

YELENA BIBERMAN

Associate Professor of Political Science

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Current Positions

Skidmore College, Saratoga Springs, NY

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science (2020-Present)

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science (2014-20)

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, D.C.

Wilson China Fellow (2023-24)

Atlantic Council South Asia Center, Washington, D.C.

Nonresident Senior Fellow (2016-Present)

Strategic Dialogues on Afghanistan (2020-21)

Harvard University Davis Center, Cambridge, MA

Associate (2021-Present)

“Afghan Good Enough,” Chamber Opera, *Librettist*

- Residencies: Dubai (2023), Ticonderoga, NY (2024)

“How to Kill a Superpower: Lessons from the USSR,” *Podcast Creator and Co-Host*

Andrew W. Marshall Foundation, Washington, D.C.

New Voice (2022-Present)

Education

Ph.D., M.A. **Brown University**, Political Science, 2008-14

M.A. **Harvard University**, Regional Studies: Russia, Eastern Europe, and Central Asia, 2004-06

B.A. **Wellesley College**, *Magna cum Laude*, Honors in International Relations, 2000-04

Oxford University, Philosophy and International Relations, 2002-03

Publications

Book

Genetic Superpower: Great-Power Conflict in the Age of Weaponizable Biotechnology, in progress.

Gambling with Violence: State Outsourcing of War in Pakistan and India, New York: Oxford University Press, 2019.

- Positively reviewed in *Perspectives on Politics*; *Journal of Peace Research*; *HI-Diplo*; *Political Science Quarterly*; *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
- Quoted in *The Diplomat*; *Indian Express*; *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*

Peer-Reviewed Articles

“The Effects of State Presence on the Mental Mapping of Security: Evidence from an Experiment in Kashmir,” *Journal of Peace Research* (2024). [with Christopher Mann]

“India as a Restorationist State: Implications for US-India Relations and South Asian Politics,” *International Politics* (2023). [with Jared Schwartz and Samantha Hotz]

“China’s Security Strategy in Pakistan: Lessons for Washington,” *Asian Security* 19, No. 1 (2023): 43-58. [with Jared Schwartz and Farhan Zahid]

“The Technologies and International Politics of Genetic Warfare,” *Strategic Studies Quarterly* (Fall 2021): 6-33. [Feature Article]

“When Militias Provide Welfare: Lessons from Pakistan and Nigeria,” *Political Science Quarterly* 133, No. 4 (Winter 2018-19): 695-727. [with Megan Turnbull]

“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,” *Asian Security* 14, No. 2 (2018): 106-118. [with Rachel Castellano]
- “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,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 31, No. 2 (2019; online 2016): 169-184. [with Farhan Zahid]
- “Terrorist Prison Breaks,” *Perspectives on Terrorism* 12, No. 1 (2018): 59-68. [with Trevor Cloen and Farhan Zahid]
- “Channeling Islam: Religious Narratives on Pakistani Television and Their Influence on Pakistani Youth,” *Asian Affairs: An American Review* 43, No. 3 (2016): 78-97. [with Sahar Gul and Feryaz Ocakli]
- “One Shield, Two Responses: Anti-U.S. Missile Defense Shield Protests in the Czech Republic and Poland,” *Politics & Policy* 43, No. 2 (April 2015): 197-214. [with Feryaz Ocakli]
- “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

- “US-China Rivalry in the Age of Weaponizable Biotechnology,” in *Analyzing China’s Domestic and Foreign Policies*, ed. Lucas Myers (Washington, D.C.: Wilson Center, 2024), pp. 3-28.
- Review of *The Difficult Politics of Peace: Rivalry in Modern South Asia*, by Christopher Clary, *Pacific Affairs* 96, no. 4 (2023).
- Review of *Colonial Institutions and Civil War: Indirect Rule and Maoist Insurgency in India*, by Shivaji Mukherjee, *The Journal of Asian Studies* 82, No. 2 (2023): 275-277.
- “The Biotechnology Revolution in Military Affairs,” Andrew W. Marshall Foundation Paper Prize Finalist in *New Revolutions in Military Affairs* (2022).
- “One Asia, Two Systems,” Andrew W. Marshall Foundation Paper Prize Semi-Finalist in *Future Reconfigurations in Asia* (2022). [with Jared Schwartz]
- “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

- “The International Bioweapons Regime Must be Strengthened, Not Exploited in Geopolitical Competition,” *RSIS Commentary*, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, October 4, 2024. [with Karolina Zhukoff]
- “Now Is the Time for Ukraine Peace Talks,” *National Interest*, September 24, 2024.
- “How to Avoid a Genetic Arms Race,” *Hastings Bioethics Forum*, April 16, 2024. [with Jonathan D. Moreno] (Reprinted by *Center in Genetics and Society*)
- “The Putin-Prigozhin Game of Proxies,” *Inkstick*, August 3, 2023.
- “The Indo-Pacific Is No Place for NATO,” *Responsible Statecraft*, July 11, 2023.

“The Ethics and Security Challenge of Gene Editing,” *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, June 26, 2023.

“CRISPR and Global Security,” *Science*, eLetter in response to Joy Y. Wang and Jennifer A. Doudna, “CRISPR Technology: A Decade of Genome Editing is Only the Beginning,” March 30, 2023. [with Bernard Possidente]

“What Kind of Neighbor is India Becoming?” *India Policy (I-Policy) Commentary*, Carter Center, February 9, 2023.

“To Support Afghan Women Activists, Prioritize Local Knowledge Over Numbers,” *SouthAsiaSource*, September 26, 2022. [with Sophie Mae Berman] (Reposted by Peace Research Institute Oslo Blogs)

“Reflections on How Stanislav Shushkevich Made (Forgotten) History,” Harvard University Davis Center *Insights*, June 13, 2022.

“How to Kill a Superpower: Do You Remember the Belavezha Agreement?” *Inkstick*, December 8, 2021. [with Zachary Troyanovsky]

“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,” *Commentary & Analysis*, Modern War Institute at West Point, April 28, 2021. [with Maj. Alex Deep]

“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.

“A Divided Taliban Could Unleash a New Proxy War in Afghanistan,” *New Atlanticist*, June 29, 2020. [with Jared Schwartz]

“Young Kashmiris think India and Pakistan can resolve their differences over Kashmir,” *Washington Post*, Monkey Cage, March 4, 2020. [with Samir Ahmad] (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,” *Washington Post*, Monkey Cage, November 19, 2019. [with Matthew Simkowitz]

“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,” *Foreign Policy*, April 5, 2019. [with Jared Schwartz]

“Pakistan Is Ready for Stability in Afghanistan,” *East Asia Forum*, Australian National University, March 29, 2019. [with Jared Schwartz]

“Ending Terror in Kashmir,” *Political Violence @ a Glance*, February 22, 2019. (Reprinted in *Sri Lanka Guardian*)

“Global War on Dangerous Ideas,” *Greater Kashmir*, January 20, 2019. [with Samir Ahmad]

“An Opportunity for Regional Leadership in South Asia,” *New Atlanticist*, February 7, 2017.

“Pakistani Militants Have Created Their Own Political Party. Can It Actually Win Votes?” *Washington Post*, Monkey Cage, May 7, 2018. [with Niloufer Siddiqui]

“Bridging the Gap between Policing and Counterinsurgency in Pakistan,” *Military Review* (November-December 2016): 37-43. [with Farhan Zahid and Philip Hultquist]

“When the Strong Weaponize the Weak: States and Guerrilla Warfare,” *Sustainable Security* (Oxford Research Group), October 19, 2016.

“Between Radicalization and Violence,” *Political Violence @ a Glance*, June 23, 2016.

- “Peace by Assassination?” *Political Violence @ a Glance*, May 25, 2016. [with Gage Willand]
- “The Problem with Proxies: Ideology is No Substitute for Operational Control,” *Small Wars Journal*, September 27, 2015. [with Orr Genish]
- “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.
- “Between the East and West,” *Moscow Times* 4326 (Feb. 8, 2010), 7.
- “Generation Putin,” *Foreign Policy*, January 22, 2008.
- “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.

Awards, Honors, and Fellowships (selected)

2024. Academic Associate, Centre for Biomedical Ethics, Singapore
- 2023-24. Wilson China Fellowship, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars
2023. American Institute of Afghanistan Studies John F. Richards Fellowship
2022. Andrew W. Marshall Foundation Paper Prize Finalist in *New Revolutions in Military Affairs*
2022. Andrew W. Marshall Foundation Paper Prize Semi-Finalist (with Jared Schwartz) in *Future Reconfigurations in Asia*
- 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, 2019, 2022, 2023. Skidmore College Faculty Development Grant
- 2015-23. Judith Johns Carrico Faculty Grant
- 2014-15. Atlantic Council US-Pakistan Exchange Fellowship
2014. American Institute of Pakistan Studies 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
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. Foreign Language and Area Studies Summer Fellowship, South Asia Summer Language Institute (Urdu)
2011. American Political Science Association Centennial Center for Political Science and Public Affairs Fellow
2011. New York Public Library Short-Term Research Fellowship
2009. IREX U.S. Embassy Policy Specialist Fellowship, Kyiv, Ukraine
- 2006-07. Fulbright Fellowship, Moscow, Russia

Conferences, Workshops, and Invited Talks (selected)

Peace Pen Foundry Creative Writing Group, Washington, D.C., 2024

Upstate South Asia Workshop, Union College, 2024 (*panelist*)

University of Virginia Karsh Institute of Democracy and Carter Center, Charlottesville, VA, 2024 (*invited speaker*)

MIT Wargaming Lab Summer Institute, Dedham, Massachusetts, 2024

Wilson China Fellowship Conference, Washington, D.C., 2024 (*panelist*)

S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, 2024 (*invited speaker*)

Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore, 2024 (*invited speaker*)

School of Social Sciences, Public Policy & Global Affairs Program, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, 2024 (*invited speaker*)

Centre for Biomedical Ethics, Singapore, 2024 (*invited speaker*)

Sandia National Laboratories Strategic Force Analysis (Nuclear) Boot Camp, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 2023

Strategic Multilayer Assessment, Joint Staff/J-39 Deputy Directorate for Global Operations, 2023 (*invited speaker*)

Countering a Resurgent and Transnational Terrorist Threat in Afghanistan, Atlantic Council South Asia Center, 2023 (*working group participant*)

Research Security in Today's Geo-Political Era Conference, University of Waterloo, Canada, 2023 (*invited panelist*)

Technology and International Politics Workshop, Diplomatic Academy of Russian Foreign Ministry, 2023 (*moderator*)

Institute of Regional Studies, Islamabad, Pakistan, Regional Dialogue: Contemporary Traditional and Non-Traditional Security Threats in South Asia, 2023 (*speaker*)

U.S. Naval War College, Ethics of Technology, 2022 (*invited speaker*)

New York Conference on Asian Studies, 2022 (*panelist*)

Union College, Faculty Panel on War in Ukraine, 2022 (*panelist*)

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

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*)

Diplomatic Academy of Russia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Moscow, Russia, 2021 (*invited speaker*)

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

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

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

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

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

India Security Workshop, NYU-Abu Dhabi, 2019 (*panelist*)

Raisina Dialogue, New Delhi, India, 2018 (*delegate*)

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

Annual Conference on South Asia, 2013, 2014, 2015 (*panelist*)

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

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

Association for the Study of Nationalities Annual Conference, 2015, 2022 (*panelist*)

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

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

Philip Merrill Center for Strategic Studies Basin Harbor Workshop, 2014

Modern South Asia Workshop at Yale University, 2014 (*panelist*)

Research and Design for Causal Inference, Northwestern Law, 2014

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

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

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

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

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

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

National Seminar for Research Scholars, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi, India, 2011 (*panelist*)

Harvard University Post-Communist Politics and Economics Workshop, 2011 (*panelist*)

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

IREX/Woodrow Wilson Center Regional Policy Symposium, 2009 (*panelist*)

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

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

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

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

Russian Academy of Education Conference on Professional Education, Cheboksary, Russia, 2006 (*invited speaker*)

Teaching

Technology and International Politics	Soldiers, Diplomats, and Spies: The Art of Politics by Other Means
Politics of Modern Warfare	They Might Be Giants: The Global Rise of BRICS
U.S. Foreign Policy	Rebellion and Revolution
Politics of Modern South Asia	States, Rebels, and Warlords

Manuscript Reviewer

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

Service

Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad, Pakistan, History Department, External Evaluator (2024-Present); SeeMore Skidmore Program (2024); Andrew W. Marshall Foundation Experiment Reviewer (2023); Asian Studies Program Steering Committee, Skidmore College (Fall 2022-Spring 2023); Midwest Political Science Association “Politics of Developing Countries” Co-Section Head (2022); 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 University (2011)

Languages

Russian – fluent; Spanish – intermediate; Urdu/Hindi, Turkish, and Hebrew – introductory; Belarusian and Ukrainian – working knowledge; Mandarin Chinese – in progress