

## **MICHAEL N. BARNETT**

University Professor of International Affairs and Political Science  
Institute for Global and International Studies  
Elliott School of International Affairs  
George Washington University  
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### **Teaching and Research Appointments**

9/10- present University Professor of International Affairs and Political Science,  
George Washington University  
9/04 - 9/10 Stassen Chair of International Affairs, Hubert Humphrey School, and  
Professor of Political Science, University of Minnesota  
1/09 - 9/10 Research Fellow, Centre for Conflict, Development, and Peacebuilding,  
Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva  
1/09 - 6/09 Visiting Professor, Graduate Institute of International and Development  
Studies, Geneva, Switzerland  
9/04 - 12/05 Visiting Researcher, Center on International Cooperation - NYU  
9/98 - 8/04 Professor, University of Wisconsin  
9/94 - 9/98 Associate Professor, University of Wisconsin  
7/95 - 8/95 Visiting Researcher, Dayan Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Tel-Aviv  
University  
8/94 - 7/95 Visiting Scholar, Center for Studies of Social Change, New School for Social  
Research  
9/90 - 9/94 Assistant Professor, Political Science, University of Wisconsin  
1/92 - 6/92 Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of International Relations, Hebrew  
University of Jerusalem  
9/89 - 9/90 Assistant Professor, Political Science, Wellesley College  
1/89 - 6/89 Instructor, Political Science, Macalester College

### **Education**

4/1989 Ph.D., Political Science, University of Minnesota  
1/82 B.A., Political Science, University of Illinois

### **Awards and Honors**

2007 Academic Council on the United Nations System Book Award for Rules for the World  
2006 International Studies Association Book Award for Rules for the World  
2004 Kellett Midcareer Award, University of Wisconsin (declined)  
1999 Vilas Associate, University of Wisconsin  
1993 ISA's Quincy Wright Book Award for Confronting the Costs of War  
1991 APSA's Gabriel Almond Award for Best Dissertation in Comparative Politics

### **Books**

2011 The Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism. Cornell University Press.

- 2011 Humanitarianism Contested: Where Angels Fear to Tread. With Tom Weiss. Routledge Press.
- 2010 The International Humanitarian Order. Routledge Press.
- 2008 Humanitarianism in Question: Politics, Power, and Ethics. Co-edited with Tom Weiss. Cornell University Press.
- 2005 Power and Global Governance Co-edited with Raymond Duvall. Cambridge University Press.
- 2004 Rules for the World: International Organizations in World Politics. With Martha Finnemore. Cornell University Press.
- 2002 Eyewitness to a Genocide: The United Nations and Rwanda. Cornell University Press. *Choice Magazine Outstanding Academic Title*.
- 2002 National Identity and Foreign Policy in the Middle East. Cornell University Press. Co-edited with Shibley Telhami.
- 1998 Dialogues in Arab Politics: Negotiations in Regional Order. Columbia University Press.
- 1998 Security Communities. Cambridge University Press. Co-edited with Emanuel Adler.
- 1996 Israel in Comparative Politics: Challenging the Conventional Wisdom (edited). State University of New York Press.
- 1992 Confronting the Costs of War: Military Power, State, and Society in Egypt and Israel. Princeton University Press.

### **Articles in Refereed Journals**

- 2009 "Evolution without Progress? Humanitarianism in a World of Hurt," International Organization.
- 2007 Peacebuilding: What's in a Name? Global Governance. 13, 1, January-March, 35-58. With David Kim, Laura Sitea, and Madeline O'Donnell.
- 2006 Building a Republican Peace: Stabilizing States After War. International Security, 30, 4, Spring, 87-112.
- 2005 Humanitarianism Transformed. Perspectives on Politics, 3, 4, December, 723-740.
- 2005 Designing Police: Interpol and the Study of International Organization Change. International Studies Quarterly, 49, 4, December, 593-620 With Liv Coleman.
- 2005 Power in International Politics. International Organization, 59, 1, Winter, 39-75, With Raymond Duvall.
- 2001 Humanitarianism with a Sovereign Face: UNHCR in the Global Undertow. International Migration Review, 35, 1, 244-76.
- 1999 The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations. With Martha Finnemore. International Organization, 53, 4, Autumn, Fall, 699-732. Reprinted in Lisa Martin and Beth Simmons, International Institutions: An International Organization Reader, Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001.
- 1999 Looking for a Few Good Cops: Civilian Police and Peacemaking. Co-authored with Chuck Call. International Peacekeeping, 6, 4, 43-68. Reprinted in Tor Holm and Espen Eide, eds., Peacebuilding and Police Reform, NY: Frank Cass, 2000.
- 1999 Culture, Strategy, and Foreign Policy Change: Israel's Road to Oslo. European Journal of International Relations, March.
- 1997 The Politics of Indifference at the United Nations: The Security Council, Peacekeeping, and Genocide in Rwanda. Cultural Anthropology, 12, 1, 551-78.
- 1997 Bringing in the New World Order: Legitimacy, Liberalism, and the United Nations. World Politics, 49, 4, July, 526-551.
- 1996 Regional Security After the Gulf War. Political Science Quarterly, 111, 4, Winter, 597-618.

- 1995 Partners in Peace? The United Nations, Regional Organizations, and Peacekeeping. Review of International Studies, 21, 4, Fall, 411-33. Reprinted in International Library of Politics and Government, edited by Paul Taylor and Sam Dawes, Ashgate Publishing Company.
- 1995 Nationalism, Sovereignty, and Regional Order in Arab Politics. International Organization, 49, 3, Summer, 479-510.
- 1995 The United Nations and Global Security: The Norm is Mightier Than the Sword. Ethics and International Affairs, 9, 37-54.
- 1993 Institutions, Roles, and Disorder: The Case of the Arab States System. International Studies Quarterly, 37, September, 271-296.
- 1993 Dependent State Formation and Third World Militarization." Review of International Studies, 19, October, 321-347. With Alexander Wendt.
- 1992 Alliance Formation, Domestic Political Economy, and Third World Security. Jerusalem Journal of International Relations, 14, 4, 19-40. Co-authored with Jack Levy.
- 1991 Domestic Sources of Alliances and Alignments: The Case of Egypt. International Organization, Summer, 45, 3, 369-96. With Jack Levy.
- 1990 High Politics is Low Politics: The Systemic and Domestic Sources of Israeli Security Policy, 1967-1977. World Politics, July, 42, 4, 529-62.

### **Non-Refereed Articles and Book Chapters**

- 2011 "Refugees." With Barbara Harrell-Bond. In Joel Krieger, ed., *The Oxford Companion to International Relations*. Oxford University Press.
- "Humanitarianism." In B.S. Chimni and Siddarth Mallavarapu, ed., *Handbook of International Relations*, New Dehli: Oxford University Press.
- 2010 "A Great Awakening? International Relations Theory and Religion." In Jack Snyder, ed., *Religion and International Relations Theory*. Columbia University Press.
- 2010 "Constructivism, Refugees, and Paternalism." In Alex Bellamy and Gil Loescher, eds., *International Relations Theory and Refugees*. Oxford University Press.
- 2010 "Where is the Religion? Faith, Humanitarianism, and International Order." In A. Stepan, T. Shah, and M. Toft, eds., Religion and World Affairs. Oxford University Press.
- 2008 ■From International Politics to Global Politics. With Kathryn Sikkink. In Chris Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal, eds., *The Handbook of International Relations*, Oxford University Press. Reprinted in Handbook of Political Science. Oxford University Press.
- 2008 ■The Peacebuilder's Contract: How External State-Building Reinforces Weak Statehood. With Christoph Zuercher. In Roland Paris and Timothy Sisk, eds. State-Building After Civil War: The Long Road to Peace, Routledge University Press.
- 2008 ■Humanitarianism: A Brief History of the Present. (with Tom Weiss); ■The Grand Strategies of Humanitarian Organizations (with Jack Snyder); and ■Humanitarianism as a Vocation. In Michael Barnett and Tom Weiss, eds., Humanitarianism in Question: Politics, Power, and Ethics, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- 2008 ■Duties Beyond Borders. In Tim Dunne, Amelia Hadfield and Steve Smith, eds., Foreign Policy Analysis in International Relations, Oxford University Press.
- 2007 ■Is Multilateralism Bad for Humanitarianism? In D. Bourantonis, K. Ifantis, P. Tsakonas, eds., Multilateralism and Security Institutions in an Era of Globalization, Routledge.
- 2007 ■To Be Seen and Not Heard: The Arab League and Arab Regional Institutions. With Etel Solingen. In Amitav Acharya and Alistair Johnstone, Regional Institutions in Comparative Perspective (NY: Cambridge University Press).
- 2007 ■Theories of the United Nations. With Martha Finnemore. In Tom Weiss and Samuel Dawes, eds., Handbook of the United Nations, Oxford University Press.

- 2006 ■Why Policymakers Need to Think Like Academics. • Harvard International Review, Summer, 48-53.
- 2005 ■The Power of Liberal International Organizations. • With Martha Finnemore. In Michael Barnett and Raymond Duvall, eds., Power in Global Governance, Cambridge University Press.
- 2005 ■Ogata's Decade. • Far Eastern Economic Review. 1, 7.
- 2005 ■Social Constructivism. • In John Baylis and Steve Smith, ed., The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Oxford University Press. (revised versions appeared in 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> editions)
- 2005 ■Impact Without Imprint? The Commission on Deadly Conflicts, Intervention and State Sovereignty, and Human Security. • In Unto Vesa, ed., Global Commissions Assessed, Foreign Ministry Publications, Helsinki Process Publications Series 4/2005.
- 2003 ■What is the Future of Humanitarianism? • Global Governance, 9, 3, 170-91.
- 2003 ■Bureaucratizing the Duty to Aid: The UN, the Rules of Peacekeeping, and the Moral Ground of the Bystander to Genocide. • In Tony Lang, ed., Humanitarian Intervention: The Moral Dimension, Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- 2002 ■The Arab States System After September 11. • Middle East Policy, 9, 4, December, 80-83.
- 2002 ■Nation-Building - Old and New. • Foreign Policy, November, 133.
- 2002 ■Radical Chic? Subaltern Realism and the Disciplining of Third World Security Studies. • International Studies Review, Fall.
- 2002 ■The Foreign Policy President? • International Studies Perspectives, Spring.
- 2002 Alliances, Balances of Threats, and Neo-Realism: The Accidental Coup. • In Colin Elman and John Vasquez, eds., Realism and the Balancing of Power: A New Debate? (New York St. Martin's Press).
- 2002 Historical Sociology and Constructivism: Estranged Past, Federated Future? In J. Hobson and S. Hobden, eds. International Relations and Historical Sociology (New York: Cambridge University Press).
- 2002 Authority, Intervention, and the Outer Limits of International Relations Theory. In Tom Callaghy, Robert Latham, and Robert Kassimer, eds., Authorities and Interventions in World Politics (New York: Cambridge University Press).
- 2001 UNHCR and the Ethics of Repatriation. Forced Migration Review, April, 2001.
- 2000 Taking Seriously Identity and Our Critics. Cooperation and Conflict, 35, 3. With Emanuel Adler.
- 1999 UN Vanquished. Global Governance, October.
- 1999 Five Scenarios of the Israeli-Palestinian Relationship in 2002: Works in Progress. • Security Studies, 7, 4, 195-212. Co-authored with Janice Stein. et al.
- 1999 The Politics of Indifference at the United Nations: The Security Council, Peacekeeping, and Genocide in Rwanda. In J. Weldes, et al., Cultures of Insecurity (University of Minnesota Press, 1999). Slightly revised version appeared in Cultural Anthropology.
- 1998 Caravans in Opposite Direction: Society, State, and the Development of a Regional Community in the Gulf Cooperation Council." In Adler and Michael Barnett, Security Communities. With F. Gregory Gause III.
- 1998 Spheres of Influence? In Joe Leggold and Thomas Weiss, eds., Collective Conflict Management and Changing World Politics (Albany: State University of New York Press).
- 1996 Governing Anarchy: A Research Agenda for the Study of Security Communities. Ethics and International Affairs, 10, 1-36. With Emanuel Adler.
- 1996 Identity and Alliances in the Middle East. In Peter Katzenstein, ed., Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics (New York: Columbia University Press).

- 1996 The Politics of Indifference at the United Nations and Genocide in Rwanda and Bosnia. In Thomas Cushman and Stjepan Mestrovic, eds., This Time We Knew: Western Responses to Genocide in Bosnia (New York: New York University Press).
- 1996 The Politics of Uniqueness: The Status of the Israeli Case, and International Political Economy and the Study of Israel: Israel as an East Asian State? In Michael Barnett, ed., Israel in Comparative Politics (Albany: State University of New York Press).
- 1995 A Tale of Two Documents: U.S. Foreign Policy Toward the United Nations. Le Trimestre du Monde Summer. (in French).
- 1995 Nationalism, Sovereignty, and Regional Order in Arab Politics. In Thomas Biersteker and Cindy Weber, eds., Sovereignty as a Social Construct (New York: Cambridge University Press). Reprinted from International Organization.
- 1995 The Scope of War. In D. Davis and F. Murphy, eds., Political Power and Social Theory, Vol. 8, Greenwood, CT: JAI Press.
- 1995 The New U.N. Politics of Peace: From Juridical Sovereignty to Empirical Sovereignty." Global Governance, 1, 1, Winter, 79-97.
- 1994 Pluralistic Security Community: Past, Present, and Future. Co-authored with Emanuel Adler. Working Papers in Regional Security, No. 1, University of Wisconsin, Global Studies Research Program, June.
- 1994 U.S. Foreign Policy Toward the United Nations. Proceedings of the 88th Annual Meeting of the American Society of International Law. Washington, D.C.: American Society of International Law.
- 1992 Confronting the Costs of War in Israel. Economic Quarterly, 151, April. (in hebrew).
- 1992 The Systemic Sources of Dependent Militarization. In Brian Job, ed., The Insecurity Dilemma: National Security in the Third World, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, Co-authored with Alexander Wendt.
- 1991 From Cold Wars to Resource Wars: The Coming Decline in U.S.-Israeli Relations? Jerusalem Journal of International Relations, September, 13, 3, 99-117.

### **Selected Memos, Opinions, and Invited Essays**

On Gareth Evans, "*The Responsibility to Protect: Ending Mass Atrocity Crimes Once and For All*," *Global Responsibility to Protect*, 2, 3, June, 2010, 307-309.

"The Humanitarianism's Dilemma: Collective Action or Inaction in International Relief? ODI Background Notes, August 2010. With Ben Ramalingan.  
<http://www.odi.org.uk/resources/details.asp?id=4757&title=humanitarians-dilemma>.

"Multilateral Imposition: An Unconventional Solution to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict." *MIT Institute of International Studies*. August, 2010.

*State Fragility, the Peacebuilder's Contract, and the Search for the Least Bad State*. Paper prepared for the Workshop on "Transforming Political Structures: Security, Institutions, and Regional Integration Mechanisms", organised by the European Report of Development in Florence, Italy, 16-17 April 2009. *Background paper for European Report on Development*  
<http://erd.eui.eu/publications/erd-2009/background-papers/state-fragility-the-peacebuilder%E2%80%99s-contract-and-the-search-for-the-least-bad-state/>

"Wages of Engagement." Comment on Task Force Report.  
<http://blogs.ssrc.org/tif/2010/03/04/the-wages-of-engagement/>

**Building Peace in the Middle East? *Conflict InFocus*.** The Regional Centre on Conflict Prevention Jordan Institute of Diplomacy. Fall, 2008.

"When Was the Age of Terror?" In R. Agalthorpe, et al., *Humanitarianism and Civil–Military Relations in a Post-9/11 World*, Australia National University, March, 2009.

Mock Communiqué on United Nations Reform for a Hypothetical L-20 Meeting. For an International Workshop convened by the Centre for Global Studies, University of Victoria, and the Centre for International Governance Innovation, University of Waterloo, and hosted by the United Nations University, Tokyo, May 23, 2005.

### **Grants, Fellowships, and Research Awards**

2006 Co-PI, Mellon Foundation, Sawyer Seminar for Humanitarianisms and World Orders  
2006 PI, Luce Foundation, Religion, Humanitarianism, and World Order  
2005 United States Institute of Peace  
1998 United States Institute of Peace  
1998 Smith Richardson Foundation  
1998 McArthur Research and Writing Program  
1994 McArthur Foundation International Peace and Security Fellow  
1993 Council on Foreign Relations, International Affairs Fellow.  
1993 United States Institute of Peace

### **Work in Progress**

**Between Heaven and Earth: Religion, Secularism, and Humanitarianism.** co-edited book with Janice Stein.

**"Taking Paternalism Seriously."** Under Review at International Theory.

"In Defense of Virtue: Credibility, Legitimacy Dilemmas, and the Case of Islamic Relief." In P. Gourevitch and David Lake, (Eds.).

"The Peacebuilder's Contract." With Christoph Zuercher and Songying Fang. Under review.

■Exporting the American Way of Elections: Political Consultants Go Abroad. • With Jon Pevehouse.

■Crafting Design at Interpol. • To appear in Michael Tierney, Alex Thompson, and Catherine Weaver, eds., Principle or Principals?

"International Paternalism: A Reconsideration."

"Beyond Faith: Religion and Humanitarianism in Global Affairs." Collaborative project moving toward edited book.

### **Invited Public Lectures**

Domestic: University of California-Berkeley; Columbia University; Princeton University; PIPES, University of Chicago; PISP, University of Chicago; University of Minnesota; Carleton College; Whitman College; University of Puget Sound; University of Washington-Seattle; Drury College; University of Kansas; Fort Leavenworth, School of Advanced Military Studies; University of Notre Dame; Northwestern University; Yale University; Colgate University; New York University; Baruch College; Rutgers University; Duke University; University of Pennsylvania; University of Michigan.

International: University of Toronto; McGill University; Franz Schumann Center, European University Institute, Florence, Italy; Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Oslo, Norway; Institute for Defense and Strategic Studies, Singapore; University of Helsinki; Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva, Switzerland; University of Cairo; Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Simon Fraser University.

### **Selected Conference and Other Presentations**

- 2010 Member, Chicago Council Global Affairs Task Force on Religion and the Making of U.S. Foreign Policy.
- 2009 "The Limits of Partnership." Presentation to the Global Fund for Malaria, TB, and HIV/AIDS, Geneva  
"Paternalism and Humanitarianism," MSF-Switzerland, Geneva  
"Should Peacebuilding be Local?" International Security Forum, Geneva, Switzerland
- 2007 Roundtable Participant. ■Religion and World Affairs, • Social Science Research Council, New York.  
Co-convener. ■Religion, Islam, and Humanitarianism, • Cairo, Egypt.  
Presenter, Tanner Lectures, University of Michigan.
- 2006 Roundtable Participant. ■Are these Dangerous Times for Aid Workers? • APSIA Dean's meeting, Council on Foreign Relations, New York.  
Paper Presenter and Discussant. ■Post Conflict-State-Building, • Boulder Colorado.  
Roundtable Participant. ■Can the UN Learn? ACUNS annual meeting, Rio de Janeiro.  
Roundtable Participant. ■Humanitarianism • and ■Statebuilding in the New World Order, • International Studies Association annual meetings.  
Presentation. ■Governing Troubled States. • Workshop on ■Global Governance and Troubled States, • University of Minnesota.
- 2005 ■Is Multilateralism Bad for Humanitarianism? • Paper prepared for a conference ■Assessing Multilateralism in the Security Domain, • sponsored by the Athens University of Economics and Business, Delphi, Greece, June 3-5, 2005.  
Mock Communiqué on United Nations Reform for a Hypothetical L-20 Meeting. For an International Workshop convened by the Centre for Global Studies, University of Victoria, and the Centre for International Governance Innovation, University of Waterloo, and hosted by the United Nations University, Tokyo, May 23, 2005.  
Contributor. L20 and the UN, United Nations University, Tokyo, Japan.
- 2004 ■International State-Building and the `Peacebuilders Contract'. • Paper presented at joint CIC-IPA meeting on the UN and Statebuilding, NY, November 17.  
■Designed to Fail: The Life and Times of the Arab League. • Paper presented at a workshop on regional organizations, Mandarin Oriental Hotel, Singapore. With Etel Solingen. May 19-20.  
■The Best of Times and the Worst of Times: The Changing Context of Humanitarian Action. • Paper presented at the International Studies Meetings, Montreal.  
■Unilateralism in a Globalized World. • Presentation at roundtable, ISA, Montreal.
- 2003 Roundtable Participant, ■Theories of International Organizations, • ISA-International Budapest, Hungary, June 25.  
■Delegation or Arrogation? The Rise of Interpol. • Paper presented at the Midwest Political Science Association meetings, Chicago, Illinois, April 2.

- Roundtable Participant, ■Power and Global Governance, • International Studies Association, Portland, February 27.
- Roundtable Participant, ■A Celebration of Chuck Tilly, • International Studies Association, February 27.
- 2002 Paper delivered. ■Regime Insecurity, Regional Insecurity, and the Geostrategic Terms of Trade, for the conference, ■The Silk Road in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Security and Insecurity in Central Asia and the Caucasus: A Regional Challenge with Global Implications, • Yale University, September 19-21, 2002.
- Roundtable presentation. ■The United Nations and Governance, • at the American Political Science Association annual meetings, Boston, August 29-September 1.
- Paper delivered. ■Consultants Abroad: American Political Consultants and the Transformation of Democracy, • at the American Political Science Association annual meetings, Boston, August 29-September 1.
- Paper presented. ■Where was the Big Bang? September 11 and Steadiness in the Arab Middle East, • at the American Political Science Association annual meetings, Boston, August 29-September 1.
- Participant, ■Delegation and International Organizations, • Park City, Utah, May, 2-4.
- Participant, ■U.S. and Latin American Relations, • conference sponsored by the Stanley Foundation, Havana, Cuba, February 26-28.
- 2001 Presentation, ■Regional Security in the Middle East, • Central Intelligence Agency, May.
- Participant, ■Cuban and American Perspectives on International Sanctions, • sponsored by the Stanley Foundation, Seabrooke, Island, March.
- Roundtable Participant. ■Security: Realist, Institutional, and Constructivist Perspectives. • Roundtable participant at the 2001 ISA meetings, Chicago, February 18.
- 2000 ■The Theory and Practice of Genocide. • Lecture presented at the ■The UN's Peacekeeping Culture and the Rwandan Genocide. • Paper presented at the APSA, Washington, D.C., August.
- Humanitarianism with a Sovereign Face: UNHCR in Global Undertow. • Paper presented at Center for Migration Studies conference on ■UNHCR at 50, • May 15-18, New York.
- The UN's Retreat With Honor from the Rwandan Genocide. • Lecture delivered at the Kroc Center, University of Notre Dame, February 8.
- 1999 "Who Lost Judea and Samaria? The Future Debate over the Israeli Identity." Paper presented at a conference on ■Identity and Foreign Policy, • the Leonard Davis Institute, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, December 1.
- Historical Sociology and the Study of International Organizations. • Paper presented at the conference, ■International Relations and Historical Sociology, • University of Aberystwyth, Wales, July 2-4.
- 1998 ■The Once and Future Military in Arab World: Global Change, Comparative Trends, and Regional Security Dilemmas. • Paper presented for the IISS-sponsored workshop, ■Armed Forces and Society in the Middle East, • September 27-29, Beirut, Lebanon.
- Power and Community. • Roundtable participant at 1998 APSA meetings, Boston, September 4.



- Deepening the Study of International Institutions. • Roundtable participant at 1998 APSA meetings, Boston, September 3.
  - Faculty Participant at Academic Council on the United Nations System summer workshop. Delivered two lectures, ■Alternative Theories of International Organizations, • and ■Methodological Choices for the Study of International Organizations. • Yale University, July 26-27.
  - Israeli Identity, Narratives, and Possibilities of Peace. • Paper presented at a conference on ■Ethnic Groups, State Identities, and the Middle East, • University of Maryland, June 12.
  - Great Powers, International Organizations, and the Sorcerer's Apprentice Syndrome. • Paper delivered at a Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs conference on ■Great Powers and Postcold War Responsibilities, • Boston, April 30.
  - Discussant, SSRC-sponsored conference on ■Intervention and Africa, • at EUI, Florence, Italy, March 27-29.
  
- 1997
  - Rwanda and the Study of International Organizations. • Presentation at the Institute for International Studies, University of California-Berkeley, October 24.
  - The UN and the Future of Liberalism. • Public lecture delivered at Smith College, March 27.
  - Power, Politics, and Pathologies of International Organizations. • Paper delivered at ISA meetings, Washington, D.C. Co-authored with Martha Finnemore.
  - Rational Choice and Culture. • Roundtable participant at Midwest Political Science meetings, March 11.
  
- 1996
  - "Middle Eastern Alliances: The Past, the Present, and the Projected." Presentation to the National Intelligence Council at the National Defense University, Washington, D.C., October 1.
  - Looking Backward and Looking Ahead: Democracy and Security. • With Leigh Payne. Paper delivered at conference on ■Democracy and Domestic Security • at Stanford University, June 21-25.
  
  - The New Middle East." Public lecture at Cairo University, March 12, 1996.
  - "A New Regionalism in the Middle East?" Public lecture at Ain-Shams University, March 11.
  
- 1995
  - "Great Powers and the United Nations." Presentation delivered at the Five College Program in Peace and World Security Studies Summer Faculty Institute on "New Wars, New Peace?" Amherst College, June 16.
  - "The Future of the United Nations." Presentation delivered at the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs workshop on "Teaching Ethics and International Affairs, • Monterey, California, June 7.
  - "Regional Security after the Gulf War." Paper presented at the conference, "After the Guns Fell Silent: The Middle East After the Gulf War," University of Utah, May 6-7.
  
- 1994
  - "Rwanda and the Limits of Peacekeeping." Public talk delivered at Carnegie Endowment for Ethics and International Peace, November 16.
  
  - "Security Communities." Paper Presented at the 1994 APSA annual meetings, September 1-4, New York City. Co-authored with Emanuel Adler.

- "Perils of Peacekeeping." Public Lecture delivered at Colorado College, September 18.
- "Identity and Security in the Middle East." Paper delivered at the APSA's Conference Group on the Middle East program, September 1-4, 1994.
- "Between Realism and Community: The Politics of Regional Order in the Middle East." Delivered at "Facing the Challenges of Democracy: A US-Arab Dialogue," sponsored by the Foundation on Democratization and Political Change in the Middle East, May 26-28, Washington, D.C.
  - "UN Peacekeeping and Changing Visions of International Order." Presentation at the International Security Colloquium, Yale University, March 1.
- "UN Peacekeeping in the New World Order." Presentation at Wellesley College, February 24.
- "The Coming Nexus Between Regional Organizations and the United Nations: An Early Appraisal." Presentation at the Department of Political Science, McGill University, February 4.
- 1993 "Bosnia and the Future of the Agenda for Peace." Roundtable participant, Wilfred Laurier University, Canada, November 11.
- "Somalia and the Perils of Peacekeeping." Public Presentation at George Washington University, October 26.
- 1992 "The New Face of the Middle East." Invited participant at Ditchley Foundation conference, Oxfordshire, England, December 4-6.
- "The Vanishing Case of Pan-Arabism." Presentation at Leonard Davis Institute, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem, Israel, May 12.
- "Israel and the New World Order." Presentation at Center for Political and International Development Studies, Cairo, Egypt, April 8.
- "Anomalies in the Arab World: The Decline of Solidarity and the Rise of Stability." Presentation at Social Science Research Council meeting, "War, State, and Society in the Middle East," Rabat, Morocco, March 28-30.
- 1991 "Sovereignty, Institutions, and Identity: The Decline of Pan-Arabism and the Rise of the Arab State System." Paper delivered at the APSA meetings in Washington, D.C.
- "Confronting the Costs of War: Israel after 1967." Presentation at Leonard Davis Institute, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem, Israel, January 10.
- "Egypt's Security Policy, 1967-1973." Presentation at National Centre for Middle Eastern Studies, Cairo, Egypt, January 3.
- 1990 "Mobilizing Egypt". Presentation at Al-Ahram Centre for Strategic and Political Studies, Cairo, Egypt, December 29.
- "Mobilizing Israel." Presentation to the "Economics and National Security" Group, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, March 20, 1990.

### **Opinion Pieces**

- "The Lonely Superpower." • La Republica, March 24, 2003.
- "End Game for the UN?" • Wisconsin State Journal, March 16, 2003.
- "With Friends Like This, UN in Deep Trouble." • Baltimore Sun, March 12, 2003.
- "The Great Debate." • La Vanguardia, no. 5, 2003, 63-70.
- "Trusteeship Should Rule the West Bank." • Newsday, April 17, 2002. (with Gregory Gause, III).
- "Compassionate Dealings with Allies Could Limit Future anti-Americanism." • Baltimore Sun, September 20, 2001, A21.
- "A Monster of Their Making." • Wisconsin State Journal, December 23, 2001.

■Why They Hate Us, • Wisconsin State Journal, October 14, 2001.

### **Courses Taught**

Undergraduate: Introduction to World Politics; American Foreign Policy; International Political Economy; Third World Politics; The Third World in Global Politics; International Relations of the Middle East; Introduction to International Studies; International Institutions and World Order.

Graduate: International Organization; Theories of International Relations; Moralities of International Organizations; International Organizations and the Third World; North-South Relations; Humanitarianism; Global Public Policy; Politics of Public Affairs.

### **Professional Activities**

Council on Foreign Relations, Member

American Political Science Association, Chair, Helen Dwight Reid Dissertation Award (2007)  
International Studies Association, Professional Development Committee, (ex-officio), 2007-2009.

Visiting Fellow, Center on International Cooperation - New York University (2003-04)

Principal Consultant, SSRC's Initiative on Humanitarian Action (2003-04)

Editorial Board, International Organization, Global Governance, Human Rights Review, International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society, Innovations in the Study of World Politics (Lexington Press), International Political Sociology; Global Responsibility to Protect; Global Constitutionalism; Humanity.

Executive Committee, Academic Council of the United Nations System (2004-07)

Member, International Dissertation Field Research Fellowship Program Selection Committee, Social Science Research Committee (2000-2004)

Member of Board: Genocide Watch, International Rescue Committee Policy, Learning Council Chair, International Studies Nominating Committee (2000)

Member, ACUNS, APSA, ISA

Conference co-organizer, Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs, Faculty Development Workshop, ■Global Justice and Democratic Transitions, •Madison, Wisconsin, June, 1999; Global Studies Program, ■Revisiting Security Communities, •Madison, Wisconsin, 1994; McArthur Foundation, ■Interdisciplinary Approaches to International Organizations, •Madison, 1996; International Governance and State-Building

Reviewer for:

Journals: APSR, American Ethnologist, Comparative Politics, Comparative Political Studies, Cultural Anthropology, European Journal of International Relations, Global Governance, International Organization, International Studies Quarterly, Journal of Conflict Resolution, Journal of Peace Research, Millennium, Polity, Political Science Quarterly, Review of International Studies, and World Politics.

Presses: Princeton, Cambridge, California, Columbia, Cornell, Wisconsin, California, Florida, Westview, Unwin Hyman, Longman, St. Martins; United Nations University; Palgrave; Oxford; NYU.

Foundations: MacArthur Foundation, U.S. Institute of Peace, Social Science Research Council, Israel Social Science Foundation; European Science Foundation.

### **Administrative Appointments and Service**

Advisory Board, Center for Genocide and Holocaust Studies, University of Minnesota, 2006-  
Advisory Board, Center for Human Rights, University of Minnesota, 2006-  
Affiliated Graduate Faculty, Development Studies and Social Change, University of Minnesota  
Chair, Promotions and Tenure, Humphrey School of Public Affairs, 2005-2008  
Field Chair, Department of Political Science, University of Minnesota, 2004-2006, 2009  
Field Chair, Department of Political Science, University of Wisconsin, 1996-2004  
Member, Fall Competition Grants, University of Wisconsin Graduate School, 1998-2001  
Director, International Studies Program, University of Wisconsin, 1996-2004  
Assistant Coach, University of Wisconsin Rugby Football Club, 1990-93

### **Field Research**

Liberia, March 2006.  
Egypt, March-May, 1987; 1989/1990; 1992; 1996  
Israel, May-July, 1987  
Jordan, September, 1995  
El Salvador, April, 1994, UN election observer

References Available on Request.