

## Curriculum Vitae

### **Susan L. Woodward**

Professor of Political Science  
PhD program in political science  
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### Education

- Ph.D. Princeton University, Political Science, 1975  
Dissertation: *Training for Self-Management: Patterns of Authority and Participation in Yugoslav Secondary Schools*  
Advisors: Harry H. Eckstein and Cyril Black
- M.A. Princeton University, Political Science, 1968
- B.A. University of Minnesota, Political Science, 1966

### Academic Employment

- 2018-20 Adjunct Senior Research Scholar at the Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies, Columbia University
- 2001- Professor of Political Science, The Graduate Center, City University of New York
- 2000-01 Senior Visiting Fellow, International Institute for Strategic Studies, London, UK
- 1999-2001 Senior Research Fellow, Centre for Defence Studies, King's College, London, UK
- 1999-2002 Visiting Fellow, Hellenic Observatory, London School of Economics and Political Science, London, UK
- 1997-99 Professorial Lecturer, School for Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins
- 1994-95 Adjunct Professor, Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington U.
- 1991-92 Adjunct Professor, Russian Area Studies Program, Georgetown University
- 1990-1999 The Brookings Institution, Foreign Policy Studies: Senior Fellow, 1994-99; Visiting Fellow, 1990-1994
- 1984-89 Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Yale University
- 1982-84 Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Yale University
- 1978-82 Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Williams College
- 1977-78 Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Mount Holyoke College
- Fall 1976 Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Hobart and William Smith Colleges
- 1975-77 Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Northwestern University
- 1972-74 Instructor, Department of Political Science, Northwestern University

Spring 1972 Preceptor, Department of Political Science, Princeton University

### Non-Academic Employment

- July 2002 Consultant to United Nations Development Programme, Belgrade, Serbia  
2001-02 Consultant on the Balkans, Conflict Prevention and Peace Forum, Social Science Research Council, New York  
1998-99 Consultant, U.S. Department of Defense, Asia/Pacific Division, Office of International Affairs, for policy seminars on Comparative Lessons for Indonesia  
1998 Special Projects Adviser to Head of Mission, and Acting Director, Political Department, Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo Head Office  
1996-98 Consultant, The World Bank, ECA – Country Department II  
1994 Head, Analysis and Assessment Unit, Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, United Nations Protection Forces (UNPROFOR), headquartered in Zagreb, Croatia

### Publications

#### **Books**

- 1995 *Socialist Unemployment: The Political Economy of Yugoslavia, 1945-1990*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.  
Winner of the 1996 Ed A. Hewett Prize of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies.
- 1995 *Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution after the Cold War*, Washington: The Brookings Institution.  
Published in Serbian as *Balkanska Tragedija: Haos i raspad posle hladnog rata* [Filip Višnjić, Belgrade, 1997]  
Published in Bulgarian as *Balkanskata Tragedija: Khaos't i razrukhata sled kraja na Studenata Voina* [Sofia: CIELA, 2002]  
A *Choice* magazine 1995 Outstanding Academic Book.
- 2003 *From the Adriatic to the Caucasus: Viable Dynamics of Stabilization*, edited with Stefano Bianchini, Ravenna: Longo Editore.
- 2017 *The Ideology of Failed States: Why Intervention Fails*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

#### **Journal Articles**

- 2013 “The Long Intervention: continuity in the Balkan Theatre,” *Review of International*

- Studies* (Intervention in the Ordering of the Modern World), 3:5 (December): 1169-1187.
- 2012 Co-editor with Denisa Kostovicova and Vesna Bojicic-Dzelilovic, of *Suedosteuroopa* (Research on State-Building in the Western Balkans: Comparative Methodologies) 60:4.
- 2012 “Introduction: Methodology and the Study of State-Building in the Western Balkans,” with Denisa Kostovicova and Vesna Bojicic-Dzelilovic, *Suedosteuroopa*, 60:4 (September): 467-469.
- 2012 “Can We Measure Legitimacy?” *Suedosteuroopa*, 60:4 (September): 470-482.
- 2011 “Serbia’s Transition: towards a better future,” with Jan Svejnar and Tea Trumbic, *Nationalities Papers*, 39:5 (September): 833-844.
- 2010 “Featured Review of *Blue Helmets Black Markets* by Peter Andreas,” *Slavic Review*, 69:1 (Spring): 199-201.
- 2009 “Shifts in Global Security Policies: Why They Matter for the South,” *IDS Bulletin* (Transforming Security and Development in an Unequal World), 40:2 (March): 121-128.
- 2007 “Does Kosovo’s Status Matter? On the International Management of Statehood,” *Südosteuroopa*, 55:1 (March): 1-25.
- 2007 “Do the Root Causes of Civil War Matter? On Using Knowledge to Improve Peacebuilding Interventions,” *Journal of Intervention and State-Building*, 1:2 (June): 143-170.
- 2006 “Etats faillis. Le poids des mots [The Paradox of ‘State Failure’: States Matter; Take them Seriously],” *Enjeux Internationaux*, 11 (First quarter): 21.
- 2005 “Construire l’État: légitimité internationale contre légitimité nationale?” *Critique Internationale*, 28:3 (October): 139-152.
- 2005 “Economic Aid to Post-Conflict Countries: A Methodological Critique of Collier and Hoeffler,” with Astri Suhrke and Espen Villanger, *Conflict, Security, and Development*, 5:3 (December): 329-361.
- 2004 “Enhancing Cooperation against Transborder Crime in Southeast Europe: Is There an Emerging Epistemic Community?” *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 4:2 (May): 217-234.
- 2001 “Humanitarian War: A New Consensus?” *Disasters*, 25:4 (December): 331-344.
- 2000 “Kosovo and the Region: Consequences of the Waiting Game,” *The International Spectator*, 35:1 (March): 35-48.
- 1999 “A European ‘New Deal’ for the Balkans,” with Benn Steil, *Foreign Affairs*, 78:6 (November-December): 95-105.
- 1999 Lead article on demilitarisation in Kosovo, *Bulletin of the Conflict, Security, and Development Group*, Issue 2 (November).
- 1999 “Should We Think before We Leap? A Rejoinder,” *Security Dialogue* 30:3 (September): 277-281.
- 1999 “Failed States: Warlordism and ‘Tribal’ Warfare,” *Naval War College Review*, 51:2 (Spring): 1-14. Winner of the annual prize for best article of the *Naval War College Review*.
- 1997 “Balkan Tragedy,” *Miller Center Journal*, 4 (Spring): 85-93.
- 1997 “Bosnia After Dayton: Year Two,” *Current History*, 96:168 (May): 97-103.

- 1997 "Protests in Serbia: Progress in Small Steps," *Analysis of Current Events*, 9: 1: 3, 6.
- 1996 "Genocide or Partition: Two Faces of the Same Coin?" *Slavic Review*, 55:4 (Winter): 755-761.
- 1996 "Dayton and Beyond," *International Affairs Review*, 5:1 (Winter): 25-38.
- 1996 "Building Peace in Bosnia," *Armed Forces Journal International*, (December): 47.
- 1996 "The United States Leads, Europe Pays," *Transition*, 2:14 (July): 12-16.
- 1993 "Yugoslavia: Divide and Fail," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 49:9 (November): 24-27.
- 1992 "The Tyranny of Time: Eastern Europe's Race to the Market," *The Brookings Review*, 10:1 (Winter): 6-13.
- 1989 "Reforming the Socialist State: Ideology and Public Finance in Yugoslavia," *World Politics*, 41:2 (January): 267-305.
- 1987 Special Editor, "Symposium on Trotsky's *Revolution Betrayed*: Fifty Years After," *Comparative Economic Studies*, 29:3 (Fall).
- 1986 "Orthodoxy and Solidarity: Competing Claims and International Adjustment in Yugoslavia," *International Organization*, 40:2 (Spring): 505-545, reprinted in Ellen Comisso and Laura Tyson, eds. *Power, Purpose and Collective Choice: Economic Strategy in Socialist States*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- 1977 "'The Freedom of the People is in its Private Life': The Unrevolutionary Implications of Industrial Democracy," *American Behavioral Scientist*, 20:4 (March-April): 579-596.
- 1977 "From Revolution to Post-Revolution: How Much Do We Really Know about Yugoslav Politics?" *World Politics*, 30:1 (October): 141-166.

### Book Chapters

- 2013 "The Political Economy of Peacebuilding and International Aid," in Roger Mac Ginty, ed., *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* (London and New York: Routledge).
- 2012 "The Bosnian Paradox: On the Causes of Postwar Inequality and Barriers to Its Recognition and Reduction," in Arnim Langer, Frances Stewart, and Rajesh Venugopal, eds., *Horizontal Inequalities and Post-Conflict Development* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).
- 2011 "State-Building for Peace-Building: What Theory and Whose Role?" in Richard Kozul-Wright and Piergiuseppe Fortunato, eds., *Securing Peace: State-Building and Economic Development in Post-Conflict Countries* (London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, in association with the United Nations).
- 2011 "Varieties of State-building in the Balkans: A Case for Shifting Focus," in Beatrix Austin, Martina Fischer, and Hans J. Giessmann, eds., *Postwar Reconstruction. The Berghof Handbook for Conflict Transformation II*. (Opladen/Farmington Hills: Barbara Budrich Publishers).
- 2010 "Soft Intervention and the Puzzling Neglect of Economic Actors," in Matthew Hoddie and Caroline A. Hartzell, eds., *Strengthening Peace in Post-Civil War States: Transforming Spoilers into Stakeholders* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).
- 2009 "A Case for Shifting the Focus: Some Lessons from the Balkans," Dialogue Response to "The Failing States Debate: Building Peace in the Absence of States," in Martina

- Fischer and Beatrix Schmelzle, eds., *Berghof Handbook for Conflict Transformation, Dialogue* 8: 47-56.
- 2009 “Measuring State Failure/Weakness: Do the Balkan Cases Fit?” in Vesna Bojicic-Dzelilovic and Denisa Kostovikova, eds., *Persistent State Weakness in the Global Age* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate).
- 2008 “Panacea or Public Debate?” in Leila Simona Talani, ed., *EU and the Balkans: Policies of integration and disintegration* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing).
- 2008 “The Security Council and the Wars in the Former Yugoslavia,” in Vaughan Lowe, Adam Roberts, Jennifer Welsh, and Dominik Zaum, eds., *The United Nations Security Council and War: The Evolution of Thought and Practice since 1945* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press).
- 2006 “Peacebuilding and ‘failed states’: some initial considerations,” in Jose Manuel Pureza, Mark Duffield, Robert Matthews, Susan Woodward, and David Sogge, eds., *Peacebuilding and Failed States: Some Theoretical Notes* (Coimbra: Oficina do Ces).
- 2005 “La agenda de los Estados frágiles: de la soberanía al Desarrollo (The State Failure Agenda: from Sovereignty to Development),” in *Estados fragiles: soberania, desarrollo y conflicto* (Madrid: Centro de Investigación para la Paz).
- 2004 “Transatlantic Harmony or a Stable Kosovo?” in *Balkan Politics: Different Views and Perceptions, Common Interests and Platforms?* (Berlin: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik).
- 2002 “Economic Priorities for Successful Peace Implementation,” in Stephen John Stedman Donald Rothchild, and Elizabeth M. Cousens, eds., *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements* (Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner).
- 2002 “The Political Economy of Ethno-nationalism in Yugoslavia,” in Leo Panitch and Colin Leys, ed., *Fighting Identities: Race, Religion and Ethno-Nationalism*, Socialist Register 2003 (London: Merlin Press).
- 2002 “On War and Peace-Building: Unfinished Legacy of the 1990s,” in Craig Calhoun, Paul Price, and Ashley Timmer, eds. *Understanding September 11* (New York: The New Press, for the Social Science Research Council).
- 2002 “In Whose Interest Is Security Sector Reform? Lessons from the Balkans,” in Gavin Cawthra and Robin Luckham, eds., *Governing Insecurity: Democratic Control of Military and Security Establishments in Transitional Democracies* (London: ZED Books).
- 2001 “Labours of Sisyphus? A Framework for Considering the Return of Refugees to Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia in the Coming Period,” in Giuseppe de Vergottini and Robert H. Evans, *Strategies for the Future of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia* (Torino: G. Giappichelli Editore).
- 2001 “Compromised Sovereignty to Create Sovereignty: Is Dayton Bosnia a Futile Exercise or an Emerging Model?” in Stephen D. Krasner, ed., *Problematic Sovereignty: Contested Rules and Political Possibilities* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- 2000 “Costly Disinterest: Missed Opportunities for Preventive Diplomacy in Yugoslavia, 1985-91,” in Bruce Jentleson, ed., *Opportunities Missed, Opportunities Seized: Preventive Diplomacy in the post-Cold War World*, for the Carnegie

- Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict (Rowman and Littlefield).
- 2000 “War: Building States from Nations,” in Tariq Ali, ed., *Masters of the Universe? NATO’s Balkan Crusade* (London: Verso).
- 2000 “Upside-Down Policy: The U.S. Debate on the Use of Force and the Case of Bosnia,” in H. W. Brands, ed., *The Use of Force after the Cold War* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press).
- 2000 “Violence-Prone Area or International Transition? Adding the Role of Outsiders in Balkan Violence,” in Veena Das, Arthur Kleinman, Mamphela Ramphele, and Pamela Reynolds, ed., *Violence and Subjectivity* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
- 2000 “The Kosovo Crisis: a Spectrum of Perspectives” in Dimitris Keridis and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., ed., *NATO and Southeastern Europe: Security Issues for the Early 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (McLean, Virginia: Brassey’s).
- 2000 “Kosovo and the Region: Consequences of the Waiting Game,” in Jeffrey Laurenti, ed., *Options for Kosovo’s Final Status* (New York: United Nations Association of the United States).
- 2000 “Diaspora, or the Dangers of Disunification? Putting the ‘Serbian Model’ into Perspective,” in Michael Mandelbaum, ed., *The New European Diasporas: National Minorities and Conflict in Eastern Europe* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations).
- 2000 “Bosnia and Herzegovina,” with Zlatko Hurić and Amela Šapčanin, in Shepard Forman and Stewart Patrick, eds., *Good Intentions: Pledges of Aid for Postconflict Recovery* (Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Press).
- 2000 “Tug of War in the Balkans: towards integration or disintegration?” in *Economies in Transition: Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, Regional Overview*, Economist Intelligence Unit, Country Forecast, first quarter.
- 1999 “Bosnia after Dayton: Transforming a Compromise into a State,” in Robert Rothstein, ed. *After the Peace: Resistance and Reconciliation* (Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Press).
- 1999 “Bosnia and Herzegovina: How Not to End Civil War,” in Barbara Walter and Jack Snyder, eds., *Civil Wars, Insecurity, and Intervention* (New York: Columbia University Press).
- 1997 “Rethinking Security in the Post-Yugoslav Era,” in Graham T. Allison, ed., *The Greek Paradox* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press).
- 1997 “Resolving the Security Dilemma: Regional and Local Tasks after Dayton,” in Martin Sopta, ed., *Bosnia-Herzegovina: Beyond Dayton* (Zagreb: Croatian Center of Strategic Studies).
- 1997 “International Aspects of the Wars in Former Yugoslavia,” in Jasminka Udovički and James Ridgeway, eds., *Burn This House: The Making and Unmaking of Yugoslavia* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: Duke University Press).
- 1997 “The Security Environment,” in Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr. and Dimitris Keridis, eds., *Security In Southeastern Europe and the U.S.-Greek Relationship* (McLean, Virginia: Brassey’s).
- 1996 “The West and the International Organizations,” in David Dyker and Ivan Vejvoda, eds., *Yugoslavia and After: a Study in Fragmentation, Despair, and Rebirth* (London:

- Routledge).
- 1996 “Rethinking Security in the Post-Yugoslav Era,” in Kalypso Nicolaidis and Graham Allison, eds., *The Greek Paradox: Promise vs. Performance* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press).
- 1996 “Bosnia and Herzegovina,” in Leokadia Drobizheva, Rose Gottemoeller, Catherine McArdle Kelleher, and Lee Walker, eds., *Ethnic Conflict in the Post-Soviet World: Case Studies and Analysis* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe).
- 1995 “The Yugoslav Conflict: Redrawing Borders in a Period of Systemic Transition,” in Milton Esman and Shibley Telhami, eds., *The Role of International Organizations in Ethnic Conflict* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press).
- 1995 “The Use of Sanctions in Former Yugoslavia: Misunderstanding Political Realities,” in David Cortright and George Lopez, eds., *Economic Sanctions: Panacea or Peacebuilding in a Post-Cold War World* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press).
- 1995 “The Yugoslav Crisis and Global Security: National States and International Authority in the Post-Cold War Era,” in Allan Song, ed., *Regional Crisis Management: U.S. and Japanese Perspectives* (New York: United Nations Association of the United States).
- 1993 “The Balkans and Europe: Euro-Atlantic Security and Values,” in Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr. and Richard H. Shultz, Jr., eds., *Ethnic Conflict and Regional Instability: Implications for U.S. Policy and Army Roles and Missions* (Washington: Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College).
- 1992 “United States Policy toward Eastern Europe,” with John D. Steinbruner, in William James Adams, ed. *Singular Europe: Economy and Polity of the European Community after 1992*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.)
- 1991 “Soviet Rehearsal in Yugoslavia? Contradictions of the Socialist Liberal Strategy,” in Ralph Miliband and Leo Panitch, eds. *Communist Regimes: the Aftermath, Socialist Register*. (London: Merlin Press).
- 1989 “Yugoslavia: Compromise or Adjustment to Political and Economic Crisis?” in Richard F. Staar, ed. *United States-East European Relations in the 1990's* (New York: Crane Russak).
- 1985 “The Economic Crisis in Southern Europe: Origins and Political Responses,” in Carl Pinkele and Stefan Musto, eds. *Europe at the Crossroads: Agendas of the Crisis* (New York: Praeger Press).
- 1985 “The Rights of Women: Ideology, Policy, and Social Change in Yugoslavia,” in Sharon Wolchik and Alfred Meyer, eds. *Women, State and Party in Eastern Europe* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press).
- 1983 “Inequalities and Yugoslav Political Stability,” in Daniel Nelson, ed. *Communism and the Politics of Inequalities* (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books).
- 1982 “Self-Management, the Market, and Political Power: the Case of Yugoslavia,” in Peter Schwab and Adamantia Pollis, eds. *Toward a Human Rights Framework* (New York: Praeger Press).
- 1982 “Political Changes in the European Mediterranean: an Overview for Policy-Makers,” in Carl Pinkele and Adamantia Pollis, eds. *Continuity and Change in the Contemporary Mediterranean* (New York: Praeger Press).
- 1981 “An Overview of Survey Research in the Socialist Federated Republic of Yugoslavia,” in

William A. Welsh, ed. *Survey, Research and Public Attitudes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union* (Elmsford, N.Y.: Pergamon Press).

- 1975 “Socialization for Self-Management in Yugoslav Schools,” in Gary Bertsch and Thomas Ganschow, ed. *Comparative Communism: The Chinese, Soviet and Yugoslav Models* (San Francisco: W.H. Freeman).

### **Policy commentary, opeds, invited speeches, and working papers and reports**

- 2020 “Bosnia-Herzegovina as a Model for International Intervention in Post-conflict Reconstruction and Peace Implementation,” Colloquium: Rebuilding State and Society after Civil War,” Kent State University, February 21, 2020.
- 2019 “Why do international security and aid interventions fail? A new interpretation,” 2019 Paterson Public Lecture, Carleton Dominion Chalmers Centre, University of Ottawa, October 3, 2019.
- 2019 “Myths vs. Archives, Yugoslavia, 1945 to the present,” Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies (CES), Harvard University, “Yugoslavia Revisited,” September 25, 2019.
- 2019 “Fragile Development: Are the SDGs fit for purpose to enable sustainable development in fragile contexts?” *SDGs: Transforming Our World*, a UNA-UK publication providing analysis and recommendations on achieving the Sustainable Development Goals, 2019 Edition, June 19, 2019.
- 2016 “Keynote Address,” in Filip Ejdus and Predrag Jurekovic, eds., *Violent Extremism in the Western Balkans*, 31<sup>st</sup> Workshop of the PFP Consortium Study Group for Regional Stability in South East Europe, May, Vienna.
- 2007 “Can Democratic Elections Solve a Civil War? The case of Serbia and Kosovo,” comment in *FRIDE E-Newsletter*, 24 (July).
- 2007 “The Kosovo Quandary: on the International Management of Statehood,” comment in *FRIDE E-Newsletter*, 22 (March/April).
- 2007 “Is Democracy Possible in the Balkans? On Preconditions and Conditions in Bosnia, Kosovo, and Serbia,” *Working Paper Series*, National Council for Eurasian and East European Research, Washington, DC, and Seattle, WA.
- 2006 “On the Problem of the Post-War State and the Need for a Doctrine of Do No Harm,” Presentation at the Workshop on Building Peace in Fragile States, University of California at San Diego, December 1-2.
- 2006 “The Actual Problem of the Post-War State and the Policies of International Assistance: the need for a doctrine of ‘do no harm’,” *Working Paper Series*, National Council for Eurasian and East European Research, Washington, DC, and Seattle, WA.
- 2006 “Institutionally Fragile States: Fragile States, Prevention and Postconflict: Recommendations,” *FRIDE E-Newsletter*, 16 (March-April).
- 2005 “Fragile States: Exploring the Concept,” *FRIDE E-Newsletter*, 14 (December).
- 2005 “The Inequality of Violence: On the Discovery of Civil War as a Threat to ‘the North’ in the 1990s and the Debate over Causes and Solutions,” paper for *APSA Task Force on Inequality and Difference in the Developing World*.
- 2004 “Fragile States,” Paper presented to the State and Security Learning Group at the Peace and Social Justice meeting of the Ford Foundation, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil,



- November 29.
- 2004 “State-building Operations: International vs. Local Legitimacy?” Paper presented at the *Nation-Building, State-Building and International Intervention Meeting* of the Centre d’Études et Recherche Internationale and Critique Internationale, Paris, France, October 15.
- 2004 “Peace Operations: the Civilian Dimension: Accounting for UNDP and the UN Specialized Agencies,” Paper prepared for the *Government of Denmark’s Meeting on Strengthening the UN’s Capacity on Civilian Crisis Management*, June 8-9, Copenhagen.
- 2004 “Issue Note,” Summary Report, *International Policy Dialogue on Development Policy and the Armed Forces*, Berlin, InWent (Capacity Building International, Germany) and the German Federal Government (Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development), September 14-15.
- 2003 “Crossing the Line,” Symposium on The Relevance of Comparative Politics for Public Life, *APSA-CP Newsletter* 14:2 (Summer).
- 2002 “Local Governance Approach to Social Reintegration and Economic Recovery in Post-Conflict Countries: The Political Context for Programs of UNDP/UNCDF Assistance,” Discussion paper for the *Workshop of the Institute of Public Administration for UNDP/UNCDF and UNDP/BCPR*, October 8, New York.
- 2002 “From a ‘Problem’ to a ‘Model’,” a Report to the *Strategic Roundtable and Workshop on Governance Transition*, United National Development Programme, July 19-20, Belgrade
- 2002 “Economic Priorities for Peace Implementation,” *IPA Policy Paper Series on Peace Implementation*, October, International Peace Academy and Center for International Security and Cooperation, Stanford University.
- 2002 “Make Haste Slowly in Assistance for Afghanistan,” with Astri Suhrke, *The International Herald Tribune*, January 21.
- 2001 “Can the Åland Example Bring Peace to the Balkans Today?” in *Autonomy – An Alternative to Secession? A Seminar on the Åland Islands as an Example for Peaceful Governance*, seminar held at the United Nations, in New York, March 15 (Helsinki: Ministry for Foreign Affairs).
- 2001 “Milošević Who? Origins of the New Balkans,” Discussion Paper 5, July, The Hellenic Observatory, The European Institute, London School of Economics and Political Science.
- 2001 “The Way Ahead for Working Table III (Security) of the Stability Pact for Southeast Europe,” A Discussion Paper prepared for distribution at the *Zagreb meeting of Working Table III of the Stability Pact*, June.
- 2000 “Security and the Stability Pact,” Presentation at the First Annual Meeting of SEEPIN, Ohrid, Macedonia, June 23-25.
- 2000 “Albanians and Their Neighbors: Unfinished Business,” Report of *Meeting of the Project on Ethnic Relations*, April 7-8, Budapest, Hungary.
- 2000 “The Situation in Serbia Today,” in Dimitrios Triantaphyllou, ed., *Evaluating Serbia/L’Evaluation de la Serbie*, Occasional Paper 19 (September, Paris: Institute for Security Studies, West European Union).
- 2000 *Strategic Conflict Analysis: The Moldovan Case Study* (Centre for Defence Studies,

- King's College, London, for the Department for International Development, HMG, 19 May)
- 2000 *Western Balkans Post-Conflict Conflict Prevention: The Security Dimension of Western Balkans Stabilisation: Final Report*, with Espen Barth Eide Jeff McCausland, Tim Ripley, and John Roper, eds., Conflict Prevention Network, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Berlin, 10 March.
- 1999 "Transitional Elections and the Dilemmas of International Assistance to Bosnia and Herzegovina," in Steven M. Riskin, ed., *Three Dimensions of Peacebuilding in Bosnia: Findings from USIP-Sponsored Research and Field Projects* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, Peaceworks No. 32, December).
- 1999 "Evaluation of the Kosovo War," Report for the *Proceedings of the VIII Castiglioncello Conference*, L'Unione degli Scienziati Per Il Disarmo (USPID).
- 1999 "Pledges of Aid to Bosnia and Herzegovina," with Zlatko Hurić and Amela Šapčanin, in Steven M. Riskin, ed., *Three Dimensions of Peacebuilding in Bosnia: Findings from USIP-Sponsored Research and Field Projects*, Peaceworks 32 (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, December).
- 1999 *Evaluation of the Western Bosnia Rehabilitation Programme 1996-1998*, primary author (Centre for Defence Studies, King's College London, November 25).
- 1999 "CFSP: A Step Backward? Lessons from the Balkans," *Working Paper 17/99* (May), of the Helmut Kohl Institute for European Studies, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- 1998 "A Debate about the Future of Bosnia: Avoid Another Cyprus or Israel," *The Brookings Review*, 16:1 (Winter): 45-48.
- 1998 "The U.S. Perspective: transition postponed," in Sophia Clément, ed., *The Issues Raised by Bosnia and the Transatlantic Debate*, Paper 32 (Paris: Institute for Security Studies, West European Union, May).
- 1997 "New Role in Bosnia Is a Risky Position," *Newsday*, September 16.
- 1997 "Foreign Policy Flashpoints: Bosnia," *The Brookings Review*, 15:2 (Spring): 29-31.
- 1996 "Remarks," in *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the American Society of International Law*.
- 1996 "Remarks," in *Healing the Wounds: Refugees, Reconstruction and Reconciliation*, Conference of the UNHCR and IPA.
- 1996 "Bosnian Economic Security after 1996," with John R. Lampe and Mark S. Ellis, East European Studies, The Woodrow Wilson Center and The Atlantic Council, September.
- 1996 "[America's Bosnia Policy: The Work Ahead](#)," *Brookings Policy Briefs* 2, July.
- 1996 "Implementing Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina: A Post-Dayton Primer and Memorandum of Warning," Brookings Discussion Paper, May.
- 1995 "Mopping Up: A Foreboding Victory in the Balkans," *The Brookings Review*, 13:4 (Fall): 28-31.
- 1995 "Time for a Post-Mortem on Bosnia?" *The Brookings Review*, 13:3 (Spring): 51.
- 1993 "Conflict in Yugoslavia: Quest for Solutions," *Great Decisions 1994*, Foreign Policy Association.
- 1993 "For Bosnia a Police Force - 250,000 Strong," with John D. Steinbruner, *Newsday*, April 25.

1991 [“Yet Another Round of Quarrelsome Balkan Behavior,”](#) *Los Angeles Times*, March 24

### Congressional Testimony

- 1996 Public briefing on Brčko, OSCE (Helsinki) Commission of the United States Congress, December 5.
- 1996 “Hearing on Post-Election Prospects for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina,” Senate Foreign Relations Committee, October 1.
- 1996 “Hearings on a Mid-term Assessment of the Dayton Accord in Bosnia and Herzegovina,” Senate Foreign Relations Committee, September 10.
- 1996 “Hearing on the Implementation of the Bosnian Peace Accords,” Senate Select Intelligence Committee, July 24.
- 1996 “Hearing on the Prospect for Free and Fair Elections in Bosnia,” House Committee on International Relations, June 11.
- 1995 “Hearing on a U.S. Troop Deployment to Bosnia,” House Committee on National Security, October 17.
- 1993 “Hearings on the Use of Force in the Post-Cold War Era: The Balkan Example,” House Armed Services Committee, March 4.
- 1993 “Hearings on the Use of Force in the Post-Cold War Era: The Situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia,” House Armed Services Committee, May 26.
- 1992 “Hearings on the Humanitarian Crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina,” Senate Armed Services Committee, August 11.

### Parliamentary Testimony (UK)

- July 17, 2001 Oral Evidence, Sub-Committee A (Economic and Financial Affairs, Trade and External Relations) of the European Union Committee, House of Lords, on “EU aid to the Balkans”
- November 1990, Written Evidence, and February 1, 2000, Oral Witness, for the Select Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Commons, on Lessons from Kosovo

### Honors, Fellowships, Grants

- PSC-CUNY Research Award, June 2011-December 2013
- Member, the United Nations Committee of Experts on Public Administration (CEPA), approved by the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), 1 January 2010 to 31 December 2013.
- Carnegie Corporation of New York grant on “Filling in the Knowledge Gaps on Peacebuilding: Proposal to Strengthen the Young Scholars Network and to Incorporate Local Experts, Research, and Practitioners’ Knowledge from Conflict Areas and States at Risk into Peacebuilding Policy and Practice,” April 1, 2009 – March 31, 2011.
- Senior (Non-Resident) Fellow, FRIDE (Fundación para las Relaciones Internacionales y el Diálogo Exterior), Madrid, Spain, July 2006 – June 2009.
- Carnegie Corporation of New York grant on “The Next Generation of Peace-builders: A Proposal to Improve International Assistance to Post-Conflict State-building through Academic Research and Scholar-Practitioner Interaction, a Follow-up Study,” July 1,

2006 – June 30, 2008.

Ford Foundation grant on “State Failure: Reframing the International Economic and Political Agenda (a project on the post-colonial state, the conceptualization of state failure and international responses, and the impact on security worldwide),” November 2004 – July 2007.

Carnegie Corporation of New York grant on “What Do We Know and Why? Creating a Knowledge Infrastructure for Post-Conflict State Transformation,” October 2004 to August 2005.

NCEEER (National Council on Eurasian and Eastern European Research), grant for “State-building in the Balkans: A Comparative Analysis of the Role of International Interventions and Assistance,” 2004-2005.

Ford Foundation grant, through the International Institute for Strategic Studies, for work on book manuscript, *Beyond Bad Guys*, November 2000-August 2001.

Berghof Foundation, grant for research on “Redefining Security in Southeast Europe: A Project to Monitor the Link between Local, National, and Regional Peacebuilding Efforts in the New Period”

Visiting Fellow, Hellenic Observatory, London School of Economics and Political Science, 2000-2002

Royal Institute of International Affairs, elected Member, 1999

International Institute for Strategic Studies, elected Member, 1999

United States Institute of Peace Grant, 1998-99, to the Brookings Institution, for *Beyond Bad Guys*.

Eisenhower Exchange Fellowship, to Turkey, awarded 1996 (in Turkey one month, March 1998)

1996 Ed A. Hewett Prize of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies for *Socialist Unemployment: The Political Economy of Yugoslavia, 1945-1990*

Winston Foundation Grant to study NATO and EU peace implementation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1996

Council on Foreign Relations, elected member 1994

World Economic Forum, Fellow, 1992-95

National Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, 1989-1990

Developmental Fellowship, for Bulgarian language and Security Studies, International Research and Exchanges Board, 1989-1990

Title VIII, Soviet and East European Studies Research Fellowship, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, January 1 - July 31, 1987

The Sarai Ribicoff Award for the Encouragement of Teaching at Yale College, June 1984

Social Science Faculty Research Grant, Yale University, 1984-85, 1987-88

Faculty Research Grant, Center for International and Area Studies, Yale University, Summer 1984

Travel Grant, International Association for Southeast European Studies, September 1984

Fellow, Russian Research Center, Harvard University, 1982-83, 1984-85

East European Studies Faculty Research Grant, International Research and Exchanges Board, 1982

East European Studies Grant, American Council of Learned Societies, 1981-82

Visiting Scholar, Russian Research Center, Harvard University, 1981-82

Visiting Fellow, Center for International Studies, Princeton University, 1975-1976

Faculty Summer Research Grant, Northwestern University, 1975  
Travel Grant for International Conferences, International Research & Exchanges Board,  
September 1972  
East European Language Study Grant, American Council for Learned Societies and Social  
Sciences Research Council, Summer 1969 (Declined).  
Research Associate, Center for International Studies, Princeton University, 1968-1970  
University Fellow, Department of Politics, Princeton University, 1967-1968  
National Defense Foreign Language Fellowship (Title VI, NDEA), Department of Politics,  
Princeton University, 1966-67  
Summer Language Study Grant, Russian Area Studies Program, Princeton University, 1966  
Phi Beta Kappa, University of Minnesota, 1966

### Professional Activities

#### Advisory Boards

Chair, Sage Best Paper award committee, Comparative Politics section, APSA, 2015-16  
Editorial Board, *Peacebuilding*, 2012 –  
American Political Science Association Nominations Committee, 2011-2012  
Editorial Board, *Global Governance*, 2009 - 2013  
American Political Science Association Award Committee for the prize for the Best Book on  
European Politics in 2007, chair  
Editorial Board, Palgrave/Macmillan series on New Perspectives on South-East Europe  
Editorial Board, *Nationalities Papers*, 2009 –  
Editorial Board, *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development*, 2008 -  
Editorial Board, *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, 2008-  
International Editorial Board, *International Affairs*, 2008-  
International Advisory Board, *Journal of Intervention and StateBuilding*, 2005-  
Editorial Board, *Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 2000-  
American Political Science Association Task Force on Difference and Inequality in the  
Developing World, 2003-2005  
Advisory Board, Regional Bureau for Eastern Europe and the CIS, United Nations Development  
Programme, 2002-5  
Board of Overseers, Watson Institute, Brown University, 1999-2008  
Nations in Transit, Freedom House, scholarly advisory board for Balkan countries, 2001-2017  
International IDEA, Balkans Programme, Member Steering Board, 2000-01  
Working member, Conflict Prevention Network, Ebenhausen (SWP), funded by the European  
Commission, 1999-2000  
IREX Media Advisory Council, 1999-2001  
Council for Ethnic Accord, Project on Ethnic Relations [PER], 1999-2001  
Board of Directors, and member of the Executive Committee, National Council on Eurasian  
and East European Research (NCEEER), 1994-2001; Vice-Chair, 1998-1999  
Board of Governors, International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX), 1998-2001  
National Board of Senior Advisers, American Council of Teachers of Russian and American  
Council for Collaboration in Education and Language Study (ACTR-ACCELS)

Associate Editor, *Post-Soviet Geography and Economics*, 1997-  
Editorial Advisory Board, *SAIS Review*, 1997-2000  
Advisory Board, Women in International Security (WIIS), 1996-1999  
Working Group on Bosnia, United States Institute of Peace, 1996-99  
Bosnia “Brain Trust” on Dayton Implementation and IFOR/SFOR for the Department of  
Defense, National Defense University, 1996-98  
Atlantic Council, Bosnia Task Force, 1996-99  
Co-organizer, conference on the Future of Southeastern Europe: The Emerging Political  
Geography, Liechtenstein Colloquium on European and International Affairs, Vaduz,  
November 17-19, 1995  
*Balkan Warreport*, Editorial Board, 1992-94  
Convener, Washington Area Forum on Soviet/Former Soviet Affairs (WAFSSA), The  
Brookings Institution, 1991-99  
Executive Board, American Committee, International Association of Southeast European Studies  
(AIESEE), 1985-1990  
Committee on Honors and Awards, American Association for the Advancement of Slavic  
Studies (AAASS), 1987-1990  
External Review Committee, Department of Political Science, Vassar College 1988  
Advisory Council of Department of Politics, Princeton University 1983-1987  
East European Selection Committee, International Research and Exchanges Board, 1983-1987  
Discipline Screening Committee for Fulbright Scholar Awards, Political Science, Council for  
International Exchange of Scholars, 1985-1988  
Developmental Fellowship Selection Committee, International Research and Exchanges Board,  
1984-1986  
Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession, American Political Science Association,  
Chair, 1980-1981; Member, 1979-1981

#### Organizational Memberships

Council on Foreign Relations, New York  
The Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 1999-2002  
International Institute for Strategic Studies, London, 2000-2007  
American Political Science Association  
International Studies Association  
International Political Science Association