

Degrees

2013	Dr. h.c. Babes-Bolyai University
1974	Ph.D., Political Science, Harvard University
1970	A.M., Regional Studies-USSR, Harvard University
1968	B.A.(Hons) Pol Science & Economics, McGill University

Appointments

2013- 1989-13	Honorary Professor of International History and Politics, Graduate Institute Professor of International History and Politics, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva ( - 2008 Graduate Institute of International Studies, HEI)
1982-91	Professor, Political Science, Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM)
1978-82	Associate Professor, Political Science, UQAM
1974-78	Assistant Professor, Political Science, UQAM
1973-74	Lecturer Political Science, UQAM
1972-73	Junior Associate Member, St. Antony's College, Oxford
1971-72	Teaching Fellow, Government, Harvard

Concurrent Appointments

2016 -2017	Visiting Professor, Global Studies Institute, Université de Genève
2015 aut	Visiting Fellow, Institut für Wissenschaft vom Menschen, Vienna
2010 trinity	Academic Visitor, Nuffield College, Oxford
2010 hil/trin	Senior Research Associate, Modern European History Research Centre, Oxford
2010 hilary	Senior Associate Member, St. Antony's College, Oxford
2002-03	Visiting Research Fellow, Institute of Historical Research, London
1997-98	Member, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton
1996-97	Sessional Lecturer, Faculté des Lettres, Université de Fribourg CH
1990-96	Lecturer, ITC, Program in Strategic & International Studies, Geneva
1990-93	Faculty Lecturer, Colgate University Program in Geneva
1988wtr	Visiting professor, Political Science, McGill
1987spr	Visiting Scholar, Kennan Institute of Advanced Russian Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington
1986-87	Visiting Scholar, Russian Research Center, Harvard
1985aut	Visiting Professor, Political Science, McGill
1983-84	Visiting Scholar, Hoover Institution, Stanford
1983wtr	Faculty Lecturer, Political Science, McGill
1979-80	Visiting Scholar, Russian Research Center, Harvard
1975	Sessional Lecturer, Political Science, Université de Montréal
1971-72	Honorary Graduate Student Fellow, Russian Research Center Harvard

Fellowships, Awards, Principal Grants

2000-2004	Research Grant, Fonds national suisse de la recherche scientifique
1995	Fraenkel Prize in Contemporary History, Wiener Library, London
1995-98	Research Grant, Fonds national suisse de la recherche scientifique
1990-93	East European Programme, Fonds national suisse de la recherche scientifique
1986-87	Olin Research Fellowship, Russian Research Center, Harvard
1986-87	Leave Fellowship, Soc Sc & Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC)
1985 3/4	Short Term Grant, Kennan Institute, Washington
1983-84	Time Research Stipend, SSHRCC

1981-84	Research Grant, SSHRCC
1981-82	Aid to Publication, FCAC, Government of Quebec
1979-80	Leave Fellowship, SSHRCC
1979-80	Research Fellowship, Russian Research Center, Harvard
1972-73	Harvard Travelling Fellowship
1970-73	Doctoral Fellowship, Canada Council
1969-73	Harvard Graduate Prize Fellowship
1964-68	Imperial Oil Scholarship

### **Other Experience**

2011-2013	Faculty, Summer School, Central European University, Budapest
2004 June	Visiting Professor, Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania
2001 Sept	Lecturer, Summer School, Istituto per gli studi di politica internazionale, Milan
1998 July	Guest Scholar, Rossiiskii Nezavisimyi Institut sotsial'nykh i natsional'nykh problem
1997, 99 July	Lecturer, Wschodnia Szkola Letnia, Oriental Institute, University of Warsaw
1995 Sept	Lecturer, Academia Istropolitana, Bratislava
1995 Jan	Lecturer, Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies, Malta
1990 Apr	Lecturer, Diplomatic Training Programme, University of Nairobi, Kenya
1986 Spr	Resource Person, Canadian Institute of Intl Affairs Study Tour of Eastern Europe
1976 Nov	Research Mission, Institut d'études politiques, Grenoble, France
1976 Mar	Canadian Academic Delegation, EEC-NATO, Bruxelles,
1971 Sum	Intern, Informationszentrum, West Berlin Government
1968 Sum	Intern, External Aid Office, Govt of Canada, Ottawa
1966 Sum	Teacher, English and Polish, Berlitz Schools, Montreal

### **Administrative Service**

2021-	Komitet naukowy, Rozprawy z dziejow oswiaty
2020-	Comitato scientifico, la biblioteca menscevica
2016-2020	Coordinator, SEFRI Programme, IWM-HEID
2014-	Conseil d'administration, Fondation Paderewski, Morges
2013-	Comité scientifique, Revue <u>Connexe</u>
2011-2015	Board, UACES Collaborative Research Network, "Romanis in Europe."
2011-2014	Co-Editor, International Relations and Development Series, Palgrave Macmillan
2010- 2015	Vice-President, DiploFoundation, Malta

2009-	Advisory Board, EU Democracy Observatory on Citizenship, EUI
2009-	Redaktsionnyi sovet, <u>Rossiia XXI veka</u>
2007-2009	Selection Committee, Prix Latsis,
2007-2009	Sénat, Université de la Vallée d'Aoste, Italy
-2005-2008	Director, Graduate Studies, Graduate Institute (HEI)
2005-2011	Academic Committee [Council as of 2009], The Europaeum, Oxford
2005-2006	Chairman, Roma Diplomacy Advisory Group, DiploFoundation, Geneva
2005-2006	Conseil de l'Université de la Vallée d'Aoste, Italy.
2004-2015	Board, DiploFoundation, Malta
2004-2009	Executive Board, Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York
2004-	Editorial Board, <u>Revolutionary Russia</u>
2000-2001	Central Asia Research Initiative Committee, Open Society Fund, Budapest
1999-2010	Advisory Council, European Centre for Minority Issues, Flensburg
1998-2004	Vice President, Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York
1998-2001	Head, International History and Politics Section, GIIS
1996-2015	Assemblée générale, Rencontres internationales de Genève
1995-	comité scientifique international, collection "L'Age de la démocratie" PUQ
1995-2013	Selection Committee, Gallatin Fellowship
1995-2000	Scientific Committee, <u>Russica</u> (Prague)
1994-2002	Research Support Scheme Committee, Open Society Fund, Prague
1992-1998	Comité scientifique, Forum de Crans-Montana
1992	Founding Chairman, Swiss International Relations University Seminar (East European diplomatic training programme)
1991-93	Head, International History and Politics Section, GIIS
1991-	Editorial Board, <u>Relations internationales</u>
1988-92	Associate Editor, <u>Canadian Slavonic Papers</u>
1984-92	Editorial Board, <u>International Journal</u>
1981-83	Secretary-Treasurer and Board, Interuniversity Centre for European Studies
1982-83	Secretary and Board, société québécoise de science politique
1979	Chairman, Graduate Awards in Political Science, Ministry of Education, Quebec
1977-79	Chairman, Research Committee, Political Science Department, UQAM
1977-79	Translation Committee, Canadian Humanities Federation
1976-79	Board, Centre québécois de relations internationales (CQRI)
1976-78	Director, Pan-European Section, CQRI

### **Graduate Supervision**

(completed) 20 Ph.D.; 79 DES/DEA/MIS /MIA/MA (= 2 year M.A.), 3 CEI (=1 year M.A.);

### **Theses Committees :**

UQAM, Laval University, McGill University, Graduate Institute of International Studies, Institut européen de l'Université de Genève, Institut universitaire d'études européennes, Institut universitaire d'études de développement, Université de Lausanne, University of Malta, Université de Genève, Universität Tübingen, Cambridge University. Babes-Bolyai University.

### **Referee:**

Academic Press, Ashgate Publishers, Canada Council, Canadian Federation of Social Sciences and Humanities, Cahiers du monde russe, Canadian Journal of Political Science, Canadian Slavonic Papers, Central Asian Research Initiative (Open Society), Central European University Press, Conflict Quarterly, Cornell University Press, East/West: Journal of Ukrainian Studies, Elsevier Press, Encyclopedia of Applied Ethics, Etudes Internationales, Europa, Fonds national suisse de la recherche scientifique, Fonds Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek - Vlaanderen, FWO, French Institutes of Advanced Study, Global Review of Ethnopolitics, Global Society, Hamburger Veröffentlichungen zur Geschichte Mittel-und Osteuropas, Hoover Institution Press, International Journal, Fonds FCAC pour l'aide et le soutien à la recherche, Québec, Journal of Cold War Studies, Journal of the History of Philosophy, Journal of Modern History, Louisiana State University Press, Kritika, Millennium, National Science Center Poland, Nationalities Papers, Nations and Nationalism, Östersjöstiftelsen, Palgrave Press, Politique, Prix Latsis, Research Support Scheme (Open Society), Revue d'études comparatives est-ouest, Romanian National Council for Scientific Research, Routledge, Slavic Review, Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, University of Toronto Press, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, International Development Policy, Rossiia XXI veka,

### **Appointment, Promotion and Tenure Committees**

Central European University; UQAM, McMaster University, University of Ottawa, Graduate Institute of International Studies, New School for Social Research, Rowan University, Leuven University

### **Scripts and Interviews**

CBC; Radio-Canada; CBC International; CTV; CFCF; CKAC; Radio Suisse Romande; Radio Suisse Internationale; BBC International Service; Radio Sofia Internationale; RSR-espace 2; Radio Bucarest International; Gazette (Montreal); International Herald Tribune; New York Times; Rzeczpospolita; 24 Heures; Le Matin; L'Hebdo; Le Nouveau Quotidien; La Tribune de Genève; La Suisse; Le Soleil (Québec); Le Nouvelliste du Valais; Kontinent (Sofia); Nu (Stockholm); Le Temps (Genève); Australian Broadcasting Corporation; Radio Méditerranée Internationale; L'AGEFI; Radio Fribourg; Segodnya; La Liberté (Fribourg); Télévision suisse romande 1; Radio Svizzera italiana; La Côte (Nyon). Swissinfo: Agence télégraphique suisse; Der Standard (Vienna) Le Monde Diplomatique; Politika (Belgrade), Radi Vatican; World and I; 20 Minutes; World Radio Switzerland (WRS); Deutsche Welle; International.Ink, Radio Rouge (Lausanne); ARD, Inter Press Service; ORF (Austria); Le Courier; Radio Contact (Bruxelles); Warszawa 1 (Radio Polskie); Deutsche Presse Agentur; Newsweek (Russian Edition); Radi Cité; Inopress; Echo (Lausanne); TV Alfa (Cluj); TVRomania (Cluj); il Riformista; Le Matin Dimanche (Lausanne); Euronews; Romania libera; AR presse; Grazia, L'Echo (Brussels), Nikkei, Jiji Press, World Politics Review, Voice of Russia, Nasha Gazeta, RIA Novosti Radio, Sputnik, Bloomberg, NTV, Café Babel, Xinhua, News Agency, Watson News

### **Consultancy**

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Département fédéral des affaires étrangères, Switzerland; Department of National Defence; Canada; High Commissioner on National Minorities, OSCE; Council of Europe; European Commission, EU; Open Society Institute, European Roma Rights Centre, Commission fédérale contre le racisme (CH), Geneva Centre for Security Policy,

### **Classes taught**

Libéralisme classique Pensée politique ancienne et moderne Pensée néo-libérale, conservatrice, technocratique Political Ideas From Nationalities to Minorities	Pays du camp socialiste Politics of Eastern Europe (McGill) Dissidence et opposition en E de l'est et en URSS L'Europe du centre-est au 20 <sup>e</sup> siècle La Russie et l'Allemagne
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Minorities after Communism Minority Nationalism in Europe Must Nations Become States? Varieties of Nationalism Thinking about Nationalism Marxisme (Université de Montréal) Radical Thought I (McGill) Marxism and international relations De Marx à Lénine Ideas, ideologies and identities in Russia Revolutions Totalitarianism Nationalism L'Evolution du système international The Twenty Years Crisis Self-Determination in historical perspective	La Russie et les Balkans Le conflit yougoslave Reading the Yugoslav Wars Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation The End of the Soviet Union Kremlinologie et sciences sociales Eastern Europe in Historical Perspective Politique étrangère de la Russie et de l'URSS L'Europe du centre-est entre les deux guerres La politique étrangère soviétique L'Europe de l'est depuis 1985 L'Europe de l'est 1900-1945 L'Europe de l'est depuis 1945 La Politique étrangère soviétique 1917-1991 The End of the Soviet Union Reading the Yugoslav Crisis L'Europe du Centre Est au 20ième siècle The Russian Revolution 1989: Regime Change & Rev in Soviet Bloc Democratization after Communism
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### **Fields**

Central and East European Studies	Esp. Soviet, Central European, Balkan History and Politics Soviet and post-Soviet Foreign Policy; Poland
Political Theory and Ideologies:	Esp. 19th and 20th centuries; Hegel and Marx; Liberalism, Nationalism, Marxism, Socialism; Russian Thought
International Studies:	Ethno-politics; Minorities; International Socialism; International History and Theory

### **Personal**

Born 5 January 1948; London, England

Citizen of Great Britain; citizen of Poland, naturalized Canadian Citizen, since 1958; naturalized Swiss citizen since 2006.

Married to Hayat Salam (deceased 2014); two daughters, born 1976 & 1978

Languages: (fluent) English, French, Polish, Russian, German,  
(passive) Spanish, Italian, Czech, Slovak, Ukrainian

## Publications:

### Monographs

Cultural Nationhood and Political Statehood: The Birth of Self-Determination Routledge Studies in Nationalism and Ethnicity (Milton Park: Routledge, 2023) viii + 111 pp.

The Politics of a Disillusioned Europe: East Central Europe after the Fall of Communism (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022) vii + 178 pp

Wickham Steed: Greatest Journalist of His Times (Bern: Peter Lange, 2018) 377 pp +illustrations

From the Other Shore: Russian Social Democracy after 1921, Harvard Historical Studies 125. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997, Pb 1999 xvi + 476 pp. + illustrations (Recipient of Fraenkel Prize in Contemporary History, 1995). Romanian translation, 2009

Les Minorités nationales en Europe centrale et orientale, Collection "Europe". Geneva, Georg ed., 1997, 187 pp. + maps + tables

Between Ideology and Utopia: The Politics and Philosophy of August Cieszkowski, *Soviética* 39. Dordrecht-Boston-London: D. Reidel Publ. Co., 1979. vii + 390 pp.

### Edited Volumes

Men'sheviki v emigratsii: protokoly zagranichnoi delegatsii RSDRP, vol I 1922-1938 vol II 1938-1951, otvetstvennye redaktory A. Liebich, A. Nenarokov, Politicheskie partii Rossii. Konets XIX-pervaia tret' XX veka. Dokumental'noe nasledie. Moscow: Rosspen, 2010 836 pp + 525 pp.

Construire l'Europe, edited by Andre Liebich and Basil Germond. Paris: Presses universitaires de France 2008 vii + 301 pp.

Citizenship, East and West, Edited by André Liebich and Daniel Warner with Jasna Dragovic. A Publication of the Graduate Institute of International Studies. London: Kegan Paul International, 1995 xii + 224 pp.

L'Europe centrale et ses minorités: vers une solution européenne? Sous la direction d'André Liebich et d'André Reszler. Publications de l'Institut Universitaire de Hautes Etudes Internationales, Genève. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1993 208 pp. available at <https://books.openedition.org/ihed/4794>

Le libéralisme classique: textes choisis et présentés par André Liebich. Québec: Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1985 iv + 627 pp. + 28 illustrations

Selected Writings of August Cieszkowski, Translated and Edited with an Introductory Essay by André Liebich. Cambridge Studies in the History and Theory of Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979. pb 2009 vi + 172 pp.

The Future of Socialism in Europe?/L'avenir du socialisme en Europe? Proceedings, 3rd International Colloquium. General Editor: André Liebich. Montréal: Interuniversity Center of European Studies, 1979. xiv + 328 pp.

### Scholarly Articles and Chapters

+

“History and Its “Losers” Histories 2021,1, 282–288

“Mensheviks and Zionsm,” (in Russian) “меньшевики и сионизм,” Пусть горит свеча. Памяти доктора

исторических наук, профессора А.П. Ненарокова. Сборник статей и материалов P Iu.Saveliev and V. V. Sholokhaev (eds.) (Moscow : Rosspen, 2022) pp. 242-253

"The Man Who Would Not Be King: Adam Czartoryski and Polish Monarchy," History of European Ideas 47:2 (2021) 1-10

"The Transition in East Central Europe," Democratisation in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Reviving Transitology, Mohammad-Mahmoud Ould Mohamedou and Timothy D. Sisk (eds.) (London: Routledge, 2017) pp. 93-112

"Ukraine Past and Present: Legacies, Memory, and Attitudes," in Regionalism Without regions: Reconceptualizing Ukraine's heterogeneity, (with O. Myshlovska, V. Sereda) Ulrich Schmid and Oksana Myshovska (eds.) (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2019) pp. 67-134

"Bandera Memorialization and Commemoration," Nationalities Papers 42:5 (2014) 750-770 (with O. Myshlovska)

"History and Politics: Happy Marriage, Unhappy Divorce," in Ideas and Identities: A Festschrift for Andre Liebich, J. Eisenberg and D. Rodogno (eds.) (Bern: Peter Lang, 2014) pp. 253-263

"The Anti-Semitism of Henry Wickham Steed," Patterns of Prejudice 46:2 (2012) pp. 180-208

"Les Promesses faites à Gorbatchev: l'avenir des alliances au crépuscule de la guerre froide," Relations internationales 147 (2011) pp. 85-96

"Globalising the 'Principle of Nationality,'" in Nationalism and Globalisation: Conflicting or Complementary? D. Helikiopoulou and S. Vasilopoulou (eds.) (London: Routledge, 2011) pp. 27-41

"Protokoly Zagranichnoi Delegatsii RSDRP i nasledie russkoi sotsial-demokratii," in Men'sheviki v emigratsii, A. Liebich and A. Nenarokov (eds.) (Moscow: Rosspen, 2010) vol. I pp. 27-93 (with A. Nenarokov, A. Panaccione)

"Questioni nazionali e nazionalismi dopo il 1989," in Venti anni dopo (1989-2009) Andrea Panaccione (ed.) (Modena: Unicopli, 2011) pp. 89-99

"Poles unlike Russians: Drawing Distance from Paris, 1830-1860," in Shaping of Identities: Essays on the Non-Russian Peoples of Russia: Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, Michael Branch (ed.) (Helsinki: Finnish Literary Society, 2009) pp. 415-435

"Arkhivy i politika: Boris Nikolaevskii v Parizhe, 1933-1940," in Vseobshchaia istoriia i istoria kul'tury, B. S. Kaganovich and N.L. Korsakova (eds.) (St. Petersburg: Liki Rossii, 2008) pp. 227-242 [revised translation of "From Archives to Politics," 2005]

"Les Deux Europes: sur quelques aspects de leur différence," in Construire l'Europe, Andre Liebich and Basil Germond (eds.) (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2008) pp. 263-280

"Minority as Inferiority: Minority Rights in Historical Perspective," Review of International Studies 38:2 (April 2008) pp. 243-263

"How Different is the 'New Europe'? Perspectives on States and Minorities," CEU Political Science Journal 3:3 (2008) pp. 269-292.. Reprinted in M. Gora and K. Zielinska (eds.) Democracy, State and Society: European Integration in Central and Eastern Europe (Cracow: Jagiellonian University Press, 2011) p. 147-167

"Roma Nation? Competing Narratives of Nationhood," Nationalism and Ethnic Politics 13:4 (Winter 2007) pp. 539-554

"*Altneuländer* or the Vicissitudes of Citizenship in the New EU states," in Citizenship Policies in the New Europe, Rainer Bauböck, Bernhard Perchnig, Wiebke Sievers (eds.) (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007) pp. 17-40 expanded and updated edition, 2009, pp. 21-42.

"Was Herder a Nationalist?" Review of Politics 69:1 (2007) pp. 48-78 [with Dominic Eggel, Deborah Mancini-Griffoli]

"Maîtres à l'épée, maîtres à danser, maîtres à penser: founding French national consciousness in Russian Exile," Canadian Slavonic Papers 49: 1/2 (2007) pp. 27-47.

"Searching for the Perfect Nation: The Itinerary of Hans Kohn (1891-1971)," Nations and Nationalism 12:4 (2006) pp. 579-596.

"Kraakh sotsial-demokraticheskogo podpol'ia v bol'shevistkoi Rossii 1922-1924 gg," in Z. Galili & A. Nenarokov (eds.), Men'sheviki v 1922-1924 gg, Politicheskie partii Rossii. Konets XIX-pervaia tret' XX veka. Dokumental'noe nasledie (Moscow: Rosspen, 2004) pp. 19-105 (with A. Mikhailov, A. Nenarokov, A. Panaccione, N. Peremyshlennikova)

"Must Nations Become States?" Nationalities Papers 31:4 (December 2003) pp. 453-470

"Le Fédéralisme russe, un nouveau jeu de bascule," Revue d'Allemagne et des pays de langue allemande 35:2 (September-December 2003) pp. 383-392

"Ethnic Minorities and long-term implications of EU enlargement," in Jan Zielonka (ed), Europe Unbound: Enlarging and Reshaping the Boundaries of the European Union (London: Routledge, 2002) pp. 117-136

"Nationalizing the Globe, Globalizing the Nation," in Henryk Kierzkowski (ed.) Europe and Globalization (London: Palgrave Press, 2002), pp. 104-114

"Les Conflits dans les Balkans, deux sources, aucune solution," Relations internationales 104 (2000), pp. 507-518

"Plural Citizenship in Post-Communist States," International Journal of Refugee Law 12:1 (2000), pp. 98-107

"East Central Europe: The Unbearable Tightness of Being," in K. Spillmann and A. Wenger (eds.), Towards the 21st Century: Trends in Post-Cold War International Security Policy (Zurich: Peter Lang, 1999), pp. 267-278

"Pojecie narodu i swiadomosci narodowej, miedzy wschodem a zachodem," Oboz 36 (1999), pp. 15-33

"Martov's Last Testament," Revolutionary Russia 12:2 (1999), pp. 1-18

"Janus in Strasbourg: The Council of Europe Between East and West," Helsinki Monitor 10: 1 (1999) pp. 7-18

"The Mensheviks," in Anna Geifman (ed.) Russia Under the Last Tsar (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999) pp.19-33

"Mniejszosci narodowe w krajach postkomunistycznych. Badania teoretyczne. Praktyka," Oboz nr. 33 (1998) pp. 13-46

"Minorités, modernité, identité," in Guy Laforest & Philippe de Lara (eds.), Charles Taylor et



l'interprétation de l'identité moderne (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, Québec: Presses de l'Université de Laval, 1998) pp. 341-350

"Les Minorités en Hongrie et les Hongrois de Slovaquie," in Maximos Aligisakis, Marc de Bellet, Francois Saint-Ouen (eds.) Nationalismes en Europe centrale et orientale: conflits ou nouvelles cohabitations?,. Collection Euryopa. (Genève, Georg éditeur, 1997) pp. 118-130

"The Return of the Communists," World Affairs [New Delhi], 1:1 (1997) pp. 66-77

"Getting Better, Getting Worse: Minorities in East Central Europe," Dissent 43:3 (1996) pp. 84-90

"The Russians and the Others: The Nationality Issue in the Russian Federation," in Frédéric Grare (ed.) La Russie dans tous ses états (Bruxelles: Bruylant, 1996) pp. 3-16

"At Home Abroad: Mensheviks in a Second Emigration," Canadian Slavonic Papers 37: 1/2 (1995) pp. 1-15

"Nations, States, Minorities: Why is Eastern Europe Different?" Dissent 42:3 (1995) pp. 313-318 [reprinted in The Sociology of Race and Ethnicity, ed. Malcolm Cross, London: Edward Elgar]

"Mensheviks Wage the Cold War," Journal of Contemporary History 30:2 (1995) pp. 247-263

"The Aftermath in East Central Europe: Fission, Fusion and Bifurcation," in Antonio Varsori (ed.) Europe 1945-1990: The End of an Era? (London: Macmillan, 1995) pp. 401-415.

"Eine Emigration in der Emigration: die Menschewiki in Deutschland 1921-1933," in Karl Schlögel (ed.) Russische Emigration in Deutschland 1918-1941. Ein Leben im europäischen Bürgerkrieg (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1995) pp. 229-241.

"Citizenship in its International Dimension," in André Liebich and Daniel Warner (eds.) Citizenship, East and West (London: Kegan Paul International, 1995) pp. 25-39

"Minorities in Eastern Europe: Obstacles to a Reliable Count," RFE/RL Research Report 1:20 (15 May 1992) pp. 32-39.

"La Renaissance démocratique et les obstacles invisibles," Schriftenreihe des Forum Helveticum, 4 (1992) pp. 37-41.

"I Am the Last. Memories of Bukharin in Paris," Slavic Review 51:4 (1992) pp. 767-781.

"Diverging Paths: Menshevik Itineraries in the Aftermath of Revolution," Revolutionary Russia 4:1 (June 1991) pp. 28-37.

"Whither Eastern Europe?" Behind the Headlines 49:1 (1991) 15 pp.

"Why NEP would not work: The Menshevik View," The USSR, The Myth and the Masses, Socialismo Storia/Socialism History 3, Annali della Fondazione Giacomo Brodolini e della Fondazione di Studi Storici Filippo Turati (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1990) pp. 667-688

"Six States in Search of an Identity," International Journal 43:1 (1987/88) pp. 1-17

"The Mensheviks in the Face of Stalinism," Ripensare il 1956, Annali della Fondazione Giacomo Brodolini, Socialismo Storia/Socialism History 1, (Rome: Lerici, 1987) pp. 184-200

"Marxism and Totalitarianism: Rudolf Hilferding and the Mensheviks," Dissent 34:2 ( 1987) pp. 223-240

"East Europe Today: Marching Together, Out of Step," Behind the Headlines, 18:3 (1986) 18 pp.

"The Russian Mensheviks and the Famine of 1933," in R. Serbyn & B. Krawchenko (eds.) Famine in Ukraine 1932-1933 (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1986) pp. 97-108

"Straussianism and Ideology," in A. Parel (ed.) Ideology, Philosophy, Politics (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1983) pp. 225-245

"I menscevichi di fronte alla costruzione dell'URSS (1924-1945)," in E.J. Hobsbawn et alia (eds.) Storia del Marxismo, Vol. III, tome 2 (Turin: Einaudi, 1981) pp. 132-166

."On the Origins of a Marxian Theory of Bureaucracy in Marx's Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right," Political Theory 10:1 (1982) pp. 77-93. Reprinted in Bob Jessup (ed.) Karl Marx's Social and Political Thought: Critical Assessments (London: Routledge, 1990) vol. 3 pp, 50-64.

"Hegel, Marx and Althusser," Politics and Society 9:1 (1979), pp. 89-102

"Socialisme ou barbarie? A Radical Critique of Bureaucracy," Our Generation 12:2 (1977) pp. 55-62

"La lettre des évêques: une étude sur les réactions polonaises à l'Ostpolitik de la RFA," Etudes internationales 6:4 (1975) pp. 501-528

"Prolegomènes à une théorie de la praxis," Economies et sociétés, série 5 nr 17 (études de marxologie), 8:10 (1974) pp. 1487-1506

### **Review Articles**

"Nationalism and Modernity, From the General to the Particular," Nationalism and Ethnic Politics, 26;2. (2020) pp 202-208

"Imperial Rule" Ab Imperio 3/2006 pp. 463-468

"Canadian, Eh?" Journal of Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe Issue 4 (2002) pp. 1-10

"Stealing the State," East European Constitutional Review 8: 1/2 (1999) pp. 105-107

"Leur vérité et la nôtre," Relations internationales 67 (Autumn 1991) pp. 302-307.

"Mensheviks, Then and Now," Russian Review 48:1 (1989), pp. 67-79

"Menshevik Origins: The Letters of Fedor Dan," Slavic Review 45:4 (1986), pp. 724-728

"Critical Notice on Kolakowski Main Currents of Marxism," Canadian Journal of Philosophy 16:2 (1986), pp. 323-340

"Cieszkowski's Prolegomena to Historiosophy," Bulletin of the Hegel Society of Great Britain, no.5 (1982), pp. 14-21

"A.I. Volodin: Gegel'i russkaia sotsialisticheskaja mysl," Kritika 11: 1/2 (1975) pp. 31-47

### **Reference Articles**

"Lidiia Osipovna Dan (1878-1963)," Oppozitsiia i soprotivlenie rossiiskikh sotsialistov i anarkhistov bol'shevistskomu rezhimu, ed. K. N Morozov (Moscow: Rosspen, *forthcoming*)

"Intelligentsia," in Encyclopedia of Europe 1914-2004, edited by John Merriman and Jay Winter, vol. 3 (New York: Charles Scribner's & Sons, 2006) pp. 1423-1425.

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### **Selected Papers**

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"Questions nationales et nationalisme après 1989," Convegno "Venti anni dopo (1989-2009)," Istituto storico di Modena, 3 December 2009, 6 pp., <http://graduateinstitute.ch/history-politics/page58.html> (French version of "Questioni nazionali 2009)

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"Self-Determination in Historical Perspective," Serbian Diplomatic Academy, Belgrade, February 2007, 12 pp.

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## **Journalism**

60 articles in Le Temps, AGEFI, IPI Global Observatory, Globe, Nasha Gazeta, LeMonde.fr, HEI echo, Europaeum Bulletin, McGill News, Pink Palace Review, Relations, Le Devoir, Perspectives internationales, Eurozine. Watching America, Open Democracy. La Conversation .

## **Reviews**

App.fifty reviews in American Political Science Review, Bulletin ICES, Canadian Slavonic Papers, Canadian Journal of Political Science, Central Asian Survey, Common Knowledge, Correspondence, Etudes internationales, International Journal, Jahrbücher für die Geschichte Osteuropas, Journal of Baltic Studies, Millennium, Nations and Nationalism, Nationalities Papers, Revolutionary Russia, Rossiiskaia istoriia, Russian Review, Slavic Review, Le Temps, Nasha Gazeta, East-West: Journal of Ukrainian Studies

## **Selected Public Lectures, Panels etc**

Keynote Lecture, Conference "of Great Powers and Failed States," Marburg, 7 July 2019

Les minorités russes dans l'espace postsoviétique et la crise en Ukraine," Séminaire Ermine, Université de Rennes, 12 February, 2016 (see other publications)

"No Self-Determination without Justification: Czechoslovakia's Case for Independence During World War I," Monatsvertrag, IWM, Vienna, 5 November 2015. Résumé in IWMPost no. 117, Spring/Summer 2016, p. 15-16

"La minorité russe et la crise ukrainienne," Conférence Paul-Henri Spaak, Université Louvain la Neuve, 21 avril 2015

"East and West, the Twain Shall Meet," After the Fall of the Berlin Wall: Twenty Five Years of Market Economy in Central and Eastern Europe, Global Studies Institute Conference, University of Geneva, 7 November 2014

"Putin's Triumph, Long Awaited and of Brief Duration," 'discurs de receptive' on the occasion of the awarding of a doctorate honoris causa, Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj, Romania, 15 November 2013

"Becoming Swiss: Travails of Citizenship," Central European University Public Lecture, Budapest, July 2012

"The Experience of Eastern Europe," Arab Uprisings: Challenges and Lessons for Civil Societies Regional Workshop Consultations, Amman, 18-20 April 2012

"Langue et nation en Ukraine," Käfigturm lectures, Polit-Forum et SBO, 18 October 2011

"Self-Determination: Political and Historical Perspectives," Distinguished Lecturers Series, American University in Bulgaria, Blagoevgrad, 11 November 2010

"Historical Patterns and Contemporary Dynamics of Citizenship Policies in the EU-12 States," EUCITAC conference: comparing Citizenship Policies in Europe, EUI Florence, 29-30 January 2009

Commentator, "Roma under the Habsburgs, Ottomans and Russians: From Empire to the Present," Conference on Empires and Nations, ASN/FNSP, Paris, July 2008

Presenter, "Empires," in "The Place of Poland and Central-Eastern Europe in The Past and Present of Europe" Conference, organised by Lublin Instytut Europy srodkowo-wschodniej, Warsaw, November 2008

Chair and organiser, "Dogs that Barked and Dogs that Didn't: Ethnic Strife and Ethnic Peace in Post-Communist Europe," VII ICCEES World Congress, Berlin, July 2005

Panelist, "The Constructivist Approach to the Study of Nationalism," round table, ASN 9th Annual Convention, New York, April 2004

Panelist, Minority Protection in a Multicultural Europe, Robert Schuman Centre, EUI, and EU Accession Monitoring Program, Open Society Institute, Florence, November 2002

Commentator, "Monitoring the EU Accession Process: Minority Protection," ASN 7th Annual Convention, NY, April 2002

Commentator, "Roma: A Transnational Minority", Colloquium on "Nation and Citizenship in Post Communism Europe, ASN/FNSP, Paris, July 2001

Member, Reflexion Group on Diversity and Unity in the Enlarged European Union, Forward Studies Unit, European Commission, and Schuman Centre. EUI, Florence; October 2000, Paris, January 2001, Brussels, March 2001, Bruges, May 2001, Brussels, June 2001, Florence, September 2001

Commentator, "The Plight of the Roma in Central and East European History and Society," VI ICCEES World Congress, Tampere, August 2000

Member, Comparative Citizenship Project, Carnegie Endowment, Washington, DC, November 1999, Lisbon, July 2000

Moderator, Plenum on "Minorities on the eve of the 21st century," Forum de Crans-Montana, June 1999

Commentator, "Nation-Building, Symbol-Making, Identity Politics: Border Groups in the Carpathians and the Southern Balkans," Annual meeting Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York, April 1999

Colloquium chairman, "Les conflits de minorités nationales: perspectives historiques, dimensions internationales," Colloque de la revue Relations internationales, Geneva, May 1996

Commentator, "Defining and Projecting Europe's Identity," Europaeum Conference, Geneva, March 1996

Panelist, "Plenary Session: Opening Societies and Cultures," V World Congress of Central and East European Studies, Warsaw, August 1995



