

## Timothy William Waters

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### Education

- Harvard Law School, J.D. cum laude** 1999  
Executive editor, Harvard Human Rights Journal. Sheldon Traveling Fellow, American Research Institute in Turkey Fellow (Boğaziçi University), Henigson Human Rights Fellow.
- Columbia University School of International and Public Affairs, M.I.A., Adv. Cert.** 1998  
Harriman Institute Advanced Certificate (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. Exchange at Lund University, Sweden. Phi Beta Kappa, National Merit Scholar, Richard Carleton Meeker Scholar.

### Teaching and Research Appointments

- Professor, Indiana University Maurer School of Law (Bloomington)** 2013-22  
**Associate Professor, Indiana University Maurer School of Law (Bloomington)** 2007-13  
*Courses:* human rights; public international law; international criminal law; Islamic law; Yugoslav wars; Milošević trial; First World War; state creation; also undergraduate level.
- Fellow, American Council of Learned Societies** 2021
- Visiting Fellow, American University of Iraq – Sulaimani** 2016
- Visiting Fellow, Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law** 2012-3  
Alexander von Humboldt Foundation Fellowship for Experienced Researchers.
- Visiting Professor, Central European University** 2002, 2008, 2009  
Taught various courses in international, comparative and constitutional law.
- 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 between Roma and majority communities in Hungary and Croatia.

**Academic Publications** (<http://ssrn.com/author=476025>; <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0205-6457>)

#### Books and Edited Volumes

BOXING PANDORA: RETHINKING BORDERS, STATES, AND SECESSION IN A DEMOCRATIC WORLD (Yale University Press 2020), 303 pages.

## Academic Publications (continued)

THE MILOŠEVIĆ TRIAL: AN AUTOPSY (Oxford University Press 2013; paperback 2015)(editor; author for five chapters and preface), 710 pages.

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

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

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

## Articles

*The Persecution of Stones: War Crimes, Law's Autonomy and the Co-optation of Cultural Heritage*, 20 CHICAGO JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 62-97 (2019) – ‘**Worth Reading**’ selection in 15 WAR CRIMES PROSECUTION WATCH (23 May 2020).

*Constructing Citizenship through War in the Human Rights Era*, 13 HUMAN RIGHTS (MOFID) 85-100 (2017).

*The Shaping Flame: Trials, Conflict and Reconciliation in Syria*, 221/222 INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL SCIENCE JOURNAL 257-70 (2016).

*For Freedom Alone: Secession after the Scottish Referendum*, 44 NATIONALITIES PAPERS 124-43 (2016).

*A World Elsewhere: Secession, Subsidiarity, and Self-Determination as European Values*, 23 REVISTA D'ESTUDIS AUTONÒMICS I FEDERALS 11-45 (2016).

*Plucky Little Russia: Misreading the Georgian War through the Distorting Lens of Aggression*, 49 STANFORD JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW 176-238 (2013).

*Misplaced Boldness: The Avoidance of Substance in the International Court of Justice's Kosovo Opinion*, 23 DUKE JOURNAL OF COMPARATIVE & INTERNATIONAL LAW 267-333 (2013).

*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).

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

*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).

*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).

*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 (APSIA/Princeton)(1995).

## Symposium Essays and Book Chapters

*Conditions for Legitimate and Effective European Intervention in Territorial Sovereignty Disputes: Political Contexts, Doctrinal Moves and Framing Principles for a Code of Practice*, IDEES NÚM. ESPECIAL: CATALUNYA – ESPANYA: DEL CONFLICTE AL DIALEG POLITIC? (Centre d'Estudis de Temes Contemporanis 2021)(13 pages, also published in Catalan and Spanish).

*Whose Coercion Should We Prefer? Thinking about States, Law, and Violence in a Secession Crisis*, 32 CATALAN REVIEW 139-44 (2018).

“The Ad Hoc Tribunals: Images, Origins, Pathways, Legacies,” in Philipp Kastner, ed., INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL LAW IN CONTEXT 199-220 (Routledge 2017).

“Hidden Legitimacy: Crafting Judicial Narratives in the Shadow of Secrecy at a War Crimes Tribunal – A Speculation,” in N. Hayashi & C. Bailliet, eds., THE LEGITIMACY OF INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNALS 228-44 (Cambridge University Press 2017).

*The Spear Point and the Ground Beneath: Territorial Constraints on the Logic of Responsibility to Protect*, 30 INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS 314-27 (2016).

*Taking the Measure of Nations: Testing the Global Norm of Territorial Integrity*, 33 WISCONSIN INTERNATIONAL LAW JOURNAL 563-86 (2015).

*Clearing the Path: The Perils of Positing Civil Society in Conflict and Transition*, 48 ISRAEL LAW REVIEW 165-87 (2/2015).

*Shifting States: Secession and Self-Determination as Subsidiarity*, PERCORSI COSTITUZIONALI 751-64 (3/2014).

“*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).

*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).

“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).

“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.

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

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

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

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

“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).

### **Reviews and Review Essays**

*The Undignified Part of Constitutional Analysis*, 10 *EUROPEAN CONSTITUTIONAL LAW REVIEW* 365-74 (2014)(review essay on Gábor Attila Tóth, ed., *Constitution for a Disunited Nation: On Hungary’s 2011 Fundamental Law*).

Review of Richard Wilson, *Writing History in International Criminal Trials*, 35 *POLITICAL & LEGAL ANTHROPOLOGY REVIEW* 347-50 (2012).

Review of Bert Swart, Alexander Zahar & Göran Sluiter, eds., *The Legacy of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia*, 55 *GERMAN YEARBOOK OF INTERNATIONAL LAW* 727-31 (2012).

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

### **Editorials, Posts, Professional and Creative Writing**

“Bosnia’s Endless Crisis Could Be Solved by Letting It Break apart Peacefully,” *The Conversation*, 9 Dec. 2021.

“High Diving Act,” 19 *SUNDOG LIT* (Sept. 2021).

“After the Insurrection, Unpleasant Advice about Trials from a War Crimes Professor,” *The Constitutionalist*, 8 Feb. 2021.

“To Support Hong Kong’s Freedom, Remember America’s Revolution,” *The Hill*, 2 July 2020.

“Secession – in America, and America,” *Balkinization*, 25 and 26 May 2020 (two parts).

“The Greatness of Bigness: Buckley’s American Secession,” *Balkinization*, 13 May 2020.

“Lessons from the Civil War for America’s Fractured Present,” *Yale University Press Blog*, 24 and 28 Jan 2020 (two parts).

“We Will Do Anything to Prevent School Shootings – Except the One Thing That Would Work,” *Los Angeles Times*, 23 May 2018.

“We Don’t Need the 2<sup>nd</sup> Amendment – We Need a Real Debate about Guns,” *Los Angeles Times*, 13 Oct. 2017.

“Californians Should Have the Right to Vote for Calexit,” *Los Angeles Times*, 16 Nov. 2016.

## Editorials, Posts, Professional and Creative Writing (continued)

“A Modest Proposal to End Death in the Mediterranean,” *New York Times*, 23 Oct. 2016 (online); “End Death in the Mediterranean,” 24 Oct. 2016 (print, international edition).

“Coups Have Consequences – Including Making More Room for Islam,” *Los Angeles Times*, 24 July 2016.

“Yezidis vs. ISIS at the ICC: Why the Fight for Genocide Charges is an Uphill Battle,” *Foreign Affairs*, 29 March 2016.

“The Little Genocide: A Karadzic Conviction in The Hague That Will Satisfy No One,” *Los Angeles Times*, 25 March 2016 (online); “Karadzic Conviction: Genocide Here, Not There,” 27 March 2016 (print).

“Adrift, Permanently: When It Comes to Refugees, the Crisis is Normal,” *Indiana University Consortium for the Study of Religion, Ethics and Society*, 19 Nov. 2015.

“Why ‘They’ Left, and Why ‘We’ Fought,” *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, 11 July 2015.

“People’s Court? The Palestinian Authority Joins the ICC,” *Foreign Affairs*, 31 March 2015.

“How to Handle Secession: What Spain Can Learn from Scotland’s Referendum,” *New York Times*, 23 Sept. 2014 (online), *International New York Times*, 24 Sept. 2014 (print).

“The Kurdish option: An independent state for the Kurds, an ally for the U.S. in Iraq,” *Los Angeles Times*, 7 July 2014.

“Letting Go of Territorial Integrity: Getting Realism and Ideals Right on Ukraine,” *Völkerrechtsblog*, 16 June 2014.

“International Law’s Rule of Five: Russia, Ukraine, and the Dark Side of Polycentrism,” *Völkerrechtsblog*, 6 June 2014.

“Polycentrism’s Playground: Ukraine and Russia’s Implausible Deniability,” *Völkerrechtsblog*, 4 June 2014.

“Libya’s Home Court Advantage,” *Foreign Affairs*, 2 October 2013.

“Never Again to Genocide Trials,” *Project Syndicate*, 27 July 2012. Syndicated in 19 newspapers in eight languages.

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

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

“Let His 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.

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

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

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

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

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

## Editorials, Posts, Professional and Creative Writing (continued)

“A Separate Peace,” *New York Times*, 1 February 2007; “The wrong solution,” *International Herald Tribune*, 1 February 2007.

“Guilty of Fighting a War,” *New York Times*, 12 August 2006, *International Herald Tribune*, 13 August 2006.

“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.

“What Now for War Trials after Milosevic?” *Christian Science Monitor*, 16 March 2006.

“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).

## Professional and Field Experience

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

**Advisor**, *United States v. Padilla et al.* **2007**  
Advised counsel for co-defendant Adham Amin Hassoun, served as expert 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 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 on 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; researched 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; audited contested registration in Brčko.

**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, and treatment of refugees.

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

## Board Memberships and Service (service within the Maurer School of Law not included)

Advisory Board, Institute for European Studies, Indiana University **2019-22**

Editorial Board, *Journal of Human Rights*, Mofid University (Qom, Iran) **2017-22**

**Board Memberships and Service (continued)**

Associate Director, Center for Constitutional Democracy, Indiana University	2014-22
Advisory Board, Center for the Study of Global Change, Indiana University	2011-22
Editorial Board, Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity	2009-22
Executive Committee, Islamic Studies Program, Indiana University	2009-22
Executive/Fellowship Committees, Russian and East European Institute, Indiana University	2008-22
Advisory Board, IU Cinema	2013-20
Advisory Board, Center for American and Global Security, Indiana University	2014-7
Peace Corps Prep Committee, Indiana University	2014
Scientific Committee, International Conference on Human Rights Mofid University (Qom, Iran)	2005, 2007, 2009, 2011

**Awards, Honors and Fellowships** (*Indiana University internal and travel grants not included*)

American Council of Learned Societies Fellowship	2021
Val Nolan Faculty Fellow, Indiana University Maurer School of Law	2015-21
Visiting Fellow, American University of Iraq – Sulaimani	2016
Experienced Researcher Fellowship, Alexander von Humboldt Foundation	2012-3
Visiting Fellow, Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law	2012-3
East Asian Legal Studies Visiting Scholar, Harvard Law School	2005
Reginald F. Lewis Fellow for Law Teaching, Harvard Law School	2003
Human Rights Program Visiting Fellow, Harvard Law School	2002
Francis Deak Award, International Law Students Association	2000
Sheldon Traveling Fellow, Harvard Law School	1999
Fellow, American Research Institute in Turkey	1998
Henigson Human Rights Fellow, Harvard Law School	1996
Gitelson-Meyerowitz Writing Award, Columbia University	1995
Fellow, Institute for International Education	1995
Peace Corps Fellow, Columbia University	1994
Phi Beta Kappa, UCLA	1989
National Merit Scholar, UCLA	1984
Richard Carleton Meeker Scholar, UCLA	1984

## Languages

English (native); German, Hungarian and Swedish (highly competent: Hungarian state exam B.2 equivalent; German Goethe-Institut C.1); Serbo-Croatian and Turkish (basic); Arabic (ACTFL intermediate). Reading knowledge of Norwegian and Dutch.

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

“Discussion of the Actions of the Burmese Military from the Perspective of International Law.” Burmese American Community Institute, Indianapolis (online presentation), 19 Feb. 2021.

“Conditions for Legitimate and Effective European Intervention in Territorial Sovereignty Disputes: Political Contexts, Doctrinal Moves, and Framing Principles for a Code of Practice.” *Sovereignty Conflicts in Europe: Basis for a Solution*, Eusko Ikaskuntza and Institut d’Estudis Catalans, Bilbao (online), 12 Nov. 2020, and additional comments on 13 Nov. 2020.

“Crossing Borders, Breaking Borders: New Ideas about Migration, Secession and Political Freedom.” Law and Economics Center, George Mason University and Indiana University (online workshop), 17 Sept. 2020 (panelist).

“Faustian Bargains and Gordian Knots: Changing Borders as a Right (and a Good Idea).” Institute for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies, George Washington University Elliott School of International Affairs, Washington DC, 12 Feb. 2020.

“Are Borders a Problem? Theorizing a Right of Secession.” Washington and Lee School of Law, Lexington, Virginia, 11 Feb. 2020.

“Secession as a Human Right.” Clough Center for the Study of Constitutional Democracy, Boston College, 5 Feb. 2020.

“Boxing Pandora: The Right to Secession.” New England Law – Boston, 4 Feb. 2020.

“Boxing Pandora: The Justice of Secession.” Boston University School of Law, 3 Feb. 2020.

“Yugoslavia the Good: A War Crimes Tribunal’s Teleological Transit.” *American Society of International Law, International Criminal Law Interest Group Workshop*, Cleveland-Marshall College of Law, 31 Jan. 2020.

“The Case for a Right to Secession.” Southwestern Law School, Los Angeles, 16 Oct. 2019.

“Making Better Borders: The Justice and Practicality of Secession.” Pepperdine University School of Law, Malibu, California, 14 Oct. 2019.

“Mandating Decolonization: Textual Ambiguity and the Influence of the League Mandate System in Delegitimizing Colonialism.” *The League of Nations Decentred: Law, Crises and Legacies*, Melbourne University, 18 July 2019.

“Boxing Pandora: Rethinking Self-Determination as a Right of Secession.” Monash University, Melbourne, 15 July 2019.

“Partitioning Kosovo: Moral and Practical Grounds for Redrawing State Borders.” *International Society of Public Law (ICON-S) 6<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference*, Pontifical Catholic University of Chile, Santiago, 3 July 2019.

“Boxing Pandora: Rethinking Borders, States and Secession for a Democratic World.” *Grotius Dialogues*, Leiden University, 28 May 2019.

“Tools to Match Desire: Customary International Law’s Plastic Hypocrisy.” *The Theory and Philosophy of Customary International Law and its Interpretation*, TRICI-Law, University of Groningen, 24 May 2019.



### Select Lectures and Presentations (continued)

“The Persecution of Stones: War Crimes, Law’s Autonomy and the Cooptation of Cultural Heritage.” *ICLC Seminars*, Center for International Criminal Justice Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 21 May 2019.

“Predictable Obstacles, Impossible Paths: Lessons from the Catalan Crisis.” *Association for the Study of Nationalities 24<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference*, Columbia University, 3 May 2019.

“Revitalizing Self-Determination: Conceptualizing a Right of Secession.” University of Szeged, 21 Feb. 2019.

“Boxing Pandora: Rethinking Self-Determination as a Right of Secession.” Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE), Budapest, 20 Feb. 2019.

“Secession as a European Value: Rethinking Rigid Borders in a Democratic World.” Central European University, Budapest, 19 Feb. 2019.

“International Criminal Law.” Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE), Budapest, 18 Feb. 2019 (guest lecture in Prof. Gábor Kajtár’s undergraduate course on public international law).

“Self-Determination and the Right to Secession.” Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE), Budapest, 15 Feb. 2019 (guest lecture in Prof. Pál Sonnevend’s LLM course on human rights).

“Implementing a Right of Secession: Constitutional and International Legal Strategies.” *International Society of Public Law (ICON-S) 5<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference*, Hong Kong University, 27 June 2018.

“The Kaiser in the Castle: A Neo-Kakanian Perspective on the Likelihood of It Now Happening.” *Contingency in the Course of International Law*, University of Amsterdam, 15 June 2018.

“The Persecution of Stones: Law’s Autonomy and the Cooptation of Cultural Heritage in the Mostar Bridge Case.” *Association for the Study of Nationalities 23<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference*, Columbia University, 4 May 2018.

“The Impossible Path: Thinking about Secession in a Democratic World.” *Spain Divided: Lessons from Catalonia*, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, 14 April 2018.

“The Necessity of a Territorial Interpretation of Self-Determination.” *Territorial Aspects of Self-Determination Workshop*, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 7 Dec. 2017.

“Empty Patriotism: A Critique of Liberal Models of Self-Determination.” *Association for the Study of Nationalities 22<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference*, Columbia University 6 May 2017.

“The Shaping Flame: Trials, Conflict and Reconciliation in Syria.” *International Conference on Conflict Mitigation, Dialogue, and Reconciliation in Syria*. Lebanese American University, Beirut, 17 Nov. 2016.

“Secession as Subsidiarity: Distributing Governance in International and Regional Contexts.” *European Consortium for Political Research General Conference*, Prague, 8 Sept. 2016.

“The Mountain and the Shadow: Secession, Kurdistan and International Law.” American University of Iraq – Sulaimani, 23 Feb. 2016.

“Documentation and the Genocide Case.” *Ezidis Beyond ISIS: Gender, Genocide, Displacement and Return*, American University of Iraq – Sulaimani, 11 Feb. 2016 (panelist).

“The Genocide Case.” *Ezidis Beyond ISIS: Gender, Genocide, Displacement and Return*, American University of Iraq – Sulaimani, 10 Feb. 2016 (workshop facilitator).

“The Case for a Legal Right to Secession.” Istanbul University Faculty of Law, 10 Dec. 2015.

### Select Lectures and Presentations (continued)

“A World Elsewhere: Secession, Subsidiarity, and Self-Determination as European Values.” Sabanci University, Istanbul, 9 Dec. 2015

“Secession is a European Value: Thinking about Self-Determination, Subsidiarity, and the European Union.” *IR Seminar*, Koç University, Faculty of Administrative Sciences and Economics, Istanbul, 7 Dec. 2015.

“Consultation on Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Dayton Peace Accords.” United States Government, Fairfax, Virginia, 13 Nov. 2015 (panelist).

“Requiring Harm: The Inadequacy of Remedial Secession for Ethno-Linguistic Minorities.” *Rethinking Territoriality between Independence and Interdependence*, University of Edinburgh, 17 Sept. 2015.

“Yugoslavia the Good: Building a European Future by Remembering the Past in War Crimes Trials.” *Council for European Studies 22<sup>nd</sup> Annual Conference of Europeanists*, Sciences Po, 8 July 2015.

“Comments on ‘Constructing the Leviathan – State-Building on a Contentious Continent’ (papers by Hanna Bäck & Jan Teorell, Senka Neumann, Didac Queralt, and Nisida Gjoksi).” *Council for European Studies 22<sup>nd</sup> Annual Conference of Europeanists*, Sciences Po, Paris, 8 July 2015.

“Secession, Subsidiarity, and the Assumptions behind Rigid Borders.” Institut d’Estudis Autònoms, Barcelona, 18 June 2015.

“Digressing towards Justice: International Criminal Law’s Narrative of Moral Transit through Violence.” *Conference on International Law and Time*, The Graduate Institute of International Law and Development Studies, Geneva, 12 June 2015.

*Responsibility to Protect Conference*, Indiana University, 14-16 May 2015 (co-organizer).

“Applying the Logics of Self-Determination to the Ukrainian Crisis: Power, Ideals and the Varieties of Failure.” *Association for the Study of Nationalities 20<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference*, Columbia University 25 Apr. 2015 (roundtable panelist).

“Comments on ‘Mechanisms of Transnational Justice’ (papers by David M. Crowe, Lee M. Roberts, Wolfgang Form, and Yun Xia).” *Association for the Study of Nationalities 20<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference*, Columbia University 25 Apr. 2015 (discussant).

“Comments on ‘Case Studies of Self-Determination – Successful, Failed and Contested’ (papers by Christopher Borgen, T. Kumar, Frédéric Mégret, and Paul Williams).” *State Oppression, Violence against Minorities, and the Possibilities for Remedial Secession and Independence*, George Washington University, 9 Apr. 2015

“Taking the Measure of Nations: Testing Global Territorial Integrity Norms.” *Wisconsin International Law Journal Symposium: International Law Walks the Line: Border Disputes and Resolution for the 21st Century*, University of Wisconsin, 13 Mar. 2015.

“Power and Ideals in Self-Determination Crises: Various Ways of Failing inside Ukraine and out.” *10<sup>th</sup> Danyliw Research Seminar on Contemporary Ukraine*, University of Ottawa, 1 Nov. 2014.

“For Freedom Alone: Secession, Now that Scotland’s Staying.” University of Missouri – Kansas City, 3 Oct. 2014.

“Narratives of Responsibility and Reconciliation: The Trial of Slobodan Milošević.” University of Missouri – Kansas City, 2 Oct. 2014.

“Remembering Yugoslavia the Good: A War Crimes Tribunal’s Narrative of Moral Transit through Violence.” *Jan Karski Conference: Memory and Responsibility*, Loyola University Chicago, 19 Sept. 2014.

### Select Lectures and Presentations (continued)

“Hidden Legitimacy: Crafting Judicial Authority in the Shadow of Secrecy at a War Crimes Tribunal.” *Authority in International Law: New and Traditional Forms and Approaches*, ASIL-ESIL-MPIL Workshop, Wirtschaftsuniversität, Vienna, 8 Sept. 2014.

“Hidden Legitimacy: Writing Judicial Narratives in the Shadow of Secrecy at a War Crimes Tribunal.” *The Legitimacy and Effectiveness of International Criminal Tribunals*, PluriCourts, University of Oslo, 28 Aug. 2014.

“Changing States: Secession as Subsidiarity.” *Subsidiarity in Global Governance*, Hertie School of Governance, Berlin, 20 June 2014.

“Comments on Panel ‘Security’ (papers by Isobel Roele, Devika Hovell, and Theresa Reinold).” *Subsidiarity in Global Governance*, Hertie School of Governance, Berlin, 19 June 2014 (discussant).

“Writing History at the ICTY.” University of New York – Tirana, 16 June 2014.

“Secrecy at the ICTY.” Tetovo State University, Macedonia, 12 June 2014.

“The Milošević Trial – An Autopsy.” University of Prishtina, 11 June 2014 (book presentation, principal panelist).

“The Milošević Trial – An Autopsy.” Institute of Philosophy and Social Theory, Belgrade, 9 June 2014 (book presentation, principal panelist).

“The Milošević Trial – An Autopsy.” Open Society Archivum/Central European University, Budapest, 27 May 2014 (book presentation, principal panelist).

“Effective Reconciliation, Reconciling Effectiveness: The ICTY, Secrecy and Incomplete Narratives of Violence.” *14<sup>th</sup> Specialization Course in International Criminal Law*, International Institute of Higher Studies in Criminal Sciences, Siracusa, 23 May 2014.

“Clearing the Path: The Perils of Positing Civil Society in Conflict and Transition.” *Transitional Justice and Civil Society*, Minerva Center, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 19 May 2014.

“Roads High and Low: Paths to, and from, Scottish Secession.” *Association for the Study of Nationalities 19<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference*, Columbia University, 24 Apr. 2014.

“The Milošević Trial – An Autopsy.” *Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting*, Chicago, 6 Apr. 2014.

“Narratives in and about the Milošević Trial.” *Midwest Slavic Conference*, Ohio State University, Columbus, 29 Mar. 2014.

“Digressing towards Europe: Narratives of Moral Transit through Violence.” *SOYUZ/Havighurst Center, Topos of Justice/Young Researchers’ Conference*, Miami University (Ohio), 28 Feb. 2014.

“The Trial of Slobodan Milošević.” *Faculty Colloquium*, Indiana University McKinney School of Law, Indianapolis 12 Nov. 2013.

“Boxing Pandora: Rethinking Self-Determination and Secession in a Democratizing World.” Max-Planck-Institut für ausländisches öffentliches Recht und Völkerrecht, Heidelberg, 22 June 2013.

“Beyond Territorial Integrity: Challenging the Assumptions behind Rigid Borders.” Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich, 25 June 2013.

“The Milošević Trial before the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia: Can International Tribunals Write Good History?” Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich, 24 June 2013.

### Select Lectures and Presentations (continued)

“The *Milošević* Trial: Can International Law Write Good History?” Max-Planck-Institut für ausländisches öffentliches Recht und Völkerrecht, Heidelberg, 17 June 2013.

“Self-Determination and Secession.” Freie Universität, Berlin 7 June 2013 (guest lecture in Prof. Heike Krieger’s course “Public International Law”).

“Writing Reconciliation with International Law? The *Milošević* Case and the Uses of History at the ICTY.” Max-Planck-Institut für ausländisches und internationales Strafrecht, Freiburg, 8 May 2013.

“Dead Man’s Tales .Searching for Judgment after Death in a War Crimes Trial.” *Association for the Study of Nationalities 18<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference*, Columbia University April 2013.

“The *Milošević* Trial – An Autopsy.” *Association for the Study of Nationalities 18<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference*, Columbia University April 2013 (panel organizer).

“Comments on ‘Political Legitimacy, Law and Justice in China and Asia’ (papers by David Crowe, Ting Zhang and Yun Xia).” *Association for the Study of Nationalities 18<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference*, Columbia University April 2013 (discussant).

“The Spear Point and the Ground Beneath: Territorial Constraints in the Logic of R2P.” Responsibility to Protect in Theory and Practice, University of Ljubljana April 2013.

“Writing History? The Legacy of the ICTY and the *Milošević* Trial.” Bucerius Law School, Hamburg March 2013.

“Plucky Little Russia: Misreading the Russian-Georgian War through the Distorting Lens of Aggression.” *Association of American Law Schools Annual Conference*, New Orleans January 2013.

“The Distractions of History at the ICTY.” Christian-Albrechts Universität zu Kiel June 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-Institut für ausländisches öffentliches Recht und Völkerrecht, 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.

“Comments on Internal and External Self-Determination – The Quebec Reference.” *Otto-Hahn-Gruppe*, Max-Planck-Institut für ausländisches öffentliches Recht und Völkerrecht, 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).

### Select Lectures and Presentations (continued)

“~~[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 and presenter).

“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.

“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).

### Select Lectures and Presentations (continued)

“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.

“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,

### Select Lectures and Presentations (continued)

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.

“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.