Biographical Resumé 2023

WALTER C. CLEMENS, JR.

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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 and Book Review Editor, *Asian Perspective*, 2014-2022-; Usage Panel, *American Heritage Dictionary*, 1982-2018; Associate, Harvard University Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, 1986-2003; Member, North Korea Working Group, Belfer Center, 2014--; Associate, Madrona Institute, 2009-2010; POSCO 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 2017 and in 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, 2010-2015; 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., 1961-63; Special Operations Research Office, American University, Washington, D.C., 1960-61.

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

- Blood Debts: What Do Putin and Xi Owe Their Victims?. (Washington DC: Westphalia Press, 2023), xv + 246 p.
- *The Republican War on America: Dangers of Trump and Trumpism* (Washington DC: Westphalia Press, 2023), xv +. 246 p.
- The Republican Virus in the Body Politic: How to Reboot America, Kindle Edition and Amazon Paperback, 2020 at https://www.amazon.com/dp/B08J3QNYJK/ref=sr_1_1?dchild=1&keywords=walter+clemens&qid=1600194974&s=books&sr=1-1
- North Korea and the World: Human Rights, Arms Control, and Strategies for Negotiation (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2016), xv + 443 p.
- also at
 - $https://books.google.com/books?id=xnxMDAAAQBAJ&pg=PT3&dq=clemens,+walter&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjNmNWbptnRAhWMOyYKHU_KDC0Q6AEITzAI#v=onepage&q=clemens%2C%20walter&f=false$
- Complexity Science and World Affairs, Foreword by Stuart A. Kauffman (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2013). xxii + 266 p. 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. (1st 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.
- National Security and U.S.-Soviet Relations (Stanley Foundation, 1982);
- The U.S.S.R. and Global Interdependence: Alternative Futures (Washington DC: 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.
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- 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"; "United States Foreign Relations: North and /South Korea," in *Oxford Companion to International Relations*, ed. Joel Krieger, 2 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).
- "Why is the Baltic not the Balkans? Insights from Complexity Theory," in Eero Medijainen and Olaf Mertelsmann, eds., *Border Changes in 20th Century Europe: Selected Case Studies* (Berlin: Lit-Verlag [Tartu Studies in Contemporary History 1], 2010), pp. 237-270.
- "Arms Control and Disarmament: Russian Experience," "Disarmament, General and Complete," "Internationalist Theory and Liberal Democracy" "Russia and Peace: History," and "Third Party Intervention" in *Oxford International Encyclopedia of Peace*, ed. Nigel Young. 4 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009). I, 115-118; I, 596-601; II, 450-463; III, 650-652; IV, 150-152.
- "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: Macmilllan, 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.
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- "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," in Richard D. Burns, ed., *Encyclopedia of Arms Control and Disarmament* (3 vols.; New York: Scribner's, 1993), 1, 59-74.
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- "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.
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- "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, Environmental and Economic Implications of Enhanced Oil Recovery Processes---An Overview (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.
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- "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.
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- "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.
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- Robert E. Osgood, *Alliances and American Foreign Policy* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1969).
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- "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

- "China's Blood Debt to its People," *Global Asia*. (Sept/ 2023) 18, 3 at https://www.globalasia.org/v18no3/feature/chinas-blood-debt-to-its-people_walter-c-clemens-jr
- "Dangers of the Deep (and the Shallows)," reflections on Isaac Kardon, *China's Law of the Sea* (2023), *Global Asia* 18, 2 (June 2023): 124-126.
- "Xi's Absolute Tyranny," *Global Asia* 18, 1 (March 2023) at https://www.globalasia.org/v18no1/focus/xi-jinpings-absolute-tyranny_walter-c-clemens-ir
- "The Urgent Need to Build Bridges," reflections on Mel Gurtov, *Engaging China: Rebuilding Sino-American Relations* (2022), *Global Asia* 17, 4 (Dec. 2022) https://www.globalasia.org/v17no4/book/the-urgent-need-to-build-bridges_walter-c-clemens-jr
- "WE versus Us: Dystopias in Russia, China, and Maybe the USA", NETSOL, 7/1. (SPRING 2022): pp.20-38. https://www.netsoljournal.net
- "How to Destroy a Civilization: Vladimir Putin Lays Waste to Russia as Well as Ukraine," *Hedgehog Review*, May 18, 2022 at https://hedgehogreview.com/webfeatures/thr/posts/how-to-destroy-a-civilization
- "Worst Cases and Reality," Asian Perspective 46, 1 (Winter 2022); 189-193.
- "Should the West Negotiate with Communist Regimes?" *Global Asia* 14, 4 (December 2021) at https://globalasia.org/v16no4/feature/should-the-west-negotiate-with-communist-regimes walter-c-clemens-jr
- Walter C. Clemens, Jr., "Review Essay: Enlightenment Lost?", NETSOL, 6/2, FALL 2021, pp.14-19. https://www.netsoljournal.net
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Paul Krugman, Arguing with Zombies: Economics, Politics, and the Fight for a Better Future in NYJB, 3/21/20 at https://www.nyjournalofbooks.com/book-review/arguing-zombies

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Andrei Kozyrev, Fire Bird: The Elusive Fate of Russian Democracy in NYJB, 10/11/19 at https://www.nyjournalofbooks.com/book-review/firebird-elusive-fate

Samantha Power, *Education of an Idealist: A Memoir* in *NYJB*, 10/7/19 at https://www.nyjournalofbooks.com/book-review/education-idealist

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George S. Beebe, *The Russia Trap: How Our Shadow War with Russia Could Spiral into Nuclear Catastrophe* in *NYJB*, 9/30/19 at https://www.nyjournalofbooks.com/book-review/russia-trap

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Stuart A. Kauffman, A World Beyond Physics: The Emergence and Evolution of Life at NYJB, 6/24/19 at https://www.nyjournalofbooks.com/book-review/world-beyond-physics

Jon Meacham and Tim McGraw, Songs of America: Patriotism, Protest, and the Music That Made a Nation in NYJB, 6/13/19 at https://www.nyjournalofbooks.com/book-review/songs-america

Larry Diamond, *Ill Winds: Saving Democracy from Russian Rage, Chinese Ambition, and American Complacency* in *NYJB*, 6/10/19 at https://www.nyjournalofbooks.com/book-review/ill-winds

John Henry Rice, *Awaken: A Tibetan Buddhist Journey Toward Enlightenment* in *NYJB*, 5/13/19 at https://www.nyjournalofbooks.com/book-review/awaken-tibetan

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Ian Bremmer, *Us vs. Them: The Failure of Globalism* in *NYJB*, 5/9/18 at https://www.nyjournalofbooks.com/book-review/us-vs-them

Seth Hettena, *Trump/Russia: A Definitive History* in *NYJB*, 5/7/18 at https://www.nyjournalofbooks.com/book-review/trump-russia-definitive

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PARTICIPATION IN PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Conferences and presentations:

U.S.-Russian Prisoner Exchange, Voice of America interview, 4/27/22

"A federal solution?" The Future of Hong Kong Conference, MIT, 11-16-19.

Interview quoted by Paul Shinkman in https://www.usnews.com/news/best-countries/articles/2018-05-31/in-north-korea-russia-sees-a-key-to-asia

"Is the World Chaotic or Merely Complex?" co-authored with Stuart A. Kauffman, presentation at 9th International Conference on Complex Systems, Cambridge MA, July 23, 2018.

Interview with Steve Morrison re Otto Warmbier (DPRK prisoner) on WCPO, Cincinnati, January 4, 2017.

"North Korea and the World," lecture, Korea Economic Institute, Washington, D.C., October 5, 2016.

"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, 2nd 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

Some news reports

Meghan B. Kelly, "Author skewers Bush administration a second time," *Wicked Local Cambridge*, 12/11/08 at https://cambridge.wickedlocal.com/x596340993/Author-skewers-Bush-administration-a-second-time