

VIRGINIA Q. TILLEY

Frank L. Klingberg Professor of International Relations

Department of Political Science

Southern Illinois University Carbondale

(Illinois, USA)

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DEGREES

University of Wisconsin-Madison (1997)	PhD in Political Science
University of Wisconsin-Madison (1994)	MA in Political Science
Georgetown University (Washington) (1988)	MA in Contemporary Arab Studies

CURRENT PROJECTS:

- Continuing research on the “question of Palestine”

RESEARCH INTERESTS:

- Politics of the contemporary Middle East
- Politics of indigenous peoples and settler colonialism
- Racial and ethnic conflict in nation-building (global comparative)
- Politics of economic development, inequality and poverty

INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

- Territories in Mandate Palestine (Israel, East Jerusalem, West Bank)
 - El Salvador and Guatemala (1994-1996, episodic)
 - South Africa (2005-2011)
 - Republic of Fiji (2011-2014)
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ACADEMIC WORK EXPERIENCE

July 2019 – present	Frank L. Klingberg Professor of International Relations (endowed chair)
Aug 2016 – present	PROFESSOR, Department of Political Science, College of Liberal Arts, Southern Illinois University Carbondale (Illinois, USA)

- Aug 2014 – 2016 PROFESSOR and CHAIR, Department of Political Science, College of Liberal Arts, Southern Illinois University Carbondale (Illinois, USA)
- July 2011 – June 2014 DIRECTOR and ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR, Governance Programme (Graduate), School of Government, Development and International Affairs, University of the South Pacific at Suva (Fiji Islands)
- Jun 2010 – Jun 2014 CONSULTANT and PROJECT LEADER: for South African Department of Sports and Recreation; research design for Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (Cape Town, South Africa)
- Jan 2006 – June 2010 CHIEF RESEARCH SPECIALIST - Democracy and Governance Programme, Human Sciences Research Council of South Africa, Johannesburg and Cape Town (Pretoria, South Africa)
- May 2005 – Jan 2006 SENIOR VISITING FELLOW -- Centre for Policy Studies, Johannesburg (South Africa)
- 2003 – 2005 ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR, Political Science Department, Hobart and William Smith Colleges (Geneva, NY):
CO-FOUNDER and CO-COORDINATOR: International Relations Major (2000–2005)
- 1997 – 2003 ASSISTANT PROFESSOR, Political Science Department, Hobart and William Smith Colleges, (Geneva, NY)
COORDINATOR: Development Studies Minor (1998–2004)
- 1996 – 1997 TEACHING FELLOW, Political Science Department, University of Wisconsin-Madison
- Spring-Summer 1995 PROJECT FELLOW, Political Science Department, University of Wisconsin-Madison:
1. Working Group on Cultural Pluralism
 2. Politics of Cultural Pluralism and the Nation-State
 3. Philosophical Foundations of Self-determination
- 1993-1994 EDITORIAL ASSISTANT, *Governance: an International Journal of Policy, Administration and Institutions*, under Editor Professor Graham Wilson, Department of Political Science – University of Wisconsin-Madison

1991-1992	COORDINATOR, Washington Office of the NACC/North American Coordinating Committee for NGOs on the Question of Palestine, Washington, DC (300 NGOs with consultative status to the UN Division on Palestine)
1988–1991	ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, Indigenous Peoples Program, EAFORD/ International Organization for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, Washington, DC: research, advocacy, representation to UN forums, US Joint Committee on Human Rights
1988–1990	ASSISTANT EDITOR: <i>Without Prejudice: the EAFORD International Journal of Racial Discrimination</i> (biannual academic journal)
1986-1987	PROJECT SUPERVISOR, West Bank Data Base Project, Jerusalem Institute (East Jerusalem)

ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS AND DISTINCTIONS

HONORS AND AWARDS:

- 2006 Congress of Central American Anthropologists: annual conference establishes *Seeing Indians: A Study of Race, Nation and Power in El Salvador* Book of the Year
- 1998 Congress on Latin American History-CLAH: 1999 Prize awarded for best English-language article, with Erik Ching "Indians, the Military and the 1932 Rebellion in El Salvador," *Journal of Latin American Studies* Vol. 30

PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS

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|---------|---|
| Current | Manuscript: <i>Reimagining Palestine</i> – under consideration by academic publishers |
| 2012 | Editor, <i>Beyond Occupation: Apartheid, colonialism and international law in the occupied Palestinian territories</i> . London, UK: Pluto Press. |
| 2005 | Author, <i>The One-State Solution: A Breakthrough for Peace in the Israeli-Palestinian Deadlock</i> . Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • UK edition: Manchester University Press, 2005 • Spain edition: Ediciones Akal, 2008 |
| 2005 | Author, <i>Seeing Indians: A study in race, nation and power in El Salvador</i> . Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press. |

COMMISSIONED RESEARCH REPORTS

- 2017 With Richard Falk. "Israel's Practices regarding the Palestinian People and the Question of Apartheid". United Nations Economic and Social Council for Western Asia (ESCWA). *Palestine and the Israeli Occupation Series*, Issue #1.
- 2006-2011 Reports commissioned from the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) of South Africa by the Government of South Africa. *Note: Data is normally embargoed: full reports are available from the HSRC or the respective ministry.*
- 2011 Co-author. "The Challenge of Researching Social Cohesion in South Africa" Commissioned as theoretical framework chapter for report to European Union on social cohesion: Project leader, Jare Struwig
- 2010 Project Leader and Editor of second (final) project stage. *Tsireledzani: Understanding the Dimensions of Human Trafficking in Southern Africa.* Programme of Assistance to the South African Government to Prevent, React to Human Trafficking. Commissioned by the National Prosecuting Authority, Republic of South Africa (March). 205 pages.
- 2009 Project Leader, editor and co-author with Du Plessis, M., Kattan, V., Koury, S., Reynolds, J., Scobbie, I., and Rosenberg, R. *Occupation, Colonialism, Apartheid? A Reassessment of Israeli Practices in the Occupied Palestinian Territories under International Law.* Commissioned by the Department of Foreign Affairs, Republic of South Africa, from the Middle East Project (Project Leader: V Q Tilley), 156,000 words.
- 2009 With HSRC team. *Social Cohesion and Nation-building in South Africa: the Impact of the FIFA World Cup.* Commissioned by the Ministry of Sports and Recreation, Republic of South Africa
- 2008 Author. "Why is Peace So Hard to Find? 'Final Status' Issues in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict." Commissioned by the Middle East Branch of the Department of the Foreign Affairs and the South African Parliament.
- MONOGRAPH REPORTS on Middle East politics for the Department of Foreign Affairs, Republic of South Africa:
- 2008 "Legal Status of the Abbas Government" (29 February)
- 2008 "Re-assessing Annapolis: South Africa's Role" (1 March)
- 2007 "Assessment of Policy Options for Diplomatic Relations with the Palestinian Authority" (17 June)
- 2007 "Coups or Counter-Coups? Assessing Rival Claims for Legitimacy in the Palestinian Authority" (27 June)
- 2007 "Israel's Declaration of the Gaza Strip as a "Hostile Territory" (20 Sept)
- 2007 "South Africa's Participation in the Annapolis Summit" (23 November)

- 2006 “Building “Revolving Door” Relationships between the Public Service, the Universities, and the Private Sector.” Commissioned by Department of Public Service, Republic of South Africa.
- 2006 With Democracy and Governance research unit. “European Union 10-year Funding Review.” Commissioned by the European Union.
- 2006 “Definition of the Tourism ‘Second Economy’” [on rural poverty alleviation]. Commissioned by South African Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism as part of larger project on poverty alleviation.
- 2006 Struwig, J., Tilley, Virginia, and Viljoen, J. *Successes and Challenges in Pro-Poor Tourism: New Models, Better Results*. Commissioned by Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism.

JOURNAL ARTICLES AND BOOK CHAPTERS

- 2017 “Battle for the Campuses: Israel’s Lobby and the Suffocating Politics of Language.” *Left History* Vol. 20, No. 2 (Spring/Summer)
- 2016 “Theorising Sovereignty and Settler Colonialism in South Africa and Israel-Palestine.” In Ilan Pappé, ed., *Israel and South Africa: The Many Faces of Apartheid*. Zed Books.
- 2015 “After Oslo, a Paradigm Shift? Redefining sovereignty, responsibility and self-determination in Israel-Palestine.” Special issue of *Conflict, Security and Development*: “Palestine/Israel after Oslo: Mapping transformations and alternatives in a time of deepening crisis”.
- 2010 “The Real Message of the “Developmental State” *HSRC Review* Vol. 8. No.22 (August)
- 2010 “A Palestinian Declaration of Independence: Implications for Peace” *Middle East Policy* Vol. 17, No. 1 (March)
- 2008 “Israel in Lebanon.” In Nuvar Hosvepian (ed.), *The War on Lebanon: A Reader* (Northampton, MA: Olive Branch Press)
- 2007 “Smoke and Mirrors?” In Aslam Farouk, ed., *The Future of Palestine and Israel*. Institute for Global Dialogue (Midrand, South Africa)
- 2006 “Israel in Lebanon.” *The MIT Electronic Journal of Middle East Studies* Vol.6 (Summer)
- 2006 “The Secular Solution: Debating Israel-Palestine.” *New Left Review* 38, Mar-April
- 2005 “The Politics of Racial Mixture.” In Paul Spickard (ed.) *Race and Nation, Identity and Power: Ethnic Systems Around the World*. Routledge Press

- 2005 "The Challenge to South Africa's Foreign Policy." *Policy: Issues and Actors*, Vol. 18, No. 8. (Centre for Policy Studies, Johannesburg)
- 2005 "International Norms, Ethnocracy and the Two-State Solution." *Arab World Geographer's Forum/Le géographe du monde arabe*, Vol. 8 No. 3.
- 2003 "The One-State Solution." *London Review of Books*, Vol. 25, No. 21 (6 November)
- 2002 "The Generation of Ethnic Conflict by the International System." In Cris Toffolo, ed., *Emancipating Cultural Pluralism*, SUNY Press.
- 2002 "The International Construction of Domestic Ethnic Conflict: The Modern State and Indigenous Peoples." In Dan Green, ed., *Studies in Constructivist Comparative Politics*, M.E. Sharpe
- 2002 "New Help or New Hegemony? The Transnational Indigenous Peoples Movement and "Being Indian" in El Salvador." *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 34, no. 3.
- 1998 With Eric Ching. "Indians, the Military and the 1932 Rebellion in El Salvador." *Journal of Latin American Studies* Vol. 30 (January)
- 1997 "Terms of the Debate: Untangling Language on Ethnicity and Ethnic Movements." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* Vol. 20 No. 3 (July)
- 1996 "Post-Confucianism: The Culturalist Approach to Understanding the East Asian NICs." *Asian Thought and Society: An International Review*, Vol. 21 No. 61
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INVITED TALKS AND ACADEMIC CONFERENCE PAPERS

- 2019 (*upcoming*) "First Global Conference on Dimensions, Repercussions of Israeli Apartheid and the Means to Combat It," Venue to be established (scheduled for 29 November)
- 2019 "Reinterpreting Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Implications of the ESCWA Report on Apartheid". Annual Conference of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago IL (4-7 April)
- 2019 *Invited Speaking Tour, Italy: "From Occupation to Apartheid: Understanding the Paradigm Shift/Dall'occupazione all'apartheid: capire il mutamento di paradigma."* School of Law, University of Turin (Turin, Italy); Faculty of Law, University of Ljubljana (Slovenia); and School of Law, University of Bologna (Bologna, Italy) (11-15 March)

- 2018 “Palestinian Self-Determination and the Problem of Apartheid.” Centre international de solidarité ouvrière, *L’Autodétermination du peuple palestinien : enjeux et défis*, Montreal, Canada (29 Nov-1 Dec)
- 2018 *Invited Speaker*: “The Apartheid Finding in Israel: Implications for a Just Peace,” Middle East Monitor Conference, (28 Sep-1 Oct), London, England
- 2018 *Invited Speaker*: “Is Israel an Apartheid State? And So What If It Is?” *Israel, Palestine and International Law Symposium*, Winnipeg, Canada (7-9 Sep)
- 2018 *Invited Speaker*: “Re-thinking the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Implications of the Apartheid Lens.” The Graduate Institute of Geneva, Centre on Conflict, Development and Peacebuilding. Geneva, Switzerland (19 Mar)
- 2018 *Invited Speaking Tour, France*: “Apartheid Israel? Politics and Implications/Israël d’apartheid? La politique et les implications,” hosted by BDS France network: Sciences Po (Paris), Université Jean Jauré Toulouse, Université de Grenoble, and Université de Saint-Etienne.
- 2018 *Invited Speaker*: “Is the US supporting an apartheid state?” Annual Conference of the Washington Report on Middle East Affairs and the Institute for Research: Middle Eastern Policy. National Press Club, Washington DC (2 Mar). C-Span video coverage: <https://www.c-span.org/video/?4419701/groups-host-conference-us-israeli-relations&start=2012>
- 2017 *Invited Panel Participant*: “Academic Freedom Trends and the Work of MESA’s Committee on Academic Freedom.” Special Panel, Middle East Studies Association Conference. Washington, DC (19 Nov).
- 2017 *Invited Speaker*: “Policy, Media, and the Palestine “Issue.”” Palestine Center, Jerusalem Fund Annual Conference. Washington, DC (17 Nov).
- 2017 *Invited Participant*: “Freedom of Opinion: Facing Up to the Threat”. International conference convened by the National Human Rights Committee of Qatar. Doha, Qatar (24 July).
- 2017 *Invited Speaker*: “Apartheid in Israel: The “So What” Question”. Panel: From Balfour to Apartheid. Palestine Expo, London, England (by Skype) (8 July).
- 2017 *Invited Speaker*: “Implications of the UN Report on Apartheid”. Arab Center Conference: “What Next for Palestine and the Palestinians?” Washington, DC (6 June).

- 2013 “Science and Nations in the South Pacific: Why each needs the other” (10 July) Symposium: Oceans and Nations: “Failed” States and the Environment in the Pacific. Pacific Inter-Science Congress, University of the South Pacific, Suva, Fiji Islands
- 2013 “Re-thinking Nation-building in the Pacific: The shared challenge.” University of the South Pacific, Suva, Fiji Islands (4 April)
- 2013 *Participant*: Papua New Guinea Symposium, Deakin University – Geelong, Australia
- 2013 *Invited Speaker*: “The United States and the (Re) Militarisation of the Pacific” (27 March) University of the South Pacific – Raratonga, Cook Islands
- 2012 “Social Cohesion: The concept and its discontents.” Centre for Citizenship and Globalisation, Deakin University – Melbourne, Australia
- 2011 “Race and Nation around the World”. University of the Western Cape, Department of Political Studies – Cape Town
- 2010 “Memory as Landscape in South Africa and Israel-Palestine: Names and renaming as a mode of nation-building”. Conference: Ethno-Politics in a Globalised World, Exeter Centre for Ethno-Political Studies, University of Exeter (UK)
- 2009 “International Human Rights and Post-Apartheid Africa”. Foreign Policy and Human Rights Colloquium, School of Law, University of Cape Town
- 2009 *Conference Co-organizer*: “Race and Identity in South Africa and Palestine”. Hosted by the Human Sciences Research Council of South Africa and the School for Oriental and African Studies, University of London – London, England
- 2009 *Conference Organizer*: *Re-Envisioning Israel-Palestine*. Hosted by the Democracy and Governance Programme of the Human Sciences Research Council – Cape Town, South Africa
- 2008 “Sovereignty and Settler Colonialism in South Africa and Israel-Palestine”. Seminar Series, History Department, University of the Western Cape – Cape Town, South Africa
- 2008 *Invited Speaker*: “Annapolis: Hope, Futility, or Veil?” Asia/Middle East Branch, Department of Foreign Affairs, Republic of South Africa

- 2008 *Invited Speaker: "The Conflict in Israel-Palestine"*. South African Army College – Pretoria, South Africa
- 2007 *Invited Speaker: "Local and National Identities in the Tourism Market"* University of Botswana, International Centre for Tourism Research – Gabarone, Botswana
- 2007 *Presented paper by Scott McKinney: "Economic Growth or Economic Well-being?"* Conference: De Soto's Mystery of Capital – Johannesburg, South Africa
- 2007 *Invited Speaker: "Dreams and Reality: Modeling Peace in Israel-Palestine"*. University of Minnesota-Minneapolis, USA
- 2006 *Invited Speaker: "Truth, the Media, and the Search for Peace"*. Mut zur Ethik Annual Conference – Austria
- 2006 *Invited Speaker: "Palestine, Israel, and Prospects for Peace"*. University of Toronto, Law School, International Human Rights Clinic – Toronto, Canada
- 2006 "Tourism and Race Relations in South Africa" Human Sciences Research Council, Seminar Series – Pretoria, South Africa
- 2005 *Keynote Speaker: "Safety and Violence in the Post-Colonial Middle East."* Safety 2006 Conference – Durban, South Africa
- 2005 *Panelist: "Bi-national or Federal Options in Palestine-Israel: Prospects and Feasibility"* Middle East Studies Association Conference – Washington DC
- 2005 *Invited Speaker: "The Political Geography of Peace"*. Centre for Middle East Studies and Diplomacy – Ben Gurion University, Israel
- 2005 "Meltdown in the Middle East". Human Sciences Research Council of South Africa – Pretoria, South Africa
- 2004 "Ethnic Tourism: Toward a Theoretical Model". University of Ireland at Galway, Department of Political Science, Galway, Ireland
- 2003 "The Impact of the Tourist Gaze on State Policy toward Indigenous Peoples." 51st International Congress of the Americas. Symposium: "Indigenous Rights, Dialogy and Relations to National States" – Santiago, Chile
- 2002 "Indigenous Peoples and State Identity Politics". International Studies Association Conference – New Orleans, USA

- 2002 Organized Panel: “International Relations in Indigenous Perspectives: Reconsidering the ‘Local’ and the ‘International.’” International Studies Association Conference—New Orleans, USA
- 2001 *Invited Speaker*: “Latin American Racial Nationalism-and Its Discontents in the 20th Century” CAAR—Collegium on African-American Research—Cagliari
- 1999 “Constructing the Domestic: The Demotion and Reconceptualization of Indian “Nations” as “Ethnic Groups” in the Emerging International Order, 1600–1870.” International Studies Association-Northeast Conference
- 1999 *Discussant at Conference*: *Beyond State Crisis: The Quest for the Efficacious State in Africa and Eurasia*, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA
- 1999 “The Ethnic State”. American Political Science Association Conference—Atlanta, USA
- 1998 “The Ethnic State: the generation of ethnic conflict in the international system” International Studies Association-Northeast Conference—Boston
- 1998 “State Racial Doctrines and Nation-Building in Central America”. American Political Science Association Conference—Boston, USA
- 1998 “La Nación Mestiza: Indígenas y la Construcción de la Nación en El Salvador” IV Congreso de Historia Centroamericana—Managua, Nicaragua
- 1998 “State Identity Politics in the Domestic Ethnic Arena”. International Studies Association Conference—Minneapolis, USA
- 1996 “Women as Carriers of Mayan Ethnic Identity: Contested Meanings” Gender and Identity Politics Colloquium—University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA
- 1996 “From History to Myth: Demographics of the 1932 Matanza in El Salvador”. Central American Historians Third Annual Meeting—San Jose, Costa Rica
- 1996 “Searching for the “Indian” in the Salvadoran Ethnic Arena”. MacArthur Consortium Working Group on Ethnicity—University of Madison-Madison
- 1995 “Terms of the Debate: dissecting ideas about ethnicity and ethnic movements” MacArthur Consortium on International Peace and Cooperation Workshop on Ethnopolitics and Conflict Resolution—Stanford U., USA
- 1994 “Enabling Ideologies of the Modern Latin American State: mestizaje and liberal economics.” Workshop on Ethnicity, the State and International Security—Stanford University, USA

AWARDS, HONORS AND GRANTS RECEIVED:

- Award: Frank L. Klingberg Professorship in International Relations (three-year professorship, 2019)
- Stipend: With Richard Falk. Report commissioned by the United Nations Economic and Social Council on West Asia (ESCWA): “Israeli Practices toward the Palestinian People and the Question of Apartheid” – USD 7000 (each)
- Grant: “Nation-building in the Pacific.” University of the South Pacific: Research Cluster in Governance and Public, Management: seed grant for 6-month activity program to develop regional consortium for research project (2013-2014): FJD 7500.
- Grant: Report commissioned on South African foreign policy in the Middle East. Department of Foreign Affairs, Republic of South Africa, (2007-2009), under auspices of the HSRC: SAR 600,000.
- Grant: Research on Middle East Politics, Foundation for Human Rights (South Africa), hosted by the Centre for Policy Studies, Johannesburg, 2005: SAR 50,000.
- Grant: With Joseph Schechla: Research on South Africa’s Middle East Policy, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Foundation, (hosted by the Centre for Policy Studies, Johannesburg, (2005-2006) \$5000
- Grant: Faculty Research Prize Hobart and William Smith Colleges, 2001
- Grant: Faculty Research Prize, Hobart & William Smith Colleges, 1998
- Grant: Dissertation Research: John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Program on the Third World’s Relationship to International Peace and Cooperation, 1994–96
- Grant: Research on Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, J. Roderick MacArthur Foundation (hosted by EAFORD-International Organization for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, Washington DC Office) (1991-92)
- Grant: Research on Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, Boehm Foundation (hosted by EAFORD) (1991-93)
- Fellowship: Centre for Contemporary Arab Studies at Georgetown University, Washington, DC: full fellowship (two years) 1986–88
- Grant: Travel to Middle East for research: Chattergee Foundation: travel to Middle East, 1984-85
- Fellowship: Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, 1984

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Offices Held and Honors Awarded in Professional Associations:

- Chair, College of Liberal Arts [Faculty] Council, Southern Illinois University Carbondale (July 2019 – present)
- Academic Freedom Committee, International Studies Association (2013-2016)

Consultancies:

- UN Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (2015-2017)
- Ministry of Health, Government of Fiji (2012-2014)
- South Africa Government:
 - Department of Sports and Recreation (2010-2011)
 - Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2008-2010)
 - Department of Environment Affairs and Tourism (2006-2008)

Membership in Professional Associations:

- Middle East Studies Association (1995-1998, 2016-present)
 - Midwest Political Science Association (2017 - present)
 - International Studies Association (2013-2018)
 - Latin American Studies Association (1997-2004)
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COURSES TAUGHT AT SIU:

- 205 Introduction to Political Ideology
 - 250 Introduction to Comparative Politics
 - 377 American Foreign Policy
 - 352I Ethnicity and Nationalism
 - 467 Middle East Politics
 - 466 Latin American Politics
 - 480 Senior Seminar in International Relations: The Politics of Humanitarian Intervention
 - Graduate Seminars:
 - Ethnicity and Nationalism
 - International Politics of Development
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LANGUAGES

- English (native), Spanish (good), French (fair), Arabic (fading)