



JULIANA GERAN PILON

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Dr. Juliana Geran Pilon is Director of the Center for Culture and Security at the Institute of World Politics in Washington, D.C. She also teaches at the National Defense University and the Air University's Air Force Culture and Language Center. Her most recent anthology, entitled *Cultural Intelligence for Winning the Peace*, was published by IWP Press in September 2009.

Her previous book, *Why America is Such a Hard Sell: Beyond Pride and Prejudice* was published in 2007, as was *Every Vote Counts: The Role of Elections in Building Democracy*, which she co-edited with Richard Soudriette. Her book *The Bloody Flag: Post-Communist Nationalism in Eastern Europe -- Spotlight on Romania* was published by Rutgers University Press in 1991, and her autobiographical book *Notes From the Other Side of Night* was published in the U.S. in 1979 (republished in 1994) then translated into Romanian in 1993.

Her anthology on civic education, funded by the Pew Charitable Trusts, *Ironic Points of Light*, was published in Estonian and Russian in 1998. She has also written and edited a textbook on civic education, which is being used, in country-specific versions, throughout Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan, endorsed by the Departments of Education in these countries. She has published over two hundred articles and reviews on international affairs, human rights, literature, and philosophy, and has made frequent appearances on radio and television.

During the 1990s, she was first the Director and later the Vice President for Programs at IFES, where she designed, conducted, and managed projects related to a wide variety of democratization projects. Born in Romania, she emigrated with her family and arrived in the U.S. as a teenager. After receiving her Ph.D. in philosophy from the University of Chicago, she held post-doctoral fellowships in international relations at Stanford University's Hoover Institution and at the Institute of Humane Studies. She has also taught at Roosevelt University, Indiana University, Emory University, St. Mary's College of Maryland, Johns Hopkins University, George Washington University, American University, the Center for Advanced Defense Studies, and Rochester Institute of Technology. She is a member of the Council on Foreign Affairs and has served on the board of advisors of the Auschwitz-based human rights organization Oswiecim Institute for Human Rights and the International Advisory Board of B'nai Brith.

Upon her departure from IFES, on Sept. 10, 2002, the Board of Directors passed a resolution in gratitude "for her many years of distinguished service and her tremendous contributions to [IFES'] cause," commending her "for her efforts in demonstrating that freedom and democratic ideals matter and that they are the primary tools needed to achieve a more peaceful and democratic world."

EDUCATION

University of Chicago: 1965-1969

Princeton University: 1969-1970

University of Chicago: 1970-1974

B.A. 6/69, Philosophy.

History and Philosophy of Science

M.A., 6/71; Ph.D. 6/74, Philosophy

The Hoover Institution on War,
Revolution, and Peace/Stanford U

Post-Doctoral Studies, 1979-1980,
International Affairs

HONORS

University of Chicago Scholarship Gift (1965-1969); Phi Beta Kappa (1965 and 1969); Nu Pi Sigma Honorary Society (1968); Woodrow Wilson Fellow (1969); Danforth Fellow (1969-1974). Also: Harvard Graduate Prize Fellowship, N.D.E.A. Title IV Fellowship, Ford Foundation Fellowship, Princeton University Fellowship, offered for graduate work, 1969. Emory University Research Grant, Summer 1978. Earhart Fellowships, 1979-1981 and 1991.

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

Member, Council on Foreign Relations.

Member, Board of Directors, Institute for Human Rights, Auschwitz, Poland.

Member, Board of Directors, Center for Assistance to NGOs, Bucharest, Romania.

Member, Board of Directors, Center for Participatory Democracy, Chisinau, Moldova.

Member, Advisory Board, *Democracy at Large* magazine, published by IFES.

Member, Editorial board, AGORA, Foreign Policy Research Institute.

Board member, Committee for a Peaceful Transition to Democracy.

Evaluator, Radio Free Europe (on Romania), Board for International Broadcasting.

Member, Working Group on Romania, Atlantic Council.

Consultant on Eastern Europe, National Geographic Magazine.

Member, International Advisory Board, B'nai B'rith.

Member, Selection Committee, Bradley Visiting Scholars, Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty.

Member, Selection Committee, Contemporary Issues Fellowships for Eurasian Students, and Selection Committee, Individual Advanced Research Opportunities to Eurasia for U.S. Scholars, IREX (International Research and Exchanges Board).

Member, Selection Panel, Center for the Study of the Presidency.

Honorary Member, Association of Election Officials, Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Languages: French (fluent), Romanian (fluent), Hungarian (good), Russian (some)

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

5/05 – current : Research Professor of Politics and Culture

Institute of World Politics, DC
Adjunct Professor, National Defense University
Adjunct Professor, Rochester Institute of Technology

- 2/03 – 5/05: Visiting Professor of Political Science - St. Mary's College of Maryland
Research Professor, Institute of World Politics, DC
- 8/02 – 2/03: Associate Director, Center for Democracy and Election Management
American University, DC
- 1992 – 8/02: Senior Advisor for Civil Society; Vice President for Programs;
Director of Programs for Europe and Asia
International Foundation for Election Systems, DC
Adjunct Professor, George Washington University, DC
Adjunct Professor, American University, DC
Adjunct Professor, Institute of World Politics - Boston University, DC
Adjunct Professor, The Johns Hopkins University, DC
- 1989 - 91: Earhart Fellow and Adjunct Professor, The Johns Hopkins University
Executive Director; Vice President
National Forum Foundation, DC
- 1988: Visiting Fellow - Heritage Foundation, DC
Consultant in International Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, DC
- 1981 1987: Senior Policy Analyst
Heritage Foundation, DC
- 1980 1981: Research Fellow
Institute for Humane Studies - Menlo Park, CA
- 1979 1980: Visiting Scholar and Smith-Richardson Fellow
Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace
Stanford University, CA
- 1977 1979: Assistant Professor, Department of Philosophy,
Emory University, Atlanta, GA

PUBLICATIONS AND RELATED ACTIVITIES

Books and Monographs

Cultural Intelligence for Winning the Peace, editor (Institute of World Politics Press, 2009).

Why America is Such a Hard Sell: Beyond Pride and Prejudice, (Rowan & Littlefield, 2007).

Every Vote Counts: The Role of Elections in Building Democracy, co-editor with Richard Soudriette (University Press of America, 2007)

Citizenship, Governance, and Participation: Your role in Civil Society of the XXI Century (co-author; IFES, 2002, 2003, 2004, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan). Published in Kyrgyz, Kazak, Russian, Tajik and Uzbek. Adaptations and selections published in Romanian, Armenian, Azeri.

Ironic Points of Light – An Anthology (Tallin, Estonia: Jaan Tonnisson Institute, 1998) Published in Estonian and Russian.

The Bloody Flag: Post Communist Nationalism in Eastern Europe: Spotlight on Romania (Bowling Green Ohio: Social Philosophy and Policy Center, 1992).

PLO Manipulation of the U.N. and United States Policy, Issues Report, Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting (CAMERA, Vol.1, No.1), March 1990.

The U.N.: Assessing Soviet Abuses, with Ralph K. Bennett, Institute for European Defence & Strategic Studies, London, 1988.

Notes From the Other Side of Night, (Regnery/Gateway, 1979). Published in Romanian as **Dincolo De Cortina Noptii**, by Editura de Vest, Timisoara, 1993. Reprinted in paperback by the University Press of America, May 1994.

The Global Revolution and the Need for Civic Education in the Former Soviet Bloc (IFES, 1995). Published in English, Ukrainian, and Russian.

Articles – in books or monographs

“Synchronizing Rhetoric, Policy, and Action,” in Michael Waller, ed., **Strategic Influence: Public Diplomacy, Counterpropaganda, and Political Warfare** (The Institute of World Politics Press, 2009).

“Obsolete Restrictions on Public Diplomacy Hurt U.S. Outreach and Strategy” – Heritage Foundation Backgrounder, <http://www.heritage.org/Research/NationalSecurity/bg2089.cfm>

“An Asset Built in Fits and Starts,” in Michael Waller, ed., **The Public Diplomacy Reader**, (The Institute of World Politics Press, 2007).

"Why America Is Such a Hard Sell: Beyond Pride and Prejudice" – Heritage Foundation Lecture, <http://www.heritage.org/Research/NationalSecurity/hl1003.cfm>

“The Indivisibility of Freedom,” University of Missouri-St. Louis, May 15th, 1998 [Lecture monograph]

"Encounter, at the End," in **Widziek Madrosc W Wolnosci** (Warsaw, KTP Press, 1991).

"The Problem of Antisemitism in Romania," in **The New Eastern Europe: Politics, Human Rights, and Jews**, (B'nai B'rith International, Washington, D.C., 1990).

"Becoming Part of the Problem," in **Taking Sides: Clashing Views on Controversial Issues in World Politics**, John T. Rourke, ed. The Dushkin Publishing Group, 1990.

Testimony in **Standards and Due Process, Procedures for Granting, Denying, and Revoking Security Clearances**, Joint Hearings before the Congress, Committee on the Judiciary Serial No. 85, October 5, Nov. 2, 16, 1989; Feb. 28, March 8, 1990.

Testimony in "Workshop on U.S. USSR Commercial Relations," April 17, 1989, **A Report to the Committee on Foreign Relations**, U.S. Senate, Congressional Research Service, June 1990.

"The U.N. and Shattered Illusions," in **Consent of the Governed**, ed. by Marcel Lewinski et al.; (Scott, Foresman and Co. 1987).

"The United States and the United Nations," in **World Politics Debated**, Herbert M. Levine, McGraw Hill, 1983. Also published in Poland by the Committee in Support of Solidarity (Krakow: 1987).

"A Brief Encounter" in **Henry Francis Regnery 1945-1979: In Memoriam**, Three Oaks, Michigan 1980.

Selections from Notes in Edith Blichsilver, ed., **The Ethnic American Woman**, Kendall/Hunt, 1979.

Articles

Interview with RFE/RL Chief Jeffrey Gedmin, *World Politics Review*, Dec. 12, 2008

"State Department Winging it on Public Diplomacy Programs," *World Politics Review*, Aug. 16, 2007.

"U.S. Needs a Coordinated Global Outreach Strategy," *World Politics Review*, May 16, 2007.

"Scholar Discusses Why United States Is Perceived Poorly Overseas," USINFO Webchat transcript, May 10, 2007

"Why America is Such a Hard Sell," *Heritage Foundation Lecture Series #1003*, March 20, 2007

"Pentagon Papers," *The American Enterprise*, Dec. 2005.

"Trust Civil Society," with Keith Henderson, in *Wall Street Journal-Europe*, July 3, 2002.

"Finding Home, and The City of Death," *The Washington Times*, Jan.27, 2002.

"Bosnia is Looking to the Future," *The Washington Times*, Aug. 16, 2001.

"Election Realities," comment on Fareed Zakaria, in *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 1998.

"Democratic Transition in Central Asia: An Assessment," *SAIS Review*, Summer-Fall 1998.

"Natural Society Revisited," *The Freeman*, June 1998.

"Democracy is the Latest Target for Development in Asia," *The Asian Wall Street Journal*, May 29, 1997.

"A Tale of Two Elections," *The Wall Street Journal-Europe*, Dec. 23, 1996.

"Ukraine's Metamorphosis," *The Washington Times*, Sept. 3, 1996.

"And Russia's Shaky First," *The Wall Street Journal-Europe*, Oct. 18, 1995

"Learning from Eastern Europe," *The Washington Times*, Oct. 1, 1995.

"What the People Think," *The Wall Street Journal-Europe*, Feb. 9, 1995.

"Moldova's Balance Between Russia and Reform," *The Wall Street Journal-Europe*, Feb. 23, 1994.

"The Ugly Face of Fascism in Romania," *The Wall Street Journal-Europe*, June 25, 1993.

"Romania's Stubborn Democrats," *Freedom Review*, vol. 23, No. 6, Dec. 1992.

"Despite Politics, Romania's Free Marketers Prevail," *The Wall Street Journal-Europe*, Oct. 7, 1992.

"Royal Return in Romania," *The Washington Times*, May 10, 1992.

"Post-Communist Nationalism: The Case of Romania," *The World & I*, Feb. 1992.

"A Great Man and a Great Idea," *The Wall Street Journal*, Nov. 18, 1991.

"Romania Waiting at the Gate?" *The Washington Times*, November 8, 1991.

"From Kafka to Hayek," *Policy Review*, Summer 1991.

"Despite Hardships, Central Europe Loves the Market," *The Wall Street Journal-Europe*, May 10-11, 1991. Reprinted in *USIA Wireless File*, June 27, 1991.

"Individualism and Ethnicity Reconciled," in *Contrapunct* (Counterpoint), Bucharest, April 1991.

Translation of "Wanderers" by Dan Pavel (from Romanian), in *The New Republic*, March 4, 1991.

"Window to a Revolution," *The Washington Times*, October 2, 1990.

"The Morality of Self Defense," *USA Today Magazine*, Sept. 1990.

"After the Deluge," in AGORA, vol. 3, no. 2, July 1990 and in *Romania Literara*, August 1990.

"Paths of Help to Romanians," *The Washington Times*, July 27, 1990. Reprinted in *Romania Libera* (Free Romania), Bucharest, July 29, 1990.

"Romania: The Reconstruction of a Nation's Heart," *The Wall Street Journal-Europe*, May 23, 1990.

"U.S. Soviet Scientific Exchanges," *The World & I*, March 1990.

"Romania: A Revolution Hijacked," *Uncaptive Minds*, Jan. Feb. 1990.

"Romania's Revolution: Is It Being Hijacked?" *San Diego Union-Sunday Opinion*, Feb. 25, 1990.

"After the Fall," *Reason*, March 1990.

"Ceausescu's Men: Trained by PLO and Libya," *The Wall Street Journal*, Dec. 27, 1989.

"Human Rights vs. Doing Business in the USSR," *Detroit News*, Nov. 30, 1989.

"The Untoppled Domino," *The Washington Times*, November 29, 1989.

"Pacifism and the West: An Apology for Suicide," *IMPRIMIS*, July 1989, Volume 18, No. 7.

"A Plea for Choice," *Chronicles: A Magazine of American Culture*, July 1989.

"Visit with Great Expectations," *The Washington Times*, July 3, 1989.

"High Tech Transfer Pressure," *The Washington Times*, April 11, 1989.

"Setting Up the Rope Factory," *The World & I*, Nov. 1988.

"Technology Leaks in Soviet Joint Ventures," *The Wall Street Journal-Europe*, Sept. 8, 1988.

"Human Rights in Romania," *Religion in Communist Dominated Areas*, Vol. II, 1988.

"The U.N.'s FAO: Becoming Part of the Problem," symposium feature article in *Social Science and Modern Society*, Sept./Oct. 1988.

"Too Many Deals with Moscow," *Los Angeles Herald Examiner*, Aug. 14, 1988.

"Looking On is Not Enough," *The Washington Times*, July 12, 1988.

"INFACT: Tax Exempt 'Class Struggle' Against Corporate America," June 1988 issue of "Organization Trends," Capital Research Center.

"Human Rights and Trade," *The Washington Times*, June 1, 1988.

"Waldheim Opened Doors for PLO in U.N.," *Moment*, April 1988.

"Partial Victory for Anti-Terrorism Forces," *The Washington Times*, Sept. 30, 1987.

"Should We Allow the PLO in the U.S.?" *Moment*, Sept. 1987.

"Congress on Target Against Romania," *Human Events*, July 4, 1987.

"Here's Why the U.N. Doesn't Have Money," *The New York Times*, June 30, 1987. Reprinted in *The International Herald Tribune*, July 1, 1987.

"Open Up the U.N.'s Nazi Files," *The Detroit News*, June 11, 1987.

"Israel Again Tests U.N. Group," *The Washington Times*, June 23, 1987.

"Congress to Romania: Shape Up," *The Washington Times*, May 19, 1987.

"Joining the U.N. Jackals," *The Washington Times*, March 30, 1987.

"Some Embarrassing Questions for U.N. Chief," *Human Events*, March 28, 1987.

"Correcting a U.N. Impression," *The Indianapolis Star*, Feb. 17, 1987.

"Will the World Health Organization Go the Way of UNESCO?" *Pharmaceutical Technology*, December 1986.

"America Must Shut Both PLO Offices," *The New York Times*, Nov. 8, 1986.

"Waldheim's U.N. Record," *The Washington Times*, Nov. 3, 1986.

"Just When the U.N. is in Range," *The Wall Street Journal*, Sept. 23, 1986.

"Swiss Reject U.N.," *Newport News*, June 3, 1986.

"Mircea Eliade, RIP," *National Review*, June 1986.

"The Bulgarian Nexus," *The National Interest*, No. 3, Spring 1986.

"Why Exclude Romania?" *The New York Times*, Nov. 2, 1985.

"Economic Warfare in Defense of Liberty," *Reason Papers*, No. 10, Spring 1985.

"Double Dealing," *Reason*, Feb. 1986.

"A Blow to the U.N. Charter," *The Indianapolis Star*, Aug. 27, 1984.

"The Romanian Distinction between Negative and Positive Liberty," *Studies in Soviet Thought*, vol. 23, 1982.

"Facing the Moral Attack on Capitalism," *The Freeman*, Aug. 1980.

"Trade and Human Rights," *The Baltimore Sun*, July 29, 1980.

"Selling Tanks to the Nazis, Missiles to the Soviets," *The Wall Street Journal-Asia*, June 25, 1980.

"Objectivity in Romanian Marxist Ethics," *Studies in Soviet Thought*, vol. 20, 1979.

"The Free Trade Human Rights Nexus," *The Wall Street Journal-Asia*, Dec. 7, 1979. Reprinted in *The Congressional Record - House*, Feb. 7, 1980.

"Morality and Commerce with China," *Los Angeles Times*, Nov. 27, 1979.

"A Defense of Realism, Not Essentialism," *The Personalist*, Jan. 1979.

"Anti Individualist Chords in the Romanian Marxist Rhapsody," *Studies in Soviet Thought*, vol. 19, 1979.

"Romanian Trade and Human Rights: A Hearing," *The Jewish Frontier*, Dec. 1978.

"On Popper's Understanding of Whitehead," *Process Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 3, Fall 1978.

"Lockean Roots of the Ontological Principle," *Process Studies*, Vol. 7, no. 4, Winter 1977-78.

"A Case Study in Cost Benefit Ethics: Utilitarian Approaches to Fetal Research," *Villanova Law Review*, vol. 22, 1976-77; a revised version in *Human Life Review*, Winter 1977.

"Whitehead and Solzhenitsyn on Freedom and Harmony," *Intercollegiate Review*, Winter 1976-77.

"Cartesian Roots of the Ontological Principle," *Process Studies*, vol. 6, no. 4, Winter 1976-77.

"Echoes from the Romanian Colony," *New Guard*, Sept./Oct. 1976.

"Semantic Problems of Fetal Research," *Human Life Review*, Summer 1976.

"A Return to Romania," *National Review*, Feb. 20, 1976; reprinted in *The Congressional Record-House*, Sept. 14, 1976.

"Responsibility Reconsidered," *New Guard*, July/Aug. 1975.

"A Case Against Ideology," *New Guard*, March 1975; reprinted in The Congressional Record-Senate.

Dozens of other op ed articles have appeared as reprints of Heritage Foundation studies, from 1981 to 1988, throughout the U.S. and abroad.

Reviews

George Lucas, **Anthropologists in Arms: The Ethics of Military Anthropology**, *International Journal of Intelligence Ethics*, Spring 2010, Volume 1, Number 1.

Meg Wilson, **Health Behaviors of Homeless Women: Using a Cross-sectional, Descriptive, and Non Experimental Design**, in *Gender Issues*, Vol. 25, No. 2, June 2008.

Josef Joffe, **Uberpower**, in *The Journal of International Security Affairs*, No. 13, Fall 2007.

Akbar Ahmed, **Journey Inside Islam**, in *World Politics Review*, May 31, 2007

Paul Hollander, **From Gulag to the Killing Fields**, and **The End of Commitment**, in *The National Interest*, No. 88, Mar/Apr. 2007.

Andrew Kohut and Bruce Stokes, **America Against the World: How We Are Different and Why We Are Disliked?** and Julia E. Sweig, **Friendly Fire: Losing Friends and Making Enemies in the Anti-American Century**, in *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Winter 2007.

Marek Chodakiewicz, **Miracle at Jedwabne**, in *The American Enterprise*, Papers & Studies, May 1, 2006.

Joseph Nye, Jr., **Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics**, and Claes Ryn, **America the Virtuous: The Crisis of Democracy and the Quest for Empire**, in *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Spring 2005.

Azar Nafisi, **Reading Lolita in Tehran**, in *The American Enterprise*, Dec. 2003.

Anne Applebaum, **Gulag**, in *The American Enterprise*, Aug. 2003.

Saul Bellow, **Ravelstein**, in *Humanitas*, vol XIII, No. 2, 2000.

American Beauty reviewed as "Shadows: Comments on the Modern Cave," in *Humanitas*, vol. XII, No. 2, 1999.

Jack Snyder, **From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict**, *The Cato Journal*, V. 20, #2.

Ralf Dahrendorf, **After 1989: Morals, Revolution, and Civil Society**, in *The Cato Journal*, vol. 18, no. 1.

"**The Portrait of a Lady**: A Case Study of Flawed Will and Imagination," in *Humanitas*, Vol. XI, No. 1, 1998.

"**The English Patient**: A Classical Tragedy of Love and Paradox," in *Humanitas*, vol. X, no. 1, 1997.

Francis Fukuyama, **Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity**, *Common Sense*, Fall 1995.

Andrew Nagorski, **The Birth of Freedom: Shaping Lives and Societies in the New Eastern Europe** (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993), *The World & I*, Jan. 1994.

Stjepan G. Mestrovic, **The Road from Paradise: Prospects for Democracy in Eastern Europe** (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1993), in *The Journal of Psychiatry & Law*, Fall 1993.

Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner, eds., **The Global Resurgence of Democracy**, in *Freedom Review*, Nov.-Dec. 1993.

Freedom in the World: The Annual Survey of Political Rights and Civil Liberties_(Freedom House, 1993), in *The Journal of Democracy*, July 1993.

Aharon Appelfeld, **Katerina**, in *The World & I*, March 1993.

Leszek Kolakowski, **Modernity on Trial**, in *Chronicles*, September 1991.

Ferenc Feher and Andrew Arato, eds., **Crisis and Reform in Eastern Europe**, in *National Review*, 1991.

Andrei Codrescu, **The Hole in the Flag**, in *The Washington Times*, June 31, 1991.

Vladimir Tismaneanu, **In Search of Civil Society**, in *Reason*, January 1991.

Aharon Appelfeld, **The Healer**, in *The World & I*, December 1990.

Eva Hoffman, **Lost in Translation: A Life in a New Language**, in *The World & I*, December 1989. Reprinted in AGORA, vol. 3, no. 1, Jan. 1990 (in Romanian) and in *Znak*, Feb. March 1990 (in Polish).

William E. Griffith, ed., **Central and Eastern Europe: The Opening Curtain?** in *The Washington Times*, Aug. 22, 1989.

Janusz Bugajski and Maxine Pollack, **East European Fault Lines: Dissent, Opposition, and Social Activism**, in *The Washington Times*, July 31, 1989.

Natan Sharansky, **Fear No Evil**; Vasyl Stus, **Selected Poems**; Irina Ratushinskaya, **Grey is the Color of Hope**; in *The World & I*, Aug. 1989.

Judy Shelton, **The Coming Soviet Crash**, in *The World & I*, July 1989.

Natan Sharansky, **Fear No Evil**, in *Social Science and Modern Society*, May/June 1989.

Raymond Gastil, ed., **Freedom in the World**, in *Chronicles: A Magazine of American Culture*, April 1989.

Janice Broun, **Conscience and Captivity: Religion in Eastern Europe**, *News Network International*, vol. 1, no. 2.

Mircea Eliade, **The Old Man and the Bureaucrats**, in *Reason*, Feb. 1989.

Vladimir Tismaneanu, **The Crisis of Marxist Ideology in Eastern Europe: The Poverty of Utopia**, in *Orbis* and *National Review*, April 7, 1989.

Nicholas N. Kittrie and Ivan Volgyes, eds., **The Uncertain Future: Gorbachev's Eastern Bloc**, in *The Washington Times*, Dec. 13, 1988.

I.M. Pacepa, **Red Horizons**, in *National Review*, April 1, 1988.

John J. Dziak, **Chekisty: A History of the KGB**, in *Human Events*, March 26, 1988. Also in *Orbis*, Spring 1988.

The U.N.: In or Out? A Debate Between Ernest van den Haag and John P. Conrad, *National Review*, Sept. 25, 1987.

Robert Conquest, ed., **The Last Empire: Nationality and the Soviet Future**, *The Washington Times*, Jan. 20, 1987.

- Vladislav Krasnov, **Soviet Defectors**, *Commentary*, Sept. 1986.
- Simone Signoret, **Adieu Volodya**, *The Wall Street Journal*, Aug. 15, 1986.
- Thomas M. Franck, **Nation Against Nation**, *The Detroit News*, Sept. 18, 1985.
- Arkady Shevchenko, **Breaking with Moscow**, *Los Angeles Times*, March 10, 1985.
- Richard Shultz, Jr. and Roy Godson, **Dezinformatsia**, *Policy Review*, Fall 1984, no. 30.
- Rolf Hochhuth, **A German Love Story**, *Chronicles of Culture*, March 1981.
- Alexander Podrabinek, **Punitive Medicine**, *Policy Review*, Spring 1981.
- Donald Konner and Gilbert Loescher, eds. **Human Rights & American Foreign Policy**, *Policy Review*, Spring 1981.
- Sandy Vogelgesang, **American Dream, Global Nightmare**, *Policy Review*, Spring 1981.
- Boris Smolar, **Soviet Jewry Today and Tomorrow**, *Studies in Soviet Thought*, vol. 21, 1980.
- Stephen M. Horak, **Russia, the USSR and Eastern Europe: A Bibliographical Guide to English Language Publications**, *Studies in Soviet Thought*, vol. 21, 1980.
- Paula Stern, **Water's Edge: Domestic Politics and the Making of American Foreign Policy**, *Studies in Soviet Thought*, 1982.
- Victor Herman, **Coming Out of the Ice: An Unexpected Life**, *Reason*, November 1980.
- Alexander Solzhenitsyn, **The Oak and the Calf**, *The American Spectator*, August 1980.
- Vladislav Krasnov, **Solzhenitsyn and Dostoevsky: A Study in the Polyphonic Novel**, *Chronicles of Culture*, July/August 1980.
- Mircea Eliade, **The Old Man and the Bureaucrats**, *Chronicles of Culture*, July/August 1980.
- Mircea Eliade, **The Forbidden Forest**, *Chronicles of Culture*, March 1980.
- Leszek Kolakowski, **Main Currents of Marxism**, 3 vols., *Intercollegiate Review*, Spring 1980.
- Philip T. Grier, **Marxist Ethical Theory in the Soviet Union**, *Studies in Soviet Thought*, vol. 19, 1979.
- A. Solzhenitsyn, **Gulag Archipelago III**, *Modern Age*, Autumn 1978.
- Mircea Eliade, **No Souvenirs**, *The Alternative*, August/September 1977.
- V. Maximov, ed., **Kontinent**, *The Alternative*, Feb. 1977.
- Ion Ratiu, **Contemporary Romania**, *Modern Age*, Winter 1977.
- Abram Tertz, **A Voice from the Chorus**, *The Alternative*, Oct. 1976.
- R. L. Kane et al. **The Health Gap: Medical Services and the Poor**, *Journal of the American Medical Association*

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S. R. Ingman and A. E. Thomas, eds., **Topias and Utopias in Health Policy Studies**, *JAMA*, June 14, 1976.

B. Schoenberg et al., **Bereavement: Its Psychological Aspects**, *JAMA*, May 10, 1976.

Alexander Solzhenitsyn, **Gulag Archipelago II**, *The Alternative*, April 1976.

Valery Chalidze, **To Defend These Rights**, *Modern Age*, Spring 1976.

J. J. Kockelman and T. T. Kisiel, eds., **Phenomenology and the Natural Sciences**, *ISIS* (The History of Science magazine), vol. 62, no. 4, 1971.

Reviews of literary criticism, contemporary French literature, and poetry, *Chicago Literary Review*, Dec. 1966, Feb. 1967, June 1967, Feb. 1968.

Heritage Foundation Publications (1980s)

"A Yellow Light on U.S. Joint Ventures with the Soviets," Aug. 4, 1988.

"The U.N.'s Food and Agriculture Organization: Becoming Part of the Problem," Jan. 4, 1988.

"The Center for Transnational Corporations: How the U.N. Injures Poor Nations," Oct. 5, 1987.

"A U.S. Agenda for the World Health Organization," April 28, 1987.

"A Dozen Questions for Congress to Ask the U.N. Secretary General," March 4, 1987.

"Assessing the U.N.'s 41st General Assembly," Jan. 22, 1987.

"The Report that the U.N. Wants to Suppress: Soviet Atrocities in Afghanistan," Jan. 12, 1987.

"At the U.N., Soviet Fronts Pose as NGOs," Dec. 1986.

"The U.N.: Its Problems and What to Do About Them," Sept. 16, 1986.

Executive Memorandum #132: "Four Ways of Halting U.N. Based Spying Against the United States," Sept. 3, 1986.

"Romania Breaks Its Bargain With the U.S. on Trade Favors," Aug. 1, 1986.

Executive Memorandum #120: "For Yassir Arafat, the U.S. Must Be Off Limits," May 21, 1986.

"For the World Health Organization, The Moment of Truth," April 30, 1986.

"The U.N. is Not Exempt from Budget Belt Tightening," written with Roger Brooks, Feb. 28, 1986.

"The PLO's Valuable Ally, the U.N.," Dec. 17, 1985.

"Why Romania No Longer Deserves to Be a Most Favored Nation," June 26, 1985.

"The U.N. Relief and Works Organization Has Failed the Palestinian Refugees," May 28, 1985.

"Are U.N. Camps Cheating Refugees in Honduras?" July 23, 1984.

“Human Rights” and “International Organizations.” in **Mandate for Leadership**, Vol. II.

U.N. Chapters in **Agenda '83** and **Agenda '84**.

Introduction, section on human rights, and appendix on human rights in the U.N. Report on P.L. 98 164, June 18, 1984.

Executive Memorandum #54: "It's Time to Curb U.N. Based Spies," June 7, 1984.

"The Many Ways the U.N. Serves the USSR," May 3, 1984.

"The Tariff Act of 1930: Taking a Stand Against Slave Labor," Feb. 8, 1984.

"P. L. 98 194: The U.N. Under Scrutiny," Jan. 17, 1984.

Executive Memo. #42: "The Hypocrisy of U.N. Human Rights Day," Dec. 6, 1983.

"Moscow's U.N. Outpost," Nov. 22, 1983.

"Closing the U.S. Soviet Diplomatic Gap," Oct. 18, 1983.

"Staunching the Technology Flow to Moscow," Sept. 23, 1983 (co authored with Bruce Weinrod).

"The United Nations' Campaign Against Israel," June 16, 1983.

Executive Memorandum #20: "Blinking at the Law, the State Department Helps the PLO," April 19, 1983.

"Americans at the U.N.: An Endangered Species," Feb. 14, 1983.

Executive Memo. #7: "What Does the U.N. Have Against Israel?" Oct. 21, 1982.

"Slave Labor and the Soviet Pipeline," Sept. 1982.

"Through the Looking Glass: The Political Culture of the U.N.," Aug. 27, 1982.

"The U.N. and Human Rights: The Double Standard," May 11, 1982.

"Strategic Trade with Moscow: U.S. Leverage in the Polish Crisis," January 2, 1982.
Numerous radio and TV appearances.

Publications listed on Amazon: http://www.amazon.com/s/ref=nb_ss_b/103-8592559-1287810?url=search-alias%3Dstripbooks&field-keywords=juliana+geran+pilon

RECENT COURSES

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Center for Advanced Defense Studies/ Rochester Institute of Technology

- Intelligence Analysis
- Examining Terrorist Groups
- 21st Century Terrorism (online course, Spring 2009)

Air Force Culture and Language Center, Air University

- Introduction to Culture (online course, Spring 2010)

Book Cover Endorsements

WHY AMERICA IS SUCH A HARD SELL: BEYOND PRIDE AND PREJUDICE

Rowman & Littlefield, 2007

“How can the country that attracts immigrants from around the world -- many of whom risk their lives to take on marginal and difficult lives as illegals -- be concurrently hated by so many others? Juliana Pilon provides provocative insights into one of the world's true "love/hate" relationships and points to the many missteps, some thoughtless, others cynical and calculated, that contribute to international ambivalence about the United States, its policies, and its culture. In the last in particular, Dr. Pilon draws needed attention to the global impacts, intended or otherwise, of a popular culture that is often as difficult for others to ignore as it is for Americans to defend.”

William M. Nolte is the director of education and training in the office of the Director of National Intelligence and the chancellor of the National Intelligence University. He is a former Deputy Assistant Director of Central Intelligence, Central Intelligence Agency.

“Juliana Pilon brings substantial doses of international political experience and wisdom to bear on the vexing question of how America can do a better job of making itself understood in the world. Her ideas cut across stale partisan lines of debate and offer a host of practical ways for moving forward.”

Thomas Carothers, Vice President for Studies–International Politics and Governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, is the founder and director of the Democracy and Rule of Law Project at CEIP.

“Juliana Pilon offers a sober and insightful analysis with solid recommendations on how to reverse the declining perception of the United States overseas. This is a must read for anyone who is concerned about how these perceptions are adversely impacting the U.S. role in the world and looking for concrete ideas about what to do about it.”

Kevin F. F. Quigley, President, National Peace Corps Association. Dr. Quigley has held senior positions in civil society and government, as well as various research institutions, notably as Acting CEO of the Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation; Executive Director of the Global Alliance for Workers and Communities, Vice President of Policy and Business at the Asia Society; Director of Public Policy at the Pew Charitable Trusts.

“Why America is Such a Hard Sell is a thoughtful analysis of the world situation and why America’s world reputation is tarnished. Juliana Pilon offers hopeful and practical ways of combating this image problem. This book is important because Pilon stays above the political fray, giving her solutions an air of legitimacy rarely seen in contemporary analysis. Pilon's compassion is like a beacon of hope for everyone in this divided world. I strongly encourage everybody to read this book.”

Ambassador Akbar S. Ahmed, is the Ibn Khaldun Chair of Islamic Studies at American University in Washington, DC. According to BBC, he is considered "the world's leading authority on contemporary Islam." He is former High Commissioner of Pakistan to Great Britain, and has advised Prince Charles and met with President George W. Bush on Islam.

EVERY VOTE COUNTS: THE ROLE OF ELECTIONS IN BUILDING DEMOCRACY

University Press of America, 2007

“*Every Vote Counts* carries an underlying message that democracy is attainable on every continent and can help make the world a more peaceful and humane place..... Read this book, reflect on it, learn from it, and use it as you go forward to help return the power to determine a nation’s future to its own people.”

Lech Walesa, former President of Poland (1980-1993)

**THE BLOODY FLAG: POST-COMMUNIST NATIONALISM IN EASTERN EUROPE -
SPOTLIGHT ON ROMANIA**

Rutgers University Press, 1991

“Juliana Geran Pilon’s book on present-day nationalism in Eastern Europe is as penetrating as it is wide-ranging. It presents the philosophical and historical basis for nationalism in general, for the specific types of nationalism to be seen in the area, and also for the characteristics they have in common. The very dangerous possibilities which such nationalism may provoke are clear enough today in the Yugoslav case; and serious analysis - of which there is anyhow too little found in the West - is to be welcomed. A particular strength of Dr. Pilon’s work is her analysis of the relationship between Communism and nationalism..... We must all be grateful to Dr. Pilon for her broad and stimulating contribution to the literature.”

Robert Conquest is the author of twenty-one books on Soviet history, politics, and international affairs, including the classic The Great Terror—which has been translated into twenty languages—and the acclaimed Harvest of Sorrow (1986). His most recent works are Reflections on a Ravaged Century (1999) and The Dragons of Expectation (2005). His many awards and honors include the Jefferson Lectureship, the highest honor government for achievement in the humanities (1993), and the Presidential Medal of Freedom (2005).

“*The Bloody Flag* is the first serious study of the question which is currently very much on everyone’s mind: As the ideological vacuum left behind after the collapse of the Communist regimes in East-Central Europe seems to be filling with nationalism - and as economic conditions there approach those of the Weimar Republic - is there a chance for a successful transition to liberal democracy? Are these new forces destined to be destructive and ugly, or can they be constructive and healing?”

Vladimir Bukovsky, who spent nearly 12 years in Soviet prisons, labor camps and psychiatric hospitals for nonviolent human rights activities, is the author of several books, including "To Build a Castle" and "Judgment in Moscow."

“Nationalism as the basis of culture and spiritual values has been enormously important in the twentieth century. Pilon’s *The Bloody Flag* puts in excellent perspective the roots and significance of this political and ideological force.”

Frank Shakespeare was president of CBS Television in New York when he was appointed Director of the United States Information Agency in 1969. He later became chairman of the Board for International Broadcasting. He was also United States Ambassador to Portugal and Ambassador to the Holy See.

NOTES FROM THE OTHER SIDE OF NIGHT

Regnery/Gateway, 1979

“There are scenes in this book that the reader will never forget - such as the celebration of the Passover, performed in the greatest secrecy. And there are fascinating, exceptional characters, admirably portrayed... Like Nadejda Mandelstam in her *Hope Against Hope*, Juliana writes with a detached, if sometimes melancholy, sobriety, free from melodrama, about events and characters that illustrate Hannah Arendt’s terrifying ‘banality of evil.’ But Juliana remembers as well those few who managed to remain genuine human beings till the end, defying all danger. And she puts it so well, yet so simply: ‘there is nothing banal about the good....’ In essence, what she tells of the survivors, the representatives of a humanity that seemed so natural before the war, is not only deeply moving but heartening and invigorating as well. Rereading the story, one begins, once more, to believe in man....”

Mircea Eliade, Sewell L. Avery Distinguished Service Professor in the Divinity School and the Committee for Social

*Thought at the University of Chicago, died in 1986. He was a historian of religions, phenomenologist of religion, and author of novels, novellas, and short stories. The **Encyclopedia Britannica** describes him as “one of the most influential scholars of religion of the 20th century and one of the world’s foremost interpreters of #religious symbolism and myth.”*