Will 'Global Problems' Unite or Divide East and West?" Talk at the Kennan Institute, Smithsonian Institution, May 5, 1985.
- Invited paper, "Soviet Views on East-West/North-South Interdependence," National Meeting, American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, New York, November 1-4, 1984.
- Stanley Foundation Annual Strategy for Peace Conference, Airlie House, Virginia October 11-13, 1984.
- "The Politics of the Olympics," interview, WCVB-TB, Boston, July 27, 1984.
- Chairperson, U.S. Foreign Policy Panel, New England Political Science Association, Naval War College, Newport, R.I., April 13-14, 1984.
- Participant, "Soviet Space Program: From Sputnik to Salyut," National Space Institute and Russian Research Center, Harvard University, April 9, 1984.
- Stanley Foundation Annual Strategy for Peace Conference, Airlie House, Virginia, October 6-8, 1983.
- International Institute for Strategic Studies, Annual Meeting; Ottawa, September 8-11, 1983.

- Lectures at the Department of Modern Asian Studies, Griffith University, Brisbane; and at the Australian National University, Canberra, August 24-28, 1983.
- Lectures at Andalas University, Medan; the Center for Strategic and International Studies and the Institute for National Defense, Jakarta; and the Faculty of Political and Social Sciences and the Center for Cultural Studies, Gadjah Maja University, Jogjakarta, July 18-26, 1983.
- Lectures at the Singapore Institute of International Affairs, National University of Singapore; and at the Temasek Club, July 13-14, 1983.
- Lectures at the Institute of International Relations, National Chengchi University of Taipei and at the American Library, Kaosiung, May 8-14, 1983.
- Lectures at the Slavic Center, Hokkaido University; the American Centers, Osaka and Fukuoka; and at the Foreign Ministry Training Center, Tokyo, April 12-26, 1983.
- Lectures at the Institute of Business Administration, Karachi University; the Society for International Development, Karachi; the Pakistan Foreign Service Training Institute; the Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad; and at the American Center, Lahore, April 3-7, 1983.
- Lectures at the American Center, Bombay; the World Affairs Council, Bangalore; Presidency and Pachaiyappas Colleges, Madras, March 24-30, 1983.
- Lectures at the University of Peradeniya, Kandy, and the Sri Lanka Army Headquarters, Colombo, March 15-16, 1983.
- Lecture at the Bangladesh Institute for Strategic Studies, Dacca, December 20, 1982.
- Lecture at the Research Center for Nepal and Asian Studies, Kathmandu, November 23, 1982.
- Seminars at Indian Institute of Management, Ahmadabad, September 19-21, 1982; training exercises with Central Reserve Police Force, Mt. Abu, September 22-23, 1982
- Seminars and training exercises with Sixth Division, Swiss Army, and General Staff; central Switzerland and Zurich, August 28-September 16, 1982.

Commentator on U.S.-Soviet Relations, WHDH, May 26, 1982.

Present paper, "The Superpowers and the Third World," International Studies Association National Meeting, Cincinnati, March 26, 1982.

Lecture, Physicians for Social Responsibility, Harvard University, February 1, 1982.

- Chairman, "Future U.S.-Soviet Relations," The Stanley Foundation U.S. Foreign Policy Conference, Airlie House, Virginia, October 16-18, 1981.
- Lecture, "Rhythms of Soviet Foreign Policy, 1917-1981," UCLA, May 21, 1981.
- Commentator on U.S.-Soviet Relations, KABC, February 7, March 23, May 27, 1981.
- Adviser, The Edmund G. "Pat" Brown Institute of Government Affairs, 1981.
- Steering Committee, B.U. Graduate School Overseas Program in International Relations, 1978-1982.
- Chairman, "Rebuilding Detente," Strategy for Peace Conference (Stanley Foundation), Airlie House, Virginia, October 10-12, 1980.
- Chaired panel, "Evolutionary, Sociobiological and Related Aspects of Peace Science," same conference, June 11, 1980.
- Presented paper, "The U.S. and Soviet Military Establishments and SALT: Comparative Perspectives, "International Congress of Arts & Sciences, Harvard University, June 9, 1980.
- Presented papers "The Soviet Military and SALT," and "Sociobiology and International Relations," at the International Studies Association National Meeting, Los Angeles, March 1980.
- Centre Universitaire Antilles-Guyane et Archives départmentales de la Guadeloupe, January 1980.
- Coordinator, Foreign Policy Panels, American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, National Meeting, New Haven, October 1979 also delivered paper.
- Living Tao Foundation Seminar, Aspen Institute, Hawaii, July 1979.
- Consultant to UNESCO in Trinidad, "Political Factors Impacting on Caribbean Cultural Differences," May-June 1979.
- Paper, "Soviet Responses to U.S. Power and Initiatives," briefing for Congressmen and staffs, Capitol Hill, May 15, 1979.
- Lecturer, Council on Religion and International Affairs, New York, September 20, 1978.
- Lectures and seminars at University of the West Indies and the International Communications Agency, Port-of- Spain; television, elementary and secondary school programs in Trinidad and Tobago, 1978, sponsored by UNESCO and Ministry of Education, Republic of Trinidad and Tobago.

- Other seminars: Face-to-Face, Carnegie Endowment; Washington Center of Foreign Policy Research, 1976-77.
- Lecture, U.S. Dept. of State, June 23, 1977.
- Commentator, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, October 26, 1976 and May 31, 1977.
- Lecture, World Without War Council, Seattle, May 12, 1977.
- Lecture, Americans for Democratic Action National Convention, May 6, 1977.

Colloquium, Kennan Institute, Smithsonian Institution, May 3, 1977.

- Lecture, National Defense University, May 2, 1977.
- Lecture, U.S. Information Agency, April 26, 1977.

Lectures, Foreign Service Institute, March 11, April 29, and May 27, 1977.

- U.S. House of Representatives, New Coalition, February 17, 1977.
- Lecture, American University, February 4, 1977.
- Lecture, Secretary's Open Forum, Dept. of State, January 19, 1977.
- Lecture, Institute for Sino-Soviet Relations, George Washington University, September 18, 1976.
- Lectures at Institute for the Study of International Politics, Milan, May 29, 1976; University of Naples, May 25, 1976; Mexican Institute of Diplomatic Studies "Matias Romero," July 14, 1976; at the national war colleges, diplomatic institutes and universities in Chile and Brazil in July and August, 1976.
- Solzhenitsyn on the West, Interview on Channel 2, WGBH, April 1, 1976.
- "Sources for Study of Soviet Foreign Policy," talk at Harvard Russian Research Center, December 12, 1975.
- Seminars on U.S.-Puerto Rican Relations at University of Puerto Rico, November 24-December 7, 1975.
- Panel Chairman, Peace Research Society, Cambridge, November 10, 1975.
- State Department Scholar-Diplomat Seminar on environmental policy, October 6-10, 1975.

"The Soviet Military and SALT," paper presented at Dept. of Political Science, M.I.T., November 13, 1975; Maxwell Air Force Base Conference on the Role of the Military in Communist Societies, November 21, 1975; Institute on International Studies, University of California, Berkeley, March 4, 1975.

Present two papers, International Slavic Conference, Banff, August 1974.

Luncheon speaker, Annual Meeting, New England Region, ISA, Northeastern University, 1973.

Research in Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Israel, July-August 1972.

- "U.S.-Soviet Relations," nationwide television broadcast, Public Broadcasting System, June 1, 1972.
- Program chairman, "Computer Simulation and Analysis for International Relations," Annual Meeting, New England Region, International Studies Association, Newport, R.I., April 20-21, 1972.

Paper presented at International Studies Association, Dallas, March 16, 1972.

Fifth International Arms Control Conference, Philadelphia, October 15-17, 1971.

Scholar-Diplomat Program, U.S. Department of State, January 1972.

- Conference on "Aggression Instinct Theory of War," International Institute for Peace, Vienna, August 31- September 1, 1971.
- "The Non-Zero Sum Hypothesis and the National Self-Interest," paper presented at Peace Research Society (International), Central European Section, Vienna, August 29, 1971.
- Research in Greece and Turkey, July-August 1971.
- State Department lecture tour in Japan, Korea, Taiwan, New Zealand, Australia, Indonesia, Malaysia, July-August 1970.
- Present paper, "Great and Small Power Interests in the Middle East," Peace Research Society Conference, Cambridge, Mass., June 4, 1970.
- Present paper, "Alternative Soviet Approaches to Europe" New England Political Science Association, Dartmouth College, April 24-25, 1970.
- Clemens's students "played" Czechoslovakia 1968 at the National Gaming Council, Washington, D.C., April 18-19, 1970.

Participant, "Helping Skills Group," B.U. Leadership Consulting Service, Spring 1970.

- Panelist with Jerome B. Wiesner, Edward Teller, and George Rathjens, "U.S. Strategic Weapons Policies in the 1970's," M.I.T. Kresge Auditorium, April 4, 1970, broadcast on WTBS, April 1970.
- Panelist, International Political Science Association Roundtable, Prague, September 18-19, 1969. Visits to Romanian and USSR Academies of Science, August-September, 1969.
- Speaker, School for International Service, American University, April 16, 1969.
- Panelist, International Studies Association, San Francisco, March 27, 1969.
- Panelist, Peace Research Society (International) Conference, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, September 1968. Observer, Warsaw Pact intervention in Czechoslovakia.
- Lecture on "Entangling Alliances" at Five Colleges Communist Studies Faculty Group, Smith College, October 1967.
- Present paper, "Arms Control in 1975," Princeton University, May 18-19, 1967.
- Research in Moscow, Erevan, and Tbilisi, December 1966-January 1967.
- Faculty Seminars on Development and Modernization, Boston University, 1966-68.
- Present paper, Peace Research Society (International), University of Vienna, September 2-3, 1966. Visit Economics Institute, Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, September 1966.
- Panelist, Industrial Liaison Symposium on Strategy and Arms Control, M.I.T., May 26, 1966.
- Participant, Institute on Computers and the Policy Making Community, Lawrence Radiation Laboratory, April 4-15, 1966.
- Participant, Third International Arms Control Symposium, University of Pennsylvania, March 31-April 3, 1966.
- Lecture, "Analyzing Soviet Arms Control Policy," International Relations Program Seminar, Northwestern University, February 24, 1966.

Executive Officer, National Citizens Commission, International Cooperation Year November 29-December 1, 1965, and author of its proposed "3-Year Moratorium on

Antimissile Missiles," described by Robert Kleiman in *The New York Times*, November 24, 1965.

- 2nd World Conference on World Peace Through Law, Washington, D.C., 1965.
- Harvard University Summer Study, Sino-Soviet Relations and Arms Control, July-September 1965, prepared and presented paper.
- Panelist, "Some Basic Approaches to Conflict Control," Law and Sociology Committee, American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics, San Francisco, July 26, 1965.
- Panelist, The Soviet Space Program, George Washington University Policy Studies in Science and Technology, Washington, D.C., March 23, 1965.
- Lecturer, Legal Institute, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, February 11-12, 1965.
- Lecturer, Austrian Diplomatic Academy, Vienna, February 6-9, 1965.
- Faculty, Salzburg Seminar in American Studies, January 6th-February 5th, 1965.
- Panelist, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, September, 1964.
- Lecture (in Russian), "Intellectuals in Public Life," meeting of Soviet visitors and M.I.T. Political Science Club, November 18, 1963.
- Columbia University Summer Study, Soviet Attitudes on Arms Control and Disarmament, Airlie House, Virginia, July, 1963.
- 1st World Conference on World Peace Through the Rule of Law, Athens, July, 1963.
- Present paper, Second Congress of Scientists on Survival, New York City, July, 1963.
- Present paper, Far Western Slavic Conference, The Hoover Institution, April, 1963.
- Panelist, First International Symposium on Arms Control and Peace Research, University of Michigan, December, 1962.
- 10th Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs, London, September, 1962.
- Present paper, Far Western Slavic Conference, University of Washington, April 1962.
- Interpreter and guide, Soviet youth editors, for the U.S. National Student Association, 1958, in meetings and TV interviews with Eleanor Roosevelt, Adlai E. Stevenson, Hubert H. Humphrey, William O Douglas, and other U.S. leaders

International Student Relations Seminar, Harvard University, July 12-September 1, 1954