

## **CURRICULUM VITAE**

### **Thomas J. Biersteker**

Gasteyger Professor of International Security  
Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva  
Voie Creuse 16  
1211 Geneva 21, SWITZERLAND  
TEL: +41 22 908 5807 FAX: +41 22 908 6271  
E-mail: [thomas.biersteker@graduateinstitute.ch](mailto:thomas.biersteker@graduateinstitute.ch)

DATE: October 21, 2009

### **EDUCATION and DEGREES**

Ph.D., The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Department of Political Science, February 1977

M.S., The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Department of Political Science, February 1975

A.B. (with Honors), The University of Chicago, Public Affairs Program, June 1972

(M.A., Brown University, *Ad Eundem*, May 1993)

### **ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS**

Curt Gasteyger Professor of International Security and Conflict Studies, The Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva, July 2007 to the present

Olive C. Watson Professor of International Studies, Watson Institute for International Studies and Department of Political Science, Brown University, January 2007 to July 2008

Henry R. Luce Professor of Transnational Organizations and Professor of Political Science, Watson Institute for International Studies and Department of Political Science, Brown University, 1992 to 2006

Professor, School of International Relations, University of Southern California, 1988 to 1992

Associate Professor, School of International Relations, University of Southern California, 1985 to 1988

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Yale University, 1981-1985

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Yale University, 1976-1981

### **ADMINISTRATIVE APPOINTMENTS**

Director, Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University, 1994 to 2006

Director, School of International Relations, University of Southern California, 1991 to 1992

Founder and Director, Center for International Studies, University of Southern California, 1985 to 1989

Director of Undergraduate Studies, Economics and Political Science Program, Yale University, 1978 to 1985

Director of Graduate Studies, International Relations Program, Yale University, 1977-1978

## PUBLICATIONS

### Books

*Countering the Financing of Global Terrorism* Co-edited with Sue Eckert, (New York and London: Routledge Publishers, 2007)

*International Law and International Relations: Bridging Theory and Practice* Co-edited with Veronica Raffo, Peter Spiro, and Chandra Sriram, (New York and London: Routledge Publishers, 2006)

*The Rebordering of North America? Integration and Exclusion in a New Security Context* Co-edited with Peter Andreas, (New York and London: Routledge Publishers, 2003)

*The Emergence of Private Authority in Global Governance* Co-edited with Rodney B. Hall, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)

*Argument without End: In Search of Answers to the Vietnam Tragedy* Co-authored with Robert S. McNamara, James G. Blight, Robert K. Brigham, and Col. Herbert Y. Schandler, (New York: PublicAffairs Press, 1999)

*State Sovereignty As Social Construct* Co-edited with Cynthia Weber, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)

*Dealing with Debt: International Financial Negotiations and Adjustment Bargaining* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993)

*Multinationals, the State, and Control of the Nigerian Economy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987)

*Distortion or Development? Contending Perspectives on the Multinational Corporation* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1978)

### Articles

"The "Peculiar Problems" of Scholarly Engagement in the Policy Process," *International Studies Review*, Volume 10, Issue 1, March 2008

"Prospects for the UN Peacebuilding Commission," *Disarmament Forum*, March 2007

"Émergence, évolution, effets et défis des sanctions ciblées," *Géoéconomie*, Revue trimestrielle, N. 30, été 2004

"Response to Sean L. Yom" *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Volume 17, Number 2, July 2004

"La Gouvernance privée dans le système international" with Rodney B. Hall, *L'économie politique*, numero 12, 4e trimestre, 2001: 5-18

"L'émergence des autorités privées" with Rodney B. Hall, *Alternatives Economiques*, No. 47, 1er trimestre 2001

"Eroding Boundaries, Contested Terrain" *International Studies Review*, 1(1), May 1999

"Globalization and the Modes of Operation of Major Institutional Actors" *Oxford Development Studies*, 26(1), February 1998

"Los Problemas de las Transiciones Simultáneas" with Leslie E. Armijo and Abraham F. Lowenthal, *Este País Tendencias y opiniones*, número 47, febrero de 1995: 2-10

"The Problems of Simultaneous Transitions" with Leslie E. Armijo and Abraham F. Lowenthal, *Journal of Democracy*, 5 (4), 1994: 161-175

"Evolving Perspectives on International Political Economy: Twentieth Century Contexts and Discontinuities," *International Political Science Review*, 14(1) 1993: 7-33

"Reducing the Role of the State in the Economy: A Conceptual Exploration of IMF and World Bank Prescriptions," *International Studies Quarterly*, 34(4) 1990: 477-492

"Critical Reflections on Post-Positivism in International Relations," *International Studies Quarterly*, 33(3), 1989: 263-267

"The Dialectics of World Order: Notes for a future archaeologist of international savoir faire," Co-authored with Hayward R. Alker, Jr., (M.I.T.), *International Studies Quarterly*, 28(2), 1984: 121-142

"The Illusion of State Power: Transnational Corporations and the Neutralization of Host-Country Legislation," *Journal of Peace Research*, 17(3), 1980: 207-221

"Self-Reliance in Theory and Practice: Transforming Tanzanian Trade Relations," *International Organization*, 34(2), 1980: 229-264

### **Book Chapters**

"Unintended Consequences of Measures to Counter the Financing of Terrorism" in Christopher Daase and Cornelius Friesendorf (eds.) *Security Governance and the Problem of Unintended Consequences* (New York and London: Routledge Publishers, forthcoming 2010)

"Global Governance" in Myriam Dunn Cavelty and Victor Mauer (eds.) *Routledge Companion to Security* (New York and London: Routledge Publishers, forthcoming 2009)

"Building and Maintaining an International Regime to Counter the Financing of Terrorism" in Steve Tsang (ed.) *Combating Transnational Terrorism* (New York and London: Praeger Publishers, forthcoming 2009)

"(Mis)measuring Success in the Financial "War" on Terrorism" with Sue E. Eckert in Peter Andreas and Kelly M. Greenhill (eds.) *Sex, Drugs, and Body Counts: The Politics of Numbers in Crime and Conflict* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, forthcoming 2009)

"The Parochialism of Hegemony: Challenges for 'American' International Relations" in Arlene Tickner and Ole Wæver (eds.) *International Relations Scholarship around the World* (New York and London: Routledge Publishers, 2009)

"Lessons from the UN's Counter-Terrorism Efforts for UNSCR 1540" in Olivia Bosch and Peter van Ham (eds.) *Global Non-Proliferation and Counter-Terrorism: The Impact of UNSCR 1540*, Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution in association with Chatham House and Clingendael, 2006

"Targeted Sanctions and State Capacity: Towards a Framework for National Level Implementation" with Sue E. Eckert, Aaron Halegua, and Peter Romaniuk in Peter Wallensteen and Carina Staibano (eds.) *Between Words and Wars: The Challenge of New Sanctions*, Uppsala, Sweden: Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, 2005

"Consensus from the Bottom Up? Assessing the Influence of the Sanctions Reform Process" with Sue E. Eckert, Aaron Halegua, and Peter Romaniuk in Peter Wallensteen and Carina Staibano (eds.) *Between Words and Wars: The Challenge of New Sanctions*, Uppsala, Sweden: Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, 2005

"Cutting Off Resources for Terrorism and Crime: Counter Terrorism Activities under UN Security Council Auspices" in Alyson Bailes (ed.) *Business and Security After 11 September 2001: Protecting the Legitimate and Blocking the Illegitimate*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004

"The Return of the State? Financial Re-regulation in the Pursuit of National Security After September 11" (with Peter Romaniuk) in John Tirman (ed.) *Maze of Fear*, New York: The New Press, 2004

"The Dialectics of World Order: Notes for a Future Archaeologist of International Savoir Faire" (reprint of 1984 *ISQ* article with Hayward R. Alker) in Takashi Inoguchi (ed.) *Gendai kokusai seijigaku riron (Contemporary International Relations Theories: Readings)* Tokyo: Toyo Shorin Publisher, 2003

"Targeting Terrorist Finances: The New Challenges of Financial Market Globalization" in Ken Booth and Tim Dunne (eds.) *Worlds in Collision: Terror and the Future of Global Order* London: Palgrave/St. Martins Publishers, 2002

"State, Sovereignty, and Territory" in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth A. Simmons (eds.) *The Handbook of International Relations*, London: SAGE Publications, Ltd., 2002

"Targeting Financial Sanctions: Harmonizing National Legislation and Regulatory Practices," with Natalie Reid, Sue E. Eckert, and Jarat Chopra in David Cortright and George Lopez (eds.) *Smart Sanctions: Toward Effective and Humane Sanctions Reform*, Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002

"Globalization as a Mode of Thinking in Major Institutional Actors" in Ngaire Woods (ed.) *The Political Economy of Globalization*, London: Macmillan Publishers, 2000

"Learning from Tragedy: Lessons of Vietnam for the 21st Century" Co-authored with Robert S. McNamara, in Robert S. McNamara, James G. Blight, and Robert K. Brigham, with Thomas J. Biersteker and Col. Herbert Y. Schandler, *Argument without End: In Search of Answers to the Vietnam Tragedy* New York: PublicAffairs Press, 1999

"Locating the emerging European Polity: Beyond States or State" in Jeffrey J. Anderson, ed., *Regional Integration and Democracy: Expanding on the European Experience*, Boulder: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1999

"Globalization and the North American Free Trade Agreement: Conceptual Changes within Major Institutional Actors and Their Potential Implications" in David R. Dávila-Villers (ed.) *NAFTA on Second Thoughts: A Plural Evaluation*, New York: University Press of America, 1998

"The Rise and Fall of Structural Adjustment in Nigeria" with Peter Lewis in Larry Diamond, Anthony Kirk-Greene, and Oyeleye Oyediran (eds.) *Transition Without End: Nigerian Politics and Civil Society Under Babangida*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 1997

"The Problems of Simultaneous Transitions," with Leslie E. Armijo & Abraham F. Lowenthal in Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner (eds.) *Economic Reform and Democracy*, Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995

"The 'Triumph' of Liberal Economic Ideas in the Developing World," in Barbara Stallings (ed.) *Global Change, Regional Response*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995

"The Dialectics of World Order: Notes for a Future Archaeologist of International Savoir Faire" (reprint of 1984 *ISQ* article with Hayward R. Alker) in James Der Derian (ed.) *International Theory: Critical Investigations*, London: Macmillan Publishers 1995 and New York: New York University Press, 1994

"Constructing Historical Counterfactuals to Assess the Consequences of International Regimes: The Global Debt Regime and the Course of the Debt Crisis of the 1980s" in Volker Rittberger (ed.) *Regime Theory and International Relations*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993

"The Logic and Unfulfilled Promise of Privatization in Developing Countries" in Louis Putterman and Dietrich Rueschemeyer (eds.) *State and Market in Development: Synergy or Rivalry?*, Boulder, CO.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1992

"The 'Triumph' of Neoclassical Economic Thinking in the Developing World: Ideas, Interests and Institutions in the Construction of a New International Division of Labor" in James N. Rosenau and E.O. Czempiel (eds.) *Governance without Government: Order and Change in World Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991

"International Political Security: From Imperial Power Balancing to People's Wars" in James Der Derian and Michael Shapiro (eds.) *Intertextual/International Relations*, Lexington: D.C. Heath, 1989

"The Illusion of State Power" (reprint of 1980 *Journal of Peace Research* article) in George A. Lopez and Michael S. Stohl (eds.) *International Relations: Contemporary Theory and Practice*, Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1989

"Indigenization and the Nigerian Bourgeoisie: Dependent Development in an African Context," in Paul M. Lubeck (ed.) *The African Bourgeoisie: The Development of Capitalism in Nigeria, Kenya and the Ivory Coast*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1987

"Self-Reliance in Theory and Practice in Tanzanian Trade Relations" (revision of 1980 *International Organization* article) in John Ravenhill (ed.) *Africa in Economic Crisis*, London: Macmillan Publishers, 1986

"Indigenization in Nigeria: Renationalization or Denationalization?" in I. William Zartman (ed.) *The Political Economy of Nigeria* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1983). (Reprinted in Timothy M. Shaw and Olajide Aluko (eds.) *Nigerian Foreign Policy: Alternative Perceptions and Projections*, London: Macmillan Publishers, 1983

"The Limits of State Power in the Contemporary World Economy," in Henry Shue and Peter G. Brown (eds.) *Boundaries: National Autonomy and Its Limits*, Series in Philosophy and Public Policy, Tawata, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1981

## **POLICY REPORTS**

*The Human Rights Challenge to Targeted Sanctions and Its Implications: An Update of the "Watson Report"* Presented at the Permanent Mission of Switzerland to the United Nations, 28 September 2009

*Strengthening Targeted Sanctions through Fair and Clear Procedures*, White Paper prepared by the Watson Institute Targeted Sanctions Project, Brown University, for the governments of Switzerland, Germany, and Sweden, presented at the United Nations, March 30, 2006 and published as a UN Security Council and General Assembly document (A/60/887-S/2006/331), June 14, 2006

*A Comparative Assessment of Saudi Arabia with other Countries of the Islamic World*, Appendix prepared by the Watson Institute Targeting Terrorist Finances Project for the Council on Foreign Relations, published in the Second Report of an Independent Task Force on Terrorist Financing, titled *An Update on the Campaign Against the Financing of Terrorism*, New York: Council on Foreign Relations, June 2004

*Report on the Workshop on UN Sanctions Reform*, convened at the Watson Institute for members of the UN Security Council, 2-3 May 2003, by the Targeted Financial Sanctions Project, Thomas J. Biersteker, Sue E. Eckert, Peter Romaniuk, and Aaron Halegua, November 2003

*Background Paper on Targeted Sanctions* prepared by the Targeted Financial Sanctions Project for the Workshop on United Nations Sanctions Reform, 2-3 May 2003, convened at the Watson Institute for members of the UN Security Council, Thomas J. Biersteker, Sue E. Eckert, Peter Romaniuk, and Aaron Halegua, May 2003

*Supporting Member State Capacity to Implement Targeted Sanctions*, Part III of *Making Targeted Sanctions Effective: Guidelines for the Implementation of UN Policy Options*, with the assistance of Sue E. Eckert and Peter Romaniuk, Edited by Peter Wallensteen, Carina Staibano, and Mikael Eriksson, Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, February 2003

*Targeted Financial Sanctions: A Manual for Design and Implementation*, with Sue E. Eckert, Aaron Halegua, Natalie Reid, and Peter Romaniuk, presented to the UN Security Council, New York, October 2001

*A Guide to the Development and Implementation of Targeted Financial Sanctions*, with Sue E. Eckert, Aaron Halegua, Natalie Reid, and Peter Romaniuk, Prepared for the Targeted Financial Sanctions Workshop hosted by the Swiss Mission to the United Nations in New York, July 2001

*Targeted Financial Sanctions Simulation: Exercise Report*, with Sue E. Eckert, Lawrence Modisett, Natalie Reid, and Paul Taylor, DSD Report 01-2, Naval War College, Newport, R.I., March 2001

*Report of the Proceedings of the Targeted Financial Sanctions Simulation Exercise*, with Sue E. Eckert and Natalie Reid, Report on the Targeted Financial Sanctions Simulation Exercise, Newport RI: Naval War College, July 2000

*Targeted Financial Sanctions: A Primer*, with Sue E. Eckert and Natalie Reid. Background Paper for the Targeted Financial Sanctions Simulation Exercise, Newport RI: Naval War College, May 2000

## **REVIEWS**

"Theory In Pursuit of Practice" *Journal of Democracy* July 1997, Vol. 8, No. 3

## **HONORS, FELLOWSHIPS, AND AWARDS**

Named an Honorary Distinguished Professor at the Graduate School of International Studies, Ewha Womans University, in Seoul, Korea, 2004

Named a Member of the Council on Foreign Relations, New York, June 2002

Fellow of the Club of Madrid, 2001

Freedom Project Award, Templeton Foundation, October 2001

Appointed an Honorary Fellow of the Foreign Policy Association, New York, May 2001

Senior Faculty Fellowship, Yale University, 1982-1983

Junior Faculty Fellowship, Yale University, 1979-1980

Helen Dwight Reid Award, American Political Science Association award for best dissertation in International Relations, 1978

## RESEARCH GRANTS

Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Government of the UK, 2009-10, *Effects and Effectiveness of Targeted Sanctions*

Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, 2009, *Effects and Effectiveness of Targeted Sanctions*

UNO Academia, 2008-09, *Targeted Sanctions and Human Rights*

Governments of Germany, Sweden and Switzerland, 2006, *Strengthening Targeted Sanctions through Fair and Clear Procedures*

U.S. Institute of Peace, 2004, *Financing Global Terrorism*

Governments of Germany, Sweden and Switzerland, 2003, *Targeted Sanctions Workshop*

Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2002, *Targeted Sanctions*

Templeton Foundation, 2001, *Freedom and Accountability*

Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, 2001, *Targeted Financial Sanctions*

Carnegie Corporation, 1998-2000, *Targeted Financial Sanctions*

Carnegie Corporation, 1997-1999, *Understanding the End of the Cold War*

Rockefeller Foundation, 1996-1997, *African Dissertation Training Program*

Social Science Research Council, 1992-1993, *Sovereignty Project*

Association for the Promotion of International Cooperation (Tokyo), 1988, *International Financial Negotiations and Adjustment Bargaining*

Pew Foundation, 1986-1988, *Initiative in Diplomatic Training*

Fulbright Senior Research Award, 1982, *Nigeria*

Social Science Research Council, 1981, *Multinationals, the State, and Control of the Economy*

Institute for the Study of World Politics, 1980, *Self-reliance: from theory to practice*

Concilium on International and Area Studies, Yale University, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1983, *various projects*

Institute for the Study of World Politics, Dissertation Grant, 1974-1976, *Contending Perspectives on MNCs*

National Science Foundation, Dissertation Grant, 1974-1975, *Contending Perspectives on MNCs*

## CONSULTANCIES

U.S. Department of State, 1986, 1989, and 1992

Mobil Oil Corporation, 1989

World Bank and World Health Organization, 1987

United Nations Centre on Transnational Corporations, 1980-1982

General Electric Company (USA), 1979

### **MEDIA INTERVIEWS & APPEARANCES**

ABC News, 2007

National Public Radio, 2006

MSNBC, 2003

### **TEACHING SPECIALTIES**

Theories of International Relations

Multilateral Governance and International Organizations

Economic Aspects of Contemporary Security Challenges

International Sanctions

International Political Economy

International Political Economy of Development

### **PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES**

#### **Research Appointments**

Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, DC, 2007

Visiting Fellow, Geneva Centre for Security Policy, 2006

Senior Visitorship, Nuffield College, Oxford University, 2006

Visiting Professor, Centre for International Studies, University of Toronto, 1999

Senior Visitorship, Nuffield College, Oxford University, 1997

Senior Associate Member, St. Antony's College (and Senior Visiting Research Fellow at the International Development Centre, Queen Elizabeth House), Oxford University, 1990

Visiting Fellow, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton England, 1980 and 1983

Senior Research Fellow, International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, Norway, 1979-1980

### **Professional Service**

Member of the Advisory Board (Geschäftsleitenden Ausschusses or GLA) des Instituts für Politikwissenschaft an der Universität St.Gallen

Member of an External Review Panel for the Master of Global Affairs Program, University of Toronto, June 2009

Member of the Lionel Gelber Prize Award Jury, Munk Centre, University of Toronto, 2004 and 2005

Chair of the Peer Review Committee for the Evaluation of the Institute of International Relations at the University of West Indies, Trinidad and Tobago, November – December 2004

Member of the Independent Task Force on Terrorist Financing, Council on Foreign Relations, New York, 2002 to 2005

Chair, Peer Review Committee for the Evaluation of the Graduate Institute of International Studies (Institut universitaire de hautes études internationales), Geneva, Switzerland, June - August 2003

Chair, Committee on Global Security and Cooperation, Social Science Research Council, New York, 2000 to 2003

Rapporteur for Working Group 2, Implementation of Targeted Sanctions at the National Level, Stockholm Process on Implementing Targeted Sanctions (SPITS), February – November 2002

Fellow of the Club of Madrid, 2001 to the present

Member of an External Review Committee for the Keck Center at Claremont-McKenna College, April 2001

Member of an External Review for the Department of Political Science, University of Toronto, January 2001

Conducted an External Review for the Institute of International Studies, University of California at Berkeley, October 1999

Principal organizer of the Program for International Studies in Asia (PISA) Summer workshop on International Political Economy, Beijing, China, July 1994

Member of the External Review Committee for the Department of Political Science at the University of Pennsylvania, April 1994

Member of the Screening Committee, SSRC International Pre dissertation Fellowship Program, 1990-1994

Member of the Helen Dwight Reid Award selection committee, American Political Science Association, 1992-93

Member of the ACLS/SSRC Joint Committee on African Studies, 1984 to 1988

Member of the Screening Committee, SSRC International Doctoral Research Fellowships for Africa, 1983-84

Chair of Helen Dwight Reid Award selection committee, American Political Science Association, 1981-82

### **Current Editorial Board Memberships**

*European Journal of International Relations*, Editorial Board Member, 2000 to the present, Editorial Committee Member, 2008 to the present

*European Journal of Development Research*, Editorial Board Member, 2008 to the present

*International Relations of the Asia Pacific*, Editorial Board Member, (a journal of the Japan Association of International Relations), 1999 to the present

*Journal of Peace Research*, International Editorial Advisory Board Member, 1986 to the present

*Oxford Development Studies*, U.S. Regional Editor, 1996 to the present

### **Previous Editorial Board Memberships**

*Cambridge Studies in International Relations*, Cambridge University Press, Series Editorial Board Member, 1999 to 2006

*International Studies Review*, 1999 - 2002

*International Organization*, 1989 - 1994

*International Studies Quarterly*, 1985 - 1994

*International Political Economy Yearbook*, 1987 - 1993

*Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 1979 - 1986

### **CURRENT RESEARCH**

Evaluating the Effects and Effectiveness of Targeted Sanctions (with Sue Eckert)

The Dialectics of World Orders (with Hayward Alker, Tahir Amin, and Takashi Inoguchi)