Proceedings of the 2013 Doctoral Conference  
The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy  
EDITED BY JENIFER BURCKETT-PICKER AND MATTHEW HERBERT
CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

2013 Fletcher Doctoral Conference

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PHOTOGRAPHERS
Mr. Matthew Herbert and Mr. David Knoll

Conference Co-Chairs Mr. Aaron Melaas and Ms. Tina Robiolle-Moul
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Dean James Stavridis welcomes participants to the 7th Annual Doctoral Conference

Academic Dean Ian Johnstone delivers opening remarks
ABOUT THE CONFERENCE

On September 27, 2013, the seventh annual Fletcher Doctoral Conference was held at the Fletcher School, Tufts University. The conference is an opportunity for leading scholars and practitioners in the field of international relations to exchange perspectives on the most important issues facing policymakers today. The conference proceedings describe the keynote presentation and panel discussions on a wide range of subjects, from organized crime in a globalized world to emerging powers in sustainable development diplomacy, from nuclear proliferation to international financial institutions of the 21st century, and from the geopolitics of South and Central Asia post 2014 to the role of international organizations in global governance. A diverse set of participants, from Fletcher faculty and Ph.D. candidates to distinguished alumni, brings their knowledge and experience to this interdisciplinary forum.

Fletcher Ph.D. Program Director Jenifer Burckett-Picker opens the conference
Professor Richard Shultz introduces keynote speaker, Dr. Peter Ackerman
KEYNOTE

The seventh annual Fletcher Doctoral Conference was opened by the keynote address of Dr. Peter Ackerman, Fletcher Ph.D. alumnus and Managing Director of Rockport Capital Incorporated. Following brief remarks by the Ph.D. Program Director, Jenifer Burckett-Picker, Fletcher Dean James Stavridis opened the keynote session by reminding the audience of the rigors of pursuing a Ph.D. and at the same time highlighting the career opportunities that the Fletcher multidisciplinary Ph.D. provides. Fletcher Academic Dean Ian Johnstone then commented on the growing importance of the Conference as a venue for discussion of the cutting-edge research conducted by both Ph.D. students and alumni. Professor Richard Shultz, Chair of the International Security Studies field, introduced the keynote speaker, whom he considers a Fletcher legend in terms of the amount of time, energy, and resources he has dedicated to his alma mater.

Dr. Ackerman’s remarks were very timely as he discussed the success of nonviolent resistance against authoritarian regimes, situating his remarks within the framework of his doctoral dissertation as well as his professional experience as Founding Chair of the International Center on Nonviolent Conflict. He stated that since 1900 there have been at least 100 nonviolent
resistance movements against authoritarian regimes and that the success rate (53%) of these movements has been more than double (26%) that of violent insurrections and ten times more likely to yield a democratic outcome. Contrary to conventional wisdom, Dr. Ackerman’s dissertation research found that the skills of the authoritarian’s opposition are the key factor in successful nonviolent resistance. Thus in ways totally unforeseen, the ideas framing his dissertation have become critical in the debate about the future of democracy and of tyranny.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The conference co-chairs, Tina Robiolle-Moul and Aaron Melaas, would like to thank the Center for Int’l Environment and Resource Policy, the Institute for Human Security, the Int’l Security Studies Program, and the Program in Southwest Asia for providing the funding for this year’s conference, and the Office of Development and Alumni Affairs for their support of the networking cocktail. We are also grateful to the Conference Committee, comprised of Dr. Jenifer Burckett-Picker and Ms. Karen Mollung, for their guidance and support. We also appreciate the hard work of panel organizers Mr. Matthew Herbert, Mr. Rishikesh Bhandary, Mr. Rashed Al Dhaheri, Mr. Aaron Melaas, Mr. Arian Sharifi, and, Mr. Teera Tony Tunyavongs in bringing together our distinguished panel participants. Finally, thank you to our many conference volunteers and particularly to our photographers, Matthew Herbert and David Knoll, for their assistance on the day of the conference.
SCHEDULE

The 7th Annual Fletcher Doctoral Conference
Friday, September 27, 2013

CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES: CONTEMPORARY ISSUES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

8:00 am – 9:00 am  Registration (Hall of Flags) and Breakfast (Cabot 7th Floor Lounge)

9:00 am – 10:15 am  Opening Remarks & Keynote Address (Cabot 702)

   Welcome: Jenifer Burckett-Picker, Fletcher PhD Program Director

   Opening Remarks: James Stavridis, Dean of the Fletcher School; Ian Johnstone, Academic Dean

   Keynote Introduction: Professor Richard Shultz, Int’l Security Studies Program

   Keynote Address: Dr. Peter Ackerman, Founding Chair, International Center on Nonviolent Conflict, and Managing Director of Rockport Capital Inc.

10:30 am – 12:00 pm  Panel Session 1

   1A: Responding to Organized Crime in a Globalized World (Cabot 702)

   1B: Emerging Powers in Sustainable Development Diplomacy (Cabot 703)

12:00 pm – 1:30 pm  Networking Lunch (Cabot 7th Floor Lounge)

1:30 pm – 3:00 pm  Panel Session 2

   2A: Nuclear Proliferation and Global Trends in International Security (Cabot 702)


3:00 pm – 3:30 pm  Coffee Break (Cabot 7th Floor Lounge)

3:30 pm – 5:00 pm  Panel Session 3

   3A: Geopolitics of South and Central Asia Post-2014 (Cabot 702)

   3B: International Organizations: Implications to Global Governance (Cabot 703)

   Closing Remarks: Aaron Melaas and Tina Robiolle, Conference Co-Chairs

5:00 pm – 7:00 pm  Networking Cocktail (Cabot 7th floor Lounge)
Ph.D. alum Mihaela Papa and current Ph.D. student Noel Twagiramungu chat at break.

Ph.D. alum John Hagen and current Ph.D. student Elke Jahns catch up during lunch.
Ph.D. student Irina Chindea presents her research on social violence in Mexican border towns

Panel IA—International Security Studies

Room: Cabot 702

10:30 am – 12:00 pm

Title: “Responding to Organized Crime in a Globalized World”

This panel investigated how nation-states have sought to check the rise of transnational organized crime groups. Presenters discussed Mexico’s reform of federal and state police forces, Brazil’s UPP program, and small state responses to organized crime.

Moderator: Professor Ibrahim Warde

Panelists:

- **Irina Chindea**: “A Tale of Two Cities: Understanding the Roots of Social Violence in Tijuana and Ciudad Juarez under the Calderon Administration”
  The aim of this research was to understand the roots of exacerbated violence in the Mexican border cities of Tijuana and Ciudad Juarez from 2006-2012. The study presented a comparative analysis of the impact of measures undertaken under
President Calderon’s administration to reform the state and federal police forces on the levels of violence in the two cities. In this respect, the first section of the paper traced the main reforms of law enforcement institutions implemented at federal and state level in Baja California and Chihuahua from 2006 to 2012. The second section placed the reform of federal and state police forces in the context of the “kingpin strategy” embraced by the Calderon administration, and explained the necessity of their use in fighting the “drug war” instead of mainly relying on the municipal police. The third section of the paper presented the relationship between the strategies and on the ground tactics of the reformed police forces, and the shifts in the distribution of power among the major Mexican drug cartels and their gang allies operating in Tijuana and Ciudad Juarez during 2006-2012. The analysis provided in the fourth - and last - section brought together a breakdown of the levels of violence that have plagued the two cities during the period under scrutiny, and their correlation with the police reforms implemented. The paper concluded that alongside the “kingpin strategy,” the federal and state police reforms undertaken in Mexico during the Calderon “sexenio” led not only to a collapse in preexisting alliances among the prevailing criminal organizations, but also to internal organizational fracturing and competition for power among the second and third tiers of command, resulting in an atomized underworld environment with pervasive violence the norm.

*James A. Shyne:* “Assessing the Impact of Rio de Janeiro's favela 'Pacification' (UPP) Program on Violent Crime, 2006-2010” James Shyne presented a draft chapter from his dissertation that employs geo-coded police micro-data on lethal violent crime victims and crime locations from the Rio de Janeiro Instituto de Segurança Pública (ISP) over the 2006 – 2010 period to assess the impact on homicides and other violent crimes of the much-publicized Unidades de Policiamento Pacificadora (UPP) favela occupation program. The UPP
program was rolled out strategically by the RJ State Military Police (PMERJ) and the RJ State Secretariat of Public Security beginning in late 2008 to re-establish the writ of the State in formally drug-trafficker controlled favelas located mostly in the vicinity of major sporting venues for the upcoming 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympic Games, as well as major transport linkages to and from Rio’s touristic Zona Sul and international airport. Following the work of Rio-based colleagues Ignácio Cano of UERJ and Daniel Cerquira of IPEA and PUC-Rio, the paper included a detailed discussion of statistically significant and demographically incongruous discrepancies in the downward evolution of homicide cases reported in the ISP data (derived from police reports) vis à vis a sharp rise in cases of violent deaths categorized in the RJ State and Federal Ministry of Health’s mortality data (based on coroner’s reports) to be of “unknown causes.” These discrepancies are unique to Rio de Janeiro and began in 2007 – the same year that so-called milícias composed largely of off-duty policemen began seizing control over large swaths of Western Rio de Janeiro and establishing protection rackets in these occupied communities.

- **Matt Herbert:** “Queens of Cocaine: Women in modern drug trafficking organizations”

The last decade has transformed Latin American drug trafficking organizations (DTOs). They have become more professionalized and paramilitarized, diversified in their business endeavors, and assertive in their relationships with nation-states. Surprisingly, they have also become more gender inclusive. While trafficking has traditionally been dominated by men, over the last ten years an increasing number of women have joined the DTOs as accountants, smugglers, assassins, and bosses. This presentation investigated the historic position of women in trafficking organizations, their shifting roles, why the shift has occurred, and the factors driving the change in roles.

Panel Coordinator: **Matt Herbert**
Mihaela Papa presents her research while panel organizer Rishikesh Bhandary looks on

Title: “Emerging Powers in Sustainable Development Diplomacy”

The rise of emerging powers like Brazil, China, India, Russia, and South Africa is sure to have a significant impact on the governance of sustainable development. This panel discussed how their rise reshapes the landscape, whether the emerging powers have cohesive interests to impact lasting change, and what their rise means for the rest of the developing world.

Moderator: Rishikesh Bhandary

Panelists:

- Dr. Mihaela Papa: “The Prospects of BRICS Cooperation: The Case of Climate Change”: Can the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) face global policy problems jointly or is their coalition nothing more than a geopolitical fad? Drawing on literature on bargaining coalitions and imagined communities, Dr. Papa discussed BRICS' associational dynamics in the context of climate change. She argued that despite the fact that BRICS failed to develop the desired coalitional response in the official UN climate negotiations, its joint ambition to act on climate change spread to other areas of BRICS cooperation. She discussed the features of BRICS' community-oriented behavior,
arguing that the prospects of the evolution of BRICS cooperation and its reformist potential should not be ignored.

- **Professor Nancy W. Gleason:** “Major emerging powers in sustainable development diplomacy: Assessing their leadership potential”

It is often argued that the growth of major emerging powers, such as China, India, Russia and Brazil, will have a transformative effect on the world economy and politics, but the implications of their rise on sustainable development diplomacy have remained understudied. Dr. Gleason discussed the leadership potential of the climate bloc, BASIC (Brazil, South Africa, India and China). She argued that BASIC is making some leadership efforts in terms of engaging in policy coordination in the sustainable development realm, but actual global leadership would require building a stronger policy agenda. Dr. Gleason's talk built from her recent publication with Mihaela Papa, "Major emerging powers in sustainable development diplomacy: Assessing their leadership potential." Global Environmental Change (2012).

Panel Coordinator: **Rishikesh Bhandary**
Title: “Nuclear Proliferation and Global Trends in International Security”

Professor Robert Pfaltzgraff moderates Panel IIA

The continued global geopolitical dynamics and the regional shifts in the balance of power have contributed to an evolving security paradigm that is marred by uncertainty and multiplicity of actors. Nuclear ambitions, norms, noncompliance, potential cascade, technology transfer, fear of nuclear terrorism have preoccupied academics and policymakers alike and continue to define international relations.

Nuclear proliferation is an issue of serious and global significance and this panel shed light on the topic from a broad and multifaceted perspective. Discussion focused on answering the
following questions: Why have current counterproliferation policies been ineffective at best in dissuading or arresting nuclear aspirants? What are the intelligence challenges of nuclear proliferation? What is the outlook for the Missile Technology Control Regime’s future ability to prevent future proliferation of missiles and related technologies? What are the changing internal and external factors that drive nuclear technology development and its potential nuclear breakout?

Moderator: Professor Robert L. Pfaltzgraff

Panelists:

- **Dr. Erik Dahl**: "Avoiding a nuclear black swan: The intelligence challenges of nuclear proliferation."

  One of the most important nonproliferation tools available to governments and the international community is intelligence. But when it comes to detecting and anticipating nuclear proliferation efforts, the U.S. intelligence community has a decidedly mixed record. This presentation examined the American intelligence record concerning nuclear proliferation, and proposed an approach that may be useful in attempting to avoid a future nuclear strategic surprise.
Dr. Jim Platte: “Fissile Material Production, Energy Security, and Nuclear Latency in Northeast Asia”
In the 1970s, Japan began developing spent nuclear fuel reprocessing technology, despite U.S. requests not to do so, but the 2011 Fukushima nuclear disaster has put the future of Japan’s nuclear fuel cycle policy in doubt. U.S. pressure in the 1970s led to South Korea abandoning developing reprocessing technology and nuclear weapons, but now Seoul is pressing to receive Washington's permission to reprocess. Both countries lack energy resources, face regional nuclear threats, and are covered under the U.S. nuclear umbrella, but their nuclear policies have taken significantly different paths. This presentation examined the changing internal and external factors that have driven Japanese and South Korean desires to develop fissile material production technology and whether such technology development is ever purely peaceful in nature.

Teera Tony Tunyavongs: “Proliferation of Unmanned WMD Delivery Systems and Related Technologies”
Missile nonproliferation is a key component in broader arms control efforts. The Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR)—a non-legally-binding regime of 34 member states—is the centerpiece of global missile nonproliferation efforts. Since coming into effect in 1987, the MTCR has enjoyed some success in preventing complete missile and rocket systems from being obtained by states with uncertain intentions and/or
questionable nonproliferation credentials. However, its record in curbing the proliferation of missile-related technologies indicates significant room for improvement. This mixed overall record is attributable in part to the MTCR’s supply-side-only approach, without consideration for why states might have a demand for missile and rocket systems and related technologies. This presentation evaluated the MTCR’s current sole focus on technology export controls, and examined whether, as a matter of fulfilling U.S. export-control policy obligations pursuant to the MTCR, variables other than systems and technologies alone—for example, commerce and trade relations, security agreements and assurances, and interstate socialization and norms—should be considered more extensively.

Panel Coordinator: Rashed Al Dhaheri

In light of the global financial crisis and the emergence of new economic power centers in the developing world, the Bretton Woods institutions have come under increasing scrutiny. This panel looked at the evolving history of the World Bank and the IMF, from the changing importance of their work in developing countries that are approaching middle-income status to the challenges in their relationships with client governments and other financial institutions.

Moderator: Professor Steven Block

Panelists:

- Dr. Antoinette Sayeh: "Developing Countries: Economic Progress and their Evolving Relationship with the IMF"
The substantial economic progress made by developing countries and emerging markets in recent years has been mirrored in an evolving relationship with the International Monetary Fund. Their voices are heard more powerfully, they participate as creditors as well as debtors, and discussions about their own economic management tend to be cooperative and supportive rather than defensive. While short-term objectives and approaches can differ substantially between different members of the IMF, a common focus on achieving inclusive growth, grounded in economic stability and an open global economy, now underpins a much more evenly balanced partnership between developing countries and the IMF.

Countries in sub-Saharan Africa have shared prominently in this process. The economic progress of the low-income countries in the region is evidenced by an average GDP growth rate approaching 5 percent over the last two decades and exceeding 7 percent in the mid-2000s. This sustained growth has helped to reduce the proportion of the population living in poverty, increased access to good sanitation and education, and reduced the still far-too-high incidence of major diseases and infant and maternal mortality.

The improvement in sub-Saharan Africa’s performance over the last two decades has stemmed in large part from better economic policy management. This has helped the
region to harness the benefits of better domestic and world environments, including lower levels of conflict, elevated commodity prices, increased international aid - including debt relief - and newly vibrant emerging markets. Policies have been anchored on achieving and maintaining macroeconomic stability through sustainable fiscal positions, monetary policies directed towards lower inflation, structural measures favoring free markets, and more effective economic institutions.

The effectiveness of this approach has established a broad consensus on economic objectives and policy frameworks and helped align the IMF with its developing country members in the context both of international economic policy issues and its surveillance of their own country economic programs. Additional factors in strengthening the partnership have been a more flexible approach by the IMF towards the formulation of lending arrangements and economic programs with its member countries, and increased transparency in the IMF’s operations, including reaching out to civil society. There has also been a substantial increase in technical assistance and training by the IMF, now mainly delivered from within the region.

The stronger economic policy frameworks in much of sub-Saharan Africa proved very valuable during the global recession of 2009. At that time, in the face of declining exports, two-thirds of the countries in sub-Saharan Africa were able to maintain or even increase public spending – despite large shortfalls in government revenue – thereby cushioning the impact of the global downturn. Where needed, the IMF also supplied emergency financial support and helped to formulate economic programs that explicitly called for a widening of fiscal deficits. As a result, the dip in growth in low-income countries in sub-Saharan Africa was much more modest than in advanced economies.

More than half of the 45 countries in sub-Saharan Africa currently have programs for managing their economies that are agreed with the IMF. Increasingly, these programs do not rely on finance from the IMF itself. The emphasis is instead on the content of the programs, and the sustainability of policies, and thus on providing a positive signal to the country’s trade and financing partners. Also of critical importance is the continuous engagement of members with the Fund in its advisory and technical assistance and training roles.

Alongside macroeconomic stability and institutional development issues, the continuing dialogue between developing countries and the IMF features a number of growth-critical concerns. These include ensuring that growth is inclusive, facilitating structural transformation, financing essential infrastructure spending, and managing natural resource wealth. Discussions extend to the functioning of labor markets, the structure and effectiveness of institutions, and questions of financial access, gender, social safety nets, distribution, and education and social policies. On inclusive growth and structural
transformation, a central theme is how employment structures are changing as developing countries transition from agricultural economies to economies led by modern services or manufacturing.

Working closely with the World Bank, the IMF supports its discussions with member countries by its own research, which is published in IMF working and policy papers and in the bi-annual Sub-Saharan Africa Regional Economic Outlook. A major conference of the IMF and its sub-Saharan African members and partners is planned in May 2014 in Mozambique to take stock of recent progress in the region.

- Dr. Hasan Tuluy: "The World Bank in Latin America: Expanding Opportunities for All"

The world for which the World Bank was created nearly 70 years ago has changed dramatically. We no longer make loans to Japan and France, and instead there are new members among a diverse group of developing countries with very diverse needs. In Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) alone, the bank has 21 members that classify as Middle-Income Countries (MICS) and have increased demand for innovative services and solutions -- not just financing.

Back in 1980, the share of world population living in MICS was 22 percent, last year it was 70 percent and the figure keeps growing. Their share of the world GDP has gone from 16% in 1980 to 42% last year. Middle-Income Countries are
a major source of innovative development solutions. For instance, two of the world’s most notable anti-poverty Conditional Cash Transfers started in Mexico and Brazil, and these have been emulated around the world, even in New York City, in a “South-North” cooperation. The MICs are also a major force in driving South-South cooperation, from violence prevention initiatives that Brazil and Colombia are sharing with Nigeria to health insurance programs for the poor shared by Argentina with Egypt, South Africa, Turkey, Ukraine and others.

The fact is that without MICs we couldn’t solve the world’s major problems. Traditional agricultural producers in LAC contribute to increased global food production, helping fight food price inflation. Latin American MICs have become a “green lab” for innovation, helping fight climate change. And by protecting their rich biodiversity, MICs are protecting the prosperity of future generations around the world.

**Economic Growth and Social Inclusion**

When it comes to helping MICs transition to high-income status, one must remember that neither growth nor absolute poverty reduction alone will suffice. We need to move towards shared prosperity. LAC has come a long way in that direction. In 2011, for the first time ever, the number of people in the middle class (32 percent) surpassed the number of poor (27 percent). But 40 percent of Latin Americans still remain vulnerable to falling back into poverty. And while the region has made historic strides in reducing inequality, the most equal country in LAC (Uruguay) is still less equal than the most unequal non-LAC country in the OECD (Turkey).

Despite substantial upward income movements within generations, intergenerational mobility remains limited in Latin America, as parental income levels still strongly influence one’s own income and equality of opportunity. What’s more, longer-term convergence to high-income levels remains elusive in LAC. The region’s average per capita GDP relative to the US has hovered around 30 percent for more than a century.

The recent protests in Brazil, Chile, Colombia and Peru can be seen as a paradox as these countries are considered success cases of social progress in the region. Indeed they are, but there is a new Latin American middle class demanding better state services in education, health and citizen security, instead of going the private way.

**The Natural Resource ‘Course’ and China’s Role**

China’s gigantic appetite for LAC’s mineral and agricultural commodity exports has led some to point to the risk that LAC will be caught in the “natural resource curse.” But that is not necessarily true. The trick is for LAC countries to unleash a process of capital accumulation and productivity enhancements similar to the East Asian “Tigers”, while maintaining the region’s vibrant democracy. The first decade of Chinese relations with Latin America lacked that promising exchange but there are some exceptions.

In the long term, all LAC countries need structural reforms to increase the economic flexibility, productivity, and attractiveness to private investors. One especially important example is energy reform in Mexico, which could open the sector to private investment for the first time in nearly a century.

**Being part of the Global Solution**

The WBG is helping LAC build and develop its global solutions, such as addressing the challenge of balancing energy for development with its impact on climate change. So far
Latin America has been a small contributor to the climate change problem. It is responsible for only a small percentage (12.5 percent) of global carbon emissions and it has the greenest energy matrix of all developing regions (hydropower contributes close to 60 percent).

But this is changing. Latin America has the most concentrated urban population of any region—more than 80%—as well as the fastest growing motorization rate in the world, both potential sources of environmental degradation. Therefore, the WBG has been supporting the design and development of Bus Rapid Transit systems, which have become models for cities around the world.

As LAC becomes more urbanized and exposure to natural disasters increases, any efforts done today to counter environmental degradation will ensure we are not sacrificing prosperity for the future generations.

Panel Coordinator: Aaron Melaas
Title: Geopolitics of South and Central Asia Post-2014.

The scheduled departure of American and NATO combat troops from Afghanistan by the end of 2014 has created uncertainty not only in Afghanistan but in the region as a whole. Fundamental issues, such as the survivability of the Afghan state, the direction and magnitude of Islamism in the region, the potential increase in transnational terrorism and organized crime, and many more are at stake. Will the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) be able to maintain a general level of stability in the country? Will the current political regime survive beyond 2014? Once the Western military forces withdraw, will radical Islamism in the region decrease or increase? This panel attempted to address these questions and more.

Moderator: **Professor Andrew Hess**

Panelists:

- **Dr. Hassan Abbas:** “Traditional Ulema vs. Taliban vs. ordinary Muslims in post 2014 South Asia”
The presentation examined the impact and role of religion in Afghan society to understand the potential mobilizing capacity of Taliban in the aftermath of withdrawal of US and international forces. Contrary to general assumptions, many of the traditional Muslim scholars and ordinary Afghans who were overwhelmed by the ideology of Taliban may move out of the realm & domain of Taliban. In the absence of coercion in the name of defiance of the 'occupier', the religious dynamic in Afghanistan may transform towards the center. This presentation analyzed such a prospect.

- Dr. Geoffrey F. Gresh: “The Northern Distribution Network Meets the New Silk Road”
This is a preliminary project still in its very infancy that seeks to gain a better understanding of the economic impacts or spillover effects from the presence of the Northern Distribution Network. For example, is the maintenance of a U.S. military basing or regional presence and northern distribution network needed to further develop and support the maintenance of a New Silk Road? Dr. Gresh used the initial case of Azerbaijan to explore some general and preliminary questions.

- Arian Sharifi: “It is not time to talk with the Taliban”
The Obama and Karzai administrations are trying to open negotiation channels with the movement, each for their own reasons. President Obama hopes to bring some level of stability to Afghanistan through a political settlement with the Taliban as he withdraws the majority of American troops from the country by the end of 2014 – a face-saving approach of some sort. Likewise, President Karzai wishes to strike a deal with
the Taliban before the end of his presidential mandate in the spring of 2014, hoping to leave a legacy of peace-building behind.

But perhaps the very reasons why presidents Obama and Karzai are pushing for talks with the Taliban are preventing the insurgent movement from responding in kind. Given the short time remaining of NATO’s combat mission, as well as Karzai’s term as president, what incentives do the Taliban have in agreeing to any negotiations? Why would they negotiate with Americans who are running toward the exit, or with Karzai who will not be in power in a few months?

In this presentation, Mr. Sharifi argued that efforts at bringing the Taliban to the negotiating table will not yield to any political breakthrough, and must be halted. Instead, the Afghan and American governments must focus their efforts on strengthening the Afghan state.

Panel Coordinator: Arian Sharifi
Panel IIIB—International Organizations

Profs. Eileen Babbitt, Antonia Chayes and Ian Johnstone collaborate as moderator and presenters on Panel IIIB

Title: “International Organizations: Implications to Global Governance”

International organizations are among the most important global actors in today's international legal order and global governance, affecting a wide range of important issues such as security, social and political order, economic development, the environment and ecosystem, and many other transnational challenges. Myriad actors and their political interests are often and not surprisingly at cross-purposes, making global governance staggeringly complex. In such a system fraught with tension, what results when there is deadlock in reaching consensus? What is the role of international organizations in managing such tensions, bridging differences, and encouraging compliance and cooperation? How do we manage information gaps and disagreement on the broad contours of particular problems, both of which can adversely affect discourse in the various international organizations? This panel began to address these questions and many more.
Panelists:

- **Academic Dean Ian Johnstone**: “Divisions within the U.N. Security Council—Imprecise Authorizations, Implied Mandates, and Failures to Act”
  The collective security scheme, as embodied in the U.N. Charter, has failed in practice to function as it was intended. The result has been ambiguous authorizations and uncertain mandates from the U.N. Security Council, as well as failures to act on matters concerning the use of force—the council’s *raison d’être*. Ambiguity in how the UNSC acts or does not act often is intentional, as a way of papering over or managing intractable political differences. However, uncertainty also adds another layer of complexity. Three types of cases tend to arise when the UNSC is divided. The first is where the UNSC expressly authorizes the use of force, but the objectives and scope of the authorization are unclear. The second case is where the council adopts a resolution that may or may not authorize the use of force, but that is implied (and/or inferred by states). Finally, there are cases where states act unilaterally when the council fails to act, claiming that they are enforcing the collective will or responding to an “unreasonable veto.” However contested and inconsistent these actions are—and expecting perfect consistency is unreasonable, given the rough-and-tumble politics of the council—the deliberation that occurs in and around the UNSC highlights its discursive function. This has not led to a collapse of Charter-based law and institutions, but rather has helped to manage tensions, particularly over the use of force, in a turbulent and pluralistic world.

- **Professor Antonia Chayes**: “Are International Organizations Important in Implementing International Agreements?”
  This presentation sketched the ways in which international organizations, formed to implement a variety of international treaties, help to assure compliance and to reach treaty goals. There are different theoretical approaches to securing treaty compliance. The “Enforcement School” of thought would argue that without coercive measures, agreements represent only what the parties would do without agreement, and that therefore, IOs are irrelevant to meeting treaty goals. The “Management School” believes that many obstacles stand in the way of implementation and compliance, and willful violation is the exception (though usually seen in high-profile cases); therefore, a strong IO can help manage implementation to confront obstacles ranging from ambiguity of language, to lack of capacity of signatories, to doubt about others’ compliance, to temporal factors. With examples from international security, trade
environment, and human rights, I show that an effective IO, created by treaty provisions, can help implementation and compliance by providing, *inter alia*, (a) interpretation in cases of ambiguity, both through formal and informal dispute resolution processes; (b) aid in building capacity through technical assistance, and in some cases, financial assistance; (c) reassurance by creating transparency, whether by formal verification processes or, to a lesser extent, by informal reporting; (d) persuasion of recalcitrant parties by nudging, “jawboning,” and even shaming, often using NGOs to help; and (e) in some cases, the ability of IOs to adapt to changing circumstances or to new technology without treaty amendment. Strong IOs are in a better position to perform these functions, but member states fear both strong regulation and a democratic deficit; and therefore, the full potential of assistance by an IO is often denied early in the formulation of the treaty.

- **Zinaida Miller**: “Perils of Parity: Palestine’s Permanent Transition”
  This presentation examined multilateral legal and economic governance of the West Bank and Gaza after the 1993 Oslo Accords, focusing on the role of international organizations, both financially and discursively. International involvement became indispensable in the West Bank and Gaza due to the separation between control of territory (retained by Israel) and management of population (delegated to the Palestinian Authority), as instituted by the accords. Despite increasing attention paid
to the financial role of international aid in reconfiguring both the Israeli occupation and the bilateral negotiations process, few have examined the ways in which international ideas about state, economy, and politics have re-conceptualized the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Based on both interviews and international reports, this presentation argued that international discourses of state-building and peace-building tend to reinforce a status quo based on inequality and injustice rather than contributing to the reconstruction and transformation that they ostensibly advocate.

Panel Coordinator: Teera Tony Tunyavongs
Office of Development and Alumni Relations staff Bronwyn McCarty & Caroline Caldwell speak during networking cocktail as Ph.D. student Arian Sharifi looks on

Panelist and Moderator Bios

Dr. Hassan Abbas

Hassan Abbas is Professor of International Security Studies at National Defense University's College of International Security Affairs. He is also currently a Senior Advisor at Asia Society and a non-resident fellow at the Institute for Social Policy and Understanding. He remained a Senior Advisor at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University (2009-2011), after having been a Research Fellow at the Center from 2005-2009. He was the Distinguished Quaid-i-Azam Chair Professor at Columbia University before joining CISA and has previously held fellowships at Harvard Law School and
the Asia Society in New York. Dr. Abbas holds a MALD and PhD from the Fletcher School, a LLM in international law from Nottingham University, United Kingdom, and a Master’s in Political Science from Punjab University (Pakistan).

He regularly appears as an analyst on media including CNN, ABC, BBC, C-Span and GEO TV (Pakistan). His opinion pieces and research articles have been published in various leading international newspapers and academic publications. Abbas’ well acclaimed book *Pakistan's Drift into Extremism: Allah, the Army and America's War on Terror* (M E Sharpe, 2004) remains on bestseller lists in Pakistan and India and his latest book is titled *Taliban Revival* (Yale University Press, 2012). He also runs WATANDOST, a blog on Pakistan and its neighbors' related affairs. His latest publications include an Asia Society study group report titled “Pakistan 2020: A Vision for Building a Better Future” (May 2011) and “Shiism and Sectarian Conflict in Pakistan: Identity Politics, Iranian Influence, and Tit-for-Tat Violence”, a monograph published by Combating Terrorism Center, Westpoint, N.Y. (September 2010).

**Professor Eileen F. Babbitt**

Eileen F. Babbitt is Professor of International Conflict Management Practice and Director of the International Negotiation and Conflict Resolution Program at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University. She is also a faculty associate of the Program on Negotiation at the Harvard Law School and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. Her research interests include identity-based conflicts; coexistence and trust-building in the aftermath of civil war; and the interface between human rights concerns and peacebuilding. Her practice as a facilitator and trainer has included work in the Middle East, the Balkans, and with U.S. government agencies, regional intergovernmental organizations, and international and local NGOs. Before joining the Fletcher faculty, Professor Babbitt was Director of Education and Training at the United States Institute of Peace in Washington, D.C. and Deputy Director of the Program on International Conflict Analysis and Resolution at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University. Professor Babbitt’s latest publications include the forthcoming article, “The Evolution of International Conflict Resolution: From Cold War to Peacebuilding,” in the *Negotiation Journal, 25th Anniversary Issue, and Human Rights and*
Conflict Resolution in Context: Colombia, Sierra Leone, and Northern Ireland, co-edited with Ellen Lutz and published by Syracuse University Press. Professor Babbitt holds a Master’s Degree in Public Policy from the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, and a Ph.D. from MIT.

Rishikesh Bhandary

Rishikesh Bhandary is a doctoral candidate at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and a junior research fellow at the Center for International Environment and Resource Policy, focusing on climate change and energy policy and international negotiations. His research interests include innovative sources of finance and market-based strategies for low carbon development and the emerging paradigm of sustainable development diplomacy. Rishi serves as a contributing author and chapter scientist to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change’s Fifth Assessment Report (AR5).

Professor Steven Block

Steven Block is a Professor of International Economics at the Fletcher School at Tufts University. His research studies food and agricultural policy, productivity, household nutrition, and the political economy of both macroeconomic and agricultural policy. He has published in diverse research areas, including the effects of elections on macroeconomic policy in developing countries, the negative effects of tobacco expenditures on child nutrition, and the effect of government policy on agricultural productivity in Africa. Professor Block is also a co-author of a leading textbook, Economics of Development, with D.H. Perkins, S. Radelet, and D. Lindauer.

Block has served as a consultant to the World Bank and USAID on numerous technical assistance missions in Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia, as well as a Senior Analyst with Abt Associates, Inc. He holds a PhD in Political Economy from Harvard University.
**Professor Antonia Chayes**

Antonia Chayes is professor of practice in international politics and law at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University. She previously taught at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, and the Harvard Law School. Chayes was vice chair and senior consultant of Conflict Management Group (CMG), a non-profit international dispute resolution organization. For eight years, she was a mediator of corporate disputes for JAMS/ENDISPUTE. As a board member of United Technologies Corporation for 21 years, she chaired its Public Issues Review Committee, and served on its Executive Committee until retiring in 2002. During the Carter Administration, Chayes was assistant secretary, and later, under secretary of the U.S. Air Force, where she was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal. She has served on several federal commissions, including the Vice President’s White House Aviation Safety and Security Commission, and the Commission on Roles and Missions of the United States Armed Forces. Chayes also has practiced law in a Boston law firm. She is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, and has served as a consultant to the Office of Compliance, Adviser, Ombudsman of IFC and MIGA of the World Bank, and has served on the Executive Council of the American Society of International Law since 2009. In 2011, she became a member of the Consensus for National Security. She is the author of a number of books and articles. Her most recent publication is “How American Treaty Behavior Threatens National Security” in *International Security*, 45 (2008). A new article, “Chapter VII ½: Is Jus Post Bellum Possible?” has just been published in *The European Journal of International Law* (2013). She has numerous books to her credit.

Professor Chayes was honored with the Radcliffe Alumnae Award in recognition of her career of distinguished service. She received her B.A. from Radcliffe College of Harvard University, attended Yale Law School, and received her J.D. from George Washington University. Professor Chayes is the mother of five, grandmother of nine, and widow of the late Abram Chayes.

**Irina Chindea**
Irina Chindea is a Ph.D. candidate in the International Security Studies Program at the Fletcher School. Irina's doctoral research investigates the patterns of cooperation and conflict among criminal groups in weak and strong states. More specifically, Irina’s dissertation focuses on the shifts in alliances among the main Mexican and Colombian drug cartels as well as the leading Canadian Mafia groups.

Irina's research interests include irregular warfare and asymmetric threats, the nexus between finance and the activities of non-state armed groups, intelligence, and alliance politics with a regional focus on Latin America and Southwest Asia.

Irina received her BSc in 2003 from the Academy of Economics in Bucharest, majoring in Business Administration and Management. Prior to completing her MALD at the Fletcher School in 2008, Irina worked as a senior analyst for the investment-arm of Raiffeisen Bank and for the Financial Advisory Services unit of KPMG Romania.

**Dr. Erik J. Dahl**

Erik J. Dahl joined the faculty of the Department of National Security Affairs as an assistant professor in September 2008. He received his Ph.D. from The Fletcher School of Tufts University, from which he also received a Master of Arts in Law and Diplomacy. Before joining NPS, from 2006 to 2008 Dahl was a pre-doctoral research fellow in the International Security Program at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government. At NPS, Dahl also teaches on the faculty of the Center for Homeland Defense and Security.

**Professor Nancy W. Gleason**

Nancy W. Gleason, PhD, is a Lecturer in Environmental Studies at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and a Lecturer within the Political Science Department at Tufts University. Dr. Gleason also works with TIE and the environmental studies program to enhance support capability of student activities and encourage collaboration across the schools at Tufts.
research areas relate to sustainable development diplomacy in the context of forests, climate change and water. She serves on the Board of Editors for the AIMS Environmental Science journal. She has a PhD and a MALD from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. She also holds a master's of science from the London School of Economics and a bachelor's degree from George Washington University.

**Dr. Geoffrey F. Gresh**

Geoffrey F. Gresh is Assistant Professor of International Security Studies at National Defense University. He received a Ph.D. in International Relations from the Fletcher School at Tufts University where he wrote his dissertation on U.S. military basing and maritime security in the Persian Gulf. Prior to NDU, he served as a Visiting Fellow at Sciences Po in Paris, France and was the recipient of a Dwight D. Eisenhower/Clifford Roberts Fellowship. In 2009, he received a U.S. Fulbright-Hays Grant to teach international relations at Salaheddin University in Erbil, Iraq. He has also been awarded a Rotary Ambassadorial Scholarship to Istanbul, Turkey and a Presidential Scholarship at the American University in Cairo, Egypt. Additionally, he has worked with Colombian refugees in Quito, Ecuador.

At the Fletcher School, Gresh served as a program manager with the Program on Southwest Asia and Islamic Civilization where he managed diplomatic and international security training programs for countries such as Iraq, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Armenia, and Azerbaijan. Most recently, he was named as a U.S.-Japan Foundation Leadership Fellow and a nonresident Senior Fellow with the Institute for Global Maritime Studies. His research has appeared in such scholarly or peer reviewed publications as The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs, Caucasian Review of International Affairs, Iran and the Caucasus, Turkish Policy Quarterly, Central Asia and the Caucasus, Insight Turkey, Al-Nakhlah and Foreign Policy. He has a working command of Arabic, Turkish, French, Spanish, and German.

**Matt Herbert**

Matt Herbert is a PhD candidate in International Security Studies at The Fletcher School and a
Pre-Doctoral Fellow at the World Peace Foundation. His research focuses on the impact of illicit commodity chains on political and collective violence. His dissertation work investigates the development of cocaine commodity chains in Central America, and their impact on political violence.

Concurrent with his doctoral studies, he works with the Global Initiative against Transnational Organized Crime. He has done field research on a diverse set of issues including Haiti’s lottery system, the security of new payments systems in East Africa, and narcotics trafficking in West Africa and the Sahara. Prior to his doctoral studies, Matt worked as a threats analyst, dealing with transnational-armed groups, drug trafficking, and human trafficking issues. He also worked as a special assistant to Governor Bill Richardson of New Mexico, handling political and legislative affairs. Matt received a BA in Political Science and Documentary Studies, and a BFA in Photography from the College of Santa Fe.

Professor Andrew Hess

Professor of Diplomacy. Andrew Hess, Director of the Program for Southwest Asia and Islamic Civilization, received a B.S. in Mechanical Engineering from the University of Michigan in 1954, and an M.B.A. from Kent State University, an M.A. in European History from the University of Pittsburgh in 1961, and an A.M. and Ph.D. in History and Middle Eastern Studies from Harvard University in 1966. He subsequently taught at American University in Cairo and from 1967-78 at Temple University, where he was an Associate Professor of History. From 1978 to 1984 he held executive positions with the Arabian American Oil Company in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia. In 1984, he joined the faculty of The Fletcher School to take the position of Professor of Diplomacy and Director of the Program for Southwest Asia and Islamic Civilization. He is the author of *The Forgotten Frontier: A History of Sixteenth Century Ibero-African Relations* (University of Chicago Press, 1978) and of numerous scholarly articles dealing with the Middle East, the most recent being "The Arabs and Technology" in *The World and I*, February 1990; "Review Essay: Riding Out the Storm?", *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, Summer/Fall 1994;
and "Peace and Political Reform in the Gulf: The Private Sector", *Journal of International Affairs*, Summer 1995 49/1. Professor Hess has also served as Academic Dean of The Fletcher School from July 1996 through August 1998.

**Dean Ian Johnstone**

Ian Johnstone is academic dean and professor of international law at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. He has focused his research on two broad tracks over the past several years: the role of law in international politics, and the security-related activities of international organizations. His interest in deliberation falls within the growing body of international law/international relations (IL/IR) literature, while his work on international peace and security has focused on the U.N. Security Council. Prior to joining the Fletcher School faculty in 2000, Dean Johnstone held various positions in the United Nations Secretariat, for a total of seven years, including five years in the Office of the Secretary-General. He also served in the Under-Secretary-General’s office in the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, and in the Office of the Legal Counsel. Johnstone currently is co-editing the *Oxford Handbook on International Organizations*. Recent publications include *The Power of Deliberation: International Law, Politics and Organizations* (Oxford University Press, 2011); “Law-making by International Organizations,” *Interdisciplinary Perspectives on International Law and International Relations* (2012); “Managing Consent in Contemporary Peacekeeping Operations,” *International Peacekeeping* (2011); and “Legislation and Adjudication in the U.N. Security Council: Bringing Down the Deliberative Deficit,” *American Journal of International Law* (2008). From 2005-2007, Johnstone was the volume editor and lead scholar of the first two volumes of the CIC’s *Annual Review of Global Peace Operations*. He continues to serve as a regular consultant to the United Nations. Dean Johnstone holds an LL.M. degree from Columbia University, and J.D. and B.A. degrees, both with honors, from the University of Toronto.

**Zinaida Miller**
Zinaida Miller is Institute Fellow at the Institute for Global Law and Policy at Harvard Law School and a Ph.D. candidate at the Fletcher School. Her dissertation traces the history and discourses of international intervention in Palestine and Rwanda. Much of her work critically examines the field of transitional justice for its persistent failure to address questions of inequality and structural violence. She has taught public international law at New England Law School and served as a consultant with the International Human Rights Clinic of Harvard Law School. Previously, she was a visiting fellow in international studies at the Watson Institute at Brown University and a recipient of a Harvard University Sheldon Fellowship to support research on international humanitarian aid in the occupied Palestinian territories. Her publications include “Land, Law, and Planning in the Bedouin Naqab” (with Ahmad Amara), in *Indigenous (In)Justice: Human Rights Law and Bedouin Arabs in the Naqab/Negev* (Harvard University Press, 2012), and “Effects of Invisibility: In Search of the Economic in Transitional Justice” (*International Journal of Transitional Justice*, 2008). Miller was founding co-editor of *Unbound: Harvard Journal of the Legal Left*. She holds a B.A. from Brown University, a Masters in Law and Diplomacy from The Fletcher School, and a J.D. from Harvard Law School.

**Dr. Mihaela Papa**

Mihaela Papa is a Globalization, Lawyers and Emerging Economies Fellow at Harvard Law School, conducting research on the rise of new powers and their participation in international institutions, particularly investment arbitration. Mihaela recently spent six months at the Center for BRICS Studies at Fudan University in China and has been developing a study of BRICS’ policy convergence in the legal field and prospects for legal cooperation. Her publications include a policy book *Global Environmental Governance: A Reform Agenda* as well as articles in *Global Environmental Change, Climate Policy, Chinese Journal of International Politics, Journal of International Dispute Settlement* and *International Journal of the Legal Profession*. She also taught courses on global governance, international organizations and diplomacy at the Boston University, Tufts University and the University of Geneva, consulted for the International Institute for Sustainable Development and worked in foreign policy.
practice at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Croatia. She has a Ph.D. in International Relations and a M.A. in Law and Diplomacy from the Fletcher School at Tufts University.

**Professor Robert L. Pfaltzgraff**

Dr. Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., is Shelby Cullom Davis Professor of International Security Studies at The Fletcher School, Tufts University. He is also president of the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Inc., which he cofounded in 1976. He is an authority on issues of U.S. national security policy, including homeland security; proliferation and counterproliferation; alliance relationships with a focus on Europe and the Asia-Pacific area; regional security issues; crisis management; force planning; military transformation; the interrelationships of political, economic, and security policies; technology transfer; missile defense; international relations theory; U.S. foreign policy; and the implications of emerging trends in both regional and global security environments. He has held visiting appointments as George C. Marshall Professor at the College of Europe, Bruges, Belgium; as professor at the National Defense College, Tokyo, Japan; and as honorary professor at the University of St. Andrews in Scotland. He has advised key U.S. officials on such topics as military strategy, modernization, and arms control policy, and has contributed as a management consultant to industry clients in the United States and abroad. He served on the International Security Advisory Board (ISAB) during 2006-2009, U.S. Department of State. He serves as chairman of the Independent Working Group on Missile Defense, which produced the 2009 report, *Missile Defense, the Space Relationship, and the 21st Century*.

Dr. Pfaltzgraff has lectured widely at government, industry, and academic forums in the United States and overseas, including at the National Defense University, the NATO Defense College, the Army War College, the Naval War College, the Armed Forces Staff College, the Air Command Staff College, and the United States Military Academy at West Point.

He holds an M.A. in international relations, a Ph.D. in political science from the University of
Pennsylvania, and an M.B.A. in international business from the Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania.

**Dr. Jim Platte**

Jim Platte's academic work has focused on nuclear energy policy making, particularly in Asia. From October 2012 to May 2013, he studied changes to Japan's nuclear energy policy and decision making after the Fukushima nuclear accident as a Council on Foreign Relations International Affairs in Japan Fellow, sponsored by Hitachi, Ltd. Previously, he was a Stanton Nuclear Security Pre-doctoral Fellow with the International Security Program/Project on Managing the Atom at the Harvard Kennedy School’s Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs during the 2011-12 academic year. He completed his PhD in international relations at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in December 2012. His dissertation was titled “National Decision Making and the Nuclear Fuel Cycles: An Analysis of Influences” and was a comparative study of nuclear fuel cycle policy decision making in India, Japan, and South Korea. He also holds an MA in science, technology, and public policy from the Elliott School of International Affairs and an MS and BS in nuclear engineering from the University of Michigan. Jim’s professional experience includes being selected for the Pat Roberts Intelligence Scholar Program by the U.S. Department of Defense in 2008. As a Roberts Scholar, he spent ten months intensively studying Korean at Sogang University in South Korea, followed by working as a counterproliferation analyst for 16 months. He also worked on the Highly Enriched Uranium Transparency Program at the National Nuclear Security Administration and researched weapons of mass destruction trafficking and technology for the Wisconsin Project on Nuclear Arms Control.

**Dr. Antoinette Sayeh**

Antoinette Sayeh assumed her current position as Director of the African Department of the International Monetary Fund in July 2008. As Minister of Finance in post-conflict Liberia from
January 2006 through June 2008, she led the country through the clearance of its long-standing multilateral debt arrears, the HIPC Decision Point, the Paris Club, and its first Poverty Reduction Strategy, significantly strengthening its public finances and championing public financial management reform.

Before joining President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf’s Cabinet, Sayeh worked for the World Bank for seventeen years, including as Country Director for Benin, Niger, and Togo; as Country Economist on Pakistan, and Afghanistan; and an Advisor in the Bank’s Operations Policy Vice Presidency and as Assistant to its principal Managing Director. Before joining the Bank, Sayeh worked in economic advisory positions in Liberia’s Ministries of Finance and Planning. Sayeh graduated with a bachelor’s degree with honors in economics from Swarthmore College and a PhD in International Economic Relations from the Fletcher School at Tufts University.

**Arian Sharifi**

Mr. Arian Sharifi is a PhD student at the Fletcher School, studying the causes of violent and nonviolent contention in Islamist groups. His experiences before Fletcher include serving as an Adjunct Instructor at the American University of Afghanistan (AUAF) where he taught Public Administration courses; Analyst at IFES where he conducted research on electoral challenges in Afghanistan; Communications Director at the Afghan Ministry of Finance where he managed the Ministry’s external relations, served as a public relations adviser to the Minister, and acted as the Ministry’s Spokesperson; Research Analyst for the Combating Terrorism Center at West Point and the International Center for Political Violence and Terrorism Research in Singapore where he researched terrorist activities in Afghanistan and Central Asia. Sharifi received a Master in Public Affairs (MPA) from Princeton University’s Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, and a BA in Government and Political Science from Wesleyan University. He is fluent in Dari, Pashtu, and English.

**James A. Shyne**
Mr. Shyne is a doctoral candidate at the Fletcher School concentrating in international economic development. His dissertation explores the historical causes and recent statistical correlates of homicide rates – including extra-judicial executions by the police – in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

Mr. Shyne has seventeen years of professional and academic experience including nine years resident in sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America. He served for two years as a visiting researcher at ISER, a leading human rights NGO in Rio, and is also an affiliate of the Laboratório da Análise de Violência (LAV) at Rio de Janeiro State University. He has served as Chief of Party to USAID-funded Democracy & Governance and Land Tenure Reform projects in Angola and Guinea, respectively, and is currently leading a USAID-funded analysis of the impact of Trans-National Organized Crime (TOC) on the economies of selected West African countries. Mr. Shyne earned his A.B. in history from Cornell University, his M.A.L.D. in development economics from the Fletcher School at Tufts, and conducted his dissertation fieldwork as a J. William Fulbright Fellow in Brazil.

**Dr. Hasan Tuluy**

Hasan Tuluy, a Turkish national, has been the World Bank Regional Vice President for Latin America & the Caribbean (LAC) since January 2012. His 24-year career at the World Bank has focused on promoting the Bank’s role as a reliable partner in finding development solutions for member states through financial, knowledge, and technical assistance services.

With extensive experience in the developing world, especially in the Middle East and Africa, Tuluy has contributed to the strategic alignment of the Bank’s work in Middle Income Countries (MICs) and in responding to the needs of these countries for a tailored approach to financial instruments and knowledge services while giving them a greater voice in the development agenda. His role in LAC, informed by his previous experiences, is to consolidate the role of the World Bank as a trusted partner, helping countries deliver opportunities to all citizens through sustained and socially inclusive economic growth.
Tuluy leads the activities of 700-plus staff working in the LAC region and oversees a portfolio of over US$17 billion in loans, grants and credits. He originally joined the Bank in 1987 as an economist and has since served in various positions of responsibility including: Country Director in the Africa Region, Director of World Bank Corporate Strategy, Director of Strategy & Operations in the Middle East and North Africa, Chief Operating Officer for the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA), and Vice President of Human Resources. Before joining the Bank, Tuluy worked as a consultant and advisor to governments in the developing world. He holds a Ph.D. in Development Economics and Trade from the Fletcher School at Tufts University.

**Teera Tony Tunyavongs**

Teera Tony Tunyavongs, Lt Col, USAF, is Chief of Staff of the U.S. Air Force Ph.D. Fellow at Tufts University’s Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. Since his commissioning, after graduating with a B.A. degree from the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, Colonel Tunyavongs has held key leadership positions in both operational and staff capacities, and in both military and diplomatic roles. While in space operations, from 1994 to 2002, he served as commander of several launch and on-orbit operations crews for distinct U.S. Department of Defense, U.K. Ministry of Defence, and North Atlantic Treaty Organization satellite constellations and weapon systems. He served also as chief of orbit analysis and operations procedures sections, deputy chief of an academic training section, and evaluations officer. From 2002 to 2005, while on the faculty of Air University (the U.S. Air Force’s professional graduate school), he served as a department operations director and senior supervising instructor in doctrine and strategy. In 2005, he began a series of policy-planning assignments in Washington D.C., first as political-military affairs advisor to the Air Force deputy undersecretary for international affairs. From 2008 to 2009, he served as foreign affairs officer at the U.S. Department of State, and as chairman of the National Security Council–chartered Missile Technology Export Control Group. Immediately prior to beginning doctoral studies in 2012, Colonel Tunyavongs served for more than three years as chief speechwriter to the Chief of Staff of the U.S. Air Force. He holds M.S.
and M.A. degrees from the University of North Dakota and the U.S. Naval Postgraduate School, respectively. Currently, for his dissertation proposal, he is researching interstate socialization and the development of nonproliferation norms.

**Professor Ibrahim Warde**

Ibrahim Warde is a consultant and adjunct professor of international business at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, in Medford, Massachusetts. Dr. Warde's books include *The Price of Fear: The Truth Behind the Financial War on Terror* (University of California Press 2007), which has been translated into Japanese, Italian, French and Czech, and *Islamic Finance in the Global Economy* (Edinburgh University Press 2000, second edition 2010). His other books include *Le Modèle Anglo-saxon en Question* (Economica 1997) and *Mythologies Américaines* (Editions du félin 1996). He is a graduate of France's Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales (HEC), and of the University of California at Berkeley where he received his Ph.D. He has taught at the University of California (Berkeley, Davis, and Santa Cruz) and at the Sloan School of Management at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
## 2013 Conference Attendees

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The Fletcher School

Shotaro Sasaki
The Fletcher School / Asian Development Bank

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International Monetary Fund

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