

**V. P. (Chip) Gagnon, Jr.**

Professor, Department of Politics  
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**PROFESSIONAL POSITIONS**

Professor, Department of Politics, Ithaca College. 2015 -

Chair, Department of Politics, Ithaca College. June 2009 - August 2013.

Associate Professor, Department of Politics, Ithaca College. 2005 - 2015.

Assistant Professor, Department of Politics, Ithaca College. 1996 - 2005.

Visiting Scholar, Judith Reppy Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies (formerly Peace Studies Program), Cornell University. August 1993 - present.

SSRC-MacArthur Foundation Postdoctoral Fellow in Peace and Security in a Changing World.  
August 1993 - May 1996.

Visiting Scholar, Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, University of Belgrade, Serbia. June - August 1995.

Visiting Scholar, Dept. of Sociology, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb, Croatia.  
September 1994 - May 1995.

Visiting Scholar, Title VIII Postdoctoral Research Fellowship, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, Stanford, Calif. Academic year 1992/93.

Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, Newark, New Jersey. Fall 1990.

Teaching Assistant for "Dynamics of Soviet Politics," graduate lecture course, Department of Political Science, Columbia University. Fall 1986.

## **EDUCATION**

Ph.D. in political science (international relations), Columbia University, N.Y., 1992.  
Dissertation: *Ideology and Soviet-Yugoslav Relations, 1964-1969*.

Certificate in Russian/Soviet Studies, The Harriman Institute, Columbia University, 1992.

Certificate, Institute on East Central Europe, Columbia University, 1992.

M.Phil. in Political Science, Columbia University. Oct. 1987. Specialization in International Relations.

M.I.A. (Masters in International Affairs), Columbia University, 1985.

B.S.F.S., School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., 1980. Also received Certificate in German Studies.

## **FELLOWSHIP AWARDS AND GRANTS**

Multi-year project, “Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Post-Conflict Studies,” based at the Reppy Institute, Cornell University, funded by the Carpenter Chair at Cornell University, the Mario Einaudi Center for International Studies at Cornell University, Peace Studies Program/Reppy Institute at Cornell. June 2008 to 2015.

- Co-organized 2-day multidisciplinary workshop “The Missionary Position: Ideological Entrepreneurs in Post-Conflict Societies” focusing on processes of missionization and memorialization, Cornell University, April 2010.

- Co-organized 2-day multidisciplinary workshop “Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Post-Conflict Studies: Medicalization and Criminalization,” Cornell University, November 2008.

- Co-edited volume *Post-Conflict Studies: An Interdisciplinary Approach* (Routledge 2014), the result of the two workshops.

Team member, “Muabet—Local Dimensions of Democracy-building in Southeast Europe,” research project based at Watson Institute, Brown University. 2001 to 2008.

Ithaca College Summer Faculty Research Grant, Summer 2006.

IREX Short-Term Travel Grant, Serbia, Summer 2004.

Project team member, “Local Dimensions of Sustainable Democracy-Building: Lessons from the

Southern Balkans,” research project supported by Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, and Brown University’s Watson Institute for International Studies. 2001-2004.

Ithaca College Faculty Diversity Book Awards, 2001, 2003.

Ithaca College Summer Faculty Research Grant, Summer 2000.

United States Institute of Peace, Solicited Grant Program, funding for book project. Summer 1999 and spring 2000.

SSRC-MacArthur Foundation Postdoctoral Fellowship in Peace and Security in a Changing World, AY1993/94-AY1995/96. Retraining in ethnicity, nationalism and identity politics.

IREX Short-Term Travel Grant, Sarajevo and Tuzla, Bosnia and Hercegovina, Summer 1996.

IREX On-Site Language Training Grant, Zagreb, Croatia, Fall 1994.

IREX Short-Term Travel Grant, Moscow, November-December 1993.

ACLS Fellowship for Postdoctoral Research in East European Studies, 1993/94 (declined).

Pepsico Fellowship for Travel/Research in Russia and Eastern Europe (Moscow, Zagreb), Summer 1992.

Hoover Institution Title VIII Postdoctoral Research Fellowship in Russian and East European Studies, 1992/93.

Harriman Institute Junior Fellowship, Columbia University, 1988/89-1990/91.

MacArthur Dissertation Research Fellowship, 1987/88.

President’s Fellowship, Columbia University, 1985/86, 1986/87.

## **COURSES TAUGHT**

- Introduction to International Relations
- Crossing Borders / Global Migration
- Terrorism and Insurgencies
- US Foreign Policy

- Pirates, Mercenaries and Missionaries: Sovereignty in the International System
- Russian Politics
- Ithaca Seminar: War, Peace, and Terrorism
- Ithaca Seminar: “Avatar” as International Politics
- Whiteness and Multiculturalism
- European Politics
- The Breakup of Yugoslavia
- Seminar: Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict
- Seminar: Missionaries for Democracy
- Tutorial on Political Change in Eastern Europe.

## **PUBLISHED RESEARCH**

### **BOOKS**

*Post Conflict Studies: An Interdisciplinary Approach*, in the Routledge Studies in Peace and Conflict Resolution series. Co-edited with Keith Brown (Routledge, 2014).

*The Myth of Ethnic War: Serbia and Croatia in the 1990s* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 2004; Paperback edition issued March 2006; E-book edition issued June 2013).

- Being republished as *Mit o etničkom ratu* (Serbian edition) (Belgrade: KIZ Baraba) forthcoming 2021.

- Co-Winner of the 2006 Council for European Studies *Best First Book Award*.

- Winner of the 2005 American Political Science Association’s Prize for the *Best Book on European Politics and Society*.

### **PEER REVIEWED ARTICLES AND BOOK CHAPTERS**

“Dayton and right-wing nationalism in the West,” in *Godišnjak za sociologiju* (Annual Review of Sociology), Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš (Serbia), no.23 (2019), pp.9-24.

“Political Science and the Yugoslav Dissolution: The Evolution of a Discipline,” in Florian Bieber, Armina Galijaš and Rory Archer, eds., *Debating the End of Yugoslavia* (Ashgate, 2014), pp.55-66.

“Democracy Promotion as Mission,” in *Post Conflict Studies: An Interdisciplinary Approach*, Chip Gagnon and Keith Brown, eds. (Routledge, 2014), pp.63-78.

“Introduction to Section 2: Recasting Mission” in *Post Conflict Studies*, pp.59-62.

“Chapter 1: Introduction” (co-authored with Keith Brown), in *Post Conflict Studies*, pp.1-16.

“Conclusion: Towards a field of post-conflict studies” (co-authored with Keith Brown) in *Post Conflict Studies*, pp.213-223.

“Yugoslavia in 1989 and after,” in *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity*, vol.38, no. 1 (January 2010), pp.23-39.

“Forward” in English edition of Asim Mujkić, *We, The Citizens of Ethnopolis* (Sarajevo: Centar za ljudska prava Univerziteta u Sarajevu, 2008), pp.9-14.

“Catholic Relief Services, USAID, and Authentic Partnership in Serbia” in *Transacting Transition: The micropolitics of democracy assistance in the former Yugoslavia*, Keith Brown, ed. (Kumarian Press, 2006), pp.167-188.

“Liberal Multiculturalism: Part of the Problem?” in *Democracy Papers*, Dzemal Sokolović, ed. (Konjić, Bosnia-Herzegovina: Institute for Strengthening Democracy, 2003).

“International NGOs in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Attempting to Build Civil Society,” in *The Power and Limits of NGOs: A Critical Look at Building Democracy in Eastern Europe and Eurasia*, Sarah Mendelson and John K. Glenn, eds. (NY: Columbia University Press, 2002).

“The Image of ‘Muslim Bosnia’ and the Role of Ideas in the International System,” in *The Bosnian Crisis and the Islamic World*, Richard Bulliet and Martha Imber-Goldstein, eds. (New York: Middle East Institute, Columbia University, 2002), pp.75-99.

“‘Minorities’ and Political Space: The Yugoslav Wars of the 1990s,” in *Nationhood, War, and the Multinational State of the Former Yugoslavia*, Henriette Riegler, ed., *Arbeitspapier 39/Jänner 2002* (Vienna: Austrian Institute for International Affairs Working Papers, January 2002), pp.45-58.

“International Non-Governmental Organizations in Bosnia-Herzegovina,” on web site of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, February 2000.

“International Non-Governmental Organizations and Democracy Assistance in Serbia,” on web site of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, February 2000.

“Imagined Frontiers: Notions of Groupness and Borders,” in *Frontiers: The Challenge of Interculturality*, Božidar Jakšić, ed. (Belgrade: Institut za Filozofiju i Društvenu Teoriju, 1997),

pp.47-61.

“Jedan drugačiji pogled na narav grupa i granica” (Rethinking Notions of Groupness and Borders), *Erasmus* (Zagreb), no.11 (November), 1996, pp. 77-83.

“Ethnic Conflict as Demobilizer: The Case of Serbia,” *Institute for European Studies Working Paper* (Cornell University), no.96.1 (May 1996).

“Ethnic Conflict as an Intra-Group Phenomenon: A Preliminary Framework,” *Revija za sociologiju* (Zagreb), vol. 26, no. 1-2 (Jan-Jun 1995), pp. 81-90.

“Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict: The Case of Serbia,” *International Security*, vol. 19, no. 3 (Winter 1994/95), pp. 130-166;

- republished in *Global Dangers: Changing dimensions of international security*, Sean M. Lynn-Jones and Steven E. Miller, eds. (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1995);

- republished in *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict: An International Security Reader*, Michael Brown et al., eds. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997);

- republished in *Peace Studies: Critical Concepts in Political Science* (Volume III, Part 5: Civil and Ethnic Conflict), Matthew Evangelista, ed. (Routledge, 2005).

“Historical Roots of the Yugoslav Conflict,” in *International Organizations and Ethnic Conflict*, Milton Esman and Shibley Telhami, eds. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), pp. 179-197.

“Serbia’s Road to War,” *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 5, no. 2 (April 1994), pp. 117-131

- republished in *Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict, and Democracy*, Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, eds. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), pp.117-131.

“Yugoslavia: Prospects for Stability,” *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 70, no. 3 (Summer 1991), pp. 17-35.

“The European Community and the Common European House: Soviet Views,” *Soviet Observer*, vol. 1, no. 1 (April 1990), pp. 7-10.

“Gorbachev and the Collective Contract Brigade,” *Soviet Studies*, vol. 34, no. 1 (January 1987), pp. 1-23.

## **OTHER PUBLICATIONS**

Review of Elissa Helms, *Innocence and Victimhood: Gender, Nation and Women's Activism in Postwar Bosnia-Herzegovina* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2013) in *International Studies Review*, 18 (3) (September 2016), pp.557-558.

Review of İpek Osmaoğlu, *Blood Ties: Religion, Violence and the Politics of Nationhood in Ottoman Macedonia, 1878-1908* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014) in *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, vol.45, no.3 (Winter 2015).

Review of Srđa Pavlović and Marko Živković (eds), *Transcending Fratricide: Political Mythologies, Reconciliations, and the Uncertain Future in the Former Yugoslavia* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2013) in *Slavonic & East European Review*, vol.92, no.3 (July 2014), pp.587-589.

"Boys, Toys and Militarism," in *Rad Dad: Dispatches from the frontiers of fatherhood*, Tomas Moniz and Jeremy Adam Smith, eds. (Oakland, CA: PM Press, August 2011), pp.91-93.

Review of Jelena Subotić, *Hijacked Justice: Dealing with the Past in the Balkans* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009) in *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity*, vol.39, no.1 (January 2011), pp.142-144.

"Response to David Kanin" (response to Kanin's comments on my article "Yugoslavia in 1989 and After" and on my book *The Myth of Ethnic War*), *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity*, vol.38, no.4 (July 2010), pp.557-560.

Review of Nebojša Vladislavljević, *Serbia's Antibureaucratic Revolution: Milošević, the fall of communism, and nationalist mobilization* (New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008) in *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity*, vol.38, no.3 (May 2010), pp.439-440.

Review of Sabrina Ramet and Davorka Matić, eds., *Democratic Transition in Croatia: Value Transformation, Education, and Media* in *Slavic Review*, vol.68, no.1 (Spring 2009), pp.163-165.

"Native Peoples in the Upper St. John River Valley," *Le Forum* (Franco-American Center, University of Maine), Vol.34, no.1 (Fall 2008), pp.6-9.

Brief summary of Nancy Bisaha's *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the*

*Ottoman Turks*, contribution to “The Forum Bookshelf,” *European Studies Forum*, Spring 2008, p.3.

“Response” (response to comments by Gordon Bardos, Roger Petersen and Aleksandra Sasha Milićević on my book *The Myth of Ethnic War*), *Southeastern Europe*, vol.31-32 (2007), pp.217-224.

“Marketing or Progress? Diversity, justice and the academy,” *Buzzsaw Haircut* (Ithaca College), Sept. 2005.

Review of Eric Gordy, *The Culture of Power in Serbia: Nationalism and the Destruction of Alternatives* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 1999) in *Slavic Review*, vol.59, no.4 (Winter 2000), pp.897-898.

“The Wars of Yugoslav Succession,” *Encyclopedia Americana*.

“Ethnic Groupings and the Discourse of Human Rights,” in *Social Science Research Council Program in Peace and Security Newsletter*, May 1998.

“Intermarriage in Yugoslavia,” *The Anthropology of East Europe Review*, vol. 12, no. 1 (Spring 1994), pp.50-51.

“U habita kur pashë se si në Tiranë nuk janë të entuziasmuar me faktin se po krijohet mundësia për bashkim me Kosovën” (“I was surprised at the lack of support in Tirana for unification with Kosovo”), *Koha e Jonë* (Tirana), January 12, 1995; *Flaka* (Skoplje), June 24, 1995; and in Nexhmedin Spahiu, *Ekulibret Shqiptare* (Tirana: Marin Barleti, 1997).

“Serbia and the Moscow Connection,” *Washington Post*, February 24, 1993.

“Russia and the Balkans,” *Globus* (Zagreb), January 28, 1993.

Country and leader profiles of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Yugoslavia for *Current Leaders of Nations*, May 1992, November 1996, July and December 1997.

“Predsjednik Bush šuti o Hrvatskoj” (President Bush is silent about Croatia), *Globus*, October 25, 1991.



## PRESENTATIONS AND PAPERS

Presenter/discussant, book panel on Mila Dragojević, *Amoral Communities: Collective Crimes in Time of War* (Cornell U. Press 2019), at meeting of the Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies, San Francisco, November 2019.

Invited paper, “Nationalism in Serbia: Change as continuity in 1989 and after,” presented at conference “1989: Reconsidering the Nation and its Alternatives in Central & Eastern Europe,” Nanovic Institute for European Studies, University of Notre Dame, November 2019.

Presenter/discussant, book panel on Patrice McMahon, *The NGO Game: Post Conflict Peacebuilding in the Balkans and Beyond* (Cornell U. Press 2017), at meeting of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York, May 2018.

Presenter/discussant, book panel on Veljko Vujčić, *Nationalism, Myth and the State in Russia and Serbia* (Cambridge 2015), at meeting of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York, April 2016.

Invited presentation on the panel “Bosnia and the Birth of the IGO/NGO Complex,” at the workshop “Dayton at 20: An Impact Assessment,” at the Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University, Providence, RI, December 2015.

Invited presentation on “Missionaries for Democracy: What religious missionary work can tell us about liberal political systems,” at Centre for Southeast European Studies, University of Graz, Austria, October 2014.

Presenter/discussant, book panel on Lynn Tesser, *Ethnic Cleansing and the European Union: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Security, Memory and Ethnography* (Palgrave Macmillan 2013), at meeting of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York, April 2014.

“Missionaries for Democracy: What Can Religious Missionary Work and Conversion Tell Us about Democracy Promotion?” presentation to Reppy Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies seminar series, Cornell University, September 2013.

“Secular Democracy Promotion and Religious Missionaries: A common project?” paper presented at meeting of the International Studies Association, San Francisco, April 2013.

“Rethinking Diversionary Theories of Conflict,” Reppy Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies seminar series, Cornell University, November 2012.

“The Fear Factor: Imagining a Dangerous World as Domestic Political Strategy — The case of the Soviet Union in the 1960s,” paper presented at meeting of the International Studies Association, San Diego, April 2012.

Presenter/discussant, book panel on Roger Petersen, *Western Intervention in the Balkans: The Strategic Use of Emotion on Conflict* (Cambridge 2011), at meeting of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York, April 2012.

“Political Science and the Yugoslav Dissolution: The evolution of a discipline,” invited paper given at conference “Debating the End of Yugoslavia,” organized by the Centre for Southeast European Studies at Karl-Franzens-University Graz, Austria, November 2011.

“How to (De)mobilise citizens — an interview with Chip Gagnon,” by Gezim Krasniqi and Igor Štiks of the project “The Europeanisation of Citizenship in the Successor States of the Former Yugoslavia (CITSEE)”, based at the University of Edinburgh (Scotland) School of Law, published in CITSEE’s online publication *Citizenship in Southeastern Europe*, October 2011.

“Ethnic Conflict and Demobilization,” project proposal presented at Ethnic Politics Workshop, Elliott School of International Affairs, The George Washington University, Washington, DC, May 2011.

Presenter/discussant, book panel on Lara Nettelfield, *Courting Democracy in Bosnia and Herzegovina: The Hague Tribunal’s Impact in a Postwar State* (Cambridge, 2010), at meeting of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York, April 2011.

“‘The Crazies over there’: The pedagogical dangers of exoticized violence,” talk at roundtable on “Teaching the Yugoslav Wars,” at meeting of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York, April 2011.

“What Can Missionary Work Tell Us About Democracy Promotion,” talk at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, Serbia, May 2010.

“Democracy promotion as missionization,” paper at workshop “The Missionary Position: Ideological Entrepreneurs in Post-Conflict Societies,” Cornell University, April 2010.

Presenter/discussant, book panel on Edward Schatz, ed., *Political Ethnography: What Immersion Contributes to the Study of Power* (Chicago, 2009), at meeting of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York, April 2010.

Participant in roundtable on “Nationalism and Violence in the Contemporary World: A Micro Perspective,” at meeting of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York, April 2010.

“Researching as an outsider in and near a war zone,” talk at the 7th annual Summer Institute on Conducting Archival Research (SICAR), Institute for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies, The Elliot School of International Affairs, George Washington Univ., Washington, DC, May 2009.

“Interventions in Post-conflict Bosnia: Democracy promoters as missionaries” on panel “Building Peace and Democracy in the Balkans?” at meeting of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York, April 2009.

Participant on Panel “Conflict, Postconflict and the Return of Violence” at annual meeting of American Anthropological Association, San Francisco, November 2008.

“Researching as an outsider in and near a war zone,” talk at the 6th annual Summer Institute on Conducting Archival Research (SICAR), Institute for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies, The Elliot School of International Affairs, George Washington Univ., Washington, DC, June 2008.

“Thoughts on ethnography and political science,” talk for roundtable “Political Scientists Gone Astray: Bringing ethnography into the picture,” at annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York, April 2008.

“Kosovo and Borders,” talk as part of panel discussion “Border Changes and the Challenges of Contemporary International Politics,” International Relations Program and Dept of Political Science, Hobart and William Smith Colleges, Geneva, NY, April 2008.

“Secular Missionaries in Post-Conflict Societies: External attempts at societal transformation in SE Europe,” paper presented for panel “Bosnia: Inside/Outside of Post-Conflict Zones,” at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, San Francisco, March 2008.

“Yugoslavia in 1989 and After,” invited paper presented at conference “The 1989 Revolutions: Roots, Course, Legacies,” Center for European Studies, Stanford University, March 2008.

“Researching as an outsider in and near a war zone,” talk at the 5th annual Summer Institute on Conducting Archival Research (SICAR), Institute for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies, The Elliot School of International Affairs, George Washington Univ., Washington, DC, June 2007

“Experiences as a US Political Scientist in the Balkans, or How I Came to Value Anthropology,” paper presented for panel “Fieldwork After Fire: Doing Research in the Balkans,” at annual meeting of Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York, April 2007.

“Interventions as Identity Work: The case of Americans in the Balkans,” paper presented for panel “Rethinking and Re-theorizing International Interventions in the Balkans,” at annual meeting of Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York, April 2007.

“War as Elite Strategy in the Domestic Arena: Lessons from the Yugoslav wars of the 1990s,” paper presented at panel on “The Dynamics of Political Violence,” annual meeting of the International Studies Association, Chicago, February 2007.

“Democracy assistance and the missionary impulse in SE Europe,” invited talk, SUNY Cortland, Brooks Museum Lecture Series, November 2006.

“US Democracy Assistance: Missionaries and US Identity,” at international conference of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, Belgrade, Serbia, September 2006.

“The Myth of Ethnic War,” invited presentation at Canada Research Chair in International Human Rights Lecture Series “War and Peace in the Former Yugoslavia,” Dept of Political Science, Wilfred Laurier University, Waterloo, Ontario, March 2006.

“The challenges facing Bosnia after 10 years of OHR rule,” presentation at round table on “Bosnia Ten Years after Dayton,” Peace Studies Program, Cornell Univ., Feb 2006.

“EU membership as carrot and stick,” at Colloquium on Yugoslavia Ten Years after the Dayton Accords,” Peace and Conflict Studies Program, Colgate University, February 2006.

“Eastern Europe as a Mirror of the West” and “Qualitative Evaluation of US Democracy Assistance Efforts,” lectures at Southeast European Summer School in Political Science, University of Niš, Serbia, July 2005.

“Liberal multiculturalism as part of the problem with post-Dayton Bosnia,” paper presented at conference “Accommodating Difference in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Ten Years After Dayton,” Christian Michelsen Institute and Center for Human Rights, University of Oslo, Bergen, Norway, May 2005.

“Democratic Revolution? The case of Serbia,” presentation at roundtable discussion on “The

Significance of the Ukrainian Elections,” Peace Studies Program, Cornell University, February 2005.

Presentation of book *The Myth of Ethnic War*, Jefferson Institute, Belgrade, Serbia, July 2004.

“A critical look at political science in the US,” talk to Southeast European Summer School in Political Science, University of Niš, Serbia, July 2004.

“Physical Separation: The case of Bosnia-Herzegovina,” presentation at workshop “Crossing the Green Line: A Forum on Cyprus,” Cornell University, November 2003.

“Innovative Strategies of Democracy Assistance: Catholic Relief Services in Serbia,” presented at conference “New Approaches to Sustainable Democracy-Building,” Watson Institute, Brown University, September 2003; also presented at annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York, April 2003.

“International NGOs in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Attempting to Build Civil Society,” paper presented at panel “Bosnia in the Aftermath of the War,” at annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Pittsburgh, November 2002.

“International efforts at democracy assistance in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Lessons learned?” presentation at workshop “Bosnia-Herzegovina After Ten Years of Independence: Assessing the present and forecasting the future,” University of Pittsburgh, November 2002.

“The U.S. in the world after 9/11,” talk that was part of the Ithaca College 9/11 remembrance events, September 2002.

“Liberal Multiculturalism: Part of the Problem? / Da li je liberalni multikulturalizam više problem nego što je rešenje?” presentation of paper at conference “Democracy and Human Rights in Multi-Ethnic Societies,” Institute for Strengthening Democracy in Bosnia, Konjic, Bosnia-Herzegovina, July 2002.

“Da li je potrebna liberalnoj demokraciji homogenizacija?” (Is homogenization necessary for liberal democracy) and “The U.S. Policy of Democracy Assistance,” talks at conference “Cooperation Between Yugoslavia’s Successor States in Social Sciences and Culture as a Factor in Building Civil Society,” Subotica, Serbia, May 2002.

“The Balkans from an American Researcher’s Perspective: The Role of International NGOs,” talk given at conference “Bridges in the Balkans—The Role of Civil Society” organized by the

Assembly of NGOs of Kosova, Mitrovica, Kosovo, April 2002.

“Liberal Multiculturalism and Ethnic Cleansing”; “Democratization NGOs as Missionaries?”; and “Political Demobilization and Liberal Democracy,” talks given at conference “Cooperation Between Yugoslavia’s Successor States in Social Sciences and Culture as a Factor in Building Civil Society in Serbia,” Novi Sad, Yugoslavia, November 2001.

“Liberal Multiculturalism as an Ethnicist Project: The Impact of Western Self-conceptions on the Balkans,” paper presented at “Stasis and Change: Forces for Conflict Resolution and Conflict Maintenance in Everyday Life,” Annual Conference of the Regional Peace Studies Consortium, Hamilton College, Clinton, NY, September 2001.

“Liberalism and ‘Minorities’: Serbs as agents and victims of liberal conceptualizations of space,” paper presented at workshop “Citizenship in Multicultural States: Comparing Former Yugoslavia and Israel,” Austrian Institute for International Affairs, Vienna, April 20-21, 2001.

“The Yugoslav Wars of the 1990s: A critical reexamination of ‘ethnic conflict’—the case of Croatia,” paper presented at annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York, April 2001.

“From Demobilization to Mobilization: Overcoming the External Constraints on Rebuilding Postconflict Societies,” opening presentation at conference “Communication and Cooperation between Yugoslavia’s Successor States: Efforts and Constraints of Post-Nationalism,” Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University, February 2001.

“Outside Intervention in Ethnic Conflicts: Lessons from Bosnia and Kosovo,” presentation at Regional Peace Studies Conference, Oswego, NY, October 2000.

“The State without Politics/Politics without the State: Reconstructing Bosnia after Dayton,” paper co-authored with Aida Hozić, presented at 12th annual International Conference of Europeanists, Council for European Studies, Chicago, March 2000.

“‘Democracy Assistance’ in Bosnia and Serbia: The Role of Western NGOs,” talk at Institute for European Studies, Cornell University, January 2000.

“Kosovo: The Story Behind the Headlines,” talk at Ithaca College Faculty Development Series, April 1999.

“Ethnic Conflict in the Balkans: A Reexamination of Western Views,” talk at Dept. of Political

Science, McGill University, Montréal, March 1999.

“INGOs in Bosnia-Herzegovina,” report for project “Evaluating INGO Strategies for Democratization and Conflict Prevention in the Formerly Communist States,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, July 1998.

“INGOs and Democracy Assistance in Serbia,” report for project “Evaluating INGO Strategies for Democratization and Conflict Prevention in the Formerly Communist States,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, July 1998.

“Bosnian ‘Federalism’: War and the institutionalization of ethnic division,” paper for workshop “Nationalism, Federalism, Secession,” Cornell University, May 1998.

“The Myth of Ethnic Conflict: Violence and Identity in the former Yugoslavia,” paper at Conference on Minority Nationalism in the Changing State Order, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, November 1997.

“Ethnicizing Politics: Violence and the Construction of Political Space in the Balkans,” paper at SSRC-MacArthur Research Workshop “Does Ethnic Conflict Exist? Globalization and Processes of Identity and Violence,” Cornell University, May 1997.

“Collapse or Destruction? The Construction of the Yugoslav Wars,” paper at AAASS Conference, Boston, November 1996.

“The Bosnian Elections: What Next?” Institute for European Studies, Cornell University, October 1996.

“Imagined Frontiers: Notions of Borders and Groupness,” paper at conference, “Frontiers: The Challenge of Interculturality,” Belgrade, Yugoslavia, May 1996.

“Culture and War: The Home Fronts of the Balkan Conflict,” Peace Studies Seminar, Cornell Univ., October 1995.

“Creating Political Space: The Croatian Media and Croatia’s Wars,” Upstate Peace Studies Network and Balkan Studies Workshop Conference “Images of Peace and War in Former Yugoslavia,” Colgate Univ., Oct. 1995.

“Etnički sukob kao unutar-grupna pojava” (Ethnic conflict as an intra-group phenomenon), paper at conference “Društva u tranziciji” (Societies in Transition), Univ. of Zagreb, April 1995;

and at Institute of Philosophy and Social Theory, Univ. of Belgrade, June 1995.

“Politics, Nationalism and Democracy,” Dept. of Philosophy and Sociology, Univ. of Tirana, Albania, May 1995.

“Nacionalizam, nasilni sukobi i politička kompeticija” (Nationalism, violent conflict and political competition), Seminar on Nationalism, Dept. of Sociology, Univ. of Zagreb, May 1995.

“Teorija racionalnog izbora: nekoliko primjedaba” (Remarks on rational choice theory), lecture to course Economic Sociology, Univ. of Zagreb, February 1995.

“The Image of ‘Muslim Bosnia’ and the Role of Ideas in the International System,” paper at conference “Bosnia and the Islamic World,” Columbia Univ., March 1995.

“Causes of Violent Nationalist Conflict,” Faculty seminar, Dept. of Philosophy and Sociology, Univ. of Tirana, Albania, June 1994.

“Demobilization of Public Opinion,” Round Table on Public Opinion and Democracy, Univ. of Tirana, June 1994.

“The Relationship between the Collapse of Communism and Nationalism in E. Europe and the Former Soviet Union,” Workshop on Ethnicity and Nationalism in Europe, Inst. for European Studies, Cornell Univ., May 1994.

“Ethnic Conflict as Demobilizer: The Case of Serbia,” paper at Peace Studies Research Seminar, Cornell Univ., and Regional Balkans Workshop, “The Balkans: Nationalism and Ethnicity,” Hamilton College, April 1994.

“Ethnicity, Identity, and International Conflict,” paper at Seminar on Ethnicity and International Conflict, Cornell Univ., November 1993.

“Turkey’s International Role and the Balkan Conflict,” SSRC-MacArthur Fellows’ Conference, Istanbul, May 1993.

“The Political Dimension of Ethnic Conflict: Theoretical Questions,” paper at workshop on “The Unmaking of Yugoslavia: History, Ethnicity, Intervention,” Center for International Security and Arms Control, Stanford Univ., May 1993.

“Serbian Nationalism and the Politics of Ethnic Conflict,” paper at U.S. and World Affairs



Seminar, Hoover Institution, Stanford Univ., May 1993, and European Institute Seminar, Cornell Univ., September 1993.

“Nationalism, Rationality, and Foreign Policy: The Case of Serbia,” paper at APSA meeting, Chicago, September 1992. (Also Certificate Essay, Institute on East Central Europe, Columbia University.)

“Gorbachev, Yugoslavia, and the Twilight of Socialist Internationalism,” paper at Trilateral Graduate Student Conference, Univ. of California, Berkeley, May 1990.

“The Limits of Influence: The Yugoslav Challenge to Soviet Foreign Policy, 1964-1968 -The Socialist Community, European Security and Ostpolitik,” paper at CUNY Political Science Conference, New York, March 1990. Also Certificate Essay, Harriman Institute, Columbia University.

“Gorbachev’s Approach to Agricultural Reform,” paper at Ivy League Conference for Graduate Students of Soviet Affairs, Columbia Univ., April 1986.

#### **TALKS, DISCUSSANT, ETC.**

Discussant, panel “Defending Europe: Narratives of Europeanness in the Balkans,” at annual conference of the Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies, via Zoom, November 2020.

Panelist on roundtable “World Peace in the COVID19 Pandemic,” organized by Peace Action Ithaca College (student organization), via Zoom, May 2020.

Discussant, panel “Organizing Diversity and Resisting Exclusion,” at annual conference of Association for the Study of Nationalities, May 2019.

Discussant, panel “Rethinking EU Enlargement Policy,” at annual conference of Association for the Study of Nationalities, May 2019.

Discussant, panel “Inclusion and Exclusion in the Western Balkans,” at annual conference of Association for the Study of Nationalities, May 2018.

Discussant, panel “Ethnopolitics, Secession and Institutional Design,” at annual conference of Association for the Study of Nationalities, May 2017.

Participant in Roundtable on “Teaching the Yugoslav Wars, Two Decades On,” at annual conference of the International Studies Association, Atlanta, GA, March 2016.

Discussant, panel “Transitional Justice and the Legacy of the ICTY in the Post-Yugoslav States,” annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, April 2015.

Discussant, panel “Populist Politics in Southeast Europe,” at workshop on “The Sources of Populism in the Balkans,” Centre for Southeast European Studies, University of Graz, Austria and the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Zagreb, Croatia, held in Marija Bistrica, Croatia, October 2014.

Discussant for Keynote Lecture at workshop on “The Sources of Populism in the Balkans,” Centre for Southeast European Studies, University of Graz, Austria and the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Zagreb, Croatia, held in Marija Bistrica, Croatia, October 2014.

Participant in roundtable on “Identity and Fanaticism,” Helix Center for Interdisciplinary Investigation of the New York Psychoanalytic Society and Institute, March 2014.

Discussant, panel “Continuities and Ruptures in (post) Yugoslav Class Dilemmas,” annual meeting of the Association for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies, Boston, November 2013.

Discussant, panel “Social Inequalities and Discontents in late Yugoslav Socialism,” annual meeting of the Association for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies, Boston, November 2013.

Interviewed by Holly Case, Dept of History, Cornell University, for her blog “East Central Europe Past and Present,” July 2013.

Discussant, panel “Identities in Postwar Bosnia,” at annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York, April 2013.

Chair and discussant, book panel on Keith Brown’s *Loyal Unto Death: Trust and Terror in Revolutionary Macedonia* (Indiana University Press, 2013), at annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York, April 2013.

Discussant, Panel “Nation-Building and Symbols in West Balkan States, II: The Cases of Albania and Kosovo” at annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York, April 2012.

Guest lecture to seminar “Peace and Conflict in the Balkans,” Dept of Anthropology, Syracuse University, February 2012.

Discussant/moderator for screening of film “Bastards of Utopia” with filmmaker Maple Razsa, Finger Lakes Environmental Film Festival (FLEFF), Ithaca, April 2011.

Organized roundtable panel on “Teaching the Yugoslav Wars” at meeting of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York, April 2011.

Invited discussant at Book Talk by Jelena Subotić on her book *Hijacked Justice: Dealing with the past in the Balkans*, UCLA Center for European and Eurasian Studies, October 2010.

“What progress in the Balkans,” talk to class GOVT 3553, “Issues behind the news: An interdisciplinary analysis of current events,” Prof. Judith Reppy, Cornell University, October 2010.

Co-organized workshop “The Missionary Position: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Post-Conflict Studies: Memorialization and Missionization,” part of a multi-year project, Cornell University, April 2010.

Participant/commenter, book panel on *Elusive Compromise: A history of interwar Yugoslavia*, by Dejan Djokić at meeting of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York, April 2009.

Discussant for panel “Film Factories and National Institutions” at workshop “Violence, Gender and the Cinematic Nation” Cornell University, March 2009.

Discussant and chair for panel “Constructing National Identities,” at meeting of the International Studies Association, New York, Feb 2009.

Co-organized workshop “Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Post-Conflict Studies: Medicalization and Criminalization,” part of a multi-year project, Cornell University, November 2008.

Organized and chaired roundtable on “Identity after Conflict: A Contribution to Post-Conflict Studies” at the annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York, April 2008.

Discussant for panel “Development and Security” at annual meeting of the International Studies Association, San Francisco, March 2008.

Discussant/commenter at workshop “Human Rights at War: A comparative study of the effectiveness of the Geneva Conventions,” Cornell University, November 2007.

Discussant for talk “Understanding Anti-Americanism in an ‘Axis of Evil’ Country: The Case of Iran” by Mehrzad Boroujerdi, part of discussion series “Global Fury/Global Fear: Engaging Muslims,” Ithaca College, March 2007.

Discussant for panel on “Democratizing the Great Hall: What Role for Commoners — and Court Jesters?” at annual conference of the International Studies Association, Chicago, February 2007.

“The Myth of Ethnic War: Serbia and Croatia in the 1990s,” talk at The Fletcher School, Tufts University, February 2007.

“The Myth of Ethnic war: Yugoslavia in the 1990s and beyond,” talk at Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies, Univ. of California, Berkeley, December 2006.

Talk on *The Myth of Ethnic War*, Harriman Institute, Columbia University, October 2006.

Discussant for panel on *The Myth of Ethnic War*, at annual conference of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York, March 2006.

Discussant for paper “Democracy from above in Serbia: The experience so far,” by Eric Gordy, Belgrade, July 2005.

Invited discussant for two presentations at conference “Accommodating Difference in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Ten Years After Dayton,” Christian Michelsen Institute, Bergen, Norway, May 2005.

Discussant for panel “Thinking Past the Nation,” at annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York, April 2005.

Participant, Roundtable on “Eastern Europe and Nation-Building: Historical and Contemporary Lessons,” at annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Boston, December 2004.

Invited participant, round table discussion on US foreign policy, American Center, Niš, Serbia, July 2004.

Invited participant, conference on “Mitrovica and the International Community,” organized by Radio-TV Mitrovica, Kosovo, July 2004.

Discussant at workshop “Nationalism, Secession and Inter-Ethnic Cooperation and Conflict,” co-sponsored by the Comparative Societal Analysis Program in the Mario Einaudi Center for International Studies and the Program for the Study of Contentious Politics in the Department of Government, Cornell University, April 2004.

Discussant for panel “Processes of Post-Conflict Reconstruction: Reports from Bosnia and Kosovo,” at annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York, April 2004.

Member of panel for discussion of films “Picture me and Enemy” and “Transparency,” as part of “Cinema on the Edge” film series, Ithaca College, February and April 2003.

Talk as part of panel discussion “Big Brother on Campus: When Freedom is at Stake,” Ithaca College, February 2003.

Discussant for panel “The War in Bosnia Reexamined,” at annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Pittsburgh, November 2002.

“Studying international relations in the US: good or bad?” talk given at panel “What Does International Education Mean,” part of International Education Week, Ithaca College, November 2002.

“Our History With Iraq,” talk at all-day rolling teach-in on the war in Iraq at Cornell University, October 2002.

Advisor/consultant for documentary film “Picture Me an Enemy” (Vis-à-vis Productions, 2002).

“The US and Civil Society in Eastern Europe,” talk to Kyrgyzstan-Ukraine-Russia School Directors Project, Ithaca College, April 2002.

Discussant for panel “Norms at Stake: International Dimensions of Recent Balkan History,” at annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York, April 2002.

Gave talk and led discussion on “NGOs, Development Aid, and Reconstructing Democracy,” at Working Group on Reconstruction and Development, Peace Studies Program, Cornell University, February 2002

“This War is Wrong,” talk on US bombing of Afghanistan at “A Community Peace Fair,” sponsored by the Tompkins County Network for Peace and Justice, Ithaca, NY, November 2001.

“The Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan: Lessons from an earlier intervention,” talk at teach-in on Afghanistan, Ithaca College, October 2001.

“Nationalism in Times of Crisis: What Can We Learn from the Balkans?” talk at teach-in on the UN Conference Against Racism and the September 11th Tragedy, Ithaca College, September 2001.

“Zionism as Nationalism: Putting the Israel/Palestine conflict into historical perspective” talk at teach-in on Israel/Palestine and follow-up forum, Ithaca College, October 2000.

Member of working group on religion and ethnicity at 50th Annual Pugwash Conference, “Eliminating the Causes of War,” Cambridge, England, August 2000.

Panelist at Alumni Reunion Current Events Roundtable “War and Peace Today: Reconstruction and Reconciliation in Post-War Societies,” Peace Studies Program, Cornell University, June 2000.

Spoke to classes at Colgate University and Cornell University on the situation in the Balkans, Spring 2000.

Participant in roundtable discussion on “Southeastern Europe after Kosovo,” Peace Studies Program, Cornell University, February 2000.

Participated in teach-in on World Trade Organization, Ithaca College, December 1999.

Discussant for panel “Nationalism and Separatism in Eurasia” at annual meeting of American Political Science Association, Atlanta, September 1999.

“Violence in the Construction of Identity and Community: the Case of Bosnia” talk at International Studies Summer Institute for High School Teachers, workshop on “Flexible Borders: Nationalism, Citizenship and Migration” Einaudi Center for International Studies, Cornell University, June 1999.

Interviewed on “Roundabout Tompkins County,” local Ithaca cable access public affairs program on “Kosovo: An Alternative Perspective” April 1999.

Participated in panel discussion on NATO involvement in the Kosovo issue, Cornell University, March 1999.

Discussant for panel “Internationalization of the State: Globalization, Integration, Regionalization” at International Studies Association conference, Washington DC, February 1999.

Discussant for panel “Nationalism and Politics: The Double Edged Sword” at International Studies Association meeting, Minneapolis, April 1998.

“Rational goals, dirty means, rational outcomes: The politics of the dissolution of Yugoslavia,” talk at Dept. of Political Science, Northwestern University, November 1997.

Led current events roundtable discussion on the situation in the Balkans, Cornell University, September 1997.

Organized research workshop “Does Ethnic Conflict Exist? Globalization and Processes of Identity and Violence,” Cornell University May 30-June 1, 1997, funded by SSRC-MacArthur Foundation Program on International Peace and Security.

Discussant at conference “Military Interventions in Civil Wars,” Columbia University, Feb. 14, 1997.

Led round table discussion on Bosnian elections, Cornell University, January 1997.

Discussant at conference “Conflict Prevention and Resolution: What Role for the EU?” organized by the Institute for Public Policy Research, London, November 27-28, 1995.

“Bosnia: Have we learned the lessons of the Holocaust?” keynote address at Kristallnacht Commemoration, Holocaust/ Genocide Studies Project, Monroe Community College, Rochester, NY, November 1995.

Discussant at conference “Democracy in Crisis: Ethnic Conflict in Burundi,” Cornell University, February 1994.

Coordinated faculty seminar series “Ethnicity and International Conflict” at Peace Studies Program, Cornell University, Spring 1994.

## **OTHER PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES**

### ***Peer referee/reviewer:***

Book manuscripts for Cornell Univ. Press, Oxford Univ. Press, Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, Univ. of Georgia Press, Indiana Univ. Press, Univ. of Michigan Press, Hurst, Routledge, Polity, Palgrave, Westview, Continuum

Article manuscripts for *American Political Science Review*; *Communist and Postcommunist Studies*; *Comparative Politics*; *Comparative Political Studies*; *Comparative Southeast European Studies*; *Contemporary European History*; *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures*; *Ethnicities*; *European Political Science Review*; *Global Change, Peace and Security*; *International Political Science Review*; *International Political Sociology*; *International Security*; *International Studies Review*; *Journal of Comparative Politics*; *Journal of Politics*; *Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*; *Media, War and Conflict*; *Nationalities Papers*; *Palgrave*; *Peace Research: Canadian Journal of Peace and Conflict Studies*; *Peacebuilding*; *Political Studies Review*; *Politics and Governance*; *Problems of Post Communism*; *Review of International Political Economy*; *Review of International Studies*; *Slavic Review*; *Slavonic and East European Review*; *World Politics*

Research grant applications for Program on Global Security and Sustainability, MacArthur Foundation; Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada; American Council of Learned Societies Selection Committee on East European Studies; Research Foundation - Flanders (Fonds Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek – Vlaanderen), Belgium

Served as outside reviewer for tenure files and promotion files for candidates at SUNY Old Westbury (2019); University College London (UK) (2017); St Mary's University (Halifax, NS) (2014); Colby College (2014); University of North Florida (2012); University of Miami (2008); College of William and Mary (2007); University of Oklahoma (2003)

External examiner, Ph.D. dissertation committees for Department of Political Studies, University of Ottawa (2018); Department of Political Science, University of Ottawa (2005)

### ***Professional activities:***

Member, Academic Advisory / Editorial Board, "Balkan Politics and Society" series, *Ibidem*/Columbia University Press (2018 – present).



Member, International Advisory Board, *Godišnjak Fakulteta političkih nauka Univerziteta u Sarajevu (Annual Papers of the Faculty of Political Science)*, University of Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina (2014 – present).

Member, International Advisory Board, “Between class and nation. Working class communities in 1980s Serbia and Montenegro,” three year project funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF), Centre for Southeast European Studies, University of Graz (2014 - 2017).

Member, Editorial Board, *Contemporary Southeastern Europe* (2013 – present).

Member, International Council (*savet*), *Političke Perspektive* (political academic quarterly in western Balkans region) (2011 – present).

External reviewer (*recenzent*), Project on Tradition, Modernity and Identity, Dept. of Sociology, University of Niš, Serbia (2011 – 2014).

Member, Association for the Study of Nationalities.

Member, Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (ASEEES)

Member, fellowship committee, American Council of Learned Societies Committee on East European Studies, March 2005.

***Committee service:***

Member of Workload Committee, Department of Politics, 2002 - present.

Member, Tenure and Promotion Committee, Department of Politics, 2005 – present

External Member, Hiring Committee, Department of Economics, 2017 - 2018

Chair, Department of Politics, 2009 - 2013

Member of Assessment Committee, Department of Politics, 2008 - 2016.

Member, promotion review committees, Center for the Study of Race, Culture, and Ethnicity, Ithaca College, Fall 2009 - Fall 2013.

School of Humanities and Sciences, Ithaca College, member of Chairs Task Force on NTEN evaluation, Fall 2009 - Spring 2010.

Plan, design and maintain web site for Department of Politics, Ithaca College, 1997 - present.

Department of Politics, designed and put forward new concentration in international studies within the Politics major, as well as a minor in International Politics, 2009 - 2011.

Department of Politics, chair of Program Self-Assessment committee. Wrote department's "Academic Program Assessment Report." 2002 - 2003.

### **International experience**

Research trips: Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia/Yugoslavia, Kosovo, Croatia, Albania, Russia, USSR (1988-present)

Summer schools (organized or lectured): Serbia, Macedonia (2004, 2005)

Travel: Russia, Latvia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia, Slovenia, Kosovo, Vojvodina, Montenegro, western Europe, Hungary, Greece, Turkey, Albania, Indonesia.

Student internships: West Germany, France (1980)

### **LANGUAGES**

- Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian, French: fluent (reading and speaking)
- Russian: good (reading and speaking)
- German: fair (reading and speaking)
- Spanish, Italian: reading knowledge
- Turkish: beginning
- Hungarian: beginning

*February 2021*