

Dr. Robert M. Cutler

1. Current Appointment

Fellow, Institute of European, Russian and Eurasian Studies, Carleton University.

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2. Education and Training

Social Science Research Council (New York): Post-doctoral Grant for Training in Central Asian Studies, Indiana University, Summer 1993.

Columbia University: Mellon Post-doctoral Fellow, The W. Averell Harriman Institute for Advanced Study of the Soviet Union, 1983–1984.

Moscow University: IREX Post-doctoral Fellow, Faculty of Contemporary History, 1982–1983.

University of Michigan: Ph.D. (WITH DISSERTATION: “SOVIET DEBATES OVER THE CONDUCT OF FOREIGN POLICY TOWARD WESTERN EUROPE: FOUR CASE STUDIES, 1971–1975”), Political Science, 1982.

University of Geneva: Albert Gallatin Fellow in International Affairs, Faculty of International History and Politics, Graduate Institute of International Studies, 1979–1980.

Pennsylvania State University: M.A. (WITH THESIS: “SOVIET PERCEPTIONS OF THE EFFECTS OF DÉTENTE ON WESTERN EUROPEAN INTEGRATION”), Political Science, 1976.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology: Sc.B., Political Science; and Sc.B., Humanities and Science (WITH DOUBLE-THESIS SATISFYING EACH DEGREE PROGRAM INDEPENDENTLY: “THE ANARCHIST THOUGHT OF MIKHAIL BAKUNIN: ITS ORIGINS, DEVELOPMENT, AND POINTS OF CONTRAST WITH THAT OF MARX”), 1974.

3. Chronology of Appointments

3.1. Principal Appointments

Carleton University: Fellow, Institute of European, Russian and Eurasian Affairs, 2006–Present; Institute of European and Russian Studies, 1998–2006; Institute of Central/East European and Russian-Area Studies, 1996–1998.

Université Laval: Professeur adjoint, 1988–1996.

University of California at Santa Barbara: Visiting Assistant Professor, 1985–1988.

University of Arizona: Visiting Assistant Professor, 1984–1985.

3.2. Other Teaching Appointment

Webster University at Geneva: Visiting Professor, Summer 1983.

3.3. Other Research Appointments

Research Fellow, Institute for the Study of Coherence and Emergence, Boston, 2000–Present.

External Collaborator, CEPS Task Force for the Caucasus, Centre for European Policy Studies, Brussels, 2000–2002.

Visiting Scholar, Institute on East Central Europe, Columbia University, 1993–1994.

Visiting Scholar, The Harriman Institute, Columbia University, 1991–1993.

Member, East–South Project, Department of Government and Political Science, University of Maryland, College Park, 1989–1991.

Research Associate, Centre québécois de relations internationales, Université Laval, 1988–1996.

Research Associate, Slavic Studies Center, University of Pennsylvania, Fall 1987.

Research Associate, Center for International and Strategic Affairs, University of California, Los Angeles, 1986–1987.

Research Associate, Summer Research Laboratory, Russian and East European Center, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Summers 1981, 1986, 1987.

4. Teaching Experience

4.1 University Courses Taught

4.1.1. International Relations

Introduction to International Relations / Theories of International Relations

Three graduate courses and one undergraduate course. (Taught in French in Canada.)

Seminar in International Relations / Readings in International Relations

Five undergraduate courses in fields of:

International Political Economy

Transnational Public Policy

International Organization

(Taught in French in Canada and in English in the United States.)

Foreign Policies of the Soviet Successor States / Soviet Foreign Policy

Four graduate courses and nine undergraduate courses. (Taught in French in Canada and in English in the United States.)

Dimensions of European Security

One graduate course. (Taught in English in the United States.)

4.1.2. Comparative Politics

Introduction to Comparative Politics / Pro-Seminar in Comparative Politics

Two graduate courses and one undergraduate course. (Taught in English in the United States and in Switzerland.)

Politics of the Soviet Successor States / Soviet Political System

Three graduate courses and ten undergraduate courses. (Taught in French in Canada and in English in the United States.)

Comparative Communist Systems and Transitions

Two undergraduate courses. (Taught in English in the United States.)

4.1.3. Political Philosophy

History of European Socialism

One undergraduate course. (Taught in English in Switzerland.)

Seminar in Political Philosophy

One undergraduate course. (Taught in English in the United States.)

4.2. Other Teaching Experience

Graduate student teaching assistant for the following undergraduate courses in

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Introduction to International Relations

Topics in World Politics

Soviet Foreign Policy

COMPARATIVE POLITICS

Political Development and Dependence

Comparative Communism

West European Politics

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

Political Philosophy and Poetry

University of Michigan 1977–1979, 1980–1981; Pennsylvania State University, 1974–1976.

High school instructor in private secondary schools in

Pennsylvania (*introductory psychology, American history*), Autumn 1974.

Massachusetts (*mathematics, physics*), Spring 1974

Tutor in community program while undergraduate, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1972–73.

4.3. Theses and Graduate Degree Essays Supervised and Evaluated

4.3.1. Carleton University

Examiner, M.A. Essay Defence Jury, Institute of European and Russian Studies

Emil Torosyan, “Energy Factor in Russian Foreign Policy Making, 2000–2005,” Autumn 2005.

Examiner, M.A. Essay Defence Jury, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs

Helgi Maki, “The Legal Status of the Caspian Sea,” Autumn 2000.

4.3.2. Russian Academy of Sciences

Evaluator, Doctor of Sciences Defence Jury, Institute of Philosophy

P.V. Glazkov, “Filosofia svobody M.A. Bakunina” [The Philosophy of Freedom of M.A. Bakunin], Spring 2005.

4.3.3. Université Laval

Directeur de recherche, Mémoire pour M.A., Département de Science politique

Eric-Jan Zubrzycki, “La genèse de Solidarité: Tensions et déchirements au sein du KOR, 1976–1981,” 1990–1991.

Yves Goulet, “L’adaptation politique: Une étude de cas de la politique étrangère soviétique dans le Golfe persique durant la Guerre Iran-Irak, 1980–1988,” 1990–1991.

Martin Bourgeois, “La crise afghane: Une analyse de la transformation du comportement ‘adaptif’ de l’État soviétique à partir de son invasion jusqu’au retrait de ses forces militaires du territoire de l’Afghanistan,” 1988–1989 (Essai de recherche pour M.A.).

Membre de Jury, Mémoire pour M.A., Département de Science politique

Robert Duguay, “L’analyse de l’OACI en tant qu’organisation internationale,” Winter 1991.

Liisa Coulombe, “Cohésion et dissension : l’ANZUS et la sécurité régionale de 1983 à 1989,” Winter 1990.

Marie-Laurence Poirel, “À propos de la postérité arendtienne dans l’appréhension du phénomène soviétique: Réflexion préliminaire sur le concept d’Homo Sovieticus,” Autumn 1989.

4.3.4. University of California at Santa Barbara

Thesis Advisor, Senior Honor's Thesis, Department of Political Science

Colin Stevens, “The Kádár Era: Reform and Legitimacy in Hungary, 1956–1988,” 1987–1988.

James T. Alexander, “The Formation of the 1977 Soviet Constitution,” 1985–1986.

5. Research Accomplishments

5.1. Research Awards

Research Development Initiative Grant, Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada, 2000–2002. (Declined.)

Research Grant, “Multiple Centres of Power” Team, Project on Trends, Social Science and Humanities Council of Canada, Ottawa, 1998–2001.

Professional Partnerships Grant, Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, for cooperation with Institute of International Relations and Political Science, Vilnius University, Lithuania, Autumn 1997.

Co-principal Investigator, Research and Development Grant, Social Science Research Council, New York, 1994–1996.

Research Grant, Co-operative Security Program, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Government of Canada, 1993–1994. (Declined.)

Standard Research Grant, Social Science and Humanities Research Council, 1991–1994.

Research Grant, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Government of Canada, 1989–1991.

Grant Award, Seminar on Soviet–American Relations, Institute for Global Cooperation and Conflict, University of California at San Diego, Summer 1986.
Postdoctoral Fellow in Russian and Soviet Studies, SSRC–ACLS Joint Committee on Soviet Studies, New York, 1985–1988.
Travel Grant, International Political Science Association, 1985.
Research Fellow, University Scientific Council and Department of International Economics, University of Nantes, France, 1984–1985.
Supported Independent Scholar, Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Illinois at Champaign–Urbana, Fall 1984. (Declined.)

5.2. Pre-doctoral Training Awards

Dissertation Grant, Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies, The University of Michigan, Winter 1982.
National Resource Fellowship, Center for Russian and East European Studies, The University of Michigan, 1981–1982.
Graduate Student Travel Grant, First Conference of Europeanists, Council for European Studies, Winter 1979.
University Fellowship, Rackham School of Graduate Studies, The University of Michigan, 1976–1977.
Graduate Grant-in-Aid, The Pennsylvania State University, Summer 1976.
Young Scholars Grant, National Endowment for the Humanities, Washington (D.C.), 1975–1977.
National Defense Foreign Language Fellowship, Slavic and Soviet Language and Area Center, The Pennsylvania State University, 1975–1976.
Scholarship Grant, Institut d'études françaises d'Avignon, Bryn Mawr College, Summer 1973.

5.3. Principal Research Contributions

5.3.1. Most Significant Contributions

Elaboration of the policy concept of [Cooperative Energy Security](#).
First comparative world-sociological study of [international parliamentary institutions](#).
Formal demonstration of the [logical status of complexity theory](#) as a new mathematical “system of negation” and specification of its epistemological particularities.
Published [policy study of EEC–CMEA relations](#), influencing decision-makers of West European policy towards the Soviet bloc countries in the late 1980s.
First academic journal article ever peer-reviewed by anonymous double-blind, treating the [international political economy of the Soviet bloc's relations with the Third World](#).

5.3.2. Selected Other Noteworthy Accomplishments

A series of correct predictions since 1991 concerning strategic oil and gas pipeline feasibility and choices made by principal actors in Eurasian energy development.
[Correct prediction](#), in a book chapter from 1991 (i.e., before the Soviet Union disintegrated), of Russia's future foreign policy behaviour towards Greece and Turkey.

Correct prediction, in a refereed journal article from 1980 (i.e., five years before Gorbachev's ascent to power), of exactly how the Communist Party would lose domestic political hegemony in the Soviet Union after Brezhnev's death.

5.4. Selected Other Professional Honours

Elected as Member, Legal, Economic and Regulatory Affairs Council, Gehrson Lehman Group, September 2006.

Elected as Member, International Institute of Strategic Studies, London, August 2006.

McLaine Leadership Fellow, Program for East Central Europe and the Former Soviet Union (Rockefeller Brothers Fund), International House, Columbia University, 1993–1994.

6. Research Presentations

6.1. Papers to Professional Associations

61. "How the European Parliament Is a Complex (Adaptive?) System and Why This Is Important," International Studies Association, Forty-ninth Annual Convention, San Francisco (Calif.), 26–29 March 2008. Scheduled.
60. "Soviet Foreign Policy in the 1974 French Presidential Succession," Northeastern Political Science Association, Philadelphia (Penna.), 15–17 November 2007.
59. "State Construction of Power, Vision and Order: A Behaviour Production Cycle of the National Interest," Nordic International Studies Association, Odense Conference, Odense (Denmark), 23–25 May 2007.
58. "The Structuration of the Greater Central Asian Hydrocarbon Energy Complex," Association for the Study of Nationalities, Twelfth Annual World Convention, New York, 12–14 April 2007.
57. "Origin and Development of the 'Tripartite Alliance for Cooperative Energy Security' Concept," International Studies Association, Forty-eighth Annual Convention, Convention Theme Panel *Political Knowledge and Expertise in International Relations*, Chicago (Ill.), 28 February – 3 March 2007. Publication.
56. "A Proof Method under 'Complex Refutability'," New England Complex Systems Institute, Sixth International Conference on Complex Systems, Boston (Mass.), 25–30 June 2006.
55. "Geopolitics of Central Asian Energy and the Structuration of the Emerging International System," Middle East Technical University, Fifth METU Conference on International Relations, Ankara, 15–17 June 2006. Publication.
54. "The Soviet 'Recognition' of the E.E.C. in 1971–72: International and Domestic Determinants of Decision-Making," New England Political Science Association, Annual Conference, Portsmouth (N.H.), 5–6 May 2006.
53. "Organizational Design and Transformation in a Complex World," Washington Evolutionary Systems Society, Washington Academy of Sciences, Annual Capital Science Conference, National Science Foundation, Arlington (Va.), 25–26 March 2006. [Publication](#).

52. "Is Kazakh Nationalism Soluble in Oil?: The Hydrocarbonization of National Interest in Kazakhstan," Association for the Study of Nationalities, Eleventh Annual World Convention, New York, 23–25 March 2006.
51. "The Paradox of Intentional Emergent Coherence: Informational Requirements for Autopoietic Development," École Nationale Supérieure de Techniques Avancées, Third Conference on Foundations of Information Science, Paris, 4–7 July 2005. [Publication](#).
50. "Caspian Energy Pipelines as a Complex System," Association for the Study of Nationalities, Ninth World Convention, New York, 15–17 April 2004.
49. "Complexity Science Intermediates Neorealism/Neoliberalism with Critical/World-System Theory," International Studies Association, Forty-fifth Annual Convention, Montreal, 17–20 March 2004.
48. "Towards a Theory of Complex World Society," New England Political Science Association, Annual Meeting, Philadelphia (Penna.), 6–8 November 2003.
47. "Transnational Policies for Conflict Reduction and Prevention in the South Caucasus," Central Eurasian Studies Society, Third Annual Convention, Madison (Wisc.), 17–20 October 2002. [Publication](#).
46. "U.S.–Russia–India Cooperation: Implications for the Turkic World," Association for the Study of Nationalities, Sixth Annual Convention, New York, 5–7 April 2001.
45. "Expliquer les faillites des mouvements démocratisateurs: La trahison des clercs-candidats," Eighteenth World Congress, International Political Science Association, Quebec City (Que.), 1–6 August 2000. Co-author. [Publication](#).
44. "International Parliamentary Institutions: A Survey and Analysis of a New Phenomenon in 'World Society'," International Studies Association, Forty-first Annual Convention, Los Angeles, 15–19 March 2000. [Publication](#).
43. "What Complexity Science Really Means for International Relations Theory," International Studies Association, Forty-first Annual Convention, Los Angeles, 15–19 March 2000. [Publication](#).
42. "The European Parliament in Comparative International Perspective," European Sociological Association, Fourth Conference, Amsterdam, 18–21 August 1999. [Publications](#).
41. "The Paradox of Intentional Emergent Coherence," New England Complex Systems Institute, Third Colloquium on Complex Systems and the Management of Organizations, Boston (Mass.), 17–21 March 1999. [Publication](#).
40. "Theses on the Evolution of International Systems and the Nature of the Current International Transition," New England Complex Systems Institute, Second International Conference on Complex Systems, Nashua (N.H.), 25–30 October 1998. [Publication](#).
39. "What the 'National Interest' Means in a Transnational 'World Society': Or, Groundwork for a Methodology of Constructivist-SciRealist Synthesis," Third Pan-European International Relations Conference and Joint Meeting with the International Studies Association, Vienna, 16–19 September 1998.

38. "Foreign-Domestic Linkages in a 'Newly Independent State': The Origin And Genesis Of Kazakhstan's Foreign Policy," American Political Science Association, Ninety-fourth Annual Meeting, Boston (Mass.), 3–6 September 1998. [Publication](#).
37. "Globalism and Collaboration in World Politics: The Proliferation of International Parliamentary Institutions and the Viability of 'International Society'," American Political Science Association, Ninety-fourth Annual Meeting, Boston (Mass.), 3–6 September 1998. [Publication](#).
36. "Re-examining the 'Civic Culture' Hypothesis," International Sociological Association, Fourteenth World Congress, Montreal, 25–31 July 1998.
35. "Kazakhstan's Foreign Policy from Sovereignty to the Present," Association for Study of Nationalities, Third Annual Conference, New York, 25–27 April 1998. [Publication](#).
34. "How Soviet Foreign Policy Failed to Manage Complexity," New England Complex Systems Institute, First Colloquium on Complex Systems and the Management of Organizations, Toronto, 3–5 April 1998. [Publication](#).
33. "Western Security Interests in Central Asia: Do Inter-ethnic Conflicts Matter?," International Studies Association, Thirty-eighth Annual Congress, Toronto, 19–22 March 1997. [Publication](#).
32. "The EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy as an 'Issue Area' in Comparative Perspective," European Community Studies Associations, Second World Congress, Brussels, 19–20 September 1996.
31. "The EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy in Comparative Perspective: An 'Issue Area' Approach to Its Relations with Eastern Europe and Central Asia," European Community Studies Association of Canada, Second Annual Meeting, St. Catherine's (Ont.), 6–8 June 1996.
30. "The Soviet 'Recognition' of the European Economic Community in the Early 1970s," European Social Science History Association, Second Congress, Noordwijkerhout (The Netherlands), 19–21 May 1996.
29. "The Sources of Kazakhstani Conduct: With a Survey of Its Foreign Policy Behaviour until Mid-1994," Association for Study of Nationalities, First Annual Conference, New York (N.Y.), 26–28 April 1996. [Publication](#).
28. "Religion and Political 'Modernization' in ex-Soviet Central Asia," International Society for Sociology of Religion, Twenty-third Congress, Québec (Qué.), 26–30 June 1995. [Publication](#).
27. "The Psycho-historiography of Mikhail Bakunin and the Social Psychology of Europe after Marxism-Leninism," International Political Science Association, Fifteenth World Congress, Berlin, 22–26 August 1994.
26. "The Evolution of Co-operation among Communists: Unobserved Integration among the Soviet Successor States," International Studies Association, Thirty-fifth Annual Congress, Washington (D.C.), 29 March – 3 April 1994.

25. "An International Relations Theory Approach to the National Interests of the Soviet Successor States," American Political Science Association, Eighty-ninth Annual Meeting, Washington (D.C.), 1–5 September 1993. [Publication](#).
24. "Russian Foreign Policy from Empire to Commonwealth: Toward an Historical Sociology of Central Eurasian International Relations," International Studies Association, Thirty-fourth Annual Congress, Acapulco (Mexico), 24–27 March 1993.
23. "What International Relations Theory Doesn't Tell Us about Changes in Soviet Foreign Policy, and What Those Changes Tell Us about International Relations Theory," International Studies Association, Thirty-third Annual Congress, Atlanta (Ga.), 13–16 March 1992. [Publication](#).
22. "Theories of Foreign-Domestic Linkages in Soviet Politics," American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Twenty-fourth National Convention, Miami (Fla.), 21–24 November 1991. Publications.
21. "Soviet Press Reform, Leadership Succession, and Foreign Policy," Northeast Political Science Association, Annual Meeting, Philadelphia (Pa.), 14–16 November 1991. Publications.
20. "The Architecture of E.C. Relations with Central and Eastern Europe: 'Common House' or Neighbourhood Improvement?, European Community Studies Association [of the United States], Second Biennial Conference, Fairfax (Va.), 22–24 May 1991.
19. "Soviet Economic Multilateralism: Perspectives on Relations with GATT, IMF, and the World Bank," International Studies Association, Thirty-second Annual Congress, Vancouver (B.C.), 19–23 March 1991. [Publication](#).
18. "Reconceptualizing U.S.–Soviet Relations: The Potential of the United Nations," Fourth World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies, Harrogate (U.K.), 21–26 July 1990. Publication.
17. "Bakunin and the Psychobiographers: The Anarchist as Mythical and Historical Object," Fourth World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies, Harrogate (U.K.), 21–26 July 1990.
16. "L'évolution de la politique médiatique de Gorbatchev," Association canadienne-française pour l'avancement des sciences, 58th Annual Congress, Quebec City (Que.), 16–17 May 1990. Publication.
15. "The Role of the EEC in Soviet Policy toward Western Europe," International Studies Association, Thirty-first Annual Congress, Washington (D.C.), 10–14 April 1990.
14. "East–South Relations in Global Perspective," Northeast Political Science Association, Annual Meeting, Philadelphia (Penna.), 9–11 November 1989. Publication.
13. "L'environnement diplomatique multilatérale et la 'nouvelle pensée politique'," Centre québécois de relations internationales, Twenty-first Annual Congress, Quebec City (Que.), 28–29 September 1989. Publication.

12. "The Civic Culture Retested: Collective Crises of Political Development and the Individual Level of Analysis," Canadian Political Science Association, Annual Meeting, Quebec City (Que.), 1–3 June 1989.
11. "The East–South/East–West Nexus: Do Communist Countries' Relations with the Developing World Depend on Their Relations with the New World, and If So How?," International Studies Association, Thirtieth Annual Congress, London, 28 March – 1 April 1989. Publication.
10. "La 'doctrine Reagan' et la guerre afghane," Centre québécois de relations internationales, Twentieth Annual Congress, Quebec City (Que.), 6–7 October 1988. Publication.
9. "Does Soviet Foreign Policy Learn?," Western Political Science Association, Annual Meeting, Anaheim (Calif.), 26–28 March 1987. Publication.
8. "Past and Future of EEC–CMEA Relations," International Studies Association, Twenty-seventh Annual Convention, Anaheim (Cal.), 25–29 March 1986. [Publication](#).
7. "Reporting Foreign News and Making Foreign Policy in the Soviet Union," Third World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies, Washington (D.C.), 30 October – 4 November 1985. Publication.
6. "Arms Transfers and Military Technology Transfers in East-South Relations," International Political Science Association, Paris, Thirteenth World Congress, 15–20 July 1985. [Publication](#).
5. "Political Culture, Legitimacy, and Crises of Development," American Political Science Association, Eightieth Annual Meeting, Washington (D.C.), 30 August – 4 September 1984.
4. "Organizational Processes in Soviet Foreign Policy Making," International Studies Association, Twenty-fifth Annual Convention, Atlanta (Ga.), 22–26 March 1984. Publications.
3. "Soviet Policy Making in the 1974 Cyprus Conflict," American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Sixteenth National Convention, St. Louis (Mo.), 15–18 November 1983. [Publication](#).
2. "On the Trail of the Elusive Policy: An Empirical Investigation of the Predictive Limits of Cognitive Mapping and How to Surpass Them," Joint Sessions of the European Consortium for Political Research, Florence, 24–28 March 1980. [Publication](#).
1. "The View from the Urals: West European Integration in Soviet Perspective and Policy," Council for European Studies, First Conference of Europeanists, Washington (D.C.), 23–25 March 1979. [Publication](#).

6.2. Invited Workshops and Seminars

55. "Complexity and Central Controversies and Debates in International Relations: The End of the Cold War," National Science Foundation Workshop *Complexity Science in International Relations*, San Francisco (Calif.), 25 March 2008. Scheduled.

54. "The Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India Pipeline Project: Alternative to the Iran-Pakistan-India Project or Independent Addition to the Central-Southeast Asian Energy Space?" Colloquium *Eurasian Pipelines – Road to Peace, Development and Interdependencies: The Pipeline Race to India and Pakistan*, Harriman Institute and Center of Energy, Marine Transportation and Public Policy, Columbia University, New York, 12–13 November 2007.
53. "Development of the European Union's European Neighbourhood Program in the South Caucasus: An Instance of Incipient Organizational Learning," Conference *Much Ado about Nothing? The European Neighbourhood Policy since 2003*, Nottingham (U.K.), 25–26 October 2007.
52. "The Geo-economics of Central Asian Energy," Conference *Spotlight on Asia's Energy and Security Challenges: A Multilateral Response?* S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore, 7–8 September 2007.
51. "Overview and Comparison of Frozen Conflicts in the Former Soviet Areas," Queen's University, Centre for International Relations, Workshop *Frozen Conflicts*, Kingston (Ont.), 20 April 2007.
50. "Navigating the Paradox of Intentional Emergent Coherence," New England Complex Systems Institute, Cambridge (Mass.), 5 May 2006. [Publication](#).
49. "The Future of European Energy," Center for Strategic and International Studies, Global Dialogue on Natural Resources, Panel *Energy in Europe*, Washington (D.C.), 3–4 April 2006.
48. "PGA Strategic Review and Planning Document," Parliamentarians for Global Action, Strategic Review and Planning Meeting, Boston (Mass.), 17–18 October 2005.
47. "De-authoritarization in Uzbekistan?: Analysis and Prospects," University of Leiden, International Institute for Asian Studies, NATO Advanced Research Workshop *Towards Social Stability and Democratic Governance in Central Eurasia: Challenges to Regional Security*, Leiden (The Netherlands), 8–11 September 2004. [Publication](#).
46. "The OSCE's Parliamentary Diplomacy in Central Asia and the South Caucasus in Comparative Perspective," Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Plenary Session on the OSCE in Central Asia and the Caucasus, International Conference *Multilateral Organisations in the Caucasus and Central Asia*, Oslo, 10-11 June 2004. Publication. [Pre-print available \(PDF, 211Kb\)](#).
45. "The Geo-Economics of Kazakhstani Oil: Key to the Caspian Energy Complex," Carleton University, Institute of European and Russian Studies, Ottawa, 4 March 2004.
44. "The Geo-Economics of Energy Resource Development in Independent Kazakhstan," University of Toronto, Centre for Russian and East European Studies, Colloquium *Modern Kazakhstan: Between East and West*, 5 December 2003.
43. "Competition for Energy Resources as a Source of Conflict in Central Asia: Comparison with Caspian and Caucasus Region," U.N. University for Peace and Central European

University, International Workshop *Training in Civil Society, Pilot Program for Conflict Prevention in Central Asia*, Budapest, 15–16 July 2002.

42. “E.U. Enlargement and the Parliamentarization of Its Institutional Reform,” Carleton University, Centre for European and Russian Studies and Program in European Union Studies, Workshop *Identity and Representation in an Integrated Europe*, Ottawa, May 9–10, 2002. Co-author. [Publication](#).
41. “The Central Asian Crucible after September 11,” McGill University, Centre for Developing Area Studies, Seminar “*A New Great Game*”: *Panel Discussion on the Geopolitics of Central Asia*, Montreal, 18 April 2002. [Publication](#).
40. “La Turquie entre les politiques énergétiques européenne et américaine,” Fondation nationale des sciences politiques, Centre d’études et de recherches internationales, Journées d’études *La Turquie dans les politiques européenne et américaine: Convergences, divergences et interactions*, Paris, 10–11 December 2001.
39. “The ‘War on Terrorism’: Ramifications for Central Asia” American University of Paris with North Atlantic Treaty Organization and European Union Institute of Security Studies, Colloquium *New World, New Europe, New Threats: NATO and the European Union in the New Millennium*, Paris, 7–8 December 2001. [Publication](#).
38. “‘What Is Complexity Science?’: Why This Is the Wrong Question,” Institute for the Study of Coherence and Emergence and University for Humanist Studies, Conference on Practice(s) of Meaning, Utrecht, 23–26 September 2001. [Publication](#).
37. “The European Union’s Approach to Human Capital in Central Asia,” Aga Khan Foundation Canada, Roundtable *Central Asia: Investing in Human Capital*, Ottawa, 12–13 September 2001.
36. “Geo-cultural Behaviours in Contemporary Kazakhstan,” University of Toronto, Central and Inner Asia Seminar and Joint Centre for Asia–Pacific Studies, Seventh Annual Conference, 4–5 May 2001. [Publication](#).
35. “Complexity Theory and Organizational Learning,” Institute for the Study of Coherence and Emergence, Conference, Boston (Mass.), 6–8 April 2001. [Publication](#).
34. “Canada Amidst New Networks of Transnational Complexity: The Potential of International Parliamentary Institutions,” Policy Research Secretariat, Policy Conference *Canada in a Global Society*, Ottawa, 30 November–1 December 2000. [Publication](#).
33. “The Caspian Conundrum: Geopolitics of Oil in the Caspian Region”, University of Toronto, Centre for Russian and East European Studies, Toronto, 24 November 2000. [Publication](#).
32. “What Is Cooperative Energy Security, and Why Can’t They Practice It Around the Caspian?”, University of California at Berkeley, Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies, 16 November 1999.
31. “Multiple Centres of Power Roundtable,” International Development Research Centre, Ottawa, 22 October 1999. [Publication](#).

30. "Planning for the Next International System: Two Policy Initiatives," Privy Council [of Canada], Policy Research Initiative, Project on Trends, Workshop *Multiple Centres of Power Team*, Victoria (B.C.), 14–15 May 1999.
29. "How to Promote Energy Co-operation around the Caspian," Tenth Annual Crans Montana Forum, Seminar on Caspian Energy, Crans Montana (Switzerland), 25–28 June 1998. [Publication](#).
28. "Caspian Oil and Regional Development: Prerequisites for Resource Development in the Caucasus and Eurasia," Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Center for International Studies, MIT Japan Program, Working Group *Energy Security in Asia*, Cambridge (Mass.), 26 February 1998. Publication.
27. "Outline of an Application of Transfinite Cardinal Arithmetic to the Game-Theoretic Analysis of International Relations," Oxford University, Institute of Mathematics and its Applications, Conference *Modelling International Conflict*, 13–15 April 1997.
26. "Central Asia in U.S. Policy: Between Engagement and Commitment," National Bureau of Asian Research and International Research and Exchanges Board, Conference *The New Russia and the CIS in Asia*, Washington (D.C.), 4–6 October 1995. [Publication](#).
25. "Defining Western Interests: How Much Engagement is Practicable and How Much is Required," Office of President of Finland and World Policy Institute (New York), International Conference *The Search for Co-operative Security: Russia, the NIS and the West*, Helsinki, 20–22 January 1995. Publications.
24. "Ordinal Preferences in Russian-Kazakhstani Relations," Columbia University, The Harriman Institute, Workshop on Social Science Theory and Post-Soviet Realities, 8 December 1994.
23. "Vneshniaia politika sovremennogo Kazakhstana i ego otnosheniia k vnutrennym razvitiiam" [The Foreign Policy of Contemporary Kazakhstan and Its Relations to Domestic Developments], Al-Fabri Kazakhstan State University, Seminar of the Faculty of International Relations and Contemporary History, Almaty, 3 August 1994. [Publication](#).
22. "Towards a Behaviour Production Cycle of the National Interest," Panteois University, Institute of International Relations, Workshop *International Relations Theory after the Cold War*, Athens, 27–28 May 1994.
21. "The Contribution of the European Union, Its Institutions, and Its Members to Co-operative Security for the Soviet Successor States," Associations for the Study of the European Community, Workshop *Federalism and Subsidiarity in External Relations*, Brussels, 5–6 May 1994. Publication.
20. "Kazakhstan between Russia and Asia," Columbia University, The Harriman Institute, Seminar on the Foreign Policies of the Soviet Successor States, New York, 18 February 1994. [Publication](#).
19. "Western International Relations Theory and the National Interest of the Soviet Successor States," Columbia University, The Harriman Institute, New York, 19 May 1992. Publication.

18. "The Commonwealth of Independent States and International Relations Theory," University of Maryland at College Park, Center for the Study of Post-Communist Societies, 3 March 1992. [Publication](#).
17. "Soviet Reform, International Behaviour, and the Multilateral Financial Institutions," Columbia University, School of International and Public Affairs, New York, 30 October 1991. [Publication](#).
16. "The European Communities' Evolving Relations with Central and Eastern Europe," Institute for East–West Security Studies, New York, 15 May 1991.
15. "'World Order' and the United Nations in Soviet Foreign Policy Today," Smithsonian Institution, Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, Washington (D.C.), 15 October 1990. [Publication](#).
14. "Multilateralism and Co-operation in Soviet Policy towards International Organizations," The Harriman Institute, Columbia University, New York, 16 April 1990. [Publication](#).
13. "Gorbachev's European Policy in Perspective," Institute for East–West Security Studies, New York, 11 May 1989.
12. "The CMEA Countries in the International Trading System," Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute of World Economy, Budapest, 6 July 1988.
11. "Soviet Security Policy and the 'New Political Thinking' on International Organizations," Rand Corporation, Santa Monica (Calif.), 12 February 1988. [Published](#).
10. "Roots of Soviet Attitudes toward International Co-operation," Johns Hopkins University, School for Advanced International Studies, Washington (D.C.), 3 February 1988.
9. "Organizational Participation in Soviet Foreign Policy Making," Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Center for International Studies, Cambridge (Mass.), 3 November 1987. [Publications](#).
8. "Organizational Process and Soviet Foreign Policy Analysis," Stanford University Berkeley-Stanford Program in Soviet International Behavior, Stanford (Calif.), 3 March 1987. [Publications](#).
7. "How to Analyze Soviet Foreign Policy Making," University of Miami, Graduate School of International Studies, Miami (Fla.), 16 May 1986. [Publication](#).
6. "The Soviet Media and Foreign Policy," Rand/UCLA Center for the Study of Soviet International Behavior, Santa Monica (Calif.), 2 April 1986. [Publication](#).
5. "EEC–CMEA Relations: Background and Prospects," University of California at Los Angeles, Center for International and Strategic Affairs, Los Angeles (Calif.), 18 March 1986. [Publication](#).
4. "Les pays socialistes et le Nouvel ordre économique international," Université de Paris – I (Sorbonne), Centre d'économie internationale des pays socialistes, Paris, 12 January 1985.

3. "Precarious Makarios and the East Mediterranean Squeeze: The Soviet Union in the 1974 Cyprus Conflict," Columbia University, The W. Averell Harriman Institute for the Advanced Study of the Soviet Union, 20 December 1983. [Publication](#).
2. "Bakunin and Marx: A Hundred Years' Perspective," University of Michigan, Center for Russian and East European Studies, 26 January 1977. [Publication](#).
1. "Regional Planning Philosophies in France and the Soviet Union," University of Michigan, Center for Western European Studies, 19 January 1977.

6.3. Selected Public Addresses

16. "The Caucasus North and South, Caspian Energy and Canadian Policy," Canadian Institute of International Affairs, National Speakers' Program, Thunder Bay (Ont.), 18 March 2003.
15. "The New Concept of Cooperative Energy Security: A Focus for Synthesizing Environmental and Energy Agendas through Local Participation under Sustainable Development," United Nations, World Forum on Social Development, Second Preparatory Meeting for the Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly, New York, 6 April 2000. [Publication](#).
14. "Energy Resources, Human Resources, and Co-operative Energy Security," UNIDO Crans Montana Forum, Monaco Summit on Energy, Plenary Session *Caspian Sea Resources*, Monaco, 19–22 March 1998. [Publication](#).
13. "Why No Oil Yet? The New 'Great Game' in Central Asia," MIT Club of Ottawa, Dinner Address, Ottawa, 27 November 1997.
12. "[For a EurAsian Oil and Gas Association (EAOGA)]" Keynote Address, Office of President of Finland and World Policy Institute (New York), International Conference *The Search for Co-operative Security: Russia, the NIS and the West*, Helsinki, 20–22 January 1995. [Publications](#).
11. "La guerre russo-tchétchène," Centre de la sensibilisation au développement international, Laval University, Quebec City (Que.), 30 March 1995.
10. "La Biélorussie contemporaine," L'Association pour la simulation des Nations-Unies de l'Université Laval, Laval University, Quebec City (Que.), 9 February 1995.
9. "[Settling the Cyprus Conflict: Its Regional Context and International Significance](#)," Pan-teios University, International Congress of the Hellenic Society of International Law and International Relations, Athens, 3 October 1992.
8. "Is the Soviet Union the Future of Canada?," Smithsonian Institution, Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, Washington (D.C.), 3 March 1992.
7. "Will Russia and the Soviet Union Be Democratic in the Year 2000?" Columbia University, International House, New York, 19 October 1991.
6. "[La glasnost entre deux chaises: De la politique de la presse à la politique étrangère](#)," Colloque internationale sur le renouveau politique en Union soviétique, Laval University, Quebec (Que.), 22–23 September 1988.

5. “Gorbachev through the Looking-glasnost,” University of California at Santa Barbara, Department of Political Science, Santa Barbara (Calif.), 5 June 1987.
4. “The Meaning of the Reykjavik Summit,” University of California at Santa Barbara, Global Peace and Security Program, Santa Barbara (Calif.), 25 October 1986.
3. “[What the \[1985 Reagan–Gorbachev\] Geneva Summit Was About](#),” Luncheon Address, University of California at Santa Barbara, University Affiliates, Santa Barbara (Calif.), 19 January 1986.
2. “The Soviet Union and World Order,” Program on Global Peace and Security, University of California at Santa Barbara, 12 November 1985. [Publication](#).
1. “Soviet Relations and the Brezhnev Succession,” Foreign Policy Association, Great Decisions Program, Invited Speaker and Group Discussion Leader, Tucson (Ariz.), 1984–1985. Several groups on different dates.

7. Professional, Institutional, and Public Service

7.1. Editorial Service

General Editorial Council and Politics Section Editorial Workgroup, *Citizendium: The Citizens’ Compendium* [the “expert wikipedia,” <http://www.citizendium.org>], 2006–Present.

Editorial Board, *Journal of Central Asia and the Caucasus*, International Strategic Research Organisation, Ankara, 2005–Present.

Associate Editor, *Oil, Gas and Energy Law*, 2004–Present.

Editorial Board, *Central Eurasian Studies Review*, 2001–2007; and Editor, “Perspectives” section, 2002–2007.

Editorial Board, *Electronic Journal of World Politics*, University of Kent at Canterbury, 2000–Present.

Contributing Editor, *Cahiers d’études sur la Méditerranée orientale et le monde turco-iranien*, Centre d’études et de recherches internationales, Fondation nationale des sciences politiques, Paris, 1998–Present.

Academic Advisory Board, *Turkistan-Newsletter*, 1997–Present.

Review Panel, *Mershon International Studies Review*, 1994–1999.

Manuscript, Book and Proposal Reviewer: *American Political Science Review*, *Cahiers d’études sur la Méditerranée orientale et le monde turco-iranien*, Cambridge University Press, Canada Foundation for Innovation, *Canadian Foreign Policy*, *Canadian Slavonic Studies*, *Central Eurasian Studies Review*, *Emergence: Complexity and Organization*, Emirates Centre for Strategic Studies and Research (Abu Dhabi), *Études internationales*, *Europe-Asia Studies*, *Foreign Policy Analysis*, *Global Environmental Politics*, Harper & Row, *International Journal*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, *Nationalities Papers*, *Policy Studies Journal*, *Political Psychology*, *Revue canadienne de science politique*, *Russian History*, *Russian Review*, *Slavic Review*, Social Science and Humanities Research Council (Canada), *Soviet Union*, *Technology Review*, *Transnational Perspectives*, *Western Political Quarterly*; various years.

7.2. Committee Service

International Studies Association: Canada Section, Executive Committee, 2006–Present.

Central Eurasian Studies Society: Annual Conference Committee, 2006–Present; Institutional Linkages Committee, 2002–Present (and Chair, 2002–2006); Publications Committee, 2001–Present; Executive Board, 2002–2005; Graduate Student Conference Paper Award Committee, 2002–2003.

The Dialogue International, Dubai (U.A.E.): Advisory Committee, 2005–Present.

International Research Foundation for Development: Executive Board, 2001–2004.

International Sociological Association, Research Group on Alienation Research: Executive Committee and Vice-President, 1998–2002.

American Political Science Association, Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy Section: Executive Committee and Chair, Awards Committee, 1998–2000.

Laval University: Department of Political Science, Library Committee, 1988–1991, and Committee Chair, 1994–1996; Faculty of Letters, Committee on the Interdisciplinary Concentration in Russian and Soviet Studies, 1989–1990; Centre québécois de relations internationales, Program Committee for the Annual Colloquium, Chair, 1988–1989.

Behrend College of Pennsylvania State University (Erie, Penna.): Tenure Review Committee, External Referee, Autumn 1983.

The University of Michigan: College of Literature, Science and the Arts, English Composition Board, Committee on the Upper-Division Writing Requirement, 1980–1981; Faculty Senate Advisory Committee on Academic Affairs, 1980–1981; Office of the President, Committee on Communications, Chair, 1978–1979.

7.3. Selected Service to the National and International Communities

Moderator, Session “Energy Security and Its Implications for Global Geopolitics and Regional Stability,” Roundtable *Regional Security in Central Asia*, Canadian Institute of International Affairs, Toronto, 11 July 2006.

Chair, Panel *A Sea of Instability: Caspian Politics and Pipelines*, Global Dialogue on Natural Resources, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington (D.C.), 3-4 April 2006.

Organizational Design Specialist, International Law and Human Rights Programme, Parliamentarians for Global Action, New York, 2003–2005.

Rapporteur, “Towards a Parliamentary Assembly of the International Criminal Court?” Second Session of the Consultative Assembly of Parliamentarians for the International Criminal Court and the Rule of Law, New York, 12–13 September 2003.

Expert Witness on Human Rights in Central Asia, Immigration Appeals Court (New Jersey), U.S. Department of Justice, 2002–Present.

Charter Contributor, NIS Global Information Project, Eurasia Foundation, 2000–Present.

NGO Representative to the Economic and Social Council (United Nations), International Research Foundation for Development, Special Consultative Status, 2000–Present.

Regional Expert, Self-Determination Project, Interhemispheric Resource Center and Institute for Policy Studies, 2000–2002.

External Collaborator, Caucasus Task Force, Centre for European Policy Studies, Brussels, 2000–2002.

Invited Testimony, Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade, House of Commons, Ottawa, 5 May 2000.

Expert, Central Eurasia Project, Open Society Institute, Soros Foundation, 1999–2001.

Member, U.S. Delegation, Forum for U.S.–Soviet Dialogue, Commission on Regional Conflict, 19th Annual Conference, Minsk (U.S.S.R.), 1–15 July 1991.

Co-Chair, U.S. Delegation, Forum for U.S.–Soviet Dialogue, Commission on U.S.–Soviet Relations, 18th Annual Conference, West Point (N.Y.), 8–14 July 1990.

Member, U.S. Delegation, American Council for International Leadership, Joint Seminar on U.S.–Soviet Relations, Leningrad, 10–31 May 1987.

Contributor, “Assessment of Draft Program and Budget for 1986–1987 of UNESCO”, Report prepared for the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO, 1985.

7.4. Acceptances of Invitations to Expert Participation (last four years)

National Foreign Policy Conference *Conflict, Reconstruction and the Dilemma of Intervention*, Canadian Institute of International Affairs, Montreal, 22–23 March 2007.

Colloquium *Eurasian Pipelines and East Asia*, Eurasian Pipeline Project, Caspian Studies Program, School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University, New York, 1 December 2006.

Conference *Azerbaijan–EU: Partnership Reaching beyond Energy*, Royal Institute of International Affairs and Mission of Azerbaijan to the European Union, Brussels, 7 November 2006.

Conference *Global NATO: Overdue or Overstretch?* Security and Defence Agenda, Brussels, 6 November 2006.

Conference *The Role of Governments and International Organisations in Promoting Energy Security*, Energy Charter Secretariat organized jointly with the IEA and OSCE, Brussels, 25 October 2006.

Workshop *Model Agreements for Cross-Border Pipelines*, Energy Charter Secretariat, Brussels, 19 October 2006.

Conference *The Role of NGOs in the EU and Beyond*, Ludwig von Mises Institute–Europe and Friedrich-Naumann Stiftung, Brussels, 18 September 2006.

Global Strategic Review, International Institute for Strategic Studies, Geneva, 8–10 September 2006.

Colloquium *Europe–Russia Pipelines*, Eurasian Pipeline Project, Caspian Studies Program, School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University, New York, 10 April 2006.

Seminar *Sécurité énergétique : quel rôle pour l'Europe ?*, Madariaga Foundation and College of Europe, Brussels, 21 March 2006.

- Conference *Elections in Kazakhstan*, Caspian Information Centre, The Reform Club, London, 10 March 2006.
- Research Project Meeting *Islam/EU*, Ludwig von Mises Institute Europe, Brussels, 24 January 2006.
- Seminar *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World*, New Defence Agenda, Brussels, 19 January 2006.
- Conference *Oil and Development Dialogue*, Bibliothèque Solvay, Brussels, 10 November 2005.
- Seminar *The Growing Importance of the European Parliament in the EU Decision Making Process*, Advocacy Europe, Brussels, 9 November 2005.
- Conference *Corporate Governance: Strengthening Shareholders' Rights and Modernising Company Law*, Ludwig von Mises Institute Europe and Friedrich Naumann Stiftung, Brussels, 8 November 2005.
- Conference *Risk Reduction in the Energy Sector*, Energy Charter Secretariat, Brussels, 26 October 2005.
- Seminar "*Islam*" and the "*West*": *Conflict or Cohabitation?* Madariaga Foundation and College of Europe, Brussels, 25 October 2005.
- Seminar *The Terrorism Challenge: New Ideas Facing in Asymmetric Organizations in Ongoing Conflicts*, Harvard Club of Quebec, Montreal, 16 September 2005.
- Workshop *The Future of the Shifting Trans-Atlantic Defence Market: New Realities and Strategies in the US and Europe*, New Defence Agenda and McKenna Long & Aldridge LLP, Brussels, 26 May 2005.
- Workshop *Reinventing NATO: Does the Alliance Reflect the Changing Nature of Transatlantic Security?*, New Defence Agenda and Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Brussels, 24 May 2005.
- Roundtable *Defence Aspects of the NATO and EU Enlargement*, New Defence Agenda, Brussels, 14 February 2005.
- Workshop *Towards an EU Strategy for Collective Security*, New Defence Agenda and Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Brussels, 3 February 2005.
- Conference *Energy Transit in Eurasia: Challenges and Perspectives*, Energy Charter Secretariat, Brussels, 19–20 October 2004.
- Conference *Transatlantic Relations: How Do We Make the U.N. and Multilateralism Effective?*, The Luxembourg Group, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Smithsonian Institution, Washington (D.C.), 13–14 September 2004.
- Workshop *Best Practices in Energy Sector Restructuring and Privatization*, Energy Charter Secretariat, Brussels, 12 May 2004.
- Conference *Eurasian Natural Gas: Opportunities and Risks*, Energy Charter Secretariat, Brussels, 12–13 November 2003.

7.5. Electronic and Print Media Interviews

Scores of interviews in English, French and Russian on domestic radio news and call-in shows, international short-wave radio, television and newspapers from dozens of countries including Bahamas, Brazil, Canada, Germany, Iran, Netherlands, Russia, Turkey, United

Kingdom, and United States. Special features include regular expert commentary on Southwest Asian affairs on the nationally broadcast U.S. radio show *Batchelor and Alexander* during the run-up to the Second Gulf War. References to selected interviews, including those from printed media, are included below under Section 10.2.4. Published Interviews and Other Media Comments.

8. Languages

Reading, writing, speaking, understanding: English, native; French, excellent; Russian, good.
Reading: German, Italian, Romanian, Spanish, Polish, Portuguese, Latin; some Turkish.

9. References

Available upon request.

10. Publications

10.1. Research Publications

10.1.1. Refereed Journal Articles

- “The New Concept of Cooperative Energy Security: A Focus for Synthesizing Environmental and Energy Agendas through Local Participation under Sustainable Development,” *Oil, Gas & Energy Law* **5**, no. 4 (November 2007), <<http://www.gasandoil.com/ogel>>.
- “U.S.–Russian Strategic-Military Relations in Central Asia,” *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology* **6**, no. 1–3 (2007): 109–125.
- “[The Paradox of Intentional Emergent Coherence: Organization and Decision in a Complex World](#),” *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences* **91**, no. 4 (Winter 2006): 9–27.
- “The OSCE’s Parliamentary Diplomacy in Central Asia and the South Caucasus in Comparative Perspective,” *Studia Diplomatica* **59**, no. 2 (2006): 79–93.
- “Current Problems of Global Energy Security in Light of the Caspian Sea Region’s Recent Experience,” *Oil, Gas & Energy Law* **4**, no. 1 (May 2006) <<http://www.gasandoil.com/ogel>>.
- “[Transnational Policies for Conflict Reduction and Prevention in the South Caucasus](#),” *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology* **2**, nos. 3–4 (December 2003): 615–633. Reprinted in Mehdi Parvizi Amineh and Henk Houweling (eds.), *Central Eurasia in Global Politics: Conflict, Security, and Development* (Boston–Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 301–319.
- “[The European Parliament and the EU’s Security and Defence Policy](#),” *European Security* **12**, no. 2 (Summer 2003): 1–20. Principal co-author.
- “[The Caspian Energy Conundrum](#),” *Journal of International Affairs* **56**, no. 2 (Spring 2003): 89–102.
- “[Turkey and the Geopolitics of Turkmenistan’s Natural Gas](#),” *Review of International Affairs* **1**, no. 2 (Winter 2001): 20–33. Reprinted in *Oil, Gas & Energy Law* **3**, no. 2 (June 2005).

- [“Policy Options for Resolving Post-Soviet Ethnic Conflict,”](#) *Central Asian Survey* **19**, no. 3–4 (September/December 2000): 451–468.
- [“Cooperative Energy Security in the Caspian Region: A New Paradigm for Sustainable Development?”](#), *Global Governance* **5**, no. 2 (April–June 1999): 251–271.
- [“The Complex Evolution of International Orders and the Current International Transition,”](#) *Inter-Journal*, no. 255 (1999), reprinted in Ali Minai and Yaneer Bar-Yam (eds.), *Unifying Themes in Complex Systems*, vol. 2 (New York: Perseus Press, 2004), pp. 515–522.
- “Housing the Orphans of European Security: How to Bring Belarus, Ukraine, and Moldova in from the Cold,” *Euro-Atlantic Forum* **1**, no. 2 (Spring 1998).
- [“Towards Cooperative Energy Security in the South Caucasus,”](#) *Caucasian Regional Studies*, no. 1 (1996): 71–81. Russian translation published as “O sovместnoi energeticheskoi bezopasnosti v Iuzhnom Kavkaze,” *Kavkazskie regional’nye issledovaniia* (Tbilisi), vyp. 1 (1996): 69–80.
- [“Bringing the National Interest Back In: Lessons for Neorealism from the Former Soviet Area,”](#) *Cosmos: The Hellenic Yearbook of International Relations* **1** (1995): 61–89. Reprinted in S. Brown, R.M. Cutler, M. Evangelista, R. Gilpin, J.D. Grieco, P. Ifestos, S.D. Krasner and A. Platias, *International Relations Theory at a Crossroads* (New York: Caratzas, 1996).
- [“An Unpublished Source on Bakunin in 1861,”](#) *Canadian Slavonic Studies* **35**, nos. 1–2 (March–June 1993): 121–130.
- “Les mutations soviétiques: analyses et politiques occidentales,” *Études internationales* **21**, no. 1 (March 1990): 153–164.
- [“An Unpublished Letter from M.A. Bakunin to R. Solger,”](#) *International Review of Social History* **33**, no. 2 (1988): 212–217.
- [“The Political Economy of East–South Military Transfers,”](#) *International Studies Quarterly* **31**, no. 3 (September 1987): 273–299. Principal co-author.
- [“Harmonizing EEC–CMEA Relations: Never the Twain Shall Meet?”](#), *International Affairs* (London) **63**, no. 2 (Spring 1987): 259–270. Reprinted in Paul F. Diehl (ed.), *The Politics of International Organizations* (Chicago: Dorsey, 1989), pp. 365–381.
- [“Domestic and Foreign Influences on Policy Making: The Soviet Union in the 1974 Cyprus Conflict,”](#) *Soviet Studies* **37**, no. 1 (January 1985): 60–89.
- [“Economic Issues in East–South Relations,”](#) *Problems of Communism* **33**, no. 4 (July–August 1984): 73–80.
- [“East–South Relations at UNCTAD: Global Political Economy and the CMEA,”](#) *International Organization* **37**, no. 1 (Winter 1983): 121–142.
- [“The Formation of Soviet Foreign Policy: Organizational and Cognitive Perspectives,”](#) *World Politics* **34**, no. 3 (April 1982): 418–436.

[“Decision Making and International Relations: The Cybernetic Theory Reconsidered,”](#) *Michigan Journal of Political Science* **1**, no. 2 (Fall 1981): 57–63.

[“Soviet Dissent under Khrushchev: An Analytical Study,”](#) *Comparative Politics* **13**, no. 1 (October 1980), 15–35.

10.1.2. Refereed Encyclopædia Articles

“Bakunin, Mikhail Aleksandrovich,” in *The New Encyclopedia of Unbelief*, ed. Thomas Flynn (Amherst, N.Y.: Prometheus Books, 2007), 103–4.

[“Complexity Science and Knowledge-Creation in International Relations Theory,”](#) in *Institutional and Infrastructural Resources*, in *Encyclopedia of Life Support Systems* (Oxford: EOLSS for UNESCO, 2003), <<http://www.eolss.net>>.

Multiple entries in R.J. Barry Jones (ed.), *Encyclopædia of International Political Economy* (London: Routledge, 2001).

10.1.3. Edited Books

La politique étrangère soviétique à l'aube des années 90 (Quebec City: Centre québécois de relations internationales, 1990).

Mikhail Bakunin: From Out of the Dustbin — Bakunin's Basic Writings, 1869–1871, translated, edited and [introduced](#) by Robert M. Cutler (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Ardis Publishers, 1985). Editor and translator. Reprinted as *The Basic Bakunin*, Great Books in Philosophy Series (Buffalo, N.Y.: Prometheus Books, 1992). Excerpts reprinted at pp. 86–87, 95–96, 220–224, in Robert Graham (ed.), *Anarchism: A Documentary History of Libertarian Ideas*, vol. 1, *From Anarchy to Anarchism (300CE to 1939)* (Montreal–New York–London: Black Rose Books, 2005).

10.1.4. Refereed Contributions To Edited Books

[“De-authoritarization in Uzbekistan?: Analysis and Prospects,”](#) in Irina Morozova (ed.), *Towards Social Stability and Democratic Governance in Central Eurasia: Challenges to Regional Security*, NATO Science Series 49 (Amsterdam: IOS Press, 2005), pp. 120–141.

“The Sources and Regions of Crisis in the Caucasus,” in N. Resat Ödün (ed.), *Examination of the Regions of Crisis from the Perspectives of Turkey, NATO and the European Union, and Their Impacts on the Security of Turkey* (Ankara: Turkish General Staff Printing House, 2004), pp. 105–126.

“Central Asia and the West after September 11,” in Hall Gardner (ed.), *NATO and the European Union: New World, New Europe, New Threats* (London: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 219–231.

[“The Emergence of International Parliamentary Institutions: New Networks of Influence in World Society,”](#) in Gordon S. Smith and Daniel Wolfish (eds.), *Who Is Afraid of the State? Canada in a World of Multiple Centres of Power* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), pp. 201–229.

- [“Gorbachev as CEO Roadkill: How the Soviet Foreign Policy Establishment Failed to Manage Complexity,”](#) in Michael Lissack and Hugh Gunz (eds.), *Managing the Complex* (New York: Quorum, 1999), pp. 352–370.
- [“International Relations Theory and Soviet Conduct toward the Multilateral Global-Economic Institutions: GATT, IMF and the World Bank,”](#) in Deborah A. Palmieri (ed.), *The USSR and the World Economy* (New York: Praeger, 1992), pp. 105–135.
- [“\[Russian and\] Soviet Policy toward Greece and Turkey: A Systems Perspective,”](#) in Dimitri C. Conostas (ed.), *The Greek-Turkish Conflict in the 1990s* (London: Macmillan, 1991), pp. 183–206.
- “La ‘doctrine Reagan’ et la guerre afghane,” in Cutler (ed.), *La politique étrangère américaine de 1980 à 1988* (Quebec City: Centre québécois de relations internationales, 1989), pp. 71–84.
- [“\[Russia's Historical Alliance Behavior:\] The Soviet Union and World Order,”](#) in Wolfram F. Hanrieder (ed.), *Global Peace and Security* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1987), pp. 76–100.
- [“Unifying Cognitive-Map and Operational-Code Approaches: A Theoretical Framework and an Empirical Example,”](#) in Christer Jönsson (ed.), *Cognitive Dynamics and International Politics* (London: Frances Pinter, 1982), pp. 91–121.
- [“The View from the Urals: West European Integration in Soviet Perspective,”](#) in Werner J. Feld (ed.), *Western Europe's Global Reach* (New York: Pergamon, 1980), pp. 80–109.
- “Trade, Aid, and International Relations,” in Paul E. Lydolph, *Geography of the USSR: Topical Analysis* (Elkhart Lake, Wisc.: Misty Valley Publishing, 1979), pp. 479–510. Co-author.

10.1.5. Other Contributions To Edited Books

- [“The Sources of Kazakhstani Conduct,”](#) in Michael Gervers and Wayne Schlepp (eds.), *Populations, Cultures and Diplomacy*, Toronto Studies in Central and Inner Asia no. 5 (Toronto: University of Toronto, Joint Centre for Asia and Pacific Studies, 2002), pp. 63–76.
- “U.S. Interests and ‘Cooperative Security’ in Abkhazia and Karabakh: Engagement versus Commitment?,” in Mehmet Tütüncü (ed.) *The Caucasian Knot: Ethnic Conflicts in the Caucasus* (Haarlem: S.O.T.A. Research Centre, 1998), pp. 132–144.
- “The Contribution of the European Union, Its Institutions, and Its Members to Co-operative Security for the Soviet Successor States,” in European Commission (ed.), *Federalism and Subsidiarity in External Relations* (Brussels: European Community Studies Association, 1994).
- “L’environnement diplomatique multilatérale et la ‘nouvelle pensée politique’ de Gorbatchev,” in Cutler (ed.), *La politique étrangère soviétique à l’aube des années 90* [above, 1990], pp. 9–24.
- [“Introduction,”](#) in Cutler (ed.), *Mikhail Bakunin* [above, 1985], pp. 15–29.

10.1.6. Policy Research Synopses

“Self-Determination Issues in Central Eurasia,” *Foreign Policy in Focus*, Special Report 18 (May 2002): 1–6.

“[Economics and Security in Central Asia](#),” *Harvard Asia Quarterly* **5**, no. 1 (Winter 2001): 4–12. Reprinted in [Maria O. Pryshlak (ed.)], *Issues in Central Asian Diplomacy[: Handbook Produced for the Diplomats of the Foreign Ministry of Tajikistan]* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University, Center for Intercultural Education and Development, 2006).

“[Tskhinvali \(South Ossetia\), Georgia: Conflict Profile](#),” *Foreign Policy in Focus*, 28 October 2001, pp. 1–4.

“Georgia/Abkhazia: Conflict Profile,” *Foreign Policy in Focus*, 24 October 2001, pp. 1–3.

“[Chechnya: Conflict Profile](#),” *Foreign Policy in Focus*, 10 September 2001, pp. 1–4.

“Moldova/Transdnistria: Conflict Profile,” *Foreign Policy in Focus*, 30 August 2001, pp. 1–3.

New Silk Road: Briefing Book on Azerbaijan, Georgia, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan (New York: EastWest Institute, 1999). 38 pp.

“Казахстан и международное энергетическое развитие ” [Kazakhstan and International Energy Development], *Энергия Казахстана* **2**, no. 7 (December 1999): 48–56.

“[A Strategy for Cooperative Energy Security](#),” *Caspian Crossroads* **3**, no. 1 (Summer 1997): 23–29.

“[Eastern Europe: Still Out in the Cold?](#)” *Emerging Markets Analyst* **4**, no. 3 (July 1995): 11–12.

10.1.7. Research Notes

“The OSCE’s Parliamentary Diplomacy in Central Asia and the South Caucasus in Comparative Perspective,” *NIASnytt–Asia Insights*, 2004, No. 2 (June): 8–9.

“The Complexity of Central Eurasia,” *Central Eurasian Studies Review* **3**, no. 1 (Winter 2004): 2–3.

“Integration Within and Without the CIS,” *Analysis of Current Events* **9**, no. 3 (March 1997): 3, 6.

“[Ni démocratie ni totalitarisme](#),” *L’Analyse*, no. 31 (Autumn 1990), pp. 35–37.

“Current Trends in Soviet Research on Western Europe,” *European Studies Newsletter* **13**, no. 3 (December 1983): 10–12.

“East-South Economic Relations,” *Transnational Perspectives* **8**, no. 2 (Summer 1981): 14–16.

10.1.8. Working Papers

“Press Reform and Foreign Policy in Soviet Politics,” Cahier 91–05 (Laboratoire d’études politiques et administratives, Université Laval, 1991). 36 pp.

“East-South Relations in Global Perspective,” Cahier 89–05 (Laboratoire d’études politiques et administratives, Université Laval, 1989). 16 pp.

“Harmonizing EEC–CMEA Relations: Never the Twain Shall Meet?,” Working Paper 57 (Center for International and Strategic Affairs, University of California at Los Angeles, January 1987). 31 pp.

10.2. Varia

10.2.1. Published Speeches

“The New Concept of Cooperative Energy Security,” *Oil, Gas & Energy Law* **5**, no. 4 (November 2007), <<http://www.gasandoil.com/ogel>>.

“Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde Orta Avrasya Araştırmaları,” in *Türkoloji ve Türk Tarihi Araştırmaları*, vol. 1, *Siyaset/Dil ve Edebiyat/Kültür* (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2002), pp. 30–32.

“Finance Issues in Eurasian Energy Development,” in *Caspian Oil and Gas Resources: Transport Routes, Security and Economic Development — Second International Conference, November 7–8, 1998* (Tehran: Institute for International Energy Studies, 1999), pp. 68–71.

10.2.2. “Op-Ed” Articles and Other Opinion Commentaries

“Seeing Russia Clearly,” United Press International *Outside View*, 1 November 2005.

“Turks, Kurds and the US–Turkish Relationship,” *Asia Times Online*, 29 July 2003.

“[Out With the US, In With the Turks](#),” *Asia Times Online*, 7 March 2003.

“[Turkish Parliament’s Double-Fisted Knockout](#),” *Asia Times Online*, 5 March 2003.

“[The Turkish Military and Northern Iraq](#),” *Asia Times Online*, 20 February 2003.

“Islamic Militancy in Central Asia: What Is To Be Done? [in two parts],” *Foreign Policy in Focus*, [March 2001](#), pp. 1–2; [19 October 2001](#), pp. 1–2.

“[Abkhazia Again: The UN Helicopter Shootdown](#),” *Foreign Policy in Focus*, 16 October 2001, pp. 1–2.

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