

YELENA BIBERMAN

Associate Professor
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Current Positions

- SKIDMORE COLLEGE**, Saratoga Springs, NY 2014-Present
Associate Professor, Department of Political Science (2020-Present)
Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science (2014-2020)
- ATLANTIC COUNCIL SOUTH ASIA CENTER**, Washington, D.C. 2016-Present
Nonresident Senior Fellow
Strategic Dialogues on Afghanistan (2020-Present)
- HARVARD UNIVERSITY DAVIS CENTER**, Cambridge, MA 2021-Present
Associate
“How to Kill a Superpower: Lessons from the USSR,” *Podcast Creator and Co-Host*

Education

- Ph.D. BROWN UNIVERSITY**
Political Science, 2008-14
Areas: Comparative Politics (*high merit*) and International Relations
- M.A. Political Science**, 2010
- M.A. HARVARD UNIVERSITY**
Regional Studies – Russia, Eastern Europe, and Central Asia, 2004-06
- B.A. WELLESLEY COLLEGE**
International Relations, *Magna cum Laude*, Honors in International Relations, 2000-04
- OXFORD UNIVERSITY**
Philosophy and International Relations, 2002-03

Publications

Book

- Gambling with Violence: State Outsourcing of War in Pakistan and India*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2019.
- Reviewed in *Perspectives on Politics*; *Journal of Peace Research*; *H-Diplo*; *Strategic Analysis*; *The Book Review India*; *India Quarterly*; Modern War Institute at West Point; *CHOICE* (“Highly recommended. Upper-division undergraduates through faculty”); *Asia Policy* Book Review Roundtable.

Peer-Reviewed Articles

- “The Technologies and International Politics of Genetic Warfare,” *Strategic Studies Quarterly* (Fall 2021): 6-33.
- “When Militias Provide Welfare: Lessons from Pakistan and Nigeria” (with Megan Turnbull), *Political Science Quarterly* 133, no. 4 (Winter 2018-19): 695-727.
- “Self-Defense Militias, Death Squads, and State Outsourcing of Violence in India and Turkey,” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 41, no. 5 (2018): 751-781.
- “Genocidal Violence, Nation-Building, and the Bloody Birth of Bangladesh” (with Rachel Castellano), *Asian Security* 14, no. 2 (2018): 106-118.

Publications (Continued)

- “How We Know What We Know About Pakistan: *New York Times* News Production, 1954-1971,” *Modern Asian Studies* 51, no. 5 (2017): 1598-1625.
- “Why Terrorists Target Children: Outbidding, Desperation, and Extremism in the Peshawar and Beslan School Massacres” (with Farhan Zahid), *Terrorism and Political Violence* 31, no. 2 (2019; online 2016): 169-184.
- “Terrorist Prison Breaks” (with Trevor Cloen and Farhan Zahid), *Perspectives on Terrorism* 12, no. 1 (2018): 59-68.
- “Channeling Islam: Religious Narratives on Pakistani Television and Their Influence on Pakistani Youth,” (with Sahar Gul and Feryaz Ocakli), *Asian Affairs: An American Review* 43, no. 3 (2016): 78-97.
- “One Shield, Two Responses: Anti-U.S. Missile Defense Shield Protests in the Czech Republic and Poland” (with Feryaz Ocakli), *Politics & Policy* 43, No. 2 (April 2015): 197-214.
- “The Politics of Diplomatic Service Reform in Post-Soviet Russia,” *Political Science Quarterly* 126, No. 4 (Winter 2011-12): 669-680.
- “Bureaucratic Partisanship and State Building: The Case of Ukrainian Foreign Ministry,” *Problems of Post-Communism* 58, No. 2 (March/April 2011): 17-27. [Awarded Millar Prize]
- “Assessing the Costs of Weak Diplomatic Institutions” (Ukrainian: «Оцінюючи Втрати Внаслідок Слабких Інститутів Дипломатії»), *Academic Bulletin of the Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine* (Науковий Вісник Дипломатичної Академії України) Vol. 15 (2010): 228-234.
- “Political Science and the Rules of Causal Inference” (Russian: «Политология и правила выявления причинно-следственных отношений»), *Polis* 10, No. 6 (2009): 168-176.

Other Scholarly Work

- “Author’s Response: Reconsidering How We Think about Proxies,” *Asia Policy* 16, no. 1 (January 2021): 193-196.
- “Violence by Proxy: Russia’s Ex-Rebels and Criminals in Chechnya” (pp. 135-150), in *State Terror, State Violence: Global Perspectives*, Ed. Bettina Koch (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2016).

Policy

- “It’s Time for a Difficult Conversation with Delhi,” *SouthAsiaSource*, Atlantic Council, July 23, 2021.
- “Do as I Do’ Diplomacy,” *Inkstick*, June 15, 2021. [Featured in American Foreign Service Association Daily Media Digest]
- “The Proxy Gambit” (with Maj. Alex Deep), *Commentary & Analysis*, Modern War Institute at West Point, April 28, 2021.
- “A Kashmir Peace Deal Now? Ripeness, Readiness, and US Role,” Modern War Institute at West Point Report, Series 2021, no. 1 (February 2021): 1-18. [Peer-reviewed]
- “Eight Reasons Why the United States Should Promote Kashmir Peace Talks Now,” *SouthAsiaSource*, Atlantic Council, February 17, 2021.
- “What Binds India and the US?” Observer Research Foundation (ORF) *Expert Speak: Atlantic Files*, October 23, 2020.

Publications (Continued)

- “A Divided Taliban Could Unleash a New Proxy War in Afghanistan” (with Jared Schwartz), *New Atlanticist*, June 29, 2020.
- “Young Kashmiris think India and Pakistan can resolve their differences over Kashmir” (with Samir Ahmad), *Washington Post*, Monkey Cage, March 4, 2020. [Covered in *Al Jazeera*; *The Telegraph*; *Kashmir Observer*; *EurAsian Times*]
- “What Lt. Col. Vindman’s Critics Get Wrong about Jews Who Fled the Soviet Union” (with Matthew Simkowitz), *Washington Post*, Monkey Cage, November 19, 2019.
- “Will the United States and China Keep India and Pakistan from Going to War?” Policy Roundtable: The Future of South Asia, *Texas National Security Review*, October 1, 2019.
- “China and Pakistan Have Struck a Devil’s Bargain with Militants” (with Jared Schwartz), *Foreign Policy*, April 5, 2019.
- “Pakistan Is Ready for Stability in Afghanistan” (with Jared Schwartz), *East Asia Forum*, Australian National University, March 29, 2019.
- “Ending Terror in Kashmir,” *Political Violence @ a Glance*, February 22, 2019. [Reprinted in *Sri Lanka Guardian*]
- “Global War on Dangerous Ideas” (with Samir Ahmad), *Greater Kashmir*, January 20, 2019.
- “Pakistani Militants Have Created Their Own Political Party. Can It Actually Win Votes?” (with Niloufer Siddiqui), *Washington Post*, Monkey Cage, May 7, 2018.
- “An Opportunity for Regional Leadership in South Asia,” *New Atlanticist*, February 7, 2017.
- “Bridging the Gap between Policing and Counterinsurgency in Pakistan” (with Farhan Zahid and Philip Hultquist), *Military Review* (November-December 2016): 37-43.
- “When the Strong Weaponize the Weak: States and Guerrilla Warfare,” *Sustainable Security* (Oxford Research Group), October 19, 2016.
- “Between Radicalization and Violence” (with Gage Willand), *Political Violence @ a Glance*, June 23, 2016.
- “Peace by Assassination?” *Political Violence @ a Glance*, May 25, 2016.
- “The Problem with Proxies: Ideology is No Substitute for Operational Control” (with Orr Genish), *Small Wars Journal*, September 27, 2015.
- “Reimagining Pakistan’s Militia Policy,” *Atlantic Council Issue Brief*, April 27, 2015.
- “In Pakistan, Domestic Threats Begin to Overshadow India,” *Washington Post*, Monkey Cage, January 6, 2015.
- “Are There Lessons from Pakistan for Future of Fighting in Ukraine?” *Washington Post*, Monkey Cage, May 27, 2014.
- “Generation Putin,” *Foreign Policy*, January 22, 2008.
- “Between the East and West,” *Moscow Times* 4326 (Feb. 8, 2010), 7.

Publications (Continued)

“Unwelcomed Missiles” (with Feryaz Ocakli), *Russia Profile*, December 29, 2009.

“Iran: Code Orange?” *Foreign Policy in Focus*, June 30, 2009.

“Learning from the Soviets in Afghanistan,” *Foreign Policy in Focus*, June 20, 2008.

“U.S.-Iran Relations Need Reform,” *Wellesley News*, September 2003.

Selected Reporting

“Children of the Revolution: A New Generation of Russians Tries to Become Politically Active,” *Russia Profile*, February 5, 2008.

“Why Alma Mater Matters,” *Russia Profile* 5, No. 6 (July 2008): 8-9.

“A Rural Referendum: Villagers Hope Medvedev Will Continue Down Putin’s Path,” *Russia Profile*, March 3, 2008.

“Banking on Russian Women,” *Passport Moscow* (September 2008): 30-32.

Awards, Honors, and Fellowships

2021. Harvard University Davis Center Associate

2020-21. Modern War Institute at West Point Fellow

2020. Alma Ostrom and Leah Hopkins Awan Civic Education Fund, APSA Centennial Center Research Grant

2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2021. Judith Johns Carrico Faculty Grant

2015, 2016, 2017, 2019. Skidmore College Faculty Development Grant

2018. Skidmore College Faculty Development Committee Ad Hoc Grant

2016, 2017, 2021. Skidmore College Faculty Student Summer Research Grant

2017. Jacob Perlow Grant, Skidmore College

2014-15. Atlantic Council US-Pakistan Exchange Fellowship

2014. Skidmore College Center for Leadership in Teaching and Learning Course Development Grant

2014. American Institute of Pakistan Studies Travel Grant

2014. Spatial Structures in the Social Sciences Travel Grant

2012-13. United States Institute of Peace (USIP) Jennings Randolph Peace Scholar Dissertation Fellowship

2012-13. American Institute of Pakistan Studies Junior Fellowship

Awards, Honors, and Fellowships (Continued)

2012. Smith Richardson Foundation World Politics and Statecraft Fellowship
2011. Horowitz Foundation for Social Policy Research Grant (Special Recognition: John L. Stanley Award)
2011. James R. Millar Graduate Student Prize from the National Council for Eurasian and East European Research
2011. New York Public Library Short-Term Research Fellowship
2011. American Political Science Association Centennial Center for Political Science and Public Affairs Fellow
- 2011-12. Brown University Graduate School Internal Dissertation Fellowship
2011. Foreign Language and Area Studies Summer Fellowship, South Asia Summer Language Institute (Urdu)
- 2011, 2012, 2013. Brown University Office of International Affairs Research Travel Grant
- 2010, 2011, 2012. Brown University Graduate School Research Travel Grant
- 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013. Brown University Graduate School Conference Travel Grant
2010. Brown University Political Science Department Methods Training Fellowship
2009. IREX U.S. Embassy Policy Specialist Fellowship
2009. Watson Institute for International Affairs Graduate Program in Development Summer Fieldwork Grant
- 2008-09. Stanley J. Bernstein '65 Graduate Fellowship, Brown University
- 2006-07. Fulbright Fellowship
2005. Harvard University Davis Center Research Travel Grant
2005. Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Summer Fellowship
2005. Harvard University Ukrainian Institute Research Travel Grant
- 2002-03. National Science Foundation Award for the Integration of Research and Education
- 2002, 2003. Francis Beirne National Essay Contest First Place Prize
2003. Target "All-Around" Award
2003. Wellesley Class Of '69 Community Service Award
2002. Centuria of Excellence Award
- 2001, 2002, 2004. Wellesley College Spirit of Service Award

2001. Youth Venture Grant

2001. Wellesley College First Year Academic Distinction

Conferences, Workshops, and Invited Talks

Strategic Dialogues on Afghanistan: Implications of the Taliban's New Government for Afghanistan, 2021 (*moderator*)

Strategic Dialogues on Afghanistan: Democratization and the Road Ahead for Afghanistan, 2021 (*private working group*)

Hamilton College, Civil War Seminar Webinar, 2020 (*invited talk*)

Central University of Kashmir, Department of Politics and Governance, Webinar, 2020 (*invited talk*)

Center for Social and Political Research, Karachi, Pakistan, Webinar, 2020 (*invited talk*)

Association of Asia Scholars, Webinar, 2020 (*invited talk*)

U.S. Department of State, Ralph J. Bunche Library Speaker Series, 2019 (*invited talk*)

India Security Workshop, NYU-Abu Dhabi, 2019

International Studies Association Annual Meeting, 2014, 2015, 2017, 2019

Raisina Dialogue, New Delhi, India, Delegate, 2018

New England Political Science Association Annual Meeting, 2010, 2011, 2013, 2014, 2017

American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, 2010, 2014, 2018

National Security Seminar, U.S. Army War College, 2016

Silver Bay YMCA, Silver Bay, NY, 2016 (*invited talk*)

Pi Sigma Alpha, National Political Science Honor Society at Skidmore College, Keynote Address, 2016

International Student Union, Skidmore College, 2016 (*invited talk*)

Center for Contemporary South Asia Book Manuscript Workshop, Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs, Brown University, November 11, 2016

Skidmore College Women in Business, 2016 (*invited talk*)

Annual Conference on South Asia, 2013, 2014, 2015

American Institute of Pakistan Studies Junior Scholars Conference, 2015

International Studies Association Northeast Annual Conference, 2015, 2017

Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi, India, 2015 (*invited talk*)

Conferences, Workshops, and Invited Talks (Continued)

Center for International Politics, Organization and Disarmament, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India, 2015 (*invited talk*)

Association for the Study of Nationalities Annual Conference, 2015

Political Violence Workshop at Hamilton College, 2015

Newcomb Foreign Affairs Roundtable, Newcomb, NY, 2015 (*invited talk*)

Skidmore Encore, 2015, 2021

National Police Academy, Islamabad, Pakistan, 2014 (*invited talk*)

National Ground Intelligence Center, Charlottesville, VA, 2014 (*invited talk*)

Modern South Asia Workshop at Yale University, 2014

Pay It Forward: Women Helping Women in International Relations, International Studies Association Annual Convention, 2014

Cambridge University Press Watson Seminar, 2013 (*book manuscript reviewer*)

Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) Strategic Use of Force Working Group, 2013 (*invited talk*)

Jennings Randolph Senior Fellows and Peace Scholars Workshop, USIP, 2013

Olympia Summer Seminars: Transformation of Conflict, Olympia, Greece, 2012

Midwest Political Science Association Conference, 2009, 2012, 2014

Diplomatic Academy of Russia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Moscow, Russia, 2012 (*invited talk*)

Institute of Kashmir Studies, University of Kashmir in Srinagar, Jammu and Kashmir, 2012 (*invited talk*)

Nelson Mandela Centre for Peace and Conflict Resolution at Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi, India, 2012 (*invited talk*)

National Seminar for Research Scholars on "Understanding Pakistan," Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi, India, 2011

Harvard University Post-Communist Politics and Economics Workshop, 2011

IREX/Woodrow Wilson Center Regional Policy Symposium, 2009

Inter-Ivy Sociology Symposium at Columbia University, 2009

IREX Regional Office in Kiev, Ukraine, 2009 (*invited talk*)

American Center in Moscow, Russia, 2008 (*invited talk*)

Conferences, Workshops, and Invited Talks (Continued)

U.S. Embassy in Moscow, Russia, 2008 (*invited talk*)

History of Russian-American Diplomatic Relations: 200 Years, FLEX Alumni Conference in Yaroslavl, Russia, 2007 (*invited talk*)

Russian Academy of Education Conference on Professional Education, Chebaksary, Russia, 2006 (*invited talk*)

Harvard University Graduate Student Conference on Comparative and Security Policies, 2006

Harvard University Davis Center Undergraduate Research Conference, 2004

Wellesley College Ruhlman Conference, 2004; Tanner Conference, 2003

Additional Training

Policy and Public Scholarship

International Policy Summer Institute, Bridging the Gap: Connecting Research and Policy, American University, Washington, D.C., 2019

Summer Workshop on Analysis of Military Operations and Strategy (SWAMOS), Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, 2013

Methodological

Research and Design for Causal Inference, Northwestern Law, 2014

Spatial Structures in the Social Sciences Geographic Information System (GIS) Institute, 2012

Institute for Qualitative and Multi-Method Research, Syracuse, NY, 2010

Pedagogical

Workshop on Teaching Intelligence, Central Florida Intelligence Community Center for Academic Excellence, 2021

Project Vis Data Visualization, Skidmore College, 2017

Philip Merrill Center for Strategic Studies Basin Harbor Workshop, 2014

Brown University Sheridan Center Teaching Certificate I, 2009-10, and Certificate III, 2010-11

Teaching

Politics of Modern South Asia

States, Rebels, and Warlords

Politics of Modern Warfare

U.S. Foreign Policy

Soldiers, Diplomats, and Spies: The Art of Politics by Other Means

Introduction to Comparative and International Politics

Rebellion and Revolution

They Might Be Giants: Global Rise of BRICS

Teaching Assistant, Brown University

Politics, Economy, and Society in India

The Roots of Radical Political Islam

Introduction to International Relations

Politics, Markets, and States in Developing Countries

Volunteer Instructor

Global Learning Non-Profit Organization in San Roque, Costa Rica, 2001

Albany Youth Leadership Institute in Albany, NY, 2002

Founder and Director

College Prep Program in Albany, NY, 2002-03

Manuscript Reviewer

Oxford University Press; *American Political Science Review*; *International Studies Quarterly*; *Civil Wars*; *Asian Security*; *Asian Survey*; *Asian Affairs: An American Review*; *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*; *Nationalities Papers*; *Problems of Post-Communism*; *East Asia Forum*

Service

Associate Editor, *Indian Politics & Policy* (2020); Honors Forum Council committee member (Fall 2018-Spring 2021); Faculty Advisor to *Skidmore News* (Fall 2015-Spring 2017); Backus Committee (Spring 2017); Faculty Advisor to Kashmir Flood Volunteer Action Committee; Skidmore College (Fall 2014); Campus Access Advisory Committee, Office of Disability Services, Brown University (2011-12); Educational Equity Leadership Group, Brown (2011)

Languages

Urdu/Hindi – advanced introductory; Russian – fluent; Spanish – intermediate; Turkish and Hebrew – introductory; Belarusian and Ukrainian – working knowledge