JOSEPH ALBERT KÉCHICHIAN

ACADEMIC TRAINING

Ph.D., Foreign Affairs (1985), University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia. M.A., Summa Cum Laude (1980), International Studies, Monterey Institute of International Studies, Monterey, California.

B.Sc., Biology (1978), Immaculate Heart College, Los Angeles, California.

CURRENT PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

2013-Present—Senior Fellow, King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic Studies (KFCRIS), Riyadh, Saudi Arabia.

1996-Present—President, Kechichian & Associates, LLC.

Consultant on National Security Affairs focusing on the conservative Arab Gulf Monarchies within the Gulf Cooperation Council (Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates), Iran, Iraq, Yemen, as well as the states of Central Asia and the Caucasus; issues dealing with US foreign policy in the Gulf region, leadership questions, succession in Arab monarchies, political Islam, underground movements in the Middle East, Terrorism, and aviation security.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCES

2013-present—Associate Editor, *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Islam and Politics*, New York: Oxford University Press.

2012-2013 and 2009-2010—Non-Resident Fellow, Middle East Institute, Washington, [on two Smith Richardson Foundation grants].

- 2007-2010—Editor, Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies.
 - $2005\hbox{-}2011\hbox{---}Honorary\ Consul\ of\ the\ Sultanate\ of\ Oman\ in\ Los\ Angeles.$
- 2005-2010—Columnist, *SOMA* (Sulaymaniyyah, Iraq).
 2003-August 2017—Senior Writer/Columnist (based at *Gulf News*, Dubai)
 [Weekday essays in News sections; Thursday Columns in Opinion Section; with special contributions to Friday Supplement, *WeekendReview*]. [As most of these essays are online at gulfnews.com, and to save on space, none are reproduced in this document].
- 2003-2004—Fellow, School of Public Policy, Pepperdine University, Malibu, California, [on a Smith Richardson Foundation grant].
- 1998-2006—Contributor, *Arabies Trends*, Paris, France.
 1998-2001—Fellow, Gustav E. Von Grunebaum Center for Near Eastern Studies, University of California, Los Angeles, California [1998-1999 on a Smith Richardson Foundation grant].
- 1998—Adjunct Professor, School of Public Policy, Pepperdine University, Malibu, California.
- 1990-1996—Associate Political Scientist (Middle East), The RAND Corporation,

Santa Monica, California.

- 1990-1994—Lecturer, Department of History, University of California, Los Angeles. 1990-1992—International Editor, *Armenian International Magazine*, Glendale, California.
- 1988-1989—Assistant Dean of International Studies, University of Virginia. 1986-1989—Research Associate, The Colgate Darden Graduate School of Business Administration, University of Virginia.
- 1986-1988—Associate Scholar in Residence and Lecturer, Woodrow Wilson Department of Government and Foreign Affairs, University of Virginia.
- 1985-1986—Instructor of Government, Department of Government, The College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.

LANGUAGES

Fluency in Arabic, English, French and Turkish Fair Knowledge of Armenian and Italian Passable knowledge of Persian Learning Korean

RESEARCH AREAS

(Selected)

Contemporary Arabian/Persian Gulf Affairs; Arab Foreign Policy; Middle East Regional Security Issues; Relationship between Religion and Politics; Middle East Politics; Underground and Arab Opposition Movements; Power Politics in Arab World; Succession Matters in Arab Monarchies; Armenian Affairs; Armenian-Turkish Relations; Armenian Foreign Policy.

PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS/HONORS

Professional Activities

Columnist and Senior Writer, Gulf News (Dubai), 2003-August 2017

Editor, Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies, 2007-2010

Member, Board of Directors, Armenian Assembly of America, 1988-1991

Member, International Institute for Strategic Studies, London, 1993-

Member, Middle East Institute, 1982-

Member, Middle East Studies Association (Life Member)

Member, National Association for Armenian Studies and Research, 1982-

Member, Society for Armenian Studies, 1982- [Executive Council, 1986-1990, 1994-1997, 2003-2006, President, 1994-96, 2004-2005,

Treasurer, 2003-2004]

Reader, Contemporary Review of (the) Middle East [India], 2012-

Reader, International Journal of Middle East Studies, 1987-

Reader, Journal of Arabian Studies, 2018-

Reader, The Journal of Terrorism and Political Violence, 1991-

Reader, The Middle East Journal, 1986-

Reader, Political Science Quarterly, 2005-

Reader, Routledge Press, 2011-

Reader, Sussex Academic Press, 2016-

Reader, St. Martin's Press [Palgrave after January 2001], 1997-

Reader, I.B. Tauris, 2017-

Reader, Westview Press, 1991-

Reviewer, Library Journal, 1990-

Reviewer, Heldref Publications, 1995-

Journal Advisory Boards

Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies, 1995-2002 Middle East Policy, National Advisory Committee, 1994-

Contemporary Review of the Middle East, 2014-

Academic Honors and Awards

Gulbenkian Fellow, Monterey Institute and Immaculate Heart College, 1975-1980.

Kaprielian Fellow, University of Virginia, 1981-1982.

Teaching Fellowships, University of Virginia, 1981-1983.

Identified as "Quality Instructor" in interviews with a randomly selected group of 4th year students completing their education at the University of Virginia. Received a wall clock from students with an inscribed dedication. May 1988.

Hoover Postdoctoral Research Fellow. Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University, California, Summer 1989 RAND, President's Award for Research Excellence, January 1995.

Identified by James A. Bill as one of four "new generation of scholars [who have] begun to produce significant work." See James A. Bill, "The Study of Middle East Politics, 1946-1996: A Stocktaking," *The Middle East Journal* 50:4, Autumns 1996, pp. 501-512 [the quotation is on page 511].

Smith Richardson Foundation, Research Award, UCLA, 1998-1999, 2003-2004; 2009-2010; 2012-2013.

George Ignatius Foundation, Los Angeles, California, Research Award, 2010, 2011.

Imperial and Royal Decree Award as International Board Member and Special Advisor to HIRH Prince Gharios El Chemor of Ghassan Al-Numan VIII, 2018.

Sacred Order of Saint Michael Archangel, Knight Grand Cross Award, 2018.

PUBLICATIONS

[Several books and essays originally published in English are translated into Arabic, French, Korean, Tagalog and Turkish].

Books

Author, **The Nationalist Al Sa'ud Advisor: Yusif Yassin of Sa'udi Arabia,**Brighton, Chicago, Toronto: Sussex Academic Press (forthcoming in 2021)

Author, From Alliance to Union: Challenges Facing Gulf Cooperation Council States in the Twenty-First Century, Brighton, Chicago, Toronto: Sussex Academic Press, July 2016.

Reviewed in *The Arab Weekly* 2:64, 17 July 2016, p. 8 (Mohammed Alkhereiji);

Author, **'Iffat Al Thunayan: An Arabian Queen,** Brighton, Chicago, Toronto: Sussex Academic Press, 2015.

Reviewed in *Foreign Affairs* 94:5, September/October 2015, p. 196 (John Waterbury);

[Translated into Arabic under the title 'Iffat Al Thunayan: Malikah 'Arabiyyah, translated by Josette Richa, Beirut, Lebanon: Riad El-Rayyes Books, 2018].

Author, **Legal and Political Reforms in Sa'udi Arabia**, [London and New York: Routledge, 2012].

[Translated into Arabic under the title **Al-Islahat al-Qanuniyyah wal-Siyasiyyah fil al-Mamlakah al-'Arabiyyah al-Sa'udiyyah**, Beirut, Lebanon: Riad El-Rayyes Books, 2014].

Reviewed in *Middle Eastern Studies* 49:3, June 2013, pp. 502-503 (Jörg Matthias Determann) at http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00263206.2013.771474; The Middle East Magazine (London), Number 445, July 2013, pp. 64-65; The Middle East Journal 67:3, Summer 2013, pp. 484-485 (J.E. Peterson); Middle East Policy 20:3 Fall 2013, pp. 171-172 (David E. Long) at http://www.mepc.org/journal/middle-east-policy-archives/legal-and-political-reforms-saudi-arabia; International Journal of Middle East Studies 46:1, February 2014 (Anna Viden), pp. 218-220;

Author, Faysal: Saudi Arabia's King for All Seasons, Gainesville,

Florida: University Press of Florida, 2008.

[Translated into Arabic under the title **Faysal: Al-Malik wal-Dawlah**, Beirut, Lebanon: Dar al-'Arabiyyah lil-Mawsu'at, 2012].

Reviewed in *The Economist* 389:8600, 4 October 2008, p. 92; *The Middle East Journal* 63:1, Fall 2008, pp. 154-156 (Thomas W. Lippman); Book News, February 2009, [978-0-8130-3242-9]; *Choice* (Social and Behavioral Sciences), (J.W. Walt), March 2009, p. 1381; *Al Qabas* (Kuwait), 19 May 2009, p. 30; *Middle East Policy* 26:2, Summer 2009 (Richard L. Russell), pp. 174-175; *Islamic Studies* 48:3, Autumn 2009, pp. 444-446 (Tayyab Siddiqui);

International Journal of Middle East Studies 42:2, May 2010 (Nathan J. Citino), pp. 357-359; Middle Eastern Studies 46:2, 2010 (Muhammad Al-Atawneh), pp. 316–318; Digest of Middle East Studies 20: 1, Spring 2011 (W. Lynn Rigsbee II), pages 97–98;

Author, **Power and Succession in Arab Monarchies**, Boulder, Colorado:

Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2008

[Translated into Arabic as Al-Sultah wa-Ta'aqub al-Hukm fil-Mamalikah al-'Arabiyyah, 2 volumes, Beirut and London: Riad El-Rayyes Books, 2012]. Reviewed in Middle East Policy 25:2, Summer 2008, pp. 167-168 (David E. Long); The Middle East Journal 62:4, Autumn 2008 (Steffen Hertog), pp. 733-734; Middle East Quarterly 15:4, Fall 2008, p. 85 (P.R. Kumaraswamy); Book News, May 2008 [9781588265562]; CHOICE-American Library Association (P.J. Beegle), August 2008.

Author, Extremism & Opposition Movements on the Arabian

Peninsula, New Delhi: Observer Research Foundation, 2006 [Research Paper].

Author, Political Participation and Stability in the Sultanate of Oman,

Dubai: Gulf Research Center, 2005, 2006 (2nd ed) [Research Paper]. Translated into Arabic as *Al-Musharakat al-Siyasiyyah wal-Istikrar fi Sultanat 'Uman*, Dubai: Gulf Research Center, 2005.

Author, **Succession in Saudi Arabia**, New York: Palgrave, 2001.

Translated into Arabic as *Al-Khilafah fil-'Arabiyyah al-Sa'udiyyah*, Beirut and London: Dar Al Saqi, 2002 (1st ed), 2003 (2nd ed.)

Reviewed in *The Economist* 360:8238, 8 September 2001, p. 91; *Middle East Policy* 8:4, December 2001, pp. 147-151 (Brooks Wrampelmeier); *International Affairs* (London) 78:1, January 2002, p. 199 (Gerd Nonneman); *Foreign Affairs* 81:2, March/April 2002, p. 194 (L. Carl Brown); *Choice: Current Reviews for Academic Libraries* 39:7, March 2002 (J.W. Walt), p. *The Middle East Journal* 56:2, Spring 2002 (David E. Long), pp. 346-347; *Middle East Quarterly* 9:4, Winter 2002 (Daniel Pipes), pp. 87-88; *Military Review* 83:5, September-October 2003 (LCDR Youssef H. Aboul-Enein), pp. 73-74; *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 35:4, November 2003 (F. Gregory Gause III), pp. 645-647; *Journal of Third World Studies*, Fall 2003 (Peter O. Hefron);

Author, Oman and the World: The Emergence of an Independent

Foreign Policy, MR 680-RC, Santa Monica: RAND, December 1995. Reviewed in *Gulf States Newsletter* 20:525, 4 December 1995 (John Christie), p. 15; *Library Journal* January 1996, p. 122 (Nader Entessar); *The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* February 1996, p. 66 (Shawn L. Twing); *Foreign Affairs* 75:2, March/April 1996, p. 166 (William B Quandt); *Middle East Policy* 4:3, March 1996, pp. 168-171 (John R. Countryman); *Politica Internazionale*

(Italy) 23:4-5, July-October 1995, pp. 269-70 (Vittorio Sanguineti); Arabies (France), Number 114, June 1996, p. 56 (H. Djebnoun); Middle East International (Britain), Number 527, 7 June 1996, p. 23 (Andrew Rathmell); East and West 46:1/2, June 1996, pp. 213-215 (Vittorio Sanguineti), at http://www.jstor.org/stable/29757266; Al-Alam Al-Khaleej (London), Number 37 (July 1996), p. 11 (in Arabic); The Middle East Journal 50:3, Summer 1996, pp. 435-36 (Calvin H. Allen, Jr.); Al-Hayat (London), 12 August 1996, p. 11 (Suzanna Tarboush, in Arabic), Affari Esteri (Italy), Number 111, July 1996, p. 659 (f.b., in Italian), Rivista Di Studi Politici Internazionali (Italy) 63:4, October-December 1996, p. 577-580 (Vittorio Sanguineti); Orient (Hamburg, Germany) 37:3 (1996), pp. 520-21 (Robert Looney); Middle East Studies Association Bulletin 30:2, December 1996 (Mary Ann Tetreault), pp. 193-94; Middle East Insight 13:4, May-June 1998 (Sami Aloul). Offered as a selection in the American Educational Trust (AET) Book Club [Publishers of the Washington Report], Washington, D.C., 1996-1999.

- Author, **Political Dynamics and Security in the Arabian Peninsula through the 1990s**, MR-167- AF/A, Santa Monica: RAND, 1993.

 Reviewed in *Gulf States Newsletter* 19:479, 7 February 1994, pp. 13-14 (John Christie); *The Middle East Journal* 49:3 (Summer 1995), p. 534; *MESA Bulletin* 29:1 (July 1995), pp. 71-72 (Harold J. Bernsen).
- Editor, **Iran, Iraq, and the Arab Gulf States**, New York: Palgrave, 2001.
 Reviewed in *Middle East International* (Britain), Number 683, 13 September 2002, pp. 30-31 (Liesl Graz); *Middle East Policy* 9:4, December 2002, pp. 181-184 (Suzanne Maloney); *Iranian Studies* 38:2, June 2005, pp. 348-351 (Lawrence G. Potter).
- Editor, **A Century in Thirty Years: Shaykh Zayed and the United Arab Emirates**, Washington, D.C.: The Middle East Policy Council, 2000.
 Reviewed in *Gulf Business* 5:8, December 2000, pp. 79-82 (Lisa Anderson); *Asharq Al-Awsat*, Number 7935, 19 August 2000, p. 18 (Muhammad Khalifah).
- Co-Editor [with Peri J. Bearman, Dohail H. Hashmi, Khaled Keshk and Emad El-Din Shahin], **The Oxford Encyclopedia of Islam and Politics**, New York: Oxford University Press, 2014 [Oxford Encyclopedias of Islamic Studies series]
- Contributor, Silvia Colombo and Andrea Dessì (eds.), **Fostering a New Security Architecture in the Middle East** [Chapter 6 on "The Evolving Security Landscape Around the Arabian Peninsula: A Saudi Perspective" (with Abdullah K. Al-Saud)], Brussels and Rome: Foundation for European Progressive Studies Avenue des Arts and the Istituto Affari Internazionali, November 2020, pp. 139-166.
- Contributor, Howard M. Hensel, (ed.), Air Power in the Indian Ocean and the

- Western Pacific: Understanding Regional Security Dynamics, [chapter on "The Gulf Cooperation Council"], London and New York: Routledge, 2021, pp. 281-306.
- Contributor, Mehran Kamrava, (ed.), **Routledge Handbook of Persian Gulf Politics**, [chapter on "Saudi Arabia and the 1744 Alliance Between the Al Saud and the Al Sheikh: A Legitimizing and Enduring Union"], London and New York: Routledge, 2020, pp. 25-34.
- Contributor, Robert E. Looney (ed.), **Handbook of International Trade Agreements**, [chapter on "The GCC Trade Agreements: Regional Integration Challenges and Opportunities"], London and New York: Routledge, 2018, pp. 307-321.
- Contributor, Howard M. Hensel and Amit Gupta, eds., **Naval Powers in the Indian Ocean and the Western Pacific**, [chapter on "The Arab Gulf States:
 Contemporary Maritime Perspectives, Interests, Objectives, and Policies in the Gulf Cooperation Council"], London and New York: Routledge, 2018, pp. 207-229.
- Contributor, **KIEP Studies in Comprehensive Regional Strategies**, 17-08, "Trump, Protectionism, and Middle East Trade Policy," Collected Papers (International Edition), Seoul: Korea Institute for International Economic Policy, 2017, pp. 143-180.
- Contributor, Kristian Coates Ulrichsen (ed.), **The Changing Security Dynamics of The Persian Gulf**, [chapter on "The Politics of Succession in Saudi Arabia: A
 Struggle for Primogeniture"], New York: Oxford University Press, 2017, pp.
 143-163, 238-245.
- Contributor, Robert E. Looney (ed.), **Handbook of Oil Politics**, [chapter on "The Enduring Saudi Oil Power,"], London and New York: Routledge, 2012, pp. 284-294.
- Contributor, Xu Yi-vhong and Gawdat Bahgat (eds.), **The Political Economy of Sovereign Wealth Funds**, [chapter on "Sovereign Wealth Funds in the United Arab Emirates,"], New York and London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, pp. 88-112.
- Contributor, Marat Terterov (ed.), **Russian and CIS Relations with the Gulf States: Current Trends and Economic Dynamics**, [chapter on "Armenia and the Gulf States: Foreign Policy Fundamentals and Choices,"], Dubai: Gulf Research Center, 2009, pp. 113-146.
- Contributor, **Proceedings of the King Faisal bin Abdulaziz Al Saud Studies and Research Conference** [Chapter on "Faysal and the United States"], Riyadh, Saudi Arabia: King Abdulaziz Foundation for Research and Archives (Al-Dara), 2009, pp. 5-52 [English section in volume 3].
- Contributor, Robert E. Looney (ed.), **Handbook of US-Middle East Relations: Formative factors and regional perspectives**, [chapter on "The Sultanate of Oman and the US,"], London and New York: Routledge, 2009, pp. 417-433.
- Contributor, Joseph A. Kechichian, ed., **Iran, Iraq, and the Arab Gulf States**, [chapter on "Unity on the Arabian Peninsula,"], New York:

- Palgrave, 2001, pp. 281-302.
- Contributor, Joseph Kostiner, ed., **Middle Eastern Monarchies: The Challenge of Modernity** [chapter on "The Throne in the Sultanate of Oman"], Boulder, Colorado and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000, pp. 187-211.
- Contributor, Joseph G. Jabbra and Nancy W. Jabbra (Eds.) **Challenging Environmental Issues: Middle Eastern Perspectives** [chapter on Emerging Environmental Concerns: A Perspective from the Sultanate of Oman]. Leiden, The Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill, 1997, pp. 31-.
- Contributor, Hooshang Amirahmadi and Nader Entessar (eds.), **Iran and the Arab World**. London: St. Martin's Press, 1993, pp. 126-38.
- Contributor, Christopher C. Joyner (ed.), **The Persian Gulf War: Lessons for Strategy, Law and Diplomacy**. New York: Greenwood Press, 1990, pp. 91-110.
- Contributor, Helen C. Metz (ed.), **Iraq: A Country Study.** Washington, D.C.: The Library of Congress, 1990, pp. 213-56.
- Contributor, Helen C. Metz (ed.), **Iran: A Country Study.** Washington, D.C. The Library of Congress, 1989, pp. 235-71, 279-98.
- Contributor, **Third World Annual 1988**. London: Third World Foundation, 1988, pp. 55-61.
- Contributor, R.K. Ramazani with Joseph A. Kechichian, **The Gulf Cooperation Council: Record and Analysis**. Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1988.
- Contributor, James E. Winkates (ed.), **Military Strategy and Aerospace Power-Low Intensity Warfare**. Air War College: Maxwell Air Force Base, 1986, pp. 38-41
- Translator, [co-authored with R. Hrair Dekmejian], **The Just Prince: A Manual of Leadership, including an authoritative English translation of the Sulwan al-Muta' fi 'Udwan al-Atba'** [Consolation for the Ruler During the Hostility of Subjects] by Muhammad Ibn Zafar al-Siqilli. London: Dar Al Saqi Books, 2003.

Translated into Turkish by Baris Dogru, as **Adil Hükümdar**, Istanbul: Kirmizi Kedi Yayenevi, 2009, 320 pages.

Reviewed in *The Middle East Journal* 58:2, Spring 2004, pp. 323-324 (Charles E. Butterworth);

Translator, **The Attempt to Uproot Sunni-Arab Influence: A Geo-Strategic Analysis of the Western, Israeli and Iranian Quest for Domination**, by Nabil Khalifé. Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2017.
Reviewed in *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy* 59:5, October-November 2017, p. 206.

<u>Reports</u>

Authoritarianism and Necropolitics In Lebanon: How Corrupt Elites Destroyed Their Treasured Democracy, [with Francisco Salvador Barroso Cortés], New Delhi, India: Middle East Institute, December 14, 2019 [MEI Monograph 7], available at http://www.mei.org.in/uploads/content/305-1607882926-analyses-monograph.pdf

"Commentary 652: Where is Lebanon's Václav Havel to Usher in a Peaceful Partition?," New Delhi, India: Middle East Institute, November 23, 2020 http://www.mei.org.in/commentary-652-where-is-lebanon-václav-havel-to-usher-in-a-peaceful-partition.

Target Saudi Arabia: An Examination of Damaging Narratives, Special Report, Riyadh: King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic Studies, September 2020, at https://www.kfcris.com/en/view/post/303 [English] 790acb8c6c1de40e98ff2656bc6398a85f4f665216265.pdf [Arabic]

Francisco Salvador Barroso Cortés and Joseph A. Kéchichian, Does Corruption Benefit Compromised Societies? The Case of Lebanon, New Delhi, India: Middle East Institute, 1 November 2019 [MEI Monograph 5], available at http://www.mei.org.in/does-corruption-benefit-compromised-societies-the-case-of-lebanon

"Partition Is the Only Solution to Lebanon's Woes," *Foreign Policy*, September 18, 2020, at https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/09/18/partition-is-the-only-solution-to-lebanons-woes/.

"The Evolving Security Landscape Around the Arabian Peninsula: A Saudi Perspective" [with Abdullah K. Al-Saud], Rome, Italy: The Istituto Affari Internazionali, *IAI Papers 20*/15, 15 June 2020 at https://www.iai.it/en/pubblicazioni/evolving-security-landscape-around-arabian-peninsula-saudi-perspective

Can Lebanon Be Saved? Only if Citizens Reinvent Their Society and Avoid a New Civil War Riyadh, Saudi Arabia: King Faisal Center for research and Islamic Studies, 2019; available at https://www.kfcris.com/en/view/post/290.

Succession Challenges in the Arab Gulf Monarchies, Seoul, Korea: The ASAN Institute, December 2015, available online at: http://en.asaninst.org/contents/succession-challenges-in-the-arab-gulf-monarchies/

"Who Writes Arab History?," *Dirasat*, Number 15, September 2016, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia: King Faisal Center for research and Islamic Studies, 2016; available at http://www.kfcris.com/en/view/post/108.

"Barack Obama's Legacy in the Middle East," *Dirasat*, Number 4, May 2015, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia: King Faisal Center for research and Islamic Studies, 2015; available at http://www.kfcris.com/en/view/post/44 [also in print in an Arabic edition]

RAND Reports [Unclassified]

Balkans Chess: Players and Strategies; An Annotated Briefing, DRR-1022-A, March 1995 (co-author).

Future Gulf Dynamics and U.S. Security, DB-106-AF/A, 1994 (co-author). Security Efforts in the Arab World: A Brief Examination of Four Regional

Organizations, N-3570-USDP, 1994.

"The Persian Gulf" (with Bruce Nardulli), in John Arquilla & Preston Niblock, eds., American Grand Strategy in the Post-Cold War World, Santa Monica: Rand, 1992.

Refereed Articles

"Lebanon Confronts Partition Fears: Has Consociationalim Benefitted Minorities?," *Contemporary Review of the Middle East* 5:1, March 2018, pp. 5-29 [with Francisco Salvador Barroso Cortes].

"Arabie saoudite: le renseignement à l'heure du terrorisme," *Moyen-Orient: Géopolitique, Géoéconomie, Géostratégie et Sociétés du Monde Arabo-Musulman,* numéro 36, Octobre-Décembre 2017, pp. 42-47 [in French].

"How the Armenian Genocide Forced a Loyal Ottoman Officer to Espouse the Arab Revolt," *Contemporary Review of the Middle East* 1:4, December 2014, pp. 371-389.

"Bahrain's Royal Family has History of Favoring Sunni Minority," Global Post—USC Annenberg School for Communication and Journalism, Los Angeles, 20 March 2013, at

 $\frac{http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/news/regions/middle-east/130320/bahrain-royal-family-sunni-minority.}{}$

"Saddam Hussein's Legacy of Sectarian Division in Iraq," Global Post—USC Annenberg School for Communication and Journalism, Los Angeles, 20 March 2013, at

http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/news/regions/middle-east/iraq/130320/saddam-hussein-legacy-sectarian-division-iraq.

"Refining the Saudi 'Will to Power'," Perspectives 003, Singapore: National University of Singapore—Middle East Institute, June 2009, at

https://docs.google.com/fileview?id=0B35LxaKpjlgIMjA3NDc5MzctN2M2Ni000WRjLThiNWUtZTE5MWVlYmQ2YTI0&hl=en GB&safe=on

"A Vision of Oman: State of the Sultanate Speeches by Qaboos Bin Said, 1970-2006," *Middle East Policy* 15:3, Fall 2008, pp. 112-133.

"Affirming the Saudi Will to Power: Domestic Challenges to King 'Abdullah," *Middle East Institute Policy Brief*, Number 16 (June 2008), pp. 1-9 at http://www.mideasti.org/policy-brief/affirming-saudi-will-power-domestic-challenges-king-%E2%80%98abdullah

"A Strong Army for a Stable Lebanon," *The Middle East Institute Policy Brief*, Number 19, September 2008, at http://www.mei.edu/content/strong-army-stable-lebanon.

"The Armenian Genocide and an Updated Denial Initiative: A Review Essay," *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 2:2, Summer 2007, pp. 173-182.

"Can Conservative Arab Gulf Monarchies Endure a Fourth War in the Persian Gulf," *The Middle East Journal* 61:2, Spring 2007, pp. 283-306.

"What's Wrong with the Arab World?" Review Essay, *Survival: The IISS Quarterly* 47:1, Spring 2005, pp. 173-178.

"Democratization in Gulf Monarchies: A New Challenge to the GCC," *Middle East Policy* 11:4, Winter 2004, pp. 37-57.

"Testing the Saudi Arabian 'Will to Power:' Challenges Confronting Prince Abdallah," *Middle East Policy* 10:4, Winter 2003, pp. 100-115.

"Saudi Arabia's Will to Power," Middle East Policy 7:2, February 2000, pp. 47-60.

"Sheikh Zayed and the UAE: A Century in Thirty Years—Socio-Political Origins of Emirati Leaders," *Middle East Policy* 6:4, June 1999, pp. 16-18.

"Trends in Saudi National Security," *The Middle East Journal* 53:2, Spring 1999, pp. 232-53.

"The United States and the Arab Gulf Monarchies," *Les Notes de l'IFRI, Number 8,* Institut Français des Relations Internationales, Paris, 1999, pp. 1-58.

"Challenges to the Military in Egypt," *Middle East Policy* 5:3, September 1997, pp. 125-39 [with Jeanne Nazimek].

"Emerging Environmental Concerns: A Perspective from the Sultanate of Oman," *Journal of Developing Societies* 13:1, June 1997, pp. 31-48. Reprinted from Joseph G.

Jabbra and Nancy W. Jabbra, eds., *Challenging Environmental Issues: Middle Eastern Perspectives*, Leiden, The Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill, 1997, pp. 31-48.

"Contemporary Oman and U.S.-Oman Relations," Symposium, *Middle East Policy* 4:3, March 1996, pp. 1-29.

"Political Minefields in the Persian Gulf: The Succession Issue," *Energy Compass* 6:46, 17 November 1995, pp. 14-17.

"The Crisis in Azerbaijan: How Clans Influence the Politics of an Emerging Republic," *Middle East Policy* 4:1&2, September 1995, pp. 57-71 [Co-author with Theodore W. Karasik].

"Armenian Foreign Policy: Patterns and Prospects," *Armenian Review* 46:1-4, 1993, pp. 143-56.

"Political Reforms in Kuwait and the GCC States," *Middle East Insight* 8:2, 1991, pp. 40-44.

"Iraq and the Arab World," Conflict 11:1, January 1991, pp. 1-15.

"Oman and the World," *American-Arab Affairs*, Number 35, Winter 1990-91, pp.135-50.

"The Polarization of the Arab World: The Emergence of a New Regional Order," *Middle East Insight* 7:5, 1991, pp. 20-23.

"Islamic Revivalism and Change in Saudi Arabia: Juhayman Al-Utaybi's 'Letters' to the Saudi People," *The Muslim World* 80:1, January 1990, pp. 1-16.

Translated into Turkish by Mehmet Uzun and published online on 20 December 2014 by İSLAM DÜŞÜNCESI: Araştırma Merkezi under two separate titles, "Suudi Arabistan'da İslami Uyanış ve Değişim," and "Cuheyman El-Uteybi'nin Suudi Halkına 'Risaleleri'," at http://www.islamdusuncesi.net/author article detail.php?authorId=63, respectively.

"The GCC and the West," *American-Arab Affairs,* Number 29, Summer 1989, pp. 20-31.

"The Gulf Cooperation Council: Containing the Iranian Revolution," *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies* 13:1&2, Fall/Winter 1989, pp. 146-65.

"The Beguiling Gulf Cooperation Council: A Review Essay," *Third World Quarterly* 10:2, April 1988, pp. 1052-8.

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KGIL. Interview with Steve Zeel on the War in the Persian Gulf (with call-in segment). January 30, 1991.

KWHY-TV, Los Angeles. Interview with Maria De Long on developments in the Gulf War and its implications to the business community. January 29, 1991.

KNBC, Los Angeles. Interview with Kelly Lang and John Beard on the expanded evening news "War in the Gulf" edition (with call-in segment). January 29, 1991.

KSDO-San Diego, CA. Interview on "Drive Time" with Danuta Doderman on the war in the Persian Gulf. January 28, 1991.

Century Cable Television, Santa Monica, CA. Interview with William J. Rosendahl on "The Week in Review." January 28, 1991.

KPFK-Sacramento, CA. Interview with Don Andrews on "Inside Sacramento" (Call-in Segment). January 17, 1991.

KTAR. "Morning Drive" interview with Bill Heywood on the Gulf War. January 24, 1991.

KPCC-National Public Radio affiliate, Pasadena, CA. "On the Air" interview with Larry Mantle (Call-in Segment) on the Gulf War. January 23, 1991.

KCRW. Interview Rush Hirschman on the Iraqi leadership's strategy in launching missile attacks on Israel and Saudi Arabia. January 20, 1991.

KPCC. Interview with Larry Mantle on the Iraqi leadership and its potential motives in the Gulf War. January 18, 1991.

KWHY-TV. Interview with Maria De Long on the latest developments in the Gulf War. January 18, 1991.

Voice of America (Africa Division). Interview with Osama Osanifu (in French and English) on the latest developments in the Gulf War. January 18, 1991.

KPCC. Interview with Larry Mantle on the Gulf War. January 17, 1991.

Voice of America (Armenian Division). Interview with Babken Vartanian (in Armenian) on the Gulf War and its impact on Armenia. January 17, 1991.

KWHY-TV. Interview with Maria De Long on the Muslim World's grievances with the West. January 17, 1991.

KCRW. Interview with Ruth Hirschman on the Iraqi leadership's agenda. January 16, 1991.

Voice of America (Africa Division). Interview with Osama Osanifu (In French and English) on the Gulf War. January 16, 1991.

KWHY-TV. Interview with Maria De Long on the start of the Gulf War. January 16, 1991.

KCRW. Interview with Ruth Hirschman on the Crisis in the Gulf. January 15, 1991.

KGIL. Interview with John Sweeny on the Iraq-Kuwait Conflict. January 14, 1991.

KWHY-TV. Interview with Maria De Long on UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar's peace mission to Baghdad. January 11, 1991.

Voice of America. Evening News interviews, in French and English, on the Baker-Aziz Talks with Osama Osanifu. Broadcast over the VOA's Africa Service. January 9, 1991.

PBS-The MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour. Interview with Jim Lehrer on the Baker-Aziz Geneva Talks. January 9, 1991.

PBS-The MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour. Interview with Jim Lehrer on the Baker-Aziz Geneva Talks. January 8, 1991.

PBS-The MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour. Interview with Robert MacNeil on the Timing of the US-Iraq Talks. December 14, 1990.

Voice of America. "Focus on Lebanon." A half-hour interview with Deborah Cooper. Worldwide Broadcast. 19 October 1990.

KCAL-9, Los Angeles, CA. Evening News Interview on Saddam Hussein's message to the American People. September 25, 1990.

Voice of America. Interview with David E. McAlary on the release of Swiss and Irish hostages from Lebanon. August 24, 1990.

PBS-The MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour. Interview with Robert MacNeil on Western Hostages in Iraq. August 23, 1990.

Saudi Gazette (Riyadh, Saudi Arabia). Interview with Barbara Ferguson on the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. 13-14 August 1990.

KFDK-Group W, Sacramento, CA. Interview with Don Andrews on "Inside Sacramento," on the Kuwait crisis. August 12, 1990.

PBS-The MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour. Interview with Jim Lehrer on the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. August 8, 1990.

Voice of America. "Iraq Invades Kuwait: A Special Report" Interview with Danielle Marchand (In French). Broadcast on the VoA's French Service. August 8, 1990.

Voice of the Arab from Cairo, Egypt. Interview with Zaghloul E. Ayad on U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East. Taped in Muscat, Oman. December 21, 1989.

Oman Radio/Televison. Three interviews on the Gulf Cooperation Council Summit meeting in Muscat, including a segment aired on the CNN World Report program. December 19-21, 1989.

Voice of America. "Close-Up: Lebanon, Another Turn?" Interview with Habib Koraganie. Worldwide Broadcast. November 15, 1989.

KCBS-San Francisco, CA. Interview with Jan Hutchins on American hostages in Lebanon, with a listener call-in segment. August 1, 1989.

KICU-San Jose, CA/Ind. Evening News interview on the hostage situation in Lebanon. July 31, 1989.

Voice of America. "Close-Up: Speaker Rafsanjani Visits Moscow." Interview with Habib Koraganie. Worldwide broadcast. June 20, 1989.

WVIR-Charlottesville, VA/NBC affiliate. Evening News interview on Ayatollah Khomeini's death. June 5, 1989.

WRC-Washington, D.C./NBC; WTTG-Washington, D.C./Independent; WUSA-Washington, D.C./CBS; WWBT-Richmond, VA/NBC; WVIR-Charlottesville, VA/NBC. Evening News interviews on four Armenian children who survived the 7 December 1988 earthquake, receiving medical care at the University of Virginia's Kluge Children's Rehabilitation Center. February-May 1989.

WVPT-Harrisonburg, VA/PBS. "On the line with Charles Smith." Half-hour interview on Armenia and the Soviet Union after the 7 December 1987 earthquake. January 15, 1989.

WVIR-Charlottesville, VA/NBC affiliate. Evening News interview on the Armenia Earthquake. December 7, 17 and 31, 1988 [Radio interviews on WINA and WMRA-PBS].

WVIR-Charlottesville, VA/NBC affiliate. Evening News interviews on the Palestinian Declaration of Independence. November 15, 1988.

Voice of America. "Close-Up: Lebanon at an Impasse?" Interview with Habib Koraganie. Worldwide broadcast. September 16, 1988.

WWBT-Richmond, VA/ABC affiliate. Evening News interview on U.S.-Iranian military engagements. April 19, 1988.

Voice of America. "Focus on the Gulf." One-hour interview with Deborah Cooper. Worldwide broadcast. August 20, 1987.

WBAL-Baltimore, MD. "The Dave Durian Show." One-hour interview with Dave Durian on U.S. activities in the Persian Gulf. August 13, 1987.

WWBT-Richmond, VA/NBC affiliate. Evening News interview on Iraqi's attack on the U.S.S. Stark in the Persian Gulf. May 18, 1987.

WVEC-Norfolk, VA/ABC affiliate. Evening News interview on U.S. military attacks on Libya. April 15, 1986.

WVEC-Norfolk, VA/ABC affiliate. Evening News interview on U.S.-Libyan military engagements over the Gulf of Sidra. March 25, 1986.

LECTURES AND PROFESSIONAL PAPERS DELIVERED

"Traditional Monarchies Across the Globe," Panel Chair at the Monarchy and Modernity Since 1500 Conference, University of Cambridge (UK), 8 January 2019.

"The Endurance of Modern Arab Monarchies," Keynote Lecture at the Monarchy and Modernity Since 1500 Conference, University of Cambridge (UK), 9 January 2019.

"Trump, Protectionism, and Middle East Trade Policy." Powerpoint presentation at the 2017 KIEP and Associations of Area Studies Conference on *Resurging Protectionsim: Challenges for Emerging Economies*, Seoul, Republic of Korea: Korea Institute for International Economic Policy, 19-20 October 2017 [presentation reproduced in *Proceedings 2017 KIEP*, pp. 617-623].

"Saudi Arabia and China: The Security Dimension." Prepared for a panel discussion on "Perceptions of Decision Makers in Gulf Cooperation Council States towards Strategic Security Ties with China," Department of International Affairs in collaboration with the Center for Humanities and Social Sciences and the Gulf Studies Center at the College of Arts and Sciences, Qatar University, 10 December 2015, Doha, Qatar.

"The Politics of Succession in The Gulf Monarchies." Presentation of paper written for *The Changing Security Dynamics og the Gulf Working Group II*, 13-14 May 2015, Doha, Qatar.

Panelist on "Terrorism" Session at the "Is the US Back?" Asan Plenum. The Asan Institute for Policy Studies, Seoul, Republic of Korea, 28 April 2015.

"Succession Challenges in the Arab Gulf Monarchies." Roundtable Presentation at The Asan Institute for Policy Studies, Seoul, Republic of Korea, 30 April 2015.

"The Enduring Arab Gulf States: A Medium Term Perspective." Lecture delivered at the School of Global Affairs and Public Policy [Making Better Policies Seminar Series 7, The American University of Cairo, Cairo, Egypt, 26 March 2015.

"Iran and Gulf Security." Presentation to the First Republic of Korea-European Union International Conference on Middle East and North African Affairs, Seoul, Republic of Korea, 19-20 March 2015.

"Presentation of 'Iffat Al Thunayan: An Arabian Queen." Inauguration Ceremonies of the new Library and Museum at Effat Iniversity, Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, 4 March 2015.

"Thinking Strategically About the Middle East." Workshop organized by the King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic Studies and the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, London, United Kingdom, 19 January 2015.

"The GCC and Collective Security Arrangements in the Gulf." Presentation to *The Changing Security Dynamics og the Gulf Working Group*, 25-26 October 2014, Doha, Qatar.

"The Second Obama Term in the Middle East." Lecture delivered to the King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic Studies (KFCRIS), Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, 18 February 2013.

"Political Reforms and the Social Contract in the Arab Gulf States." Lecture to the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C., 31 January 2013.

"The Arab Spring and the New Middle East." Lecture presented to the department of history and Political Science, at the School of Liberal Arts, Marist College, Poughkeepsie, New York, 30 January 2013.

"Legal and Political Reforms in Sa'udi Arabia." Presentation of book to the Middle East Institute, Washington, D.C., 29 January 2013.

"Legal and Political Reforms in Sa'udi Arabia." Presentation of book to the Department of Political Science, McGill University, Montreal, Canada, 25 January 2013.

"Future Leadership in Saudi Arabia and Implications for U.S. Interests." Paper presented to the Foreign Service Institute [US Department of State] at the George P. Shultz National Foreign Affairs Training Center, Arlington, Virginia, 24 January 2013.

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"Assessing Legal and Political Reforms in Sa'udi Arabia." Paper presented to the International Institute for Strategic Studies, London, United Kingdom, 22 November 2012.

"Arab Uprisings and Revolutions: An Indigenous Perspective." Presentation delivered to the Hinckley Institute of Politics as well as and Middle East Center at the University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1 November 2012. Podcast available at http://cpa.ds.npr.org/kuer/audio/2012/11/hinckley 11022012 Arab Uprising.mp 3?origin=body&ft=1&f=164206913

"How Did the 1912-1913 Balkan Wars Radicalize the CUP?: An Assessment," Paper presented at the third Turkish Studies Project Conference on *The Ottoman Empire and World War I*, 16-19 May 2012, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

"We Remember." Keynote Speaker at the 96th Anniversary Commemoration of the Armenian Genocide, co-sponsored by The City of Pasadena and the Pasadena Armenian Community Coalition, Pasadena, California, 23 April 2011. Reproduced in Armenian newspapers and posted online, including at http://www.keghart.com/Kechichian or http://www.keghart.com/Kechichian or http://massispost.com/?p=2731.

"The Armenians of Lebanon." Panel Chair. Middle East Studies Association, 42nd Annual Meeting, Washington, DC, 21-25 November 2008 [Sponsored by the Society for Armenian Studies].

"Armenians in the Arab World." Panel Chair. Middle East Studies Association, 42nd Annual Meeting, Washington, DC, 21-25 November 2008 [Sponsored by the Society for Armenian Studies].

"Saudi Arabia and the Gulf." Lecture delivered at the Challenges Facing the New President in the Broader Middle East Symposium, organized by the Muslim Studies Program at Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, November 12, 2008.

"Faisal: The Enduring Legacy." Keynote Lecture delivered in Arabic in Conjunction of the King Faisal Exhibition "Shahid Wa Shaheed," Effat College, Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, October 13, 2008.

"Faysal and the United States." Paper delivered at the King Faisal bin Abdulaziz Al-Saud Studies and Research Conference, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia 6-8 May 2008.

"Political Participation and Stability in Saudi Arabia." Paper presented to the International Institute for Strategic Studies, London, United Kingdom, 21 April 2005.

"Democratization in the Conservative Arab Gulf Monarchies." Lecture delivered at the School of Public Policy in the series Prospects for Democracy in the Middle East, Pepperdine University, Malibu, 8 September 2004.

"Briefing for U.S. Ambassador designate to the United Arab Emirates Michele J. Sison." Meridian House, Washington, D.C., 26 May 2004.

"Briefing for U.S. Ambassador to Saudi Arabia James Oberwetter." United States Department of State, Washington, D.C., 12 April 2004.

"The Crisis in US-Saudi Relations." Lecture delivered to the Saudi Arabia and the Crisis in US Relations: A Saudi-American Dialogue seminar sponsored by the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies at Georgetown University and King Saud University (Riyadh, Saudi Arabia), Washington, D.C., 29 January 2004.

"The Gulf and Asia in 2004." Lecture delivered to the International Business Education and Research (IBEAR) MBA Program, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California, 9 February 2004.

"The Gulf and Asia in 2003." Lecture delivered to the International Business Education and Research (IBEAR) MBA Program, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California, 2003.

"The Gulf and Asia in 2002." Lecture delivered to the International Business Education and Research (IBEAR) MBA Program, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California, 2002.

"The Gulf and Asia in 2001." Lecture delivered to the International Business Education and Research (IBEAR) MBA Program, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California, 2001.

"The Gulf and Asia in 2000." Lecture delivered to the International Business Education and Research (IBEAR) MBA Program, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California, 2000.

"The Emerging Alliances in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia." Paper presented to The Middle East Institute, Washington, D.C., 5 February 2002.

"Workshop on Religion and Violence." Participant. Sponsored by the Center for Strategic and International Studies and the International Institute for Strategic Studies, Washington, D.C., 4 February 2002.

Attended the 22nd Gulf Cooperation Council Summit meeting in Muscat, Sultanate of Oman, as guest observer. 30-31 December 2001.

"The Forging of a Federal Foreign Policy." Paper presented to the *Zayed: Vision and Implementation* conference organized by the Zayed Center for Heritage and History, Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates, 20-22 February 2001.

"Saudi Arabia's Security Policy and Its Implementation." Paper presented at the Gulf Security After Thirty Years: New Directions? New Concerns? workshop held under the auspices of the International Institute for Strategic Studies, Muscat, Sultanate of Oman, 1-2 February 2001

"Omani Domestic Policy in 2000 and Beyond: Opportunities and Challenges." Panel Chair. Middle East Studies Association, 34th Annual Meeting, Orlando, Florida, 16-19 November 2000.

"The Role of the Al Bu Said Ruling Family in Omani Politics." Paper presented on the *Omani Domestic Policy in 2000 and Beyond: Opportunities and Challenges* Panel. Middle East Studies Association, 34th Annual Meeting, Orlando, Florida, 16-19 November 2000.

"Omani Foreign Policy in 2000 and Beyond: Opportunities and Challenges." Panel Chair. International Congress of Asian and North African Studies, 36th Meeting, Montreal, Canada, 27 August-2 September 2000.

"Omani Relations with Kuwait, Bahrain and Qatar: Cooperation and Competition in the 21st Century." Paper Presented on the *Omani Foreign Policy in 2000 and Beyond: Opportunities and Challenges* Panel. International Congress of Asian and North African Studies, 36th Meeting, Montreal, Canada, 27 August-2 September 2000.

"Gulf Security War Game." Participant. US. Army War College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania 13-15 September 2000.

"Whither Islamic Fundamentalism." Discussant to paper presented by Eric Rouleau, former French diplomat and journalist at *Le Monde Diplomatique*. UCLA, Los Angeles, 10 February 2000.

"Succession in Saudi Arabia." Lecture delivered at the Center for Near Eastern Studies, University of California, Los Angeles, 3 June 1999.

"Socio-Political Origins of Emirati Leaders." Paper presented at *A Century in Thirty Years: Shaykh Zayed and the United Arab Emirates* conference, organized by The Middle East Policy Council, Washington, D.C. 20 April 1999.

"The Role of the Al Saud in State-Building." Paper presented at the *Saudi Arabia: One Hundred Years Later* conference, organized by the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., 28 April 1999.

"The Gulf and Asia in 2000." Lecture delivered to the International Business Education and Research (IBEAR) MBA Program, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California, 25 March 1999.

"Patterns in Saudi Foreign Policy." Panel Chair. Middle East Studies Association, 32nd Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, 3-6 December 1998.

"Saudi Policy Towards the GCC States and Yemen." Paper Presented on the *Patterns in Saudi Foreign Policy* Panel. Middle East Studies Association, 32nd Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, 3-6 December 1998.

"The United States and the Conservative Arab Gulf Monarchies." Paper presented to a U.S.-French bilateral meeting on *U.S. Policy in the Middle East*, Institut Français des Relations Internationales, Paris, France, 13-14 November 1998.

"Armenia: The Road Ahead." Lecture delivered to the Armenian General Benevolent Union Young Professionals, Pasadena, California, 9 July 1998.

"The Persian Gulf in Transition." Lecture delivered to the International Business Education and Research (IBEAR) MBA Program, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California, 19 March 1998.

"Challenges and Prospects for the Saudi Economy." Panel Chair. Middle East Studies Association, 31st Annual Meeting, San Francisco, California, 22-24 November 1997.

"Arab-Turkish Relations After the War for Kuwait." Discussion paper presented to the *Future of the Arab World* Symposium organized by the League of Arab States' Center for Strategic Studies, Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates, 2-4 November 1997.

"New Saudi Leaders." Paper presented to the Saudi Arabia Symposium at the Central Intelligence Agency, Langley, Virginia, 11 September 1997.

"Muslim Fundamentalism and the West." Lecture delivered to the National Executive Institute for 1997, FBI Academy, Quantico, Virginia, 26 June 1997.

"The Aftermath of the Lisbon Summit on the Nagorno-Karabagh Dispute." Lecture delivered to the Armenian Professional Council, Pasadena, California, 21 March 1997.

"Business Opportunities in the Gulf in 2000." Lecture delivered to the International Business Education and Research (IBEAR) MBA Program, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California, 5 March 1997.

"Current Border Disputes in the Persian Gulf." Panel Chair. Middle East Studies Association, 30th Annual Meeting, Providence, Rhode Island, 22-25 November 1996.

"Oman's Border Dispute with the United Arab Emirates." Paper presented at the Middle East Studies Association, 30th Annual Meeting, Providence, Rhode Island, 22-25 November 1996.

"Central Asia and the Arab Gulf States: Challenges for the Twenty-First Century." Paper presented on "The Changing Role of Outside Powers in the Persian Gulf" panel at the Middle East Studies Association, 30th Annual Meeting, Providence, Rhode Island, 22-25 November 1996.

"The Conservative Arab Gulf Monarchies in 2000." Paper presented at the 17th Annual Oil and Money Conference, co-hosted by *The Oil Daily*/PIW Publications and the *International Herald Tribune*, London, United Kingdom, 28-29 October 1996.

"The Persian Gulf: Challenges for a New Administration." Panelist at the 37th Strategy for Peace Conference, sponsored by The Stanley Foundation, Airlie Center, 24-26 October 1996.

"Cultural and Religious Challenges in the Arab Gulf Monarchies." Panelist at the James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy Seminar on Oil Supplies from the Middle East, Rice University, Houston, Texas, 28 September 1996.

"Domestic Security Issues on the Arabian Peninsula: Implications for the United States." Presentation to the Middle East Group at the National Air Intelligence Center, Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Dayton, Ohio, 26 June 1996.

"The Impact of Muslim Fundamentalism on the West." Lecture delivered to the National Executive Institute for 1996, FBI Academy, Quantico, Virginia, 25 June 1996.

"Religion and Politics in Saudi Arabia." Lecture presentation delivered at the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs, New York, New York, 17 June 1996.

"Political Rivalries in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia." Paper presented at the Council on Foreign Relations, New York, New York, 17 June 1996.

"U.S. Interests in the Gulf Five Years after the War for Kuwait." Presentation to the World Affairs Study Group on International Affairs, Pasadena, California, 16 May 1996.

"International Education and the Current Situation in the Middle East." California State University, Los Angeles, 15 May 1996.

"How to Think of Urban Terrorism in the Coming Decade." Lecture delivered at the California Association of Hostage Negotiators (CAHN), Monterey, California, 9 May 1996.

"Briefing for U.S. Ambassador Designate to Saudi Arabia Wyche Fowler." United States Department of State, Foreign Service Institute, Arlington, Virginia, 8 May 1996.

"The Political Dynamics of Succession Issues in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia." Paper presented to the Council on Foreign Relations Gulf Study Group, Washington, D.C., 7 May 1996.

"Unity on the Arabian Peninsula." Paper presented at the UCLA Workshop on Ethnic Strategies and the Management of Ethnic and Religious Conflict in the Middle East, UCLA, Los Angeles, 26 April 1996.

"Trends in Armenian Foreign Policy." Panelist at the Armenian Professional Society of Orange County Seminar, University of California, Irvine, California, 21 April 1996.

"The Impact of Information Technology on Saudi Arabia." Presentation to the Highlands Group, Monterey, California, 16 April 1996.

"Political Risk Assessment: Opportunities for Business in the Gulf." Lecture delivered to the International Business Education and Research (IBEAR) MBA Program, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California, 8 April, 1996.

"U.S. Foreign Policy in the Persian Gulf." Panelist at the Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research annual conference, Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates, 5-7 January 1996.

"The Future of US Persian Gulf Strategy." Panelist at the 36th Strategy for Peace Conference, sponsored by The Stanley Foundation, Airlie Center, 26-28 October 1995.

"The Principles of Omani Foreign Policy." Panelist at the Contemporary Oman and U.S.-Oman Relations Conference, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C., 12 October 1995 [Ninth Middle East Policy Council Discussion Panel on U.S. Middle East Policy].

"International Education and the Current Situation in the Middle East." California State University, San Bernardino, California, 15 December 1995.

"How to Think of Urban Terrorism in the Coming Decade." Lecture delivered at the California Association of Hostage Negotiators (CAHN), San Diego, California, 24 May 1995.

Participated in "The Gulf: Problems and Prospects" Conference organized by The Ditchley Foundation, Ditchley, Oxfordshire, United Kingdom, 3-5 February 1995.

"Prospects for Peace in the Middle East." Lecture delivered at the La Verne Rotary Club, La Verne, California, 26 February 1994.

"The Caucasus at the Crossroads." Panel discussant. Middle East Studies Association, 27th Annual Meeting, Research Triangle Park, North Carolina, 13 November 1993.

"How Will the Islamic World's Upheavals Impact on the West." Lecture delivered to the Second Executive Development Institute for 1993, FBI Academy, Quantico, Virginia, 4 November 1993.

"The Quest for Leadership and Hegemony in Saudi Arabia." Paper presented at the "Unity vs. Separatism in the Middle East" conference. RAND: Santa Monica, California 27 August 1993.

"Islam in the United States: Implications of the World Trade Center Bombing." Lecture presented to the FBI Task Force Training Unit in New York, CUNY/John Jay College, New York, 31 August 1993.

"Armenian Foreign Policy, 1918-1920 and 1993." Delivered at "The Republic of Armenia, 1918-1920: A Seventy-Five Perspective" international conference, held at the University of California, Los Angeles, California, 29 May 1993.

"An Introduction to Islamic Law." Lecture delivered to Executive Development Institute, FBI Academy, Quantico, Virginia, 13 May 1993.

"The Persian Gulf." Lecture delivered to "The Middle East In the Post-Cold War World" seminar organized by the University of California Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation (IGCC), Los Angeles, California, 16 April, 1993.

"Islam in the Caucasus and Central Asia." Lecture delivered to the Comparative Government Group (250 students) at the United States Military Academy, West Point, New York, 6 April 1993.

"Is the Muslim World a Threat to the West." Lecture delivered to the 16th National Executive Institute (Chiefs of Police from Major Cities), FBI Academy, Quantico, Virginia, 30 March 1993.

"Who Makes Foreign Policy in Oman and How?" Lecture delivered to the "Arabian Peninsula Advanced Area Studies" class, United States Department of State, Foreign Service Institute, Arlington, Virginia, 30 March 1993.

"Political Risk Assessment: Opportunities for Business in the Gulf." Lecture delivered to the International Business Education and Research (IBEAR) MBA Program, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California, 22 March 1993.

"An Assessment of Armenia's Political Future." Lecture delivered to the Armenian General Benevolent Union--Chicago Chapter, Chicago, Illinois, 14 February 1993.

"Another Look at Iran and its Role in Islam." Lecture delivered to the Counter-Intelligence Group Focusing on Iran, FBI Academy, Quantico, Virginia 11 February 1993.

"Omani-Iranian Relations 1960-1992." Panel lecture on Oman organized by the Middle East Institute's Sultan Qaboos Research Institute, Washington, D.C. 12 January 1993.

"Dilemmas of Regional Security in the Persian Gulf Region." Lecture delivered to the "Arabian Peninsula Advanced Area Studies" class, United States Department of State, Foreign Service Institute, Arlington, Virginia, 12 January 1993.

Participated in "The New Face of the Middle East" Conference organized by The Ditchley Foundation, Ditchley, Oxfordshire, United Kingdom, 4-6 December 1992.

"The Impact of Mass Migration in the Persian Gulf." Lecture delivered to "The Sociology of the Middle East" class, University of California, Los Angeles, California 24 November 1992.

"How Can the United States Come to Terms with Islam?" Lecture delivered to the Executive Development Institute, FBI Academy, Quantico, Virginia, 5 November 1992.

Commentator on the paper "Budget Security and Alliances: Syrian-Jordanian Relations 1975-1990" by Laurie A. Brand, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California 11 November 1992.

"The Persian Gulf: Recent Trends and Future Prospects." Panelist on "The New Geopolitics of the Middle East," a RAND Program held at The Drake, New York City, New York, 16 September 1992.

"Islam as a Social and Political Force in the Middle East." Workshop Leader at the Second RAND Middle East/Southwest Asia Study Group Conference on the "Transformation of State and Society in the Middle East," Santa Monica, California 3 September 1992.

"Armenia's Changing International Posture." Lecture delivered at the Organization of Istanbul Armenians forum, Van Nuys, California, 10 July 1992

Participated in a briefing on Armenia for National Security Council Advisor General Brent Scowcroft, Old Executive Office, Washington, D.C., 1 July 1992

"Islam's Impact on a Changing World." Lecture delivered at the 30th Executive Development Institute, FBI Academy, Quantico, Virginia, 14 May 1992.

"Understanding the Muslim World." Lecture delivered at the 15th National Executive Institute, FBI Academy, Quantico, Virginia, 9 April 1992

"The Gulf and the United States." Delivered at the **Middle East Economic Digest** Gulf 92 Conference, Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates, February 3-5, 1992.

"The Ruling Families of the Arab Gulf States." Delivered at the Political Evolution in the GCC States Symposium, Council on Foreign Relations, New York, New York, January 23-24, 1992

Co-Chaired (along with Dr. Rose Graves) the Middle East panel at the 43rd Student Conference on United States Affairs (SCUSA). United States Military Academy, West Point, New York, November 20-23, 1991

"Islam and the West: Future Dilemmas." Delivered at the 29th Executive Development Institute, FBI Academy, Quantico, Virginia, October 28, 1991

"Iraq: Phoenix of Frustration?" Delivered at the Defense Intelligence College "Middle East Security After the Gulf War" workshop, Newport, Rhode Island, September 26, 1991

"The Gulf States: Partnerships and Rivalries." Panel Chair and discussant at the 1st RAND Middle East Conference, Santa Monica, California, September 6, 1991

"Armenia's Prospects in International Relations." Delivered at *The Armenian Mirror-Spectator* forum, Altadena, California, August 30, 1991

"Armenia Nearing the Independence Referendum." Delivered at the Armenian Alumni Association panel discussion, Glendale, California, August 25, 1991

"Prospects for Security Arrangements in the Persian Gulf." Delivered at the University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, June 10, 1991

"The Middle East: Developments, Future Trends and Policies." Participant and rapporteur at the Ditchley Foundation Conference, Ditchley Park, Oxfordshire, England, 31 May-2 June 1991

"Armenia Under Occupation." Round-table discussion at UCLA sponsored by the UCLA Armenian Students Association, Los Angeles, California May 16, 1991

"The Middle East After the Gulf War." National Association of Arab Americans Forum, Los Angeles, California, April 30, 1991

"Western Perceptions of the Muslim World." Delivered at the 28th Executive Development Institute, FBI Academy, Quantico, Virginia, April 25, 1991

Discussant to Professor Nikki Keddie's paper on "Islamic Politics" at the Conflict and Religion conference held at the University of California, Los Angeles, April 14, 1991

"A New Gulf Order or Dis-Order?;" "Elites in Iraq;" and "Elites in Saudi Arabia." Three lectures delivered at the United States Military Academy, West Point, New York, April 11-12, 1991

"The Future of the Muslim World." Delivered at the Fourteenth National Executive Institute, FBI Academy, Quantico, Virginia, March 27, 1991

"The Road to Armageddon--What Future for the Middle East?" Delivered at the Michigan Ethnic Heritage Studies Center, Detroit, Michigan, March 8, 1991

"The Polarization of the Arab World in the wake of the Gulf War." Delivered at the University of Michigan, Dearborn, Michigan, March 11, 1991

"The Middle East Crisis and the Future of Armenians." Delivered at St. John's Armenian Church, Southfield, Michigan, March 11. 1991

Discussant on the panel "The Impact of the Gulf War" at the Westwood Presbyterian Church, Los Angeles, February 24, 1991

"The Political and Strategic Objectives of Iraq." Paper presented at the "Conference on the Gulf Crisis," Defense Intelligence College, Defense Intelligence Analysis Center, Bolling Air Force Base, Washington, D.C. December 12, 1990

"Is the United States Going to War in the Persian Gulf." Lecture delivered to the San Fernando Valley chapter of PI Epsilon fraternity, Braemer Country Club, Tarzana, California, November 29, 1990

"The Karabagh Crisis: Foreign Policy Imperatives and Outlooks." Paper presented at the 22nd National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Washington, D.C. October 20, 1990

Congressional Briefing. Foreign Relations Committee Staff briefing on "Iraq, the Gulf Cooperation Council, and Prospects for Regional Stability." Sponsored by The Middle East Institute and supported by a grant from The Ford Foundation. Rayburn Office Building, Washington, D.C., October 19, 1990.

"Islam and the West: The American Dilemma." Lecture delivered at the Executive Development Institute at the FBI Academy, Quantico, Virginia, 18 October 1990

"The Response of the Arab World to the Gulf Crisis." Paper read at the 18th Annual Convention of the National Association of Arab Americans, Anaheim, California, September 21, 1990

"The Persian Gulf Crisis: A Propaganda War." Lecture delivered to the La Verne Rotary Club, La Verne, California, September 20, 1990

"Elites in Iraq and Saudi Arabia;" "Culture in Iraq and Saudi Arabia;" and "Security in the Persian Gulf." Three lectures delivered at the United States Military Academy, West Point, New York, September 13-14, 1990

"Armenia and Islam in the Gorbachev Era." Lectured delivered to the "Karabagh Symposium" jointly sponsored by the University of Chicago and the United Armenian Cultural Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 28, 1990

"Islamic Culture." Lecture delivered at the Executive Development Institute at the FBI Academy, Quantico, Virginia, April 24, 1990

"Islam and the West: Implications for the Future." Lecture delivered at the National Executive Institute at the FBI Academy, Quantico, Virginia, February 12, 1990

"The Palestinian Question: Is There A Solution?" Lecture delivered at the Annual Great Decisions Debate of the American Association of University Women, Charlottesville, Virginia, February 12, 1990

Attended the 10th Gulf Cooperation Council Summit meeting in Muscat, Sultanate of Oman, as guest observer. December 18-21, 1989

"Islam and the United States." Lecture delivered to the Federal Bureau of Investigation National Academy, Quantico, Virginia, December 13, 1989

"Introduction to Islamic Culture." Lecture delivered to the Federal Bureau of Investigation National Academy seminar, Quantico, Virginia, October 18, 1989

"Religion and Politics in the Middle East." Lecture delivered to the Federal Bureau of Investigation National Academy seminar, Charlottesville, Virginia, October 5, 1989

"The Persian Gulf and U.S. National Security." Lecture delivered at the Politics of National Security Symposium for the Naval Air Systems Command, Annapolis, Maryland, August 21, 1989

"The United States and Iran." Lecture delivered at the Naval Aviation Executive Institute Board of Directors Seminar, Baltimore, Maryland, August 19, 1989

"The Persian Gulf: A Foreign Policy Dilemma for the Bush Administration." Lecture delivered at the politics of National Security Symposium for the Naval Aviation Executive Institute, Fredericksburg, Virginia, April 20, 1989

"Islam and Middle East Politics." Lecture delivered at the Stockholm Conference on Islam (Swedish Institute of International Affairs), Stockholm, Sweden, April 16, 1989

"Nagorno-Karabagh: Gorbachev's Achilles' Heel." Lecture delivered at a Center for Russian and East European Studies symposium on Gorbachev's Challenge: Can He Survive the Nationalities Crisis? University of Virginia, Charlottesville, April 5, 1989

"Terrorism as a Form of Low Intensity Conflict." Paper presented at the 30th meeting of the International Studies Association, London, United Kingdom, March 31, 1989

"U.S. Foreign Policy in the Persian Gulf." Lecture delivered at the National Security Symposium for the Naval Surface Warfare Center, Dahlgreen, Virginia, January 20, 1989

"Political Conflict and Change: Case Studies." Panel Chair and discussant at the 22nd annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Los Angeles, California, November 4, 1988

"The Persian Gulf: An Assessment of Its Strategic Importance." Lecture delivered at the Politics of National Security Symposium for the Naval Aviation Executive Institute, Annapolis, Maryland, August 17, 1988

"The Persian Gulf and the World: The Relationship with the United States." Daylong seminars prepared for the Naval Surface Warfare Center at White Oak, Maryland and Dahlgreen, Virginia, June 16 and 17, 1988

"Gulf Cooperation Council States' Relations with the superpowers: The Roles of Ideology and Pragmatism in Foreign Policy," Paper presented at the 29th annual meeting of the International Studies Association, St. Louis, Missouri, March 30, 1988

"The Gulf Cooperation Council's Search for Security in the Persian Gulf." Lecture delivered at the RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California, March 15, 1988

"The United States and the Middle East: Dangerous Drift?" Lecture delivered at the Annual Great Decisions Debate--The College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia, February 23, 1988

"The United States in the Persian Gulf: Opportunities for Failures and Successes." Lecture delivered at the National Security Symposium for the Naval Surface Warfare Center, Calverton, Maryland, January 26, 1988

Participated in and discussed aspects of "Internal Opposition," at the "Saudi Arabia in the Shadow of War and Recession" symposium held at the School of Advanced International Studies--The Johns Hopkins University, Washington, D.C., December 4, 1987

"The Gulf Cooperation Council: A New Foreign Policy Order." Paper presented at the 21st annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Baltimore, Maryland, November 17, 1987

"Faith and authority: religious movements in the Arabian Peninsula." Paper presented at the 41st Annual Conference of the Middle East Institute, Washington, D.C., October 16, 1987

"The Gulf War, Lebanon, Palestine: A Review of Middle Eastern Crises and Prospects." Participant and rapporteur at the Ditchley Foundation Conference, Ditchley Park, Oxfordshire, England, September 25-27, 1987

Congressional Briefing. Senate Foreign Relations Committee Staff briefing on "Religious Extremism in Saudi Arabia." Sponsored by the Middle East Institute and supported by a grant from the Ford Foundation. U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C., September 18, 1987

"Egypt and the United States." Lecture delivered at the Annual Great Decisions Debate of the American Association of University women, Charlottesville, Virginia, February 2, 1987

"Juhayman `Utaybi's Seven Letters to the Saudi People." Paper presented at the 20th annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Boston, Massachusetts, November 21, 1986

"An Appraisal of Recent Developments in Middle East Terrorism Activities and U.S. Military Responses." Paper presented at the 27th annual meeting of the International Studies Association, Anaheim, California, March 29 1986

"Cooperation and Conflict in the Gulf." Panel chair and discussant at the 19th annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, New Orleans, Louisiana, November 16, 1985

"Arab Aid to Africa: A Political Assessment." Paper presented at the 19th annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, New Orleans, Louisiana, November 23, 1985

"Naval Power in the Arabian Gulf: A Preliminary Appraisal of an Emerging Force." Paper presented at the Section on Military Studies (SOMS) of the International Studies Association, Urbana-Champaign, Illinois, November 8, 1985

"Political Participation in Modern Lebanon." Paper presented at the 26th annual meeting of the International Studies Association, Washington, D.C., March 6, 1985

"The Iran-Iraq War: U.S. Interests in the Persian Gulf." Lecture delivered at the Annual Great Decisions Debate of the American Association of University Women, Charlottesville, Virginia, February 18, 1985

"Regional Security in the Persian Gulf: The Gulf Cooperation Council as an Instrument of Integration." Paper presented at the 18th annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, San Francisco, California, December 1, 1984

"Paradise Lost: The Weakening of Presidential Power in Lebanon." Paper presented at the 18th annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, San Francisco, November 29, 1984

"U.S. Foreign Policy in the Middle East: An Election Year Appraisal." Lecture delivered at the University of Richmond, Richmond, Virginia, October 3, 1984

"The Lebanese Army: Capabilities and Challenges in the 1980s." Paper presented at the 25th annual meeting of the International Studies Association, Atlanta, Georgia, March 29, 1984

"Saudi Arabia and Jordan: Kingdoms at the Crossroads." Lecture delivered at the Annual Great Decisions Debate of the American Association of University Women, Charlottesville, Virginia, March 5, 1984

"U.S. Security and Economic Assistance to Oman and Saudi Arabia." Paper presented at the Section on Military Studies (SOMS) of the International Studies Association, Monterey, California, December 12, 1983

"The Internal Security Agreement of the Gulf Cooperation Council: An Instrument of Cooperation?" Paper presented at the 17th annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Chicago, Illinois, November 6, 1983

"Demographic Changes and Parliamentary Future in the Lebanon." Paper presented at the 17th annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Chicago, Illinois, November 4, 1983

"Should the United States Intervene in the Lebanese Civil War?" Debate held at Ferrum College, Ferrum Virginia, October 12, 1983

"How do we adjust to the resurgence of Islam?" Panelist. World Affairs Council of Northern California, Asilomar, California, May 2-4, 1980

"China, the Soviet Union and the United States: Interactions and Impacts in East Asia," Panelist. World Affairs Council of Northern California, Asilomar, California, May 4-6, 1979