

**Timothy William Waters**  

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**Lectures and Presentations**

**2012**

“Misplaced Boldness: The Avoidance of Substance in the International Court of Justice’s Kosovo Opinion.” Zentrum für Südosteuropastudien, Karl-Franzens Universität, Graz April 2012.

“[REDACTED]: Writing and Reconciling in the Shadow of Secrecy at a War Crimes Tribunal – A Speculative Essay.” Max-Planck-Institute, Heidelberg April 2012.

“The Milošević Trial – An Autopsy.” *War Cries and Transitional Justice in the Former Yugoslavia – 15 Years of Experiences*, Leipzig University March 2012.

“Comments on Internal and External Self-Determination – The Quebec Reference.” *Otto-Hahn-Gruppe*, Max-Planck-Institute, Heidelberg February 2012.

**2011**

*Works-in-Progress Workshop, American Society of International Law, International Criminal Law Interest Group*, John Marshall Law School, Chicago December 2011 (commentator and invited participant).

“Comments on Prof. Rychlak’s ‘The International Criminal Court: An Obstacle to Peace?’” *Federalist Society & International Law Society*, Indiana University, November 2011.

*Workshop on Communities, Resource Extraction and Conflict*, Indiana University, September 2011 (invited participant).

“Responsibility to Protect: Territorial Implications.” *United Nations Peace Operations and the Law Symposium*, Chicago July 2011.

“Such Boldness: Making Sense, or Something, out of the ICJ Kosovo Decision.” *Association for the Study of Nationalities 16<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference*, Columbia University April 2011.

“Comments on ‘Transitional Justice’ (papers by Anton Weiss-Wendt, Alma Zadić, Monica Ciobanu, and Elham Atashi)” *Association for the Study of Nationalities 16<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference*, Columbia University April 2011 (discussant).

“Panel IV: The Post-Communist Experience in Comparative Perspective,” *Hungary and the Post-communist World Two Decades after 1989 – 31<sup>st</sup> György Ránki Hungarian Chair Symposium* (panel chair).

## 2010

*Islamic and International Law: Searching for Common Ground*, Salzburg Global Seminar, November 2010 (participant and working group member).

“Citizenship and War.” Indiana University October 2010 (guest lecture in Prof. Kahn’s course ‘Multidisciplinary Seminar on Issues and Approaches in Global Studies’).

“[REDACTED], or Blinding Panopticon: Writing and Reconciling in the Shadow of Secrecy at a War Crimes Tribunal.” *Big Ten Untenured Conference*, Indiana University, August 2010.

“[Redacted]: Writing and Reconciling in the Shadow of Secrecy at a War Crimes Tribunal.” *Second International Criminal Defense Conference: Lessons from the Defense at the Ad Hoc UN Tribunals, and Prospects for International Justice at the ICC*, Brussels May 2010.

“[Redacted]: Writing and Reconciling in the Shadow of Secrecy at a War Crimes Tribunal.” *Association for the Study of Nationalities 15<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference*, Columbia University April 2010.

“The International Court of Justice and the Politics of the Balkans.” *American Bar Association International Law Section Spring Meeting*, New York, April 2010 (panelist).

“Responsibility to Protect: Kenya.” *Great Decisions Series*, Meadowood Center, Bloomington, Indiana April 2010.

“Comments on the Conference.” *Human Rights in the Global South*, Indiana University, April 2010 (concluding discussant).

*The Milošević Trial – An Autopsy*, Indiana University, February 2010 (conference organizer and convener).

“Dead Man, Many Tales: Deploying the Rule 98bis Decision on the Motion to Acquit.” *The Milošević Trial – An Autopsy*, Indiana University, February 2010.

“Troubled No More by Death: Legal and Moral Hierarchies in a Rwandan Genocide Trial.” *Junior Faculty Regional Workshop*, Washington University – St. Louis, February 2010.

## 2009

“Blind Panopticon: Redaction of/and History in Yugoslav War Crimes Trials.” *Beyond Cold War Linearities: Entangled Histories and Interactive Ideas*, Open Society Archivum, Budapest December 2009.

“Human Rights.” *Great Decisions Series*, Meadowood Center, Bloomington, Indiana December 2009.

“Comments on ‘Conflict Resolution’ (papers by Amin Saikal, Abdulkader Sinno, and Eric Davis).” *State-Building in the Contemporary Islamic World*, Indiana University, November 2009 (discussant and chair).

“A More Subtle Conquest: Constructing Citizenship through War in the Human Rights Era.” *Works-in-Progress Series*, Indiana University, November 2009.

“Comments on Prof. Yuval Shany’s ‘Assessing the Effectiveness of International Courts: Can the Unquantifiable be Quantified?’” *Scholarship Roundtable on the Law and Politics of International Cooperation*, Duke University School of Law, November 2009 (discussant).

“Remembering Sudetenland: On the Legal Construction of Ethnic Cleansing.” Indiana University, October 2009 (guest lecture in Prof. Hulseley’s REEI survey course R600).

“Troubled No More by Death: Legal and Moral Hierarchies in a Rwandan Genocide Trial.” *Law and Society Speaker Series*, Indiana University, September 2009.

“Gaps in the Line: Consequences of an Incomplete Theory of Aggression.” *Fourth Big Ten Aspiring Scholars Conference*, University of Illinois, August 2009.

“The Consequences of an Incomplete Theory of Aggression: Reacting to and Regulating Violence in the Russian-Georgian War.” Central European University June 2009.

“Constructing Citizenship through War in the Human Rights Era.” *Fifth International Conference on Human Rights: Peace Human Rights and Religion*, Mofid University, Qom, Iran May 2009.

“Plucky Little Russia: Assessing the Resort to Violence in Internal and Cross-Border Conflicts.” *Association for the Study of Nationalities 14<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference*, Columbia University April 2009.

“Conditions of Discursive Democracy in Contested Territories.” *Association for the Study of Nationalities 14<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference*, Columbia University April 2009 (co-presenter).

“Comments on the film ‘Bringing down a Dictator’.” *Indiana Democracy Consortium*, Indiana University April 2009 (discussion facilitator).

“Comments on Prof. Ching Kwan Lee’s ‘In the Trenches of Lawfare: Reflections on Citizenship Struggles in China’.” *Problems in Post-Communism*, Indiana University April 2009 (discussant).

“When Criminals Are the State: Aggression and the Laws of War in Russia’s Caucasus Conflicts.” Indiana University March 2009 (guest lecture in Prof. Pridemore’s course ‘Criminal Justice in Russia’).

“Area Studies and Legal and Civic Culture.” *Area Studies in the Future of Higher Education*, Indiana University February 2009 (panelist).

“Death Comes for the Tribunal: Legal and Moral Hierarchies in *Bagaragaza*.” *War Crimes Conference*, University of London Institute of Advanced Legal Studies February 2009.

## **2008**

“Human Rights, Peace, and Security in the Middle East: A Candid Assessment.” Indiana University School of Law October 2008 (panelist).

“Democracy in the Shape of the State: Discursive Democracy in Contested Territories.” *Challenges to Democratic Governance in CEE and the Balkans*, Centre for the Study of Imperfections in Democracy, Central European University, Budapest October 2008 (co-presenter).

“Russia-Georgia Conflict: Legal Implications and American Foreign Policy.” Russian and East European Institute, Indiana University Bloomington September 2008 (panelist).

“Waiting for What? Strategies and Aspirations for Constitutional Change in Bosnia.” *Law and Democracy Seminar Series*, Indiana University School of Law Center for Constitutional Democracy in Plural Societies September 2008.

“Confronting Constitutional Deadlock in Bosnia: Aims, Strategies and Implications.” *Third Big Ten Untenured Conference*, Indiana University School of Law August 2008.

“Transforming Values.” *Constitutional Axiology – the Individual vs. the State 16th Annual Conference*, Central European University, Budapest June 2008 (discussant).

“Comments on the film ‘A Minority Report’.” Indiana University, Bloomington April 2008 (discussant).

“Constructing the Home Front: War, Territory, and Citizenship.” *Association for the Study of Nationalities 13<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference*, Columbia University April 2008.

“Boxing Pandora: Defining Borders in a Democratizing World.” *Midwest Political Science Association*, Chicago April 2008.

“Identity and Transnational Influences.” *Midwest Political Science Association*, Chicago April 2008 (chair and discussant).

“Travelers in an Antique Land: Models of Jurisgenerative Community.” *The Individual and Customary International Law*, Indiana University School of Law April 2008.

“Annoying Westphalian Objections, and So Late in the Day.” *Operationalizing Global Governance*, Indiana University School of Law March 2008.

“International Criminal Law.” *Great Decisions Series*, Meadowood Center, Bloomington, Indiana March 2008.

“When Should We Go to War for Human Rights?” *Issues and Experts Series*, Indiana University Continuing Education March 2008.

“‘Sensible Judaism Spits You Out. . .’ Defining – Defending? – Population Transfers in Israel and Palestine.” *Law and Society Workshop*, Indiana University School of Law March 2008.

“New Frontiers: Theorizing the Moral and Empirical Bases for a Democratic Right of Secession.” University of Illinois College of Law, Urbana-Champaign February 2008.

“A Right to Democratic Secession: Normative and Empirical Considerations.” Hebrew University, Jerusalem January 2008.

## 2007

“What Need for Conquest? Demographic and Legal Echoes of War.” *Workshop on Citizenship in Wartime*, Tel Aviv University December 2007.

“Kosovo: Endgame or Renewed Crisis.” *Indiana Democracy Consortium*, Indiana University, Bloomington December 2007 (panelist).

“The Blessing of Departure: The Lieberman Plan to Exchange Populated Territories in Cisjordan.” *Central States Law Schools Association* conference, Wayne State University, Detroit October 2007.

“Ana Trbovich’s ‘Kosovo as a (Non-)Precedent’.” Columbia University October 2007 (discussant).

“Boxing Pandora: Redefining Borders in a Democratizing World.” *Indiana Democracy Consortium*, Indiana University, Bloomington October 2007.

“Flight and Expulsion.” *Polish-German Post/Memory: Aesthetics, Ethics, Politics*, Indiana University, Bloomington April 2007 (panel moderator).

“Acceptable and Unacceptable State Support for Demographic Transformation: Exchanging Populated Territories in Cisjordan.” *Association for the Study of Nationalities 12<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference*, Columbia University April 2007.

“Putting Partition Back on the Table: Rethinking Borders in Balkan Democracies,”  
Harriman Institute, Columbia University March 2007.

“The Blessing of Departure: Exchange of Populated Territories – The Lieberman Plan as an Abstract Exercise in Demographic Transformation.” *Human Rights and Demography*, Ramat Gan Academic College of Law, Israel January 2007.

### **2006**

“Doctrine and Determination: Theorizing a Democratic Right of Secession.” *Association for the Study of Nationalities 11<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference*, Columbia University, New York 2006.

### **2005**

“Remembering Sudetenland: On the Legal Construction of Memory.” *Association for the Study of Nationalities 10<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference*, Columbia University, New York 2005.

“Migrating towards Minority Status: Shifting European Policy towards Roma.” *Journal of Common Market Studies special issue preparatory conference*, London School of Economics 2005 (joint presentation).

### **2004**

“Contemplating Failure and Creating Alternatives in the Balkans: Bosnia’s Peoples, Democracy and the Shape of Self-Determination.” Yale Law School, New Haven, Connecticut 2004.

“‘To you your way...’: Considering the Implications of *Dhimmah* for Political Participation within Islam.” *Association for the Study of Nationalities 9<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference*, Columbia University, New York 2004.

“Unexploded Bomb: The ICTY’s (Non-)Investigation of NATO’s Kosovo War: Implications for the New ICC.” Boston University School of Law 2004; New York University School of Law 2004; Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Massachusetts 2004.

“David Kennedy’s ‘The Dark Sides of Virtue.’” Boston University School of Law 2004 (commentator).

### **2003**

“Reconsidering *Dhimmah* as a Model for a Modern Minority Rights Regime.” *Theoretical Foundations of Human Rights*, Mofid University, Qom, Iran 2003.

“EU Accession Criteria and Judicial Reform.” *Assessing the Accession Criteria: The Impact of the Accession Criteria: Public Administration and Judiciaries*, European Research Institute, University of Birmingham, England 2003.

“Other Determinations: Alternatives to Self-Determination in Western Recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina.” *Association for the Study of Nationalities 8<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference*, Columbia University, New York 2003; *Law and Justice under Fire: Legal Lessons of the Yugoslav Wars*, Inter-University Centre, Dubrovnik 2002.

## 2002

“Institutional Reform of the Judicial Administration.” *Conference on the Draft Law on Judicial Power*, Latvian Ministry of Justice, Riga 2002.

“Judicial Capacity and the Case for Continued Monitoring of EU Membership.” *The Impact of Enlargement on Evolving Standards for Anti-Corruption Policy and Judicial Reform in the EU*, Centre for European Policy Studies, Brussels 2002.

“Unexploded Bomb: Voice, Silence and Consequence at the Hague Tribunals – A Legal and Rhetorical Analysis.” *Law and Justice under Fire: Legal Lessons of the Yugoslav Wars*, Inter-University Centre, Dubrovnik 2002.

“Good Governance and Judicial Independence.” *Strengths and Perspectives: Candidate Countries in the EU Accession Process*, TESEV/Heinrich Böll Foundation, İstanbul 2002.

## 2001

“Judicial Independence in EU Candidate States.” *Judicial Independence in Latvia: Issues of Continuing Education, Qualification and Administration of Judiciary*, Riga Graduate School of Law 2001.

“The European Union Accession Process: Findings and Recommendations.” *European Free Alliance and Czech Joint Parliamentary Committee hearings*, European Parliament, Brussels 2001.

“Acquis Implementation, Administrative and Judicial Capacity.” *Issues in EU Enlargement: Risks and Opportunities in Key Policy Areas*, Centre for European Policy Studies, Brussels 2001 (panelist).

“Speaking in Tongues: Elites, Demography, and Constituency Balancing in Central Asian Language Law Reform.” *Nationality and Citizenship in Post-Communist Europe*, Sciences Po, Paris 2001.

“Indeterminate Claims: New Challenges to Self-Determination Doctrine in Yugoslavia.” *Regionalization in Central and Southeast Europe: Comparative Analysis and Practice*, Open University, Subotica, Yugoslavia 2001.

### **2000**

“The Yugoslav Wars and War Crimes.” *SFOR Theater Surgeon’s Conference*, Cavtat, Croatia 2000.

“Historical Background to the Yugoslav Wars.” *SFOR Theater Surgeon’s Conference*, Cavtat, Croatia 2000.

“Yugoslav History, Peoples, and Politics.” International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), The Hague 1999 and 2000.

### **1999**

“Kosovo and Serbia: Legal and Political Structures.” ICTY, The Hague 1999.

“FRY and Serbian Political and Constitutional Systems.” ICTY, The Hague 1999.

### **1996**

“‘Two Souls to Struggle with:’ The Failing Implementation of Hungary’s New Minorities Law and Discrimination against Gypsies.” *State and Nation Building in East Central Europe: Contemporary Perspectives*, Columbia University, New York 1996 (joint presentation).

### **1995**

“Madness of Many Dimensions: *Sistematizarea* under Ceaușescu.” Romanian Cultural Center, New York 1995.



## Timothy William Waters

*Indiana University Maurer School of Law 211 S. Indiana Ave. Bloomington, IN 47405 USA  
1 812 856 2748 tiwaters@indiana.edu web: www.law.indiana.edu/directory/twwaters.asp*

### Education

- Harvard Law School, J.D. cum laude** 1999  
Executive editor, Harvard Human Rights Journal. Study at Boğaziçi University, Turkey. Sheldon Traveling Fellow, American Research Institute in Turkey Fellow, Henigson Human Rights Fellow.
- Columbia University School of International and Public Affairs, M.I.A., Adv. Cert.** 1998  
Masters in International Affairs, Harriman Institute Advanced Cert. (East Central Europe). Gitelson-Meyerowitz Writing Award, Institute for International Education Fellow, Peace Corps Fellow.
- University of California at Los Angeles, B.A. magna cum laude** 1989  
English literature and Mass media. Study at Lund University, Sweden. Phi Beta Kappa, National Merit Scholar, Richard Carleton Meeker Scholar.

### Teaching and Research Appointments

- Visiting Fellow, Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law** 2012  
Humboldt Foundation Fellowship for Experienced Researchers.
- Associate Professor, Indiana University Maurer School of Law (Bloomington)** 2007-12  
Have taught courses on: public international law; international criminal law; human rights; Islamic law; legal lessons of the Yugoslav wars; the *Milošević* trial; and professional responsibility. On leave.
- Visiting Professor, Central European University** 2002, 2008, 2009  
Taught various courses in international and comparative subjects.
- Visiting Professor of Political Studies, Bard College** 2006  
Taught human rights in the Globalization and International Affairs Program.
- Visiting Professor, University of Mississippi School of Law** 2005-6  
Taught professional responsibility, international criminal law, human rights, and Islamic law.
- Fellow and Visiting Scholar, Harvard Law School** 2002-5  
Human Rights Program Visiting Fellow 2002, Reginald F. Lewis Fellow for Law Teaching 2003, East Asian Legal Studies Visiting Scholar 2005.
- Visiting Assistant Professor, Boston University School of Law** 2004  
Taught international human rights law and comparative Islamic law.
- Fellow, International Institute for Education** 1995  
Researched interactions of Beas Roma and ethnic majority communities in Hungary and Croatia.

### Academic Publications (see <http://ssrn.com/author=476025>)

- THE MILOŠEVIĆ TRIAL: AN AUTOPSY (Oxford University Press, *forthcoming*)(editor).
- “Group Thinking: Antique Models of Community for Modern Religious Rights Regimes,” in THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS PAPERS (Mofid University, *forthcoming*).
- A Kind of Judgment: Searching for Judicial Narratives after Death*, 42 GEORGE WASHINGTON INTERNATIONAL LAW REVIEW 279-348 (2010).
- Discursive Democracy and the Challenge of State-Building in Divided Societies: Reckoning with Symbolic Capital in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, 38 NATIONALITIES PAPERS 449-68 (2010)(co-author).

**Academic Publications (continued)**

*“The Momentous Gravity of the State of Things Now Obtaining”*: Annoying Westphalian Objections to the Idea of Global Governance, 16 INDIANA JOURNAL OF GLOBAL LEGAL STUDIES 25-58 (2009).

“Assuming Bosnia: Taking the Polity Seriously in Ethnically Divided Societies,” in D. Haynes, ed., DECONSTRUCTING THE RECONSTRUCTION: HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE RULE OF LAW IN POSTWAR BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA 53-78 (Ashgate 2008).

*Killing Globally, Punishing Locally? The Still-Unmapped Ecology of Atrocity*, 55 BUFFALO LAW REVIEW 1331-70 (2008)(review of Mark Drumbl, *Atrocity, Punishment and International Law*).

*The Blessing of Departure: Acceptable and Unacceptable State Support for Demographic Transformation – The Lieberman Plan to Exchange Populated Territories in Cisjordan*, 2 LAW & ETHICS OF HUMAN RIGHTS 221-85 (2008).

*A Different Departure: A Reply to Shany’s “Redrawing Maps, Manipulating Demographics: On Exchange of Populated Territories and Self-Determination”*, 2 LAW & ETHICS OF HUMAN RIGHTS 311-23 (2008).

*Overview: Design and Reform of Public Prosecution Services*, in B. Cooper and T.W. Waters, eds., PROMOTING PROSECUTORIAL ACCOUNTABILITY, INDEPENDENCE AND EFFECTIVENESS: COMPARATIVE RESEARCH (Open Society Institute Sofia)(2008), at 19-79.

PROMOTING PROSECUTORIAL ACCOUNTABILITY, INDEPENDENCE AND EFFECTIVENESS: COMPARATIVE RESEARCH (Open Society Institute Sofia)(2008)(co-editor), 439 pp.

“Reconsidering Dhimmah as a Model for Regulating Minorities, with Some Implications for Human Rights,” in K. Wellman and M. Modjandeh, eds, THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS 386-96 (Mofid University 2007).

*Remembering Sudetenland: On the Legal Construction of Ethnic Cleansing*, 47 VIRGINIA JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 63-146 (2006).

*Migrating towards Minority Status: Shifting European Policy towards Roma*, 43 JOURNAL OF COMMON MARKET STUDIES 763-86 (2005)(co-author).

*Contemplating Failure and Creating Alternatives in the Balkans: Bosnia’s Peoples, Democracy and the Shape of Self-Determination*, 29 YALE JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 423-75 (2004).

*Unexploded Bomb: Voice, Silence, and Consequence at the Hague Tribunals: A Legal and Rhetorical Critique*, 35 N.Y.U. JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND POLITICS 1015-131 (2003).

“Overview,” in H. Mickevičius and T.W. Waters, eds., MONITORING THE EU ACCESSION PROCESS: JUDICIAL CAPACITY 11-51 (Open Society Institute 2002).

MONITORING THE EU ACCESSION PROCESS: JUDICIAL CAPACITY (Open Society Institute 2002)(co-editor), 221 pp.

*Indeterminate Claims: New Challenges to Self-Determination Doctrine in Yugoslavia*, 20 SAIS REVIEW 111-44 (2000); version in Serbian by Agency for Local Democracy (Subotica, 2001).

“Judicial Independence in the EU Accession Process,” in H. Mickevičius and T. W. Waters, eds., MONITORING THE EU ACCESSION PROCESS: JUDICIAL INDEPENDENCE 13-68 (Open Society Institute 2001).

MONITORING THE EU ACCESSION PROCESS: JUDICIAL INDEPENDENCE (Open Society Institute 2001) (co-editor), 472 pp.

*The Naked Land: The Dayton Accords, Property Disputes, and Bosnia’s Real Constitution*, 40 HARVARD INTERNATIONAL LAW JOURNAL 517-93 (1999). ILSA **Francis Deak Award** 2000.

### **Academic Publications (continued)**

*Return from Exile, Return to Politics: Leadership, Political Mobilization and National Identity among the Crimean Tatars*, 44 THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW 42-54 (1997).

“Two Souls to Struggle with:” *The Failing Implementation of Hungary’s New Minorities Law and Discrimination against Gypsies*, 9 HARVARD HUMAN RIGHTS JOURNAL 297-313 (1996); and in J. Micgiel, ed., STATE AND NATION BUILDING IN EAST CENTRAL EUROPE 177-97 (Columbia 1996)(co-author). Columbia University **Gitelson-Meyerowitz Award** for Human Rights Writing 1995.

*Kings without Countries: Problems in the Formation of a Gypsy National Identity*, 6 JOURNAL OF PUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS 24-46 (APSA/Princeton)(1995).

### **Representative Professional and Field Experience**

**Expert Consultant**, *Parliament/Ministry of Parliamentary Affairs, South Sudan* **2011**  
Advising Constitutional Drafting Committee of the South Sudan Legislative Assembly and Ministry of Parliamentary Affairs on revision of the Transitional and Permanent Constitutions.

**Expert Witness**, *United States v. Padilla et al.* **2007**  
Advising counsel for co-defendant Adham Amin Hassoun, serving as expert witness on international law and the Balkan wars, especially humanitarian law and self-determination.

**Consultant**, *Open Society Institute (and Justice Initiative), Budapest and New York* **2001-7**  
Researched, wrote and edited two report series assessing judicial independence and capacity in ten transition states; edited report series on prosecutorial reform in Europe, Africa, and the Americas.

**Elections Monitor**, *OSCE Missions in Kosovo and Armenia* **2001, 2003**

**Expert Consultant**, *United Nations Development Program, Latvia* **2002**  
Wrote report for Ministry of Justice assessing judicial reform’s compliance with international norms.

**Research Officer**, *International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, The Hague* **1999-2000**  
In the Office of the Prosecutor, co-drafted *Milošević* indictment; analyzed constitutional structures and command responsibility; lectured on Yugoslav wars; prepared memorandum on sexual crimes.

**Human Rights/Democratization Officer**, *OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina* **1996-7**  
Monitored compliance with peace accords in Republika Srpska; coordinated refugee resettlement; led electoral fraud investigation team; wrote audit of contested registration process in Brčko district.

**Consultant**, *Human Rights Watch, Hungary and Yugoslavia* **1995-6**  
Researched and wrote reports on discrimination against minorities; analyzed legislative programs, anti-discrimination laws hate crimes; elections; treatment of refugees.

**Volunteer**, *United States Peace Corps, Hungary* **1991-4**  
Taught English; organized national drama festival; helped open Europe’s first high school for Roma.

### **Representative Professional Reports, Articles and Editorials**

“Let Tripoli Try Saif al-Islam,” *Foreign Affairs*, 9 December 2011.

“The US veto over Palestine’s UN membership,” *openDemocracy*, 26 September 2011.

“Let My People Go: Sudan’s Lesson on Secession,” *European Journal of International Law/EJIL Talk!*, 24 January 2011.

“No One Left to Blame,” *Foreign Policy (FP.com)*, 11 November 2009 (op-ed on Karadžić trial).

“Hear the Victims’ Voices,” *New York Times*, 4 February 2009 (solicited commentary).

### **Representative Professional Reports, Articles and Editorials (continued)**

“Russia-Georgia: The Separatist Regions, The Western Response,” *New York Times*, 29 August 2008 (Q&A interview).

“Karadzic on Trial,” *New York Times*, 24 July 2008 (Q&A interview).

“Kosovo as Precedent and Pretext: New Debates and Old Lessons,” *Jurist*, 18 February 2008.

“Kosovo: The Day After,” *openDemocracy*, 18 February 2008.

“A Separate Peace,” *New York Times*, 1 February 2007; “The wrong solution,” *International Herald Tribune*, 1 February 2007 (op-ed on proposal for partition of Kosovo).

“Guilty of Fighting a War,” *New York Times*, 12 August 2006, *International Herald Tribune*, 13 August 2006 (op-ed on amnesty proposals for insurgents in Iraq).

“Why Insist on the Surrender of Ratko Mladic?” *New York Times*, 12 May 2006; “Why insist on Mladic’s arrest?” *International Herald Tribune*, 12 May 2006 (op-ed on EU policy towards Serbia).

“What Now for War Trials after Milosevic?” *Christian Science Monitor*, 16 March 2006 (op-ed).

“Opinion Report on the Draft Law on Judicial Power” (for UNDP/Latvian Justice Ministry, 2002).

“Judges for a New Order: The Case for Continued Monitoring after Membership,” *European Union Accession Monitoring Program* (eumap.org, November 2002).

RIGHTS DENIED: VIOLATIONS AGAINST THE RIGHTS OF HUNGARIAN ROMA (Human Rights Watch, 1996); JOGFOSZTOTTAN: ROMÁK MAGYARORSZÁGON (Magyar Helsinki Bizottság, 1996)(co-author).

### **Board Memberships and Service**

Editorial Board, Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity, 2009-12.

Executive Committee, Russian and East European Institute, Indiana University 2008-12.

Executive Committee, Islamic Studies Program, Indiana University, 2009-12.

Advisory Board, Center for the Study of Global Change, Indiana University, 2011-2.

Scientific Committee, International Conference on Human Rights, Mofid University (Qom, Iran), 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011.

### **Languages**

Hungarian and Swedish (highly competent); German (advanced; Goethe-Institut Level C.1); Serbo-Croatian and Turkish (basic). Reading knowledge of Norwegian and Dutch.

### **Select Lectures and Presentations** (*presentations at Indiana University not included*)

“Misplaced Boldness: The Avoidance of Substance in the International Court of Justice’s Kosovo Opinion.” Zentrum für Südosteuropastudien, Karl-Franzens Universität, Graz April 2012.

“██████████: Writing and Reconciling in the Shadow of Secrecy at a War Crimes Tribunal – A Speculative Essay.” Max-Planck-Institute, Heidelberg April 2012.

“The Milošević Trial – An Autopsy.” *War Crimes and Transitional Justice in the Former Yugoslavia – 15 Years of Experiences*, Leipzig University March 2012.

**Select Lectures and Presentations (continued)**

“Comments on Internal and External Self-Determination – The Quebec Reference.” *Otto-Hahn-Gruppe*, Max-Planck-Institut, Heidelberg February 2012.

*Works-in-Progress Workshop, American Society of International Law, International Criminal Law Interest Group*, John Marshall Law School, December 2011 (commentator).

“Responsibility to Protect: Territorial Implications.” *United Nations Peace Operations and the Law Symposium*, Chicago July 2011.

“Such Boldness: Making Sense, or Something, out of the ICJ *Kosovo* Decision.” *Association for the Study of Nationalities 16<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference*, Columbia University April 2011.

“Comments on ‘Transitional Justice’ (papers by Anton Weiss-Wendt, Alma Zadić, Monica Ciobanu, and Elham Atashi)” *Association for the Study of Nationalities 16<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference*, Columbia University April 2011 (discussant).

“~~[Redacted]~~: Writing and Reconciling in the Shadow of Secrecy at a War Crimes Tribunal.” *Second International Criminal Defense Conference: Lessons from the Defense at the Ad Hoc UN Tribunals, and Prospects for International Justice at the ICC*, Brussels May 2010.

“[ Redacted ]: Writing and Reconciling in the Shadow of Secrecy at a War Crimes Tribunal.” *Association for the Study of Nationalities 15<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference*, Columbia University April 2010.

“The International Court of Justice and the Politics of the Balkans.” *American Bar Association International Law Section Spring Meeting*, New York, April 2010 (panelist).

Conference: *The Milošević Trial – An Autopsy*, Indiana University, February 2010 (conference organizer).

“Troubled No More by Death: Legal and Moral Hierarchies in a Rwandan Genocide Trial.” *Junior Faculty Regional Workshop*, Washington University – St. Louis, February 2010.

“Blind Panopticon: Redaction of/and History in Yugoslav War Crimes Trials.” *Beyond Cold War Linearities: Entangled Histories and Interactive Ideas*, Open Society Archivum, Budapest December 2009.

“Comments on Prof. Yuval Shany’s ‘Assessing the Effectiveness of International Courts: Can the Unquantifiable be Quantified?’” *Scholarship Roundtable on the Law and Politics of International Cooperation*, Duke University School of Law, November 2009 (discussant).

“Gaps in the Line: Consequences of an Incomplete Theory of Aggression.” *Fourth Big Ten Aspiring Scholars Conference*, University of Illinois, August 2009.

“The Consequences of an Incomplete Theory of Aggression: Reacting to and Regulating Violence in the Russian-Georgian War.” Central European University, Budapest June 2009.

“Constructing Citizenship through War in the Human Rights Era.” *Fifth International Conference on Human Rights: Peace Human Rights and Religion*, Mofid University, Qom, Iran May 2009.

“Plucky Little Russia: Assessing the Resort to Violence in Internal and Cross-Border Conflicts.” *Association for the Study of Nationalities 14<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference*, Columbia University April 2009.

“Conditions of Discursive Democracy in Contested Territories.” *Association for the Study of Nationalities 14<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference*, Columbia University April 2009 (co-presenter).

“Death Comes for the Tribunal: Legal and Moral Hierarchies in *Bagaragaza*.” *War Crimes Conference*, University of London Institute of Advanced Legal Studies February 2009.

**Select Lectures and Presentations (continued)**

“Democracy in the Shape of the State: Discursive Democracy in Contested Territories.” *Challenges to Democratic Governance in CEE and the Balkans*, Centre for the Study of Imperfections in Democracy, Central European University, Budapest October 2008 (co-presenter).

“Transforming Values.” *Constitutional Axiology – the Individual vs. the State 16th Annual Conference*, Central European University, Budapest June 2008 (discussant).

“Constructing the Home Front: War, Territory, and Citizenship.” *Association for the Study of Nationalities 13<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference*, Columbia University April 2008.

“Boxing Pandora: Defining Borders in a Democratizing World.” *Midwest Political Science Association*, Chicago April 2008.

“Identity and Transnational Influences.” *Midwest Political Science Association*, Chicago April 2008 (chair and discussant).

“New Frontiers: Theorizing the Moral and Empirical Bases for a Democratic Right of Secession.” University of Illinois College of Law, Urbana-Champaign February 2008.

“A Right to Democratic Secession: Normative and Empirical Considerations.” Hebrew University, Jerusalem January 2008.

“What Need for Conquest? Demographic and Legal Echoes of War.” *Workshop on Citizenship in Wartime*, Tel Aviv University December 2007.

“The Blessing of Departure: The Lieberman Plan to Exchange Populated Territories in Cisjordan.” *Central States Law Schools Association conference*, Wayne State University, Detroit October 2007.

“Ana Trbovich’s ‘Kosovo as a (Non-)Precedent’.” Columbia University October 2007 (discussant).

“Acceptable and Unacceptable State Support for Demographic Transformation: Exchanging Populated Territories in Cisjordan.” *Association for the Study of Nationalities 12<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference*, Columbia University April 2007.

“Putting Partition Back on the Table: Rethinking Borders in Balkan Democracies,” Harriman Institute, Columbia University March 2007.

“The Blessing of Departure: Exchange of Populated Territories – The Lieberman Plan as an Abstract Exercise in Demographic Transformation.” *Human Rights and Demography*, Ramat Gan Academic College of Law, Israel January 2007.

“Doctrine and Determination: Theorizing a Democratic Right of Secession.” *Association for the Study of Nationalities 11<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference*, Columbia University, New York 2006.

“Remembering Sudetenland: On the Legal Construction of Memory.” *Association for the Study of Nationalities 10<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference*, Columbia University, New York 2005.

“Migrating towards Minority Status: Shifting European Policy towards Roma.” *Journal of Common Market Studies special issue preparatory conference*, London School of Economics 2005 (joint presentation).

“Contemplating Failure and Creating Alternatives in the Balkans: Bosnia’s Peoples, Democracy and the Shape of Self-Determination.” Yale Law School, New Haven, Connecticut 2004.

“‘To you your way...’: Considering the Implications of *Dhimmah* for Political Participation within Islam.” *Association for the Study of Nationalities 9<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference*, Columbia University, New York 2004.

**Select Lectures and Presentations (continued)**

“Unexploded Bomb: The ICTY’s (Non-)Investigation of NATO’s Kosovo War: Implications for the New ICC.” Boston University School of Law 2004; New York University School of Law 2004; Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Massachusetts 2004.

“David Kennedy’s ‘The Dark Sides of Virtue.’” Boston University School of Law 2004 (commentator).

“Reconsidering *Dhimmah* as a Model for a Modern Minority Rights Regime.” *Theoretical Foundations of Human Rights*, Mofid University, Qom, Iran 2003.

“EU Accession Criteria and Judicial Reform.” *Assessing the Accession Criteria: The Impact of the Accession Criteria: Public Administration and Judiciaries*, European Research Institute, University of Birmingham, England 2003.

“Other Determinations: Alternatives to Self-Determination in Western Recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina.” *Association for the Study of Nationalities 8<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference*, Columbia University, New York 2003; *Law and Justice under Fire: Legal Lessons of the Yugoslav Wars*, Inter-University Centre, Dubrovnik 2002.

“Institutional Reform of the Judicial Administration.” *Conference on the Draft Law on Judicial Power*, Latvian Ministry of Justice, Riga 2002.

“Judicial Capacity and the Case for Continued Monitoring of EU Membership.” *The Impact of Enlargement on Evolving Standards for Anti-Corruption Policy and Judicial Reform in the EU*, Centre for European Policy Studies, Brussels 2002.

“Unexploded Bomb: Voice, Silence and Consequence at the Hague Tribunals – A Legal and Rhetorical Analysis.” *Law and Justice under Fire: Legal Lessons of the Yugoslav Wars*, Inter-University Centre, Dubrovnik 2002.

“Good Governance and Judicial Independence.” *Strengths and Perspectives: Candidate Countries in the EU Accession Process*, TESEV/Heinrich Böll Foundation, İstanbul 2002.

“Judicial Independence in EU Candidate States.” *Judicial Independence in Latvia: Issues of Continuing Education, Qualification and Administration of Judiciary*, Riga Graduate School of Law 2001.

“The European Union Accession Process: Findings and Recommendations.” *European Free Alliance and Czech Joint Parliamentary Committee hearings*, European Parliament, Brussels 2001.

“Acquis Implementation, Administrative and Judicial Capacity.” *Issues in EU Enlargement: Risks and Opportunities in Key Policy Areas*, Centre for European Policy Studies, Brussels 2001 (panelist).

“Speaking in Tongues: Elites, Demography, and Constituency Balancing in Central Asian Language Law Reform.” *Nationality and Citizenship in Post-Communist Europe*, Sciences Po, Paris 2001.

“Indeterminate Claims: New Challenges to Self-Determination Doctrine in Yugoslavia.” *Regionalization in Central and Southeast Europe: Comparative Analysis and Practice*, Open University, Subotica, Yugoslavia 2001.

“The Yugoslav Wars and War Crimes.” *SFOR Theater Surgeon’s Conference*, Cavtat, Croatia 2000.

“Historical Background to the Yugoslav Wars.” *SFOR Theater Surgeon’s Conference*, Cavtat, Croatia 2000.

“Yugoslav History, Peoples, and Politics.” International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), The Hague 1999 and 2000.

“Kosovo and Serbia: Legal and Political Structures.” ICTY, The Hague 1999.

**Select Lectures and Presentations (continued)**

“FRY and Serbian Political and Constitutional Systems.” ICTY, The Hague 1999.

“‘Two Souls to Struggle with:’ The Failing Implementation of Hungary’s New Minorities Law and Discrimination against Gypsies.” *State and Nation Building in East Central Europe: Contemporary Perspectives*, Columbia University, New York 1996 (joint presentation).

“Madness of Many Dimensions: *Sistematizarea* under Ceaușescu.” Romanian Cultural Center, New York 1995.