

**EDWARD CARMICHAEL LUCK, Ph.D.**

**Curriculum Vitae**

**Professional Chronology**

- 2015 – Present: Arnold A. Saltzman Professor of Professional Practice in International and Public Affairs  
Director, Specialization in International Conflict Resolution  
School of International and Public Affairs  
Columbia University in the City of New York
- 2015: Sharkey Scholar, School of Diplomacy and International Relations, Seton Hall University
- 2012 – 2014: Professor (tenured), Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies, University of San Diego
- 2012 – 2013: Dean, Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies, University of San Diego
- Developed strategic plan to make it the first school of public policy devoted to peace and justice as policy issues
- 2008 – 2012: United Nations Assistant Secretary-General and Special Adviser to Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon
- Responsible for the conceptual, political, and institutional/operational development of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P)
  - Developed three-pillar implementation strategy that added armed and terrorist groups as threats, stressed assistance to states under stress, including through preventive deployments and military assistance, raised the profile of regional, sub-regional, and civil society partners, initiated annual reports and debates in the General Assembly, called for a joint office with genocide prevention, and introduced the Individual Responsibility to Protect (IR2P)
  - Helped build a broad north-south political coalition, wide collaborative relationships within the UN secretariat, and a network of supportive NGOs to ensure the advancement of R2P
  - Speech and report writing for and advice to the Secretary-General

on R2P and other political, institutional, and reform issues

- Media statements and public speaking, negotiations with Member States, public and private diplomacy, crisis management and response applying R2P principles to acute crises around the world

2007 – 2011: International Peace Institute (IPI)

- Senior Vice President for Research and Programs (September 2009 - June 2011)
- Senior Vice President and Director of Studies (June 2008 – September 2009)
- Vice President and Director of Studies (September 2007 – June 2008)
- Visiting Senior Fellow (July – September 2007)
- Helped lead the organization through a period of rapid growth in programs, staff, reputation, and funding

2001 – 2010: Columbia University, School of International and Public Affairs (SIPA)

- Professor of Practice in International and Public Affairs
- Director, Center on International Organization
- Director, UN Studies Program (2001-2007)
- Taught courses on American exceptionalism and the prospects for international law and organization, on the United Nations Security Council and international enforcement, and on the United Nations system; co-taught survey course on the Conceptual Foundations of International Politics. Top student ratings every course every semester.
- On public service leave 2007 - 2010

2003 – 2004: Visiting Professor, Sciences-Po, Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris, Cycle Supérieur de Relations Internationales

- Taught doctoral course on American exceptionalism and the prospects for international law and organization.

- 1999-2000: Visiting Lecturer, Woodrow Wilson School of Princeton University
- Taught course on international enforcement and the United Nations Security Council. Top student ratings.
- 1998 - 2001: Founder and Executive Director, Center for the Study of International Organization of the New York University School of Law and the Woodrow Wilson School of Princeton University.
- Organized a series of policy research projects on issues such as compliance with international law, UN reform, US public attitudes, and steps to implement the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)
- 1974 - 1998: United Nations Association of the USA (UNA-USA)
- President Emeritus and Senior Policy Adviser (1994 – 1998)
  - President and CEO (1984 – 1994)
  - Executive Vice President (1983 – 1984)
  - Vice President for Research and Policy Studies (1982 – 1983)
  - Deputy Vice President for Research and Policy Studies (1980 – 1982)
  - Deputy Director of Policy Studies (1977 – 1980)
  - Project Director, Conventional Arms Control Policy Panel (1974 – 1977)
  - Reoriented the organization and led it through a period of rejuvenation, expansion, and growing influence

### **Consultancies**

- 2003 - Present: Consultant, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Finland
- Organize and draft papers and reports for annual ‘Hitting the Ground Running’ Workshop for incoming and current members of the UN Security Council. Final report published each year as a

Security Council document.

2017-2018: Senior Adviser, United Nations Office of Internal Oversight Services.

- Evaluation of the Offices of the Special Representatives of the Secretary-General on Children and Armed Conflict, on Sexual Violence in Conflict, and on Violence Against Children.

2017: Consultant, Foreign Ministry of Qatar.

- Organize and moderate inter-governmental retreat in Doha in January 2017 for the President of the UN General Assembly, the Co-Chairs of the Inter-governmental Negotiations, and Ambassadors from thirty Member States on the reform of the UN Security Council

2014 - 2017: Associate, National Intelligence Council, US Government

2016 - 2017: Senior Adviser United Nations Office of Internal Oversight Services (OIOS), evaluation of the Executive Office of the United Nations Secretary-General (EOSG).

2014 - 2015: Senior Adviser, Atrocity Watch

- Advising a new international NGO devoted to bringing advanced technology and the resources of the private sector to bear on preventing mass atrocity crimes
- Helped it win Deloitte humanitarian competition

2013 – 2014: Senior Adviser, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

- Oversee creation of a training program for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Uruguay as it prepares for possible membership in the UN Security Council.

2010 – 2012: Consultant, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Turkey

- Oversee the substantive preparations for and reports of annual retreats in Istanbul of the UN Security Council.

2006: Consultant, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Republic of Korea

- Political adviser and speechwriter for Minister Ban’s successful campaign to become United Nations Secretary-General (only non-Korean on his team).
- 2006: Consultant, US Department of State
- Speaking tour of Japan, on behalf of the US government, to explain American policies toward the reform of the UN Security Council.
- 2005: Consultant, Rockefeller Foundation
- Worked with the Presidents of the Rockefeller and MacArthur Foundations and the Permanent Representatives of Canada and Norway to the United Nations on the conception and establishment of the Security Council Report, as well as its initial affiliation with Columbia University.
  - Adviser to the Board of the Security Council Report, chaired by the President of the Hewlett Foundation, from 2005 to 2011.
- 2001 – 2005: Member, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan’s Policy Working Group on the United Nations and Terrorism
- Helped draft the UN Secretary-General’s first strategy to counter terrorism.
- 2002-2003: Consultant, Foreign Ministry of Switzerland
- Chief drafter of the proposals by the S-5 countries for reforming the working methods of the UN Security Council
- 2000-2001: Consultant, Ford Foundation, Department on Human Rights and International Cooperation
- Prepared report assessing the Foundation’s work on the United Nations and presented it to the Foundation’s Board of Trustees.
- 2000: Consultant, Foreign Ministry of Japan
- Prepared report on the options for locating a UN agency in Okinawa.
- 1999: Consultant, Commission on Global Governance

- Prepared report on the impact of its work and on possible future directions.
  
- 1999, 2004: Consultant, United Nations Foundation
  - Prepared papers on global terrorism and on United Nations reform.
  
- 1997-1998, 2000: Senior Consultant, Office of the UN Secretary-General's Special Representative for Children and Armed Conflict
  - Adviser and chief drafter of initial reports to the General Assembly and to the Security Council.
  
- 1996-1998: Consultant, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Republic of Korea
  - Drafted South Korea's annual speeches to the General Debate of the UN General Assembly for three years.
  
- 1995 - 1997: Senior Consultant, United Nations Department of Management and Administration, and Staff Director, Open-ended High-level Working Group on the Strengthening of the United Nations System, UN General Assembly.
  - Directed staff that supported the efforts of the General Assembly to produce system-wide reform.
  - Chief drafter of the Security Council reform proposals put forward by President of the General Assembly Razali Ismail in 1997.
  - Member of Secretary-General Kofi Annan's drafting team for his comprehensive 1997 reform package, headed sections on peace and security and on structure of the Secretary-General's Office.
  
- 1973 - 1976: Consultant, Social Science Department, RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California
  - Research and analysis of Soviet strategic and military doctrine.
  
- 1973 - 1974: Assistant Planner, Division of the Budget, and Systems Analyst, Welfare Research Inc., New York State Government, Albany and New York City.
  - Research and analysis on New York State welfare reform.

## **Education**

Columbia University, Department of Political Science, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Ph.D., 2001, M.Phil., 1974, M.A., 1973

Columbia University, Russian Institute, Certificate, June 1973

Columbia University, School of International Affairs, M.I.A., June 1972

Dartmouth College, A.B., June 1970

## **Academic Honors**

At Columbia University: Herbert H. Lehman Fellow, International Fellow, and Junior Fellow of the Russian Institute

At Dartmouth College: A.B. cum laude with High Distinction in International Relations, Honors Major and Honors Thesis, Dean's List, and Citation in History

## **Publications**

### **Books**

Co-author with Alex J. Bellamy, *The Responsibility to Protect: From Promise to Practice* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, November 2018).

*The UN Security Council: Practice and Promise* (London: Routledge, first edition 2006, second edition forthcoming).

Co-editor with Michael W. Doyle, *International Law and Organization: Closing the Compliance Gap* (Boulder, CO: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004). Author of concluding chapter, "Gaps, Commitments, and the Compliance Challenge."

*Mixed Messages: American Politics and International Organization, 1919-1999* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press for the Century Foundation, 1999).

Editor, *Arms Control: The Multilateral Alternative* (New York: New York University Press, 1983). Author, chapters on "A Future for Multilateral Arms Control" and on "Placing Conventional Arms on the Multilateral Agenda."

Co-editor with Stuart Albert, *On the Endings of War* (London and Port Washington: Kennikat Press, National University Publications, 1980). Author of chapter on "Deterrence Theory and

Nuclear War Endings.”

### **Other Chapters**

“Change Without Reform: The Principal Inter-governmental Organs,” in Sam Daws and Thomas G. Weiss, eds., *The Oxford Handbook on the United Nations*, second edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

“Roots of Ambivalence: The United Nations, Genocide, and Mass Atrocity Prevention,” in Ted Robert Gurr and Barbara Harff, eds., *Policies and Practices for Preventing Mass Atrocities* (London: Routledge, 2018).

“Getting There, Being There: The Dual Role of the Special Adviser,” in Alex Bellamy and Tim Dunne, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Responsibility to Protect* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 288-314.

“Introduction: The Private Sector, the United Nations, and the Responsibility to Protect,” in John Forrer and Conor Seyle, eds., *The Role of Business in the Responsibility to Protect* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 9-34.

With Dana Zaret Luck, “The Individual Responsibility to Protect,” in Sheri P. Rosenberg, Tibi Galis, and Alex Zucker, eds., *Reconstructing Prevention: The Theory, Policy and Practice of Mass Atrocity Prevention* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 207-248.

“The Security Council at Seventy: Ever Changing or Never Changing?,” in Sebastian von Einsiedel, David M. Malone, and Bruno Stagno Ugarte, eds., *The UN Security Council in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2016), pp. 195-214.

“Change and the United Nations Charter,” in Ian Shapiro and Joseph Lampert, eds. *Charter of the United Nations* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), pp. 121-139.

“From Promise to Practice: Implementing the Responsibility to Protect,” in Irwin Cotter and Jared Genser, eds., *The Responsibility to Protect: The Promise of Stopping Mass Atrocities in Our Time* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 85-106.

“The Responsibility to Protect: The Journey,” in Julia Hoffmann and André Nolkaemper, *The Responsibility to Protect: From Principle to Practice* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), pp. 39-46.

“Building a Norm: The Responsibility to Protect Experience,” in Robert I. Rotberg, ed., *Mass Atrocity Crimes: Preventing Future Outrages* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2010), pp. 108-127.

“Making the UN Accountable: Managerial and Political Perspectives,” in Sumihiro Kuyama and

Michael Ross Fowler, co-editors, *Envisioning Reform: Enhancing UN Accountability in the Twenty-First Century* (Tokyo: United Nations University, 2009), pp. 19-34.

“The Responsible Sovereign and the Responsibility to Protect,” in Joachim W. Müller and Karl P. Sauvant, eds., *Annual Review of United Nations Affairs 2006/2007*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

“A Council for All Seasons: The Creation of the Security Council and Its Relevance Today,” in Vaughan Lowe, Adam Roberts, Jennifer Welsh, and Dominik Zaum, eds., *The UN Security Council and War: The Evolution of Thought and Practice Since 1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 62-85.

“Principal Organs,” in Thomas G. Weiss and Sam Daws, eds., *Oxford Handbook on the United Nations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 653-674.

“The Secretary-General in a Unipolar World,” in Simon Chesterman, ed., *Secretary or General: The Role of the United Nations Secretary-General in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 202-231.

“The Uninvited Challenge: Terrorism Targets the United Nations,” in Edward Newman, Ramesh Thakur, and John Tirman, eds., *Multilateralism Under Challenge: Power, International Order and Structural Change* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press and the Social Science Research Council, 2006), pp. 336-355.

“Article 2(4) on the Non-Use of Force: What Were We Thinking?,” in David P. Forsythe, Patrice C. McMahon, and Andrew Wedeman, eds., *American Foreign Policy in a Globalized World* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 51-80.

“The UN Security Council: Reform or Enlarge?,” in Paul Heinbecker and Patricia Goff, eds., *Irrelevant or Indispensable?: The United Nations in the 21st Century* (Waterloo, Ontario, Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2005), pp. 143-152.

“Rediscovering the Security Council: The High-level Panel and Beyond,” in Ernesto Zedillo, ed., *Reforming the United Nations for Peace and Security* (New Haven, CT: Yale Center for the Study of Globalization, 2005), pp. 126-152.

“UN Reform Commissions: Is Anyone Listening?,” in Ramesh Thakur, Andrew F. Cooper, and John English, eds., *International Commissions and the Power of Ideas* (Tokyo: United Nations University, 2005), pp. 277-287.

“The US Election Campaign: United Nations, Divided Electorate,” in *A Global Agenda: Issues Before the 59th General Assembly, 2004-2005* (New York: United Nations Association of the USA, 2004), pp. 292-294.

“Bush, Iraq, and the UN: Whose Idea Was This Anyway?,” in Thomas G. Weiss, Margaret

Crahan, and John Goering, eds., *Wars on Terrorism and Iraq: Human Rights, Unilateralism, and U.S. Foreign Policy* (New York: Routledge, 2004), pp. 135-154.

“The United States, Counter-Terrorism, and the Prospects for a Multilateral Alternative,” in Jane Boulden and Thomas G. Weiss, eds., *Terrorism and the UN: Before and After September 11<sup>th</sup>* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2004), pp. 74-101.

“Another Reluctant Belligerent: The United Nations and the War on Terrorism,” in Richard Price and Mark Zacher, eds., *The United Nations and Global Security* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), pp. 95-108.

“Tackling Terrorism,” in David M. Malone, ed., *The United Nations Security Council: From the Cold War to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004), pp. 85-100.

“American Exceptionalism and International Organization: Lessons from the 1990s,” in Rosemary Foot, Neil MacFarlane, and Michael Mastanduno, eds., *US Hegemony and International Organizations* (Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 25-48.

“False Choices: Unilateralism, Multilateralism, and U.S. Foreign Policy,” in Bernhard May and Michaela Hönicke Moore, eds., *The Uncertain Superpower: Domestic Dimensions of U.S. Foreign Policy After the Cold War* (Opladen, Germany: Leske & Budrich, 2003).

“The United States, International Organization, and the Quest for Legitimacy,” in Stewart Patrick and Shepard Forman, eds., *Multilateralism and US Foreign Policy* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner for the Center on International Cooperation, 2001), pp. 47-74.

“Prevention: Theory and Practice,” in Fen Hampson and David Malone, eds., *From Reaction to Conflict Prevention: Opportunities for the UN System in the New Millennium* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers for the International Peace Academy, 2001), pp. 251-271.

“The Enforcement of Humanitarian Norms and the Politics of Ambivalence,” in Simon Chesterman, ed., *Civilians in War* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner for the International Peace Academy, 2001), pp. 197-218.

“Does the Future of the United Nations Lie in Its Past?,” in Kamallesh Sharma, ed., on behalf of the UN General Assembly, *Imagining Tomorrow: Rethinking the Global Challenge*, a collection of essays for the Millennium General Assembly, September 2000, pp. 17-27.

“Choosing Words Carefully: Arms Embargoes and the UN Security Council,” in Michael Brzoska, ed., *Smart Sanctions, the Next Steps* (Baden-Baden, Germany: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, for the Bonn International Center for Conversion, 2001), pp. 115-134.

“Reforming the United Nations,” in *Delusions of Grandeur: The United Nations and Global Intervention*, ed. by Ted Galen Carpenter (Washington, DC: Cato Institute, 1997), pp. 147-158.

“United Nations, Multilateralism, and US Interests,” in *US Foreign Policy and the United Nations System*, ed. by Charles William Maynes and Richard S. Williamson for the American Assembly (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1996), pp. 27-53.

“Peacekeeping Plus: The UN and International Security,” in *The United Nations: Fifty Years After San Francisco* (Hanover, New Hampshire: The Dickey Center, Dartmouth College, December 1995).

“Keeping the Peace in the Post-Cold War Era: Challenges for the United Nations and its Member States,” in *Peacekeeping and Multinational Operations*, ed. by Espen Barth Eide for the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (Norway: NUPI, No. 5, 1995), pp. 59-74.

“The Case for Engagement: American Interests in UN Peace Operations,” in *Beyond Traditional Peacekeeping*, ed. by Don Daniel and Bradd Hayes for the Center for Naval Warfare Studies, U.S. Naval War College (London: MacMillan Press, Ltd., 1995), pp. 67-84.

“Interstate Organizations: Current Scholarship, Analysis, and Practice,” in *Approaches to Peace: An Intellectual Map*, ed. by W. Scott Thompson and Kenneth M. Jensen et al. (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 1991), pp. 171-188.

“The American Stake in UN Reform,” in Harry C. Blaney, III, ed., *The Future of the United Nations and American Interests* (Foreign Service Institute, U.S. Department of State, 1988).

“Renewing the Mandate: The UN’s Role in Peace and Security,” in Peter Fromuth, ed., *A Successor Vision: The United Nations of Tomorrow* (UNA-USA and University Press of America, 1988), pp. 107-125.

With Peter Fromuth, “Anti-Americanism at the United Nations: Perception or Reality?” in *Anti-Americanism in the Third World*, ed. by Alvin Z. Rubinstein and Donald E. Smith (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1985), pp. 219-248.

With Paul Warnke, “American Arms Transfers: Policy and Process in the Executive Branch,” in *Arms Transfers and American Foreign Policy*, ed. by Andrew J. Pierre (New York: New York University Press, 1979), pp. 193-227.

### **Articles, Reviews, and Forewords**

“Could A United Nations Code of Conduct Help Curb Atrocities?,” *Ethics and International Affairs*, vol. 33, no. 1 (2019), pp. 79-87.

“Why the United Nations Underperforms at Preventing Mass Atrocities,” *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal*, vol. 11.3 (2018), pp. 32-47.

“R2P at Ten: A New Mindset for a New Era?,” *Global Governance*, vol. 21, no. 4 (October-December 2015), pp. 499-504.

Foreword, in Kurt Mills and David Jason Karp, eds., *Human Rights Protection in Global Politics: Responsibilities of States and Non-State Actors* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. X-XVI.

Foreword, in Monica Serrano and Thomas G. Weiss, eds., *The International Politics of Human Rights: Rallying to the R2P Cause?* (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. xiii-xix.

“The Responsibility to Protect: The First Decade,” *Global Responsibility to Protect*, Special Issue, *Reflections on R2P: Ten Years On*, vol. 3, no. 4 (2011), pp. 387-399.

“The Responsibility to Protect: Growing Pains or Early Promise?,” *Ethics and International Affairs* vol. 24, no. 4 (Winter 2010), pp. 349-365.

“A Response to Four Commentaries on Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon’s report on *Implementing the Responsibility to Protect*,” *Global Responsibility to Protect*, vol. 2, nos. 1-2 (2010), pp. 178-183.

“The Responsibility to Protect: Whom from What?,” *Freedom From Fear Magazine* (Italy: UNICRI: April 2009), pp. 2-3.

“Sovereignty, Choice, and the Responsibility to Protect,” *Global Responsibility to Protect*, vol. 1, no. 1 (2009), pp. 10-21.

Review of S. Neil MacFarlane and Yuen Foong Khong, *Human Security and the UN: A Critical History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), *Journal of Cold War Studies*, vol. 9, no. 2 (Spring 2007), pp. 146-148.

Review of David Malone, *The International Struggle Over Iraq: Politics in the UN Security Council, 1980-2005* for the *Literary Review of Canada*, vol. 15, no. 3 (April 2007), pp. 3-4.

“The United States and International Peacekeeping: History and Prospects,” *Foro Internacional*, Centro de Estudios Internacionales, El Colegio de Mexico, vol. XLVII, no. 1, January-March 2007, pp. 53-81.

“The Survivors: The United States and The United Nations in Troubled Times,” in *American Foreign Policy Interests*, Special Issue, U.S.-UN Relations, vol. 28, no. 4 (August 2006), pp. 293-296.

Introduction, Section on the United Nations, Katherine R. Constable and J. Quinn Martin, eds., *From the Cold War to the War on Terror: 60 Years of US Foreign Policy*, Selections from the *Journal of International Affairs* (New York: Columbia University, 2006), pp. 275-279.

“The US and the UN: The Ultimate Odd Couple Turns 60,” *Vereinte Nationen* (journal of the German United Nations Association), vol. 53, no. 5 (October 2005), pp. 201-206.

“How Not to Reform the United Nations,” *Global Governance*, vol. 11, no. 4 (October-December 2005), pp. 407-414.

“The UN at 60: A Dynamic Balance Sheet,” for an electronic journal of the Bureau of International Information Programs, U.S. Department of State, September 2005.

“Reforming the United Nations Without Losing the United States,” *Revue Générale de Stratégie, AGIR* (Paris), no. 22, May 2005, pp. 98-103.

“Tokyo’s Quixotic Quest for Acceptance,” *Far Eastern Economic Review*, vol. 168, no. 5 (May 2005), pp. 5-10.

“La Fuerza, la Reforma y el Futuro de las Naciones Unidas,” *Vanguardia/Dossier*, no. 14, February/March 2005.

Review of Carol Anderson, *Eyes Off the Prize: The United Nations and the African American Struggle for Human Rights, 1944-1955* for the *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 119, no. 3 (Fall 2004), pp. 564-5.

“What Ails the UN Security Council?,” Special Report, *Encyclopedia Britannica 2003 Year in Review* (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc., 2004), pp. 348-349.

“The End of an Illusion,” *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 82, no. 4 (July/August 2003), pp. 201-202.

“Power, Legitimacy, and the Future of the United Nations,” *A Global Agenda: Issues Before the 58th General Assembly, 2003-2004* (New York: United Nations Association of the USA, 2003), pp. 290-292.

“Rediscovering the Nation State,” *Global Governance*, vol. 8, no. 1 (Jan.-Mar. 2002), pp. 7-11.

“Is Reform of the UN Possible?,” *The World & I*, September 2001, pp. 28-33.

Review of William Shawcross, *Deliver Us from Evil: Warlords and a World of Endless Conflict* for the *American Journal of International Law*, vol. 94, no. 3 (July 2000), pp. 603-606.

“Blue Ribbon Power: Independent Commissions and UN Reform,” *International Studies Perspectives*, April 2000 (vol. 1, no. 1), pp. 89-104

“A Road to Nowhere,” *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 1999 (vol. 78, no. 4), pp. 118-119.

“Layers of Security: Regional Arrangements, the United Nations, and the Japanese-American Security Treaty,” in *UN Peacekeeping and US-Japan Relations*, ed. by Selig Harrison (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1995). Also published in *Asian Survey*, March 1995 (vol. XXXV, no. 3), pp. 109-126.

With Nick Birnback, "For the Common Good: The United States' Role in the United Nations," *Social Education*, November-December 1994 (vol. 58, no. 7).

"Peace, Stability and the United Nations: Japan's Role," *Gaiko Forum*, September 1994 (published in Japanese by the Foreign Ministry of Japan).

"Making Peace" *Foreign Policy*, Winter 1992-93 (no. 89), pp. 137-155.

With Kathy G. Sessions, "In Ever-complex World, UN is an Anchor," *The Earth Times*, (November 2-6, 1992).

With Toby Trister Gati, "Whose Collective Security?," *Washington Quarterly*, Spring 1992 (vol. 15, no. 2), pp. 43-56.

With Toby Trister Gati, "Gorbachev, the UN, and US Policy," *Washington Quarterly*, Autumn 1988 (vol. 11, no. 4), pp.19-35.

"The Impact of the Zionism-Racism Resolution on the Standing of the UN," *Israel Yearbook on Human Rights*, 1987, vol. 17, pp. 95-119.

"Cycles in International Politics: Looking to the Year 2000," *Disarmament*, Summer 1986 (vol. IX, no. 2).

"The UN at 40," *Foreign Policy*, Winter 1984-85 (no. 57), pp. 143-159.

"Nuclear Arms Control: Past and Future," *Disarmament*, Vol. VII, Number 2, Summer 1984.

"Nuclear Strategy in the Reagan Administration: Controversy and Continuity," *Current History*, May 1983.

"The Soviet Union and Conventional Arms Control," in "The Soviet Threat: Myth and Realities," ed. by Grayson Kirk and Nils H. Wessell, *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science*, May 1978 (vol. 33, no. 1).

"The Arms Trade," in "The Changing United Nations: Options for the United States," David A. Kay, ed., *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science*, December 1977 (vol. 32, no. 4).

With Jay Kaplan, "The Dropout Phenomenon as a Social Problem," *The Educational Forum*, November 1977.

"Does the U.S. Have a Conventional Arms Sales Policy?," *Arms Control Today*, May 1976 (vol. 6, no. 5). Reprinted in William Kincade and Jeffrey D. Porro, eds., *Negotiating Security: An Arms Control Reader* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1976).

## **Reports and Monographs**

“Cultural Genocide and the Protection of Cultural Heritage,” Occasional Paper for the J. Paul Getty Trust, September 2018.

Fifteen annual reports from the ‘Hitting the Ground Running’ Workshops for newly elected and current members of the United Nations Security Council, sponsored by the Government of Finland and published by the UN as a Security Council document, 2004-2018. Sixteenth Workshop to be held in November 2018. Unpublished background papers and annotated agendas every year for the participants, including the Permanent Representatives to the United Nations of those twenty countries.

“The Responsibility to Protect at Ten: The Challenges Ahead,” Policy Analysis Brief, The Stanley Foundation, May 2015.

Report of the Secretary-General, The Responsibility to Protect: Timely and Decisive Response, A/66/874-S/2012/578, 5 September 2012 (chief drafter).

Report of the Secretary-General, The Role of Regional and Subregional Arrangements in Implementing the Responsibility to Protect, A/65/877-S/2011/393, 28 June 2011 (chief drafter).

“Exceptional Meets Universal: Moscow and Washington at the United Nations,” (New York: The Century Foundation, 2010).

Report of the Secretary-General, Early Warning, Assessment and the Responsibility to Protect, A/64/864, 14 July 2010 (chief drafter).

Report of the Secretary-General, Implementing the Responsibility to Protect, A/63/677, 12 January 2009 (chief drafter).

“The United Nations and the Responsibility to Protect,” *Policy Analysis Brief* (Muscatine, IA: The Stanley Foundation, August 2008).

With Thorsten Benner, “The US and the EU at the UN: Making the Most of the Ban Years” (Brussels: Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2007).

Conference Proceedings, Sven Biscop and David Mendeloff, eds., *Power to the System: The UN High-level Panel on the Reinvigoration of Collective Security*, June 6-7, 2005, Brussels, *Studia Diplomatica*, vol. LVIII, no. 2 (June-July 2006), pp. 15-18.

“Reforming the Security Council – Step One: Improving Working Methods,” background paper prepared at the request of the Swiss Government and its Permanent Mission to the United Nations for discussion with UN Member States, April 25, 2005.

“UN Reform: A Cause in Search of a Constituency,” paper prepared for the Bureau of International Organization Affairs and the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department

of State and the National Intelligence Council, Conference on UN Reform: Forging a Common Understanding, May 6, 2004.

“Reforming the United Nations: Lessons from a History in Progress,” Occasional Paper Series (New Haven, CT: Academic Council on the United Nations System, 2003) and in Jean E. Krasno, ed., *United Nations: Confronting the Challenges of a Global Society* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004), pp. 350-397.

“Exceptionalism, Power, and the Global Architecture: Reconciling US Power and Multilateral Institution-Building,” paper prepared for a Bellagio conference on “Emerging Global Challenges: Managing Interdependence in a Complex World,” published on-line by the Centre for Global Studies, University of Victoria, Canada, April 2002.

“Choosing the Right End of the Telescope: Domestic Politics and International Interventions,” contribution to *The Responsibility to Protect: Research, Bibliography, and Background*, Thomas G. Weiss and Don Hubert, eds., (Ottawa: The International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty and the International Development Research Centre, 2001).

*Words to Deeds: Strengthening the U.N.’s Enforcement Capabilities*, Report of the International Task Force on Security Council Peace Enforcement, Lord Carrington, Chairman, Moeen Qureshi, Co-Chairman, December 1997.

Editor, *Compendium of Proposals for United Nations Reform*, book-length study for the Open-ended High-level Working Group on Strengthening the United Nations System, United Nations General Assembly, 1996.

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### **Personal.**

Marital Status: Married, one child.

Member: Council on Foreign Relations  
The Century Association  
Academic Council on the United Nations System (ACUNS)  
Administrative Council, The Jacob Blaustein Institute for the  
Advancement of Human Rights, The American Jewish Committee  
Advisory Council, The Stanley Foundation  
Editorial Board, *Global Governance*  
Patron, Asia-Pacific Centre for the Responsibility to Protect  
International Advisory Board, Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect

Listed: *Who’s Who in America, Who’s Who in the World.*

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