

As of October 14, 2009

## ISSS/ISAC 2009 Conference Program



Thursday, October 15 – Saturday, October 17, 2009  
Hyatt Regency Monterey Resort and Spa  
Monterey, California

### **Insecurity and Durable Disorder: Challenges to the State in an Age of Anxiety**

International Security Studies  
Section (ISSS) of the  
International Studies Association

International Security and Arms  
Control Section (ISAC) of the  
American Political Science  
Association

#### **Sponsored by:**

The Naval Postgraduate School  
James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies

#### **Co-sponsored by:**

L-3 Global Security & Engineering Solutions  
World Affairs Council of Monterey Bay

**Thursday, October 15, 2009**

**6:00pm – 8:00pm: Conference Registration in Mark Thomas Foyer North (the lower level of the Regency Conference Center)**

**Name tags and conference folders will be distributed**

**Note: Hotel guests should check in first at the Hyatt main lobby**

**6:00pm – 8:00pm: Reception (Room: Oak Tree 1-3 and Terrace)**

#### *Note:*

*Conference events will be held in the Hyatt's Regency Conference Center*

**Friday October 16, 2009**

**Conference registration continues, 8:00am – 6:00pm (Mark Thomas Foyer North)**

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**Continental Breakfast: 7:00am – 8:00am** (Room: Regency 4-5)

**Session 1: 8:00am-9:45am**

Panel 1A: Environmental Security and the Arctic (Room: Windjammer 1)

Chair and Discussant – Barry Zellen, Naval Postgraduate School, Center for Contemporary Conflict

Paper 1 – James Manicom, University of Toronto/ Flinders University, “Climate Change, Extended Continental Shelf Claims and Maritime Territorial Disputes in the High Arctic,” [mini0008@flinders.edu.au](mailto:mini0008@flinders.edu.au)

Paper 2 – Barry Zellen, Naval Postgraduate School, “The Inuit, the State, and the Durability of a Post-Arctic World,” [bszellen@nps.edu](mailto:bszellen@nps.edu)

Panel 1B: Latin America Security (Room: Windjammer 3)

Panel Chair and Discussant: Harold Trinkunas, Naval Postgraduate School

Paper 1- Arturo Sotomayor, Naval Postgraduate School, “We’ll See You in Court! Forum Shopping and Territorial Dispute Settlement in Latin America,” [acsotoma@nps.edu](mailto:acsotoma@nps.edu)

Paper 2 – Damon Coletta, U.S. Air Force Academy, “Venezuelan Civil-Military Relations as a Coordinate System,” [damon.coletta@usafa.edu](mailto:damon.coletta@usafa.edu)

Panel 1C: Asian Security Policies (Room: Windjammer 2)

Panel Chair: Sharad Joshi, Monterey Institute for International Studies

Paper 1 – Trin Thi Nguyet, National Chung Hsing University, Taiwan, “Changes in Vietnam's Policy Toward the US during 1986-1995,” [nguyetnchu@gmail.com](mailto:nguyetnchu@gmail.com)

Paper 2 – Alexis Littlefield, National Chung Hsing University, Taiwan, “Examining the Dynamics of Sino-U.S. Trade Asymmetry Upon International Security,” [alexlittlefield@gmail.com](mailto:alexlittlefield@gmail.com)

Paper 3 – William R. Thompson, Indiana University, and David P. Rapkin, University of Nebraska, “A Forward Reasoning Approach to the Possibility of a U.S.-China Transition,” [wthomps@indiana.edu](mailto:wthomps@indiana.edu) and [drapkin2@unl.edu](mailto:drapkin2@unl.edu)

Paper 4 – Stephani Lieggi, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, MIIS, “From Proliferator to Responsible Partner? China’s Enforcement of Strategic Trade Controls and its Implications,” [slieggi@exchange.miis.edu](mailto:slieggi@exchange.miis.edu)

Panel 1D: Nuclear Issues in the Gulf and South Asia (Room: Cypress 3)

Chair and Discussant: Mario Carranza, Texas A&M University-Kingsville, [kfmec02@tamuk.edu](mailto:kfmec02@tamuk.edu)

Paper 1 – Ayesha Ray, King's College, Pennsylvania, “Indian Nuclear Strategy and Pakistani Civil-Military Relations,” [ayesharay@gmail.com](mailto:ayesharay@gmail.com) and [ayesharay@kings.edu](mailto:ayesharay@kings.edu)

Paper 2 – Justin Hastings, Sam Nunn School of International Affairs, “The AQ Khan Network: A Reappraisal,” [jvhastings@gmail.com](mailto:jvhastings@gmail.com)

Paper 3 – Gaukhar Mukhatzanhova, Monterey Institute of International Studies, “Pride and Prejudice: The Motivations behind Iran’s Nuclear Program and Potential Developments,”

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[gmukhatz@exchange.miis.edu](mailto:gmukhatz@exchange.miis.edu)

Paper 4 - Karthika Sasikumar, San Jose State University, "India and Iran in the Global Nuclear Order," [karthika.sasikumar@gmail.com](mailto:karthika.sasikumar@gmail.com); [karthika.sasikumar@sjsu.edu](mailto:karthika.sasikumar@sjsu.edu)

#### Panel 1E: Population and Demography (Room: Windjammer 4)

Chair: Mike Kiraly, Sonoma State

Paper 1 – Sorin Lungu, National Defense University, "Strategic Studies, Political Demography and 21st Century Religious Dynamics," [LunguS@ndu.edu](mailto:LunguS@ndu.edu)

Paper 2 – Kelly M. Greenhill, Tufts and Harvard Universities, "Weapons of Mass Migration: Forced Displacement as an Instrument of Coercion," [kgreenhill@gmail.com](mailto:kgreenhill@gmail.com)

Paper 3 – Anton Minkov, Defence R&D Canada, "Impact of Demographics on Regime Stability and Security in the Middle East: A Conceptual Framework," [Anton.Minkov@drdc-rddc.gc.ca](mailto:Anton.Minkov@drdc-rddc.gc.ca)

Paper 4 – Mike Kiraly, Sonoma State, "Global Population Demographics," [Kiraly@sonoma.edu](mailto:Kiraly@sonoma.edu)

#### Panel 1F: Diplomacy and World Politics (Room: Big Sur 1)

Chair and Discussant: Robert Merz

Paper 1 – Katherine Brown, Columbia University, "Strengthening 21st Century Statecraft: Integrated and Iterative Public Diplomacy," [katherineannbrown@gmail.com](mailto:katherineannbrown@gmail.com), [kab2164@columbia.edu](mailto:kab2164@columbia.edu), [tom.glaisyer@gmail.com](mailto:tom.glaisyer@gmail.com)

Paper 2 – Nicole J. Jackson, Simon Fraser University, "International Influences and Autocratic Consolidation [in Russia and Central Asia]," [Nicole\\_Jackson@sfu.ca](mailto:Nicole_Jackson@sfu.ca)

Paper 3 – Robert Merz and James Merz, "The Structural Sources of Global Insecurity and Perception Management," [bobmerz47@hotmail.com](mailto:bobmerz47@hotmail.com), [Merz\\_Robert@bah.com](mailto:Merz_Robert@bah.com)

#### Panel 1G: Wartime Operations in Iraq and Afghanistan (Room: Big Sur 2)

Panel Chair and Discussant: Jeff Larsen, SAIC

Paper 1 – James Russell and Theo Farrell, Naval Postgraduate School and King's College, "Innovation in War: US COIN Operations in Anbar and Ninewa, 2005-2007," [jarussel@nps.edu](mailto:jarussel@nps.edu)

Paper 2 – Stephen Grenier, Department of Defense, "We Can't Just Blame Bush: A Critical Analysis of American Advisory Efforts in Afghanistan, 2002-2008," [stephen.grenier@gmail.com](mailto:stephen.grenier@gmail.com)

Paper 3 – Leo J. Blanken and Jason J. Lepore, "The Metric Demon: The Impact of Imperfect Measures of Organizational Success on Military Force Structures," [ljblanke@nps.edu](mailto:ljblanke@nps.edu)

#### **Session 2: 10:00am-11:45am**

#### Panel 2A: Food, Land, and Durable Disorder (Room: Windjammer 1)

Panel Chair and Discussant: David H. Sacko, U.S. Air Force Academy, [David.Sacko@usafa.edu](mailto:David.Sacko@usafa.edu)

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Paper 1 – Charles Boehmer, University of Texas, El Paso, “If They Only Had Cake: The Effect of Food Supply on Civil War Onset, 1960-1999,” [crboehmer@utep.edu](mailto:crboehmer@utep.edu)

Paper 2 – Nathan Black, MIT, “Change We Can Fight Over: The Relationship Between Land Supply and Substate Conflict,” [nwblack@MIT.EDU](mailto:nwblack@MIT.EDU)

Paper 3 – Daphne Warlamis, University of Vienna and Harvard University, “The World Food Crisis vs. The World Financial Crisis: A United Nations Perspective,” [warlamis@MIT.EDU](mailto:warlamis@MIT.EDU)

#### Panel 2B: Global Surveillance of Emerging Threats (Room: Windjammer 4)

Panel Chair: Kevin Jones, Georgetown University

Paper 1 – Kevin Jones, Georgetown University, “GSET Methodology,” [kdejones@gmail.com](mailto:kdejones@gmail.com), [jones@isis.georgetown.edu](mailto:jones@isis.georgetown.edu)

Paper 2 – Gregory Zalasky, Georgetown University, “Georgia-South Ossetian War,”

Paper 3 – Steven J. Silverstein, Georgetown University, “Kenya Election Violence,”

#### Panel 2C: Strategy and Nuclear Deterrence (Room: Cypress 3)

Panel Chair: James Smith, U.S. Air Force Academy

Paper 1 – James M. Smith, U.S. Air Force Academy, “Strategic Analysis, WMD Terrorism, and Deterrence by Denial,” [James.Smith@usafa.edu](mailto:James.Smith@usafa.edu)

Paper 2 – Joshua R. Rovner, Naval War College, “Deterrence Theory and Emerging Nuclear Powers,” [joshua.rovner@usnwc.edu](mailto:joshua.rovner@usnwc.edu)

Paper 3 – Michael Mayer, Center for Strategic and International Studies, “Ballistic Missile Defense and Securing the Global Commons,” [MMayer@csis.org](mailto:MMayer@csis.org)

Paper 4 – Willie Curtis, United States Naval Academy, “Geostrategic Illusions and Strategic Realities: the Question of Strategic Deterrence in a Pre-Strategic Multipolar World Order,” [wcurtis@usna.edu](mailto:wcurtis@usna.edu)

#### Panel 2D: Complexity, State Disorder, and the Global Commons (Room: Big Sur 2)

Panel Chair: Paul Clarke, Naval Postgraduate School and Air Command and Staff College

Paper 1 – Shashank Joshi, Harvard University, “Naval Military Effectiveness,” [joshi@fas.harvard.edu](mailto:joshi@fas.harvard.edu)

Paper 2 – Osvaldo Peçanha Caninas, Brazil Naval War College, “Modern Maritime Piracy: Challenges to International Law, Peace, and Security,” [opcainas@yahoo.com.br](mailto:opcainas@yahoo.com.br)

Paper 3 – Luke Allison, University of Denver, “Urban Mosaic: the Nexus Between Systems Disruption, Military Urbanism, and Resilient communities,” [lallison@du.edu](mailto:lallison@du.edu)

Paper 4 – Justin Logan and Christopher Preble, Cato Institute, “Fixing Failed States: A Dissenting View,” [JLogan@cato.org](mailto:JLogan@cato.org)

Panel 2E: TBD

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Panel 2F: TBD (Room: Windjammer 3)

Panel 2G: U.S. Foreign Policy: Bush and Beyond (Room: Big Sur 1)

Panel Chair: Harry Dogo, Rand Corporation, [hdogo@rand.org](mailto:hdogo@rand.org)

Paper 1 – Mario Carranza, Texas A&M University-Kingsville, “Pax Americana or Empire of Insecurity? International Order and U.S. Policy Toward Latin America and South Asia After September 11 and the Iraq War,” [kfmec02@tamuk.edu](mailto:kfmec02@tamuk.edu)

Paper 2 – Lamont Colucci, Ripon College, “The Bush Doctrine: Changes in American Foreign Policy, International Relations, and International Security,” [coluccil@ripon.edu](mailto:coluccil@ripon.edu)

Paper 3 – William Dameron and Michael Winning, University of Denver, “America's Future International Role,” [wadameron@gmail.com](mailto:wadameron@gmail.com)

Paper 4 – Rahki Poonia, Rutgers-Newark, “Worrisome Trends in American Democracy – The Decline in Participation,” [rakhip@pegasus.rutgers.edu](mailto:rakhip@pegasus.rutgers.edu)

**Lunch: 12:00 pm – 1:45pm** (Room: Regency 4-5)

Speaker: William C. Potter, Director, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies and Sam Nunn and Richard Lugar Professor of Nonproliferation Studies, Monterey Institute of International Studies, on “Nonproliferation Developments”

**Session 3: 2:00 pm-3:45 pm**

Panel 3A: Water and Security in the Middle East (Room: Windjammer 1)

Panel Chair: Neda Zawahri, Cleveland State University

Paper 1 – Natsumi Ajiki, University of Maryland, “The Implication of the Geopolitics of Water in Turkey and the Region,” [najiki@umd.edu](mailto:najiki@umd.edu)

Paper 2 – Neda Zawahri, Cleveland State University, “Building Adaptive Capacity to Respond to Climate Change in the Middle East,” [n.zawahri@csuohio.edu](mailto:n.zawahri@csuohio.edu)

Panel 3B: Modeling, Simulation, and Game Theory (Room: Big Sur 2)

Panel Chair: Eric Honda

Paper 1 – Joe P. Dunn, Converse College, “Teaching International Security through Model Simulations,” [Joe.Dunn@converse.edu](mailto:Joe.Dunn@converse.edu)

Paper 2 – Eric H. Honda, “Durable Disorder as the Anarchical Society: Simulating the Realities of Post-Cold War Africa with a Four-Way Bayesian Equilibria Game,” [jishuro@aol.com](mailto:jishuro@aol.com)

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Paper 3 – Lindsay Horn and Jeremy Wells, Louisiana State University, “Persona non Grata: A Game Theoretic Model of Diplomatic Expulsions,” [jwell33@tigers.lsu.edu](mailto:jwell33@tigers.lsu.edu), [lhorn1@tigers.lsu.edu](mailto:lhorn1@tigers.lsu.edu),

Panel 3C: International Relations Theory I (Room: Big Sur 1)

Panel Chair: Brock Tessman, University of Georgia

Paper 1 – Jeffrey Meiser, Johns Hopkins University, “Strategic Restraint in an Era of Expansion: American Foreign Policy 1898-1941,” [jmeiser1@jhu.edu](mailto:jmeiser1@jhu.edu)

Paper 2 – Brock F. Tessman, University of Georgia, “A Strategic Approach to Power Transitions: Modeling the Growth of Challenger States,” [brock.tessman@gmail.com](mailto:brock.tessman@gmail.com) and [tessman@uga.edu](mailto:tessman@uga.edu)

Paper 3 – Patricia Weitsman, Ohio University, “Wartime Alliances versus Coalition Warfare: How Institutional Structure Matters in the Multilateral Prosecution of Wars,” [weitsman@ohio.edu](mailto:weitsman@ohio.edu),

Paper 4 – Gary Julius Uzonyi, University of Michigan, “Uncertainty and War: How Timing Affects Alliance Durability,” [guzonyi@umich.edu](mailto:guzonyi@umich.edu)

Panel 3D: African Security (Room: Windjammer 2)

Panel Chair: Helen Purkitt, U.S. Naval Academy, [Purkitt@usna.edu](mailto:Purkitt@usna.edu)

Paper 1 – Oluwafemi N. Mimiko, Obafemi Awolowo University, Nigeria, “Small Arms Proliferation in Nigeria's Niger Delta and Festering Instability in the Gulf of Guinea Region,” [mimikofemi@yahoo.com](mailto:mimikofemi@yahoo.com) and [nomimiko@oauife.edu.ng](mailto:nomimiko@oauife.edu.ng)

Paper 2 -- Bosede S. Mimiko, Ondo State Cooperative College, Nigeria, “Weapons Proliferation, Electoral Contest, Crime and the Danger Signals for Democracy in Nigeria,” [boxemimiko@yahoo.com](mailto:boxemimiko@yahoo.com)

Paper 3 – Dan Fahey, University of California, Berkeley, “Wars within Wars: Understanding Conflict in the Ituri District of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, 1998-2007,” [dfahey@nature.berkeley.edu](mailto:dfahey@nature.berkeley.edu)

Paper 4 – Dylan Craig, American University, “Ultima Ratio Regum: Remix or Redux? State Security Policy and Proxy Wars in Self-governing Africa,” [dylan.craig@gmail.com](mailto:dylan.craig@gmail.com)

Panel 3E: Nuclear Policy, Strategy, and Forces – Roundtable (Room: Cypress 3)

Chair: Andrew Ross, University of New Mexico

Panelist 1 – Kerry M. Kartchner, State Department

Panelist 2 – Peter Dombrowski, Naval War College

Panelist 3 – Jeffrey A. Larsen, SAIC

Panelist 4 – Thomas G. Mahnken, Johns Hopkins University

Panelist 5 – James M. Smith, Air Force Academy, Institute for National Security Studies

Panel 3F: Terrorism and Strategy (Room: Windjammer 3)

Panel Chair: Andrew Dorman, King's College

Paper 1 – Edgar B. Tembo, University of Sheffield, “A Qualitative Assessment of the USA's 2006 National Strategy for Combating Terrorism,” [e.tembo@sheffield.ac.uk](mailto:e.tembo@sheffield.ac.uk)

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Paper 2 – Jayesh D'Souza, Florida International University, “Countering Insecurity Through The Changing Face Of Global Terrorist Financing,” [jdsouza@fiu.edu](mailto:jdsouza@fiu.edu)

Paper 3 – Megumi Nishimura, Ritsumeikan University, “Does Terrorism Become More Unmanageable?” [mnt23021@law.ritsumei.ac.jp](mailto:mnt23021@law.ritsumei.ac.jp)

#### Panel 3G: Terrorism, Windjammer 4

Panel Chair: Fred Wehling, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, MIIS

Paper 1 – Luke Allison, University of Denver, “The Future of Terrorism: Mass Hostage Taking in Russia and Mumbai,” [lallison@du.edu](mailto:lallison@du.edu)

Paper 2 – John David Payne, MIT, “Fighting for Control: State-sponsored Terrorism as Foreign Policy, 1967-1997,” [jdpayne@mit.edu](mailto:jdpayne@mit.edu)

Paper 3 – Jennifer Kavanagh, University of Michigan, “From the Inside Out: Constituent Demands and Competition as Determinants of Terrorist Violence During the Second Palestinian Intifada,” [jennkav@umich.edu](mailto:jennkav@umich.edu)

#### **Session 4: 4:00pm-5:45pm**

#### Panel 4A: Complex Deterrence: Strategy in the Global Age – Roundtable (Room: Big Sur 1)

Panel Chair: William Potter, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies

Panelist 1: Jim Wirtz, Naval Postgraduate School  
Panelist 2: Jeff Knopf, Naval Postgraduate School  
Panelist 3: Patrick Morgan, University of California, Irvine  
Panelist 4: Paul Kapur, Naval Postgraduate School  
Panelist 5: T.V. Paul, McGill University

#### Panel 4B: Middle East Security (Room: Windjammer 2)

Panel Chair: Fred Wehling, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies

Paper 1 – Nora Nassri, University of South Carolina, “Implications of the Arab Human Development Report 2009 for Global Security Politics,” [NASSRI@mailbox.sc.edu](mailto:NASSRI@mailbox.sc.edu)

Paper 2 – Bruce D. McDonald III, Florida State University, “Sanction Failure: Economic Growth, Defense Expenditures, and the Islamic Republic of Iran,” [bdm07@fsu.edu](mailto:bdm07@fsu.edu)

Paper 3 – Eric Bordenkircher, UCLA, “Strategy plus Structure: Comprehending Foreign Intervention in the Lebanese Milieu,” [eborden@ucla.edu](mailto:eborden@ucla.edu)

#### Panel 4C: Strategy, Military Operations, and State Power (Room: Cypress 3)

Panel Chair: Jonathan Czarnecki, Naval War College

Paper 1 – Gary Schaub, Jr., Air War College, and Volker Franke, McDaniel College, “Officer versus Contractor: The Status of Security Professional in Contingency Operations?” [schaub@knology.net](mailto:schaub@knology.net); [vfranke@mcDaniel.edu](mailto:vfranke@mcDaniel.edu); [Gary.Schaub@maxwell.af.mil](mailto:Gary.Schaub@maxwell.af.mil)

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Paper 2 – Steve Scheinert, University of Pittsburgh, “Getting It Wrong: The Structures of Post-Conflict Reconstruction Missions,” [srs71@pitt.edu](mailto:srs71@pitt.edu)

Paper 3 - Jonathan Czarnecki, Naval War College, “Defining the Operating Environment: The Critical First Step in 21st Century Military Interventions.” [jcznare@nps.edu](mailto:jcznare@nps.edu)

Paper 4 – Erin Fitzgerald, University of Toronto, “Rebalancing and Reorienting? Prospects for the 2010 Quadrennial Defense Review,” [erin.kelly.fitzgerald@gmail.com](mailto:erin.kelly.fitzgerald@gmail.com)

Panel 4D: TBD

Panel 4E: Technology and War (Room: Big Sur 2)

Panel Chair: Charli Carpenter, University of Massachusetts - Amherst

Paper 1 – Carmel Davis, “Evolution of UAVs and Warfare,” [carmeldavis@mac.com](mailto:carmeldavis@mac.com)

Paper 2 – Panayotis Yannakogeorgos, Division of Global Affairs, Rutgers University, “The Militarization of Cyberspace and the Challenges of Regulating Conflict in the Digital Domain,” [yannakog@gmail.com](mailto:yannakog@gmail.com)

Paper 3 – Kenneth R. Rutherford, Missouri State University, “Lethal Fragments: The Cluster Munition's Legacy of Destruction,” [KenRutherford@MissouriState.edu](mailto:KenRutherford@MissouriState.edu)

Paper 4 – Jo L. Husbands, National Academy of Sciences, “The Security Challenges of Emerging Technologies: The Particular and Peculiar Case of Biotechnology,” [jhusband@nas.edu](mailto:jhusband@nas.edu)

Panel 4F: European Security Policies (Room: Windjammer 4)

Panel Chair and Discussant: Gale A. Mattox, U.S. Naval Academy, [mattox@usna.edu](mailto:mattox@usna.edu)

Paper 1 – Radka Cahlikova, San Francisco State University, “The EU Policies of Carrots and Sticks: Arab-Israeli Conflict,” [cahlikovaradka@yahoo.com](mailto:cahlikovaradka@yahoo.com)

Paper 2 – Jeremy Ghez, Rand, “Natural Alliances and International Stability – The Case of the Trans-Atlantic Community,” [jghez@prgs.edu](mailto:jghez@prgs.edu)

Paper 3 – Ana Paula Brandao, University of Minho, Portugal, “European Union: A Post-Westphalian Security Actor in the Fight Against Transnational Threats,” [abrandao@ceg.uminho.pt](mailto:abrandao@ceg.uminho.pt)

Panel 4G: Homeland Security (Room: Windjammer 3)

Panel Chair: Erik Dahl, Naval Postgraduate School, [ejdahl@nps.edu](mailto:ejdahl@nps.edu)

Paper 1 – Elizabeth Cook, American Military University, “The Changing Nature of the Threats to National Security Associated to the Northern Border,” [ecookinmt@gmail.com](mailto:ecookinmt@gmail.com)

Paper 2 – Cassandra Stelter, University of Denver, “The Evolution of American Military Response to Domestic Disasters,” [castelter@gmail.com](mailto:castelter@gmail.com)

Paper 3 – Jessica Trisko, McGill University, and Stefanie von Hlatky, University of Montreal, “The Future of Quebec-U.S. Border Security: Does Thicker Mean Safer?” [jessica.trisko@mail.mcgill.ca](mailto:jessica.trisko@mail.mcgill.ca)

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**Reception: 6:00pm to 7:00pm** (Room: Regency Foyer North)

**Dinner: 7:00pm to 10:00pm** (Room: Regency 4-6)

Guest speaker: Scott Sagan, Center for International Security and Cooperation, Stanford University, “Nuclear Power without Nuclear Proliferation?”

**Saturday, October 17, 2009**

**Continental Breakfast: 7:00am to 8:00am** (Room: Regency 4-5)

**Session 5: 8:00am – 9:45am**

Panel 5A: Security Issues in Asia (Room: Big Sur 2)

Panel Chair: Nikolaos Biziouras, U.S. Naval Academy

Paper 1 – Robert J. Reardon, MIT, “Nuclear Nonproliferation Agreements and International Bargaining: Comparing US Efforts With North and South Korea,” [reardon@mit.edu](mailto:reardon@mit.edu)

Paper 2 – James (Clay) Moltz, Naval Postgraduate School, “Asia’s Space Race: Historical Dynamics and Emerging Risks,” [jcmoltz@nps.edu](mailto:jcmoltz@nps.edu)

Paper 3 – Ryo Hinata-Yamaguchi, Australian Defence Force Academy, “Domestic and Economic Factors in the Management of Military Capabilities: The Case of North Korea,” [samuraitigeroo@hotmail.co.jp](mailto:samuraitigeroo@hotmail.co.jp)

Paper 4 -- Nikolaos Biziouras, U.S. Naval Academy, “State Capacity and Nuclear Proliferation in Developing Countries: Comparing the Southern Cone to South Asia,” [Nikolaos.Biziouras.gr@usna.edu](mailto:Nikolaos.Biziouras.gr@usna.edu)

Panel 5B: Strategy, War, and the State (Room: Big Sur 1)

Panel Chair: Harry Dogo, Rand Corporation, [hdogo@rand.org](mailto:hdogo@rand.org)

Paper 1 – Peter Munson, U.S. Marine Corps, “Avoiding Heroic Illusions: Reconciling State Power and Strategy in the Coming Era,” [pj\\_munson@yahoo.com](mailto:pj_munson@yahoo.com)

Paper 2 – Jean-Marc Rickli, University of Oxford, “Small States’ Strategic Options After the Cold War,” [jmrickli@yahoo.com](mailto:jmrickli@yahoo.com)

Paper 3 – Harun (Harry) Dogo, Elizabeth Brown, C. Ryan Henry and Charles Wolf, Jr., RAND Corporation, “Operationalizing ‘Smart Power’ in U.S. Foreign Policy,” [hdogo@rand.org](mailto:hdogo@rand.org) and [ebrown@prgs.edu](mailto:ebrown@prgs.edu)

Paper 4 – Leo J. Blanken, Naval Postgraduate School, “The Concept of Strategy Domination and Its Application to Strategic Studies,” [lblanken@nps.edu](mailto:lblanken@nps.edu)

Panel 5C: TBD (Room: Windjammer 4)

Panel 5D: TBD (Room: Windjammer 2)

Panel 5E: Institutional Capacity for Combating Terrorism (Room: Windjammer 3)

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Panel Chair: Paul Shemella, Naval Postgraduate School]

Paper 1 – Paul Shemella, Center for Civil-Military Relations, Naval Postgraduate School, “Building Institutional Capacity for Combating Terrorism,” [pshemell@nps.edu](mailto:pshemell@nps.edu)

Paper 2 – Matthew King, Center for Civil-Military Relations, Naval Postgraduate School, “Combating Terrorism: Measures of Effectiveness,” [mtking@nps.edu](mailto:mtking@nps.edu)

Paper 3 – Lawrence Cline, Center for Civil-Military Relations, Naval Postgraduate School, and American Military University, “Improving the Interagency Process,” [lawcline@gmail.com](mailto:lawcline@gmail.com)

#### Panel 5F: Nuclear Weapons Policy (Room: Cypress 2)

Panel Chair: Scott Sagan, Stanford University

Discussant: Stephen Schwartz, Monterey Institute for International Studies

Paper 1 – Stephen Schwartz, Monterey Institute for International Studies, “Who Should Manage the U.S. Nuclear Weapons Production Complex?” [Stephen.Schwartz@miis.edu](mailto:Stephen.Schwartz@miis.edu)

Paper 2 – Joseph R. Cerami, Texas A&M University, “Hindsight is Not 20-20: Assessing the Effectiveness of Clinton-Bush Counterproliferation Policy Initiatives in an Age of Insecurity, Disorder, and Anxiety,” [Cerami@bushschool.tamu.edu](mailto:Cerami@bushschool.tamu.edu)

Paper 3 – Christopher M. Jones, Northern Illinois University, “Presidents and Arms Control Treaties: Clinton, The Test Ban Treaty and Lessons for Obama,” [cmjones@niu.edu](mailto:cmjones@niu.edu)

Paper 4 - Adam B. Lowther, Air Force Research Institute, “The Logic of the Nuclear Arsenal: Challenging Nuclear Abolition,” [adam.lowther@MAXWELL.AF.MIL](mailto:adam.lowther@MAXWELL.AF.MIL), [adam\\_lowther@hotmail.com](mailto:adam_lowther@hotmail.com)

#### Panel 5G: TBD (Room: Cypress 3)

### **Session 6: 10:00am-11:45am**

#### Panel 6A: Nuclear Proliferation – General (Room: Cypress 2)

Panel Chair: Mario Carranza, Texas A&M

Paper 1 – Stefanie Von Hlatky, McGill University, and Michel Fortmann, University of Montreal, “Implementing the G8 Global Partnership: A Successful Approach to Non-Proliferation?” [s.von.hlatky.udvarhelyi@umontreal.ca](mailto:s.von.hlatky.udvarhelyi@umontreal.ca)

Paper 2 – Jane E. Vaynman and Andrew J. Coe, Harvard University, “Superpower Collusion and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty,” [jvaynman@fas.harvard.edu](mailto:jvaynman@fas.harvard.edu) and [andrew.j.coe@gmail.com](mailto:andrew.j.coe@gmail.com)

Paper 3 – Margarita V. Sevcik and Paula S. Humphrey, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, “Uranium Tailings in Kyrgyzstan: Risk Assessments and Recommendations,” [margarita.sevcik@miis.edu](mailto:margarita.sevcik@miis.edu) and [paula.humphrey@miis.edu](mailto:paula.humphrey@miis.edu)

Paper 4 – Annelies Z. Kamran, City University of New York, “The Response to Nuclear Proliferation,” [akamran@gc.cuny.edu](mailto:akamran@gc.cuny.edu)

Paper 5 – Jacques Hymans, University of Southern California, “Yugoslavia's Nuclear Program, 1945-68: A Study in Failure,” [hymans@usc.edu](mailto:hymans@usc.edu)

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Panel 6B: Oil and Global Stability (Room: Windjammer 2)

Panel Chair: Richard Thornton, George Washington University

Paper 1 – James D. Perry, Northrop Grumman Corporation, “The Struggle for the Control of World Oil, 1945-1979,” [ajdperry1620@verizon.net](mailto:ajdperry1620@verizon.net).

Paper 2 – Richard C. Thornton, George Washington University, “The Struggle for the Control of World Oil, 1979-2009,” [rthornto@gwu.edu](mailto:rthornto@gwu.edu)

Paper 3 – James E. McGinley, Northcentral University, “Fatal Attraction? A Correlational Examination of Oil Resources and Conflict,” [jmcginley7@comcast.net](mailto:jmcginley7@comcast.net)

Panel 6C: Global Insurgencies (Room: Big Sur 2)

Panel Chair: Warren Chin, King's College

Paper 1 – Alexander V. Simmons, Naval Postgraduate School, “Socially Embedded Insurgencies,” [avsimmon@nps.edu](mailto:avsimmon@nps.edu)

Paper 2 – Nikolaos Bizziouras, U.S. Naval Academy, “The Political Economy of the Iraqi Insurgency: Believers, Warriors, and Middlemen,” [Nikolaos.Bizziouras.gr@usna.edu](mailto:Nikolaos.Bizziouras.gr@usna.edu)

Paper 3 – Christopher P. Dallas-Feeny, George Washington University, “Inside the Insurgency: Legitimated Power and Organizational Resilience,” [cdalfeen@gwmail.gwu.edu](mailto:cdalfeen@gwmail.gwu.edu)

Paper 4 – Jonathan Gumz, United States Military Academy, “Reframing the Historical Problematic of Contemporary Insurgency,” [Jonathan.Gumz@usma.edu](mailto:Jonathan.Gumz@usma.edu)

Paper 5 – Willimein Keizer, “Counterinsurgency and Development”

Panel 6D: ISSS/ISAC Business Meeting (Room: Windjammer 3)

Panel 6E: Leaderless Jihad? Terrorist Attacks in the New Millennium and Lessons for the Future (Room: Cypress 3)

Panel Chair and discussant: Phil Williams, University of Pittsburgh

Paper 1 – Jeffrey M. Bale, Monterey Institute of International Studies, March 2004 Madrid bombings

Paper 2 – Sharad Joshi, Monterey Institute of International Studies, November 2008 Mumbai attacks

Paper 3 – Lorenzo Vidino, Belfer Center, Harvard University, Hofstadgroep plots in Holland

Paper 4 – Gordon Hahn, Monterey Institute of International Studies, Chechen terrorist operations

Panel 6F: International Relations Theory II (Room: Big Sur 1)

Panel Chair: Jim Wirtz, Naval Postgraduate School

Paper 1 – Hyun-min Joo, Korea University, “Democratic Inconsistency? Challenge to Democratic Peace Theory,” [hjoo@korea.ac.kr](mailto:hjoo@korea.ac.kr)

Paper 2 – Michael Fowler, Naval Postgraduate School, “Insecurity and Democracy,”

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[mwfowler@nps.edu](mailto:mwfowler@nps.edu)

Paper 3 – Hong-Cheol Kim, Florida State University, “The Paradox of Power in Conflict between the Weak and the Strong: When and Why Do Weaker States Challenge the Hegemon’s Status Quo?”  
hk05d@fsu.edu

**Panel 6G: Gender and Human Security (Room: Windjammer 4)**

Panel Chair: Kimberly Hudson, Air Force Cultural and Language Center, Air War College

Paper 1 - Susan Megy, National University of Ireland Galway, “Improving Military Preparedness to Protect Civilians from Mass Atrocities,” [s.megy1@nuigalway.ie](mailto:s.megy1@nuigalway.ie)

Paper 2 – Daphne Warlamis, University of Vienna and Harvard University, “The Reorganization of Western Militaries Between Battlefield and Nation building -- Viewed from a Gender and Human Security Perspective,” [warlamis@MIT.EDU](mailto:warlamis@MIT.EDU)

Paper 3 – Meg Keiley-Listermann and Holly Haynes, Georgia Gwinnett College, “That’s Women’s Work: How Gender Parity in Conflict Transformation Fosters International Security,”  
[beaglemommy@hotmail.com](mailto:beaglemommy@hotmail.com), [mkeiley@ggc.usg.edu](mailto:mkeiley@ggc.usg.edu)

Paper 4 – Kimberly A. Hudson, Air Force Cultural and Language Center, Air War College, “Just War Theory and Human Security,” [Kimberly.Hudson@MAXWELL.AF.MIL](mailto:Kimberly.Hudson@MAXWELL.AF.MIL)

**Lunch: 12:00pm to 2:00pm (Room: Pacific Grove)**

Speaker: Thomas G. Mahnken, Johns Hopkins University, former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Policy Planning, on “Bridging the Gap Between the Worlds of Ideas and Action”

**2:00pm: Conference ends**