

**January 2017**

## **ALAN WESTON CAFRUNY**

Henry Platt Bristol Professor of International Affairs  
 Department of Government  
 Hamilton College  
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 Clinton, New York 13323 USA  
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 E-mail: [acafruny@hamilton.edu](mailto:acafruny@hamilton.edu)  
 Homepage: [www.hamilton.edu/academics/government/acafruny.html](http://www.hamilton.edu/academics/government/acafruny.html)

### **EDUCATION**

Ph.D. Government	1983	Cornell University Graduate School of Arts and Sciences
M.A. Government	1979	Cornell University
M.Sc. International	1976	University College University of London Relations Faculty of Economics and Law
B.A. History	1974	Kenyon College

### **ACADEMIC POSITIONS**

2013-2014	Fulbright Scholar, Faculty of World Economy and International Affairs, Higher School of Economics—National Research University, Moscow
1996-2007, 2009	Professor, Department of Government, Hamilton College Visiting Scholar, Center for European and Mediterranean Studies, New York University
1996-2004	Chair, Department of Government, Hamilton College; Acting Chair, 2016.
1994-2000	External Professor, European University Institute, Department of Political and Social Sciences
1993-1994	Visiting Professor, European University Institute, Department of Political and Social Sciences
1991-1996	Associate Professor, Department of Government, Hamilton College
1988-1991	Assistant Professor, Department of Government, Hamilton College
1982-1988	Assistant Professor, Department of Government and Foreign Affairs, University of Virginia
Spring 1982	Instructor, Cornell University
Spring 1981	Visiting Instructor, Colgate University

### **AREAS OF SPECIALIZATION**

- International Political Economy
- International Relations: History and Theory
- Comparative Politics/Comparative Political Economy: Europe
- The European Union
- International Law and Organization
- U.S. Foreign Policy

## **PUBLICATIONS**

### **Authored Books:**

- (2017), with Magnus Ryner, *The European Union and Global Capitalism: Origins, Evolution, Crisis* (London: Palgrave MacMillan).
- (2007), with Magnus Ryner, *Europe at Bay: In the Shadow of U.S. Hegemony* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers).
- (1987), *Ruling the Waves: The Political Economy of International Shipping* (Berkeley: University of California Press).

### **Edited Books:**

- (2017), with Herman Schwartz, *Power and Leadership in the Global Political Economy, Advances in International Political Economy, Volume 20* (Boulder, Colo. Lynne Rienner Publishers), forthcoming.
- (2016), with Leila Simona Talani and Gonzalo Pozo Martin, *The Palgrave Handbook of International Political Economy* (London: Palgrave MacMillan).
- (2013), with Herman Schwartz, *Exploring the Global Financial Crisis, Advances in International Political Economy, Volume 18* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers).
- (2003), with Magnus Ryner, *A Ruined Fortress? Neoliberal Hegemony and Transformation in Europe* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield).
- (1998), with Patrick Peters, *The Union and the World: The Political Economy of a Common Foreign Policy* (London: Kluwer Law International).
- (1997), with Carl Lankowski, *Europe's Ambiguous Unity: Conflict and Cooperation in the Post-Maastricht Era* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers).
- (1993), with Glenda Rosenthal, *The State of the European Community: The Maastricht Treaty and Beyond*, (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner and London, U.K.: Longman).

### **Articles, Book Chapters, Working Papers:**

- (2017) "The Gathering Crisis: German Power and Europe's Discontents" in Sergei Karaganov, ed., "European Security: A Way Out of the Deadlock" with Dmitri Suslov, Higher School of Economics, Moscow, forthcoming..
- (2017) "The Energy Factor in the Consolidation of the Atlantic Space" (with Dmitry Novikov) in Sergei Karaganov, ed., "European Security: A Way Out of the Deadlock" Higher School of Economics, Moscow, forthcoming..
- (2016) "The Transatlantic Imperium After the Global Financial Crisis: Atlanticism Fractured or

- Consolidated” in Cafruny, Talani, and Pozo-Martin, *Handbook of Critical Political Economy*
- (2016) “Hegemonic Stability: Origins and Development of the Concept” (with Herman Schwartz) in Cafruny and Schwartz, *Power and Leadership in the Global Political Economy*.
- (2015 “Двойной кризис Европы” (“Europe’s Double Crisis”) *Russia in Global Affairs*, Russian International Affairs Council, Moscow, Volume 1, February.
- (2015 “Europe’s Twin Crises: The Logic and Tragedy of Contemporary German Power,” Valdai Papers, #10, Valdai Discussion Club, January.
- (2015), “European Integration Studies, the EMU, and the Resilience of Neoliberalism in Europe: Postmortem on a Crisis Foretold” *Competition and Change*, Volume 18, No. 2. April.
- (2015) “The European Crisis and the Rise of German Power” in Johannes Jager and Elisabeth Springler, co-editors, *Asymmetric Crisis in Europe and Possible Futures: Critical Political Economy and Post-Keynesian Perspectives*, *RIPE Series on the Global Political Economy* (London: Routledge).
- (2014) “Par-delà L’Horizon: Hegemonie ou Declin de L’Empire?” *Agone: Histoire, Politique, et Sociologie*, 55.
- (2013), “Historical Materialism, Imperialist Rivalry, and the Iraq War” (with Timothy Lehmann) in Jennifer Sterling-Folker, ed., *Making Sense of International Relations Theory* Lynne, Rienner.
- (2013), with Leila Simona Talani, “The Crisis of the Eurozone” in Cafruny and Schwartz, *Exploring the Global Financial Crisis*.
- (2012), with Magnus Ryner, “The Global Financial Crisis and the European Union: The Irrelevance of Integration Theory and the Pertinence of Critical Political Economy” in P. Nousios, H. Overbeek, and A. Tsokalis, eds., *Globalisation and European Integration* (London: Routledge, 2012).
- (2012), with Timothy Lehmann, “Over the Horizon?” *New Left Review* 73, January-February.
- (2011), with Magnus Ryner “The Tragedy of the Euro and the Crisis of European Integration Theory” *Perspectives on Europe: Journal of the Council for European Studies*, 41,2, Autumn.
- (2010), “The Global Financial Crisis and the Crisis of European Neoliberalism” in Leila Talani, ed., *The Global Crash* (London: Palgrave MacMillan).
- (2009), “Critical Political Economy” (with Magnus Ryner) in Antje Wiener and Thomas Diez, eds., *European Integration Theory*, 2nd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press),
- (2009), “Europe, the United States, and Neoliberal European (Dis)Order: Is There a Coming Crisis of the Euro” (reprinted; originally published 2003) in Wyn Rees and Michael Smith, eds., *International Relations of the European Union Vol. II* (London: Sage).
- (2009), “Geopolitics and Neoliberalism: U.S. Power and the Limits of European Autonomy” in Bastiaan van Apeldoorn, Jan Drahokoupil, and Laura Horn, eds., *Neoliberal European Governance and Beyond—The Contradictions and Limits of a Political Project* (London: Palgrave).

- (2008), "Is the SGP Crisis Also a Crisis of the EMU?(with Magnus Ryner) Assessing the EMU from a Structural, Transatlantic Perspective" in L.S. Talani and B. Casey, eds., *Between Growth and Stability: The Demise and Reform of the Stability and Growth Pact* (London: Edward Elgar).
- (2007), "Monetary Union and the Transatlantic and Social Dimensions of Europe's Crisis" (with Magnus Ryner) *New Political Economy*, 12,2, June.
- (2007), "La Union Monetaria y Economica Europea y las dimensiones Sociales y Trasatlanticas de la Crisis de la Union Europea" (with Magnus Ryner) *Tercer Milenio*, Mayo 2007, XII, 13.
- (2006), "Marxism" *Encyclopedia of Governance*, Mark Bevir, ed., (Sage Publishers).
- (2006), "Hegemony" *Encyclopedia of Globalization*, Jan Scholte, ed., (MTM Publishers).
- (2005), "A Coming Crisis of the Euro? Transatlantic Subordination and the Social Contradictions of EMU" (with Magnus Ryner) in Matthew Evangelista and Vittorio Parsi, eds., *Partners or Rivals: European-American Relations after the Iraq War* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero ).
- (2005), "Historical Materialism: Imperialist Rivalry, and the Global Capitalist Order" in Jennifer Sterling-Folker, *Making Sense of International Relations Theory* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers).
- (2004), "A Ruined Fortress? Europe and American Economic Hegemony" *Connecticut Journal of International Law* 19, 3 (Summer).
- (2003), "The Geopolitics of U.S. Hegemony in Europe: From the Break-Up of Yugoslavia to the War in Iraq," in Alan Cafruny and Magnus Ryner, *A Ruined Fortress: Neoliberal Hegemony and Transformation in Europe*.
- (2003), "Europe, the United States, and Neo-liberal (Dis)Order: Is There a Coming Crisis of the Euro?" in Cafruny and Ryner, *A Ruined Fortress*.
- (2003), with Magnus Ryner, "The Study of European Integration in the Neoliberal Era in Cafruny and Ryner, *A Ruined Fortress*.
- (2002), "Transatlantic Trade and Monetary Relations: The Nature and Limits of Conflict," *International Spectator* 37, 3 (Oct/Nov.).
- (2002), "U.S. Hegemony," *Routledge Encyclopedia of International Political Economy* (London: Routledge).
- (1998), "The General Agreement of Tariffs and Trade and the World Trade Organization," *Encyclopedia of the European Union*, Desmond Dinan, ed. (Palgrave MacMillan).
- (1998), "The EU and the War in Former Yugoslavia: The Collective Diplomacy of Appeasement" in Cafruny and Peters, *The Union and the World*.
- (1997), with Carl Lankowski, "Europe's Ambiguous Unity " in Cafruny and Lankowski, eds., *Europe's Ambiguous Unity*.
- (1997), "Social Democracy in One Continent?: Alternatives to a Neo-Liberal Europe" in Cafruny and Lankowski, eds., *Europe's Ambiguous Unity*.
- (1995), "State, Class, and System: The Transformation of International Maritime Relations" *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol. II, No. 2.
- (1994), "Class, State, and Global Structure, "European University Institute, *Working Paper* (Florence, Italy).

- (1993), with Glenda Rosenthal, "The State of the European Community: Theory and Research in the Post-Maastricht Era (with Glenda Rosenthal, in *The State of the European Community*).
- (1991), "Towards a European Maritime Policy," in Leon Hurwitz and Christian Lequesne, eds., *The State of the European Community: 1989-1990* (London: Longman).
- (1990), "A Gramscian Concept of Declining Hegemony: Stages of U.S. Power and the Evolution of International Economic Relations Since 1945," in David P. Rapkin, ed., *International Political Economy Yearbook, Vol. 5, Studies in Global Leadership and Hegemony*.
- (1989), "Economic Conflict and the Transformation of the Atlantic Order: The United States, Europe, and the Liberalization of Agriculture and Services," in Stephen Gill, ed., *Atlantic Relations in the Reagan Era and Beyond* (New York: St. Martin's Press).
- (1988), "Whither United States Shipping Policy?" *International Trade and Transportation* (May).
- (1985), "The Political Economy of International Shipping: Europe vs. America," *International Organization* Vol. 39, No. 2 (Winter).

#### **Articles and Interviews in print and other media**

- BBC World Implications of the Trump Presidency, November 10, 2016-
- Valdai International Discussion Club "Prospects for the Transpacific Partnership" October, 2016
- Dagsavisen* (Norwegian Daily) "Increased resistance to transatlantic trade and investment partnership" 30 April 2016
- Valdai International Discussion Club "The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership" Sochi, October, 2015. Video interview
- RIA Novosti, "Obama Driven By Domestic Policy in Picking Tefft for Moscow Post" April 24, 2014.
- Financial Times* London, "U.S. Will be Powerful Force for Years to Come"(December 21, 2011).
- Financial Times* London, "Gaidar's Russia: Dangers Inherent in Shock Therapy" (Dec. 23,1993)
- "*The War in Bosnia: Crisis for the European Union*" in, *ESCA Review*, Vol. VII, No. 3, (Fall, 1994).
- Zaman* Turkish Daily, "EU with Turkey Will Still Be Under the NATO Umbrella" (October 25, 2005).
- The Breakfast Show Newstalk 93 fm Jamaica Radio*: Russian Elections and Europe's Response (December 6, 2007).
- The Evening Show 93 fm Jamaica Radio* "Kosovo Independence" January 18, 2008.
- The Evening Show 93 fm Jamaica Radio* "The Greek Debt Crisis and Implications for the EU" March 3, 2010.

## **ACADEMIC HONORS AND AWARDS**

2013-4 Fulbright Scholar, Higher School of Economics, Moscow  
 2008 *Europe at Bay* Shortlisted for 2008 IPEG Book Prize  
 1993-5 Executive Committee (elected), European Union Studies Association  
 1995 Class of 1963 Faculty Teaching Fellowship  
 1991 Henry Platt Bristol (Endowed) Chair  
 1986-7 German Marshall Fund Fellowship  
 1986 Visiting (resident) Scholar, Brookings Institution  
 1981 Graduate Research Fellowship, Cornell University  
 1980-1 Institute for the Study of World Politics Dissertation Fellowship  
 1974 Graduated with Distinction in History, Kenyon College

## **TEACHING**

### **Course taught at the Higher School of Economics(Moscow)**

Comparative Political Economy  
 US Foreign Policy

### **Course taught at European University Institute:**

Ph.D. Candidates: Seminar on International Political Economy; Principal supervisor,  
 5 doctoral theses; co-supervisor, 2 doctoral theses.

### **Courses taught at the University of Virginia:**

Graduate: Seminar on International Political Economy  
 Seminar on Political Economy and Development  
 Supervisor, doctoral and master's theses

Undergraduate: Introduction to Comparative Government  
 International Political Economy  
 The Politics of Developing Areas  
 U.S. Foreign Economic Policy

### **Courses taught at Hamilton College:**

Undergraduate: International Political Economy  
 European Political Economy  
 Introduction to International Relations  
 Introduction to Comparative Politics  
 Europe in World Affairs

U.S. Foreign Policy  
International Law and Organization

**SCHOLARLY PRESENTATIONS and INVITED LECTURES (Since 2000)**

- "The Rise of Populism and Europe and the United States, Inaugural Jean Monnet Lecture, Kings College London, October, 2016
- The Battle over Trade, Conference on Rules, Rights and Resistance: The Battle Over TPP and TTIP, Milano School of International Affairs, The New School for Social Research, NY, 30 April, 2016.
- "Is U.S. Hegemony Declining?" Higher School of Economics (Moscow), October 19, 2015.
- "Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership: Implications for European Economic and Social Cohesion," Conference of Europeanists, Paris, July 7-9, 2015.
- "The Troika and the Greek Elections" Roundtable on the Eurozone Crisis and Greece, International Studies Association Annual Convention, New Orleans, February 21, 2015.
- "Transatlantic Trade and Partnership and the European Crisis" Kings College London, November 25, 2014.
- "Crisis of the Eurozone and German Policy: Implications for Russia" Higher School of Economics, Moscow, November 20, 2014.
- "Germany and the Crisis of the Eurozone" Jean Monnet Lecture, University of Applied Economics, Vienna, December 17, 2013.
- "U.S. Trade Policy: Implications for Russia" Moscow Institute for International Relations, December 5, 2013.
- "The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership" Conference on Global Governance in an Unsustainable World" Higher School of Economics, November 16, 2013.
- "The Crisis of the Greek State" Roundtable Discussion on the Greek Crisis, International Studies Association, Annual Convention, San Francisco, April 3, 2013.
- "The Return of the 'German Question'" International Studies Association, Annual Convention, San Francisco, April 4, 2013.
- "Geopolitics and Geoeconomics of the Crisis of the Eurozone" Conference on Democracy and Financial Capital, Hans Bockler Stiftung, European Cooperation in Science and Technology (COST), University of Kassel, Germany, October 11-13, 2012.
- "The Crisis of the Eurozone" International Studies Association Annual Convention, San Diego, April 3, 2012.
- "Recasting the Petro-Imperium: The United States and Iraq After Withdrawal" (with Timothy Lehmann) International Studies Association Annual Convention San Diego, April 1, 2012.
- "Transatlantic Perspectives on the Crisis of the Eurozone" U.S. Consul General, Thessaloniki, Greece, March 17, 2012.
- "Origins of the Second Iraq War" "Oil, Conflict, and International Politics—a Panel Discussion, Colgate University, October 25, 2011.
- "The Global Financial Crisis and the U.S. Elections of 2012" Centre for European Studies, Kings College, University of London, October 19, 2011.

"European Response to the Global Financial Crisis" Department of Political Science, Linnaeus University, Vaxjo, Sweden, March 23, 2011.

"Economic and Geopolitical Implications of the Crisis of the Eurozone" International Studies Association, Annual Convention, Montreal, March 18, 2011.

"Europe, the Euro, and the Global Financial Crisis," Sponsored by the Jean Monnet Chair in European Integration Studies, Conference on "After the Lisbon Treaty, Skidmore College, November 5, 2010.

"Reflections on the Mid-Term Elections," Department of International Relations, Oxford Brookes University, October 12, 2010.

"The Obama Administration at the Mid-Point: The Politics of Stagnation," Centre for European Studies, Kings College, University of London, October 11, 2010.

"No Way Out? Tears in EU Unity" Global Futures Forum, Government of Canada, "Prosperity and Security: The Challenges of Uncertain Economic Times" Ottawa, April 16, 2010.

"In the Shadow of the Imperium? Institute for Critical Theory," Duke University, March 27, 2010.

"The Global Financial Crisis and the Crisis of European Neoliberalism" International Studies Association Annual Convention, New Orleans, March 17-21, 2010.

"Imperialist Rivalry and the Invasion of Iraq" (with Ted Lehmann) International Studies Association Annual Convention, New Orleans, March 17-21, 2010.

"Obama Administration After Year I: Change and Continuity" Department of International Relations Symposium Series, Free University of Amsterdam, January 10, 2010.

"The European Response to the Crisis" European Sociological Association Annual Convention, Lisbon, Portugal, September 7 2009.

"The Global Financial Crisis and the Obsolescence of European Integration Theory" Keynote speech, University of Warwick Conference: "Globalization and European Integration: The Nature of the Beast" June 5, 2009.

"European Responses to Globalization" Syracuse University Maxwell School of Public Affairs, May 20, 2010.

"State, Capital, and the Transatlantic Security Order: The Limits of European Autonomy," International Studies Association, Annual Convention, New York City, February 2009.

"Georgia on My Mind: Russia, the Near Abroad, and the Next U.S. President" Skidmore College, November 6, 2008.

"Globalization and the State in Europe" Workshop on Globalization and the State" The Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, May 19-20, 2008.

"The Imperial Turn and U.S. Power: Decline or Retrenchment?" International Studies Association Annual Convention, San Francisco, March 26, 2008.

"Economics of U.S.-European Relations" University of Bath, November 21, 2007

"The Future of Transatlantic Relations" Oxford Brookes University, November 16, 2007.

"The Bush Foreign Policy: A Retrospective" Colgate University, October 21, 2007

"Monetary Union and the Transatlantic and Social Dimensions of Europe's Crisis" Political Studies Association, University of Bath, UK, April 13, 2007.

"The Geopolitics of U.S. Hegemony in Europe" European Sociological Association, Political Economy Research Network, Amsterdam, Netherlands, September 1, 2006.



- "EMU and Europe's Crisis," Conference of Eastern European International Studies Association" University of Tartu, Tartu, Estonia, June, 2006.
- "Europe, the United States, and 'the Long War' International Studies Association Annual Conference, San Diego, March, 2006.
- The EMU and the Transatlantic and Social Dimensions of the Crisis of the European Union" (with Magnus Ryner), Conference of the European Sociological Association," Nicolas Copernicus University of Torun, Poland, September, 2005.
- "Europe in the World" Summer Institute at Chautauqua, June, 2005
- "A Coming Crisis of the Euro?" (with Magnus Ryner) Standing Group on International Relations, Fifth Pan-European International Conference, The Hague, Netherlands, September, 2004.
- "Transatlantic Relations and the Coming Crisis of the Euro" Workshop: European-American Relations after the Iraq Invasion," Cornell University, Institute for European Studies, April, 2004.
- "U.S. Foreign Policy: From Kosovo to Iraq and Beyond," Michael Dukakis Annual Lecture, American College of Thessaloniki (Greece), April, 2004.
- "A Coming Crisis of the Euro? Transatlantic Subordination and Social Contradictions of the EMU" (with Magnus Ryner), International Studies Association Annual Convention, Montreal, March, 2004.
- "'Vassals, Tributaries, and Barbarians': The American Empire in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century" Henry Platt Bristol Lecture, Hamilton College, February, 2003.
- "Europe, the United States, and the Emergent Neo-liberal Order" British International Studies Association, Annual Convention, London, December, 2002.
- "The U.S. & Europe After 9/11," Istituto Affari Internazionali, Rome, July, 2002"Is There a Coming Crisis of the Euro?" International Studies Association Annual Convention, New Orleans, March 2002.
- "The Unmaking of Political Europe: The Balkan Wars and the Consolidation of U.S. Hegemony, 1990-2000," International Studies Association, Annual Convention, Los Angeles, March, 2000.

## **SERVICE**

### **National and International Professional:**

- Valdai International Discussion Club. 2015-
- PhD Workshop Leader and Roundtable Speaker, Conference of Europeanists (CES), Network on European Integration and Global Political Economy, Paris, July 7-9, 2015.
- Plenary Speaker, Conference of Europeanists (CES) Panel on the Crisis of the Eurozone, Paris, July 7-9, 2015.
- External Reviewer, Fulbright Moscow, Fall 2013.
- External Review, International Affairs Program, Skidmore College, 2010.
- Co-Editor, *International Political Economy Yearbook*, sponsored by IPE Section of the International Studies Association, 2010-2015.
- Member, Best Dissertation Awards Committee, European University Institute, 2010-

- Member, Program Committee, Critical Political Economy Section, European Sociological Studies Association (ESA) Annual Convention, 2009.
- External Reviewer, Department of Government, Franklin and Marshall College, 2004.
- Grant Reviewer, Commission of the European Communities, 2001, 2003.
- Tenure and Promotion reviews, , Wellesley College, Mt. Holyoke College, Smith College, Drew University, University of Warwick (UK), University of Birmingham (UK), Colgate University, Kings College London, Georgia Tech University
- Principal Supervisor: Five Ph.D. dissertations, European University Institute, 1997-2000
- Member (elected) National Executive Committee, European Union Studies Association (1993-1995)
- Book Review Editor, *EUSA Newsletter*, 1990-1992
- Chair, EUSA Dissertation Fellowship Committee, 1995, 1996

### **Reviewer:**

- Cornell, California, Princeton, St. Martins, Routledge, Rowman & Littlefield, Lynne Rienner, MacMillan, Longman, Prentice Hall, McGraw Hill, Palgrave MacMillan

- International Organization*
- American Political Science Review*
- Comparative Politics*
- International Studies Quarterly*
- Polity*
- Journal of Common Market Studies*
- European Journal of International Relations*
- European Political Science Review*
- European University Institute, Department of SPS, *Working Papers*
- Comparative Political Studies*
- Review of International Political Economy*
- Millennium*
- Comparative European Politics*
- European Political Science Review*
- Critical Sociology*
- International Spectator*
- Political Studies Review*
- International Politics*
- Journal of European Public Policy*
- Review of International Studies*

### **Hamilton College:**

- Acting Chair, Department of Government, July 1, 2016--
- Committee on Appointments, 2011-12.

- Mentor, Hamilton College Posse 11, 2011-2013.
- Director, Hamilton College Program in New York City, 2002, 2007, 2009
- Director, Hamilton College Program in Washington, 1991, 2004, 2016, 2017
- Chair, Department of Government, 1996-2004, Acting Chair, 2016
- Middle States Committee on Governance, 1999,-2001.
- Advisory Council, Arthur Levitt Center for Public Affairs, 1995-2006,2008-20010.
- Curriculum Committee, 1997
- Committee on Investment 1990-1992
- Director, Model UN, Model EU

**Local:**

- Member of the Board, Mohawk Valley Resource Center for Refugees, 1997-2005
  - President of the Board, 2001-2003.
  - Member of the Executive Committee, 1999-2005

**My work reviewed: on request**