

# World Summit on Counter-Terrorism: Terrorism's Global Impact

ICT's 11<sup>th</sup> Annual International Conference

September 11-14, 2011, Herzliya, Israel

## Schedule\*

Sunday September 11, at the Center for Performing Arts, Herzliya

### Special Sessions: Talking Heads

#### 12:30 - 13:15: Opening

- **Dr. Boaz Ganor**, Executive Director of ICT; Deputy Dean of the Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya, Israel
- **Mr. Shabtai Shavit**, Former Head of the Mossad; Chairman, ICT Board of Directors, Israel

#### Keynote Speaker:

- **MK Tzipi Livni**, Leader of the Opposition and Chairperson of the Kadima Movement, Israel

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\* Conference schedule and content are subject to change.

## **13:15 - 15:00: Declaration of a Palestinian State and its Impact on the Middle-East Peace Process**

- **Dr. Uzi Landau**, Minister of National Infrastructures, Israel
- **Lt. Gen. (Res.) Amnon Lipkin-Shahak**, Former Chief of Staff, IDF, Israel
- **Maj. Gen. (Res.) Uzi Dayan**, Former IDF Deputy Chief of Staff, Former National Security Adviser, Israel
- **Lt. Gen. (Ret.) Shaul Mofaz**, Former Minister of Defense and Former Chief of Staff, IDF, Israel

**Chair: Mr. Oded Granot**, Head of the Middle East Desk, Israeli TV Channel 1, Israel

## **15:00 - 15:15: Break**

## **15:15 - 17:30: The Arab Spring and Developments in the Middle East**

- **Maj. Gen. (Ret.) David Ivri**, President of Boeing Israel and Former Deputy Chief of Staff, IDF, Israeli Ambassador to the US and National Security Advisor, Israel
- **Maj. Gen. (Ret.) Aharon Ze'evi-Farkash**, Former Head, Military Intelligence Directorate, Israel
- **Maj. Gen. (Ret.) Danny Yatom**, Former Head of the Mossad, Israel
- **Maj. Gen. (Res.) Uri Sagi**, Former Head, Military Intelligence Directorate, Israel
- **Prof. Moshe Arens**, Former Minister of Defense and Foreign Affairs, Israel

**Chair: Ms. Smadar Peri**, Chief Arab World Correspondent, Yediot Aharonot, Israel

## **17:30 - 17:45: Break**

## **17:45 - 19:30: Countering Terrorism – A Decade after 9/11**

- **Maj. Gen. (Ret.) Matan Vilnai**, Minister for Home Front Defense, Israel
- **Mr. Shahar Ayalon**, Commander, Fire and Rescue Service, Israel
- **Mr. Ami Ayalon**, Former Head of the Israel Security Agency (ISA), Israel
- **Brig. Gen. Yoav "Poli" Mordechai**, Spokesperson, Israel Defense Forces, Israel

**Chair: Ms. Tali Lipkin-Shahak**, Journalist, IDF Radio, Israel

# Opening Evening & Memorial Ceremony

## 19:15: Reception

## 20:00 - 20.30: Greetings

- **Prof. Uriel Reichman**, President, IDC Herzliya, Israel
- **Mr. Shabtai Shavit**, Former Head of the Mossad; Chairman, ICT Board of Directors, Israel
- **Prof. Alex Mintz**, Dean, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya, Israel
- **Dr. Boaz Ganor**, Executive Director of ICT; Deputy Dean of the Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya, Israel

## 20.30 - 21.00: Keynote Speaker:

- **Lt. Gen. (Ret.) Ehud Barak**, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defense, Israel

## 21:00: Memorial Ceremony

### Memorial Ceremony - In Remembrance of the Atrocities of September 11, 2001 and the Victims of Terrorism Worldwide

- **Congressman Trent Franks**, Member of the Armed Services Committee, House of Representatives, U.S.A.
- **H.E. Mr. Daniel Shapiro**, Ambassador of the United States of America to Israel
- **Sheriff Lee Baca**, Sheriff of Los Angeles County, U.S.A.

## Master of Ceremonies:

- **Mr. Jonathan Davis**, Head of the Raphael Recanati International School, Vice President for External Relations, IDC Herzliya, Israel

## Plenary Session

### 09.00 – 09.30: Keynote Speaker:

- **Lt. Gen. (Ret.) Moshe Yaalon**, Deputy Prime Minister & Minister of Strategic Affairs, Israel

### 09:30 - 11:00

- **Commissioner Yohanan Danino**, General Commissioner of Police, Israel
- **Sheriff Lee Baca**, Sheriff of Los Angeles County, U.S.A.
- **Prof. Alex P. Schmid**, Director of the Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) & Former Officer-in-Charge of the Terrorism Prevention Branch, The United Nations, The Netherlands

### 11:00 - 11:30: Break

### 11:30 - 13:30

- **Ambassador William Paterson**, Ambassador for Counter-Terrorism, Australia
- **Dr. Rohan Gunaratna**, Head of the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research at Nanyang Technological University, Singapore
- **Mr. Dan Meridor**, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Intelligence and Atomic Energy, Israel
- **Dr. Matthew Levitt**, Director, Stein Program on Counterterrorism and Intelligence, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, U.S.A.

### 13:30 - 14:30: Lunch

### 14:30 - 16:30:

- **Prof. Fernando Reinares**, Professor of Political Science, Universidad Rey Juan Carlos, and Senior Analyst on International Terrorism, Real Instituto Elcano Madrid, Spain
- **Mr. Robert G. Young**, Executive Director General for Counter-Terrorism, Canadian Security Intelligence Service, Canada
- **Dr. Boaz Ganor**, Executive Director, ICT, Deputy Dean, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya, Israel

### 16:30 - 17:00: Break

### 17:00 - 19:00

- **Prof. Bassam Tibi**, Professor of International Relations at the University of Goettingen, Director of the Center for International Affairs & A.D. White Professor at Large at Cornell University, Germany
- **Gen. Ashok K. Mehta**, Former General Officer Commanding, Indian Peace Keeping Forces (IPKF) in Sri Lanka, India
- **Mr. Frank Van Beuningen**, Head, Counter Terrorism and National Security Division, Security Policy Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Netherlands
- **Dr. Sergey Kurginyan**, President, International Public Foundation Experimental Creative Center, Russian Federation

### 19.15 – 20.00: Keynote Speaker:

- **Lt. Gen. (Ret.) Gabi Ashkenazi**, Former Chief of Staff, IDF, Israel

### Master of Ceremonies:

- **Mr. Jonathan Davis**, Head of the Raphael Recanati International School, Vice President for External Relations, IDC Herzliya, Israel

## Workshop Sessions

09:00: Reception

09:30 - 12:30: Morning Workshops

1. **New Battlefields/Old Laws: The Scope of the 21st Century Battlefield: Forecasting the Legal and Policy Landscape**

- **Chair: Prof. William C. Banks**, Director, Institute for National Security and Counter-Terrorism, Syracuse University, U.S.A.
- **Prof. Geoffrey Corn**, Associate Professor of Law, South Texas College of Law, Houston, U.S.A.
- **Prof. Oren Gross**, Irving Younger Professor of Law & Director, Institute for International Legal & Security Studies, University of Minnesota, U.S.A.
- **Prof. Eric T. Jensen**, Visiting Assistant Professor, School of Law, Fordham University, U.S.A.
- **Dr. Daphné Richemond-Barak**, Lecturer, Radzyner School of Law, IDC Herzliya, Israel
- **Dr. Corri Zoli**, Research Fellow, Institute for National Security and Counterterrorism, Syracuse University, U.S.A.

2. **Terrorism and Local Preparedness: The Importance of Crises Management, Rescue and Recovery**

- **Chair: Dr. Leonard Cole**, Adjunct Professor of Political Science, Rutgers University, Newark, New Jersey, U.S.A.
- **Commissioner Andrew Friedman**, Los Angeles City Fire Commissioner, U.S.A.
- **Dr. Brian Hay**, Chair of Canada's Mackenzie Institute, Canada
- **Mr. Denis Monette**, Chairman of STARCOM (Stop Terrorism Aggressive Response Coordinated Operational Management) and Former Assistant Commissioner of Police, Nassau, New York, U.S.A.
- **Col. (Res.) Gili Shenhar**, Senior Researcher of Disaster Response & Emergency Preparedness, The National Trauma Center Gertner Institute for Epidemiology and Health Policy Research, Israel

### 3. Fronts and Theater of Global Jihad

- **Chair:** **Dr. Col. (Ret.) Eitan Azani**, Deputy Director, ICT, IDC Herzliya, Israel
- **Mr. Daniele Moro**, Visiting Scholar, Center for Transatlantic Relations, Johns Hopkins University, U.S.A.
- **Mr. Jonathan S. Paris**, Nonresident Senior Fellow, South Asia Center, Atlantic Council, U.S.A.
- **Dr. Micha'el M. Tanchum**, Fellow in the Department of Middle East and Islamic Studies and the Department of Government, Law, and Diplomacy at the Shalem Center in Jerusalem.
- **Dr. Darko Trifunovic**, Professor, Faculty of Security Studies, University of Belgrade, Serbia
- **Mr. Ma Xiolin**, Director, Chinese Academy for Middle East Studies and CEO and Editor in Chief of ChinaBBS.com

### 4. External Influences on the Palestinian Arena

- **Chair:** **Maj. Gen. (Res.) Danny Rothschild**, Director, Institute of Policy and Strategy (IPS), IDC Herzliya, Israel
- **Dr. Peter Berkowitz**, Tad and Dianne Taube Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, U.S.A.
- **Mr. Avi Issacharoff**, Palestinian and Arab Affairs Correspondent, Ha'aretz Daily Newspaper, Israel
- **Dr. Ely Karmon**, Senior Research Scholar, ICT, IDC Herzliya, Israel
- **Dr. Randall G. Rogan**, Associate Dean, Wake Forest University, U.S.A.

### 5. Prosecution and Terrorism Financing – 10 Years After 9/11

- **Chair:** **Col. (Ret.) Jonathan Fighel**, Senior Researcher, ICT, IDC Herzliya, Israel
- **Mr. Michael Jacobson**, Senior Advisor to the Counter-Terrorism Coordinator, State Department, U.S.A.
- **Mr. Paul Landes**, Director, Israel Money Laundering Prohibition Authority (IMPA), Ministry of Justice, Israel
- **Dr. Matthew Levitt**, Director, Stein Program on Counterterrorism and Intelligence, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, U.S.A.

### 6. The Radicalization Process in the West - The Transformation of Radicalization into Political Extremism and Terrorism

- **Chair:** **Prof. Fernando Reinares**, Professor of Political Science, Universidad Rey Juan Carlos, and Senior Analyst on International Terrorism, Real Instituto Elcano Madrid, Spain
- **Dr. Rony Berger**, Director, Disaster Relief and Rehabilitation Unit, Brit Olam and Fellow, Psychology Beyond Borders, Israel
- **Dr. Jonathan Fine**, Research Fellow, ICT and Academic Advisor, Raphael Recanati International School, Program in Government, Diplomacy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya, Israel
- **Dr. Joshua Sinai**, Associate Professor/Research, NDSSL-VBI, Virginia Tech (National Capital Region), Arlington, VA, U.S.A.
- **Prof. Bassam Tibi**, Professor of International Relations at the University of Goettingen, Director of the Center for International Affairs & A.D. White Professor at Large at Cornell University, Germany
- **Dr. Lorenzo Vidino**, Visiting Fellow, Center for Security Studies, ETH Zurich, Switzerland

12:30 - 14:00: Lunch Break

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14:00 - 17:00: Afternoon Workshops

**1. New Media and Old Media – Their Roles in Politics, Violence and Terrorism**

- **Chair: Prof. Gerald Steinberg**, Executive Director, NGO Monitor & Founder, Program on Conflict Management and Negotiation, Bar Ilan University, Israel
- **Ms. Sharon Attia**, Ph.D. Candidate, London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), United Kingdom
- **Prof. Liu Kang**, Dean of Shanghai Jiaton University - Institute of Arts and Humanities and Professor of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, Duke University, China
- **Mr. Leonard Stern**, Director General of Communications, Canadian Security Intelligence Service, Ottawa, Canada
- **Dr. Abraham Wagner**, Professor of International and Public Affairs (SIPA), Columbia University; Senior Research Fellow, Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies, NY, U.S.A.

**2. Hamas and Hezbollah as Hybrid Terrorist Organizations**

- **Chair: Prof. Martin Kramer**, Senior Fellow at the Shalem Center in Jerusalem, and President-designate of Shalem College, Israel
- **Dr. Col. (Ret.) Eitan Azani**, Deputy Director, ICT, IDC Herzliya, Israel
- **Dr. Benedetta Berti**, Associate Fellow and Lecturer at the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS), Tel-Aviv University, Israel
- **Col. (Res.) Ronen Cohen**, Research Associate, ICT, IDC Herzliya, and Former Head of the Terrorism Section, IDF Military Intelligence, Israel
- **Col. (Ret.) Jonathan Fighel**, Senior Researcher, ICT, IDC Herzliya, Israel
- **Dr. Matthew Levitt**, Director, Stein Program on Counterterrorism and Intelligence, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, U.S.A.
- **Brig. Gen (Res.) Amnon Sofrin**, Former Head, Intelligence Directorate, Israeli Intelligence Service (ISIS), Israel



### 3. Countering Violent Extremism and Radicalization

- **Chair: Dr. Lorenzo Vidino**, Visiting Fellow, Center for Security Studies, ETH Zurich, Switzerland
- **Dr. Anja Dalgaard-Nielsen**, Director, Preventive Security Department, Danish Security and Intelligence Service, Denmark
- **Dr. Rohan Gunaratna**, Head of the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research at Nanyang Technological University, Singapore
- **Mr. Michael Whine**, Director, Government & International Affairs at the Community Security Trust, U.K.
- **Adv. Brooke Goldstein**, Director, The Lawfare Project, U.S.A.

### 4. Counter-Terrorism Policing

- **Chair: Dr. Robert R. Friedmann**, Director, Georgia International Law Enforcement Exchange, U.S.A.
- **Sheriff Lee Baca**, Sheriff of Los Angeles County, U.S.A.
- **Mrs. Deborah Garner**, Assistant Special Agent in Charge, Georgia Bureau of Investigation, U.S.A.
- **Chief Michael Grossman**: Commander, Homeland Security Division, Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department, U.S.A.
- **Dr. Samuel Musa**, Senior Research Fellow, Center for Technology and National Security Policy, National Defense University (NDU), U.S.A.
- **Mr. Wayne Smith**, Special Agent in Charge, Georgia Bureau of Investigation, U.S.A.

### 5. The revolutions in the Arab world from the perspectives of Iran and Al Qaeda

- **Chair: Dr. Col. (Res.) Shaul Shay**, Former Head of Security Policy Division, National Security Council; Research Fellow, ICT, IDC Herzliya, Israel
- **Mr. Ilan Berman**, Vice President, American Foreign Policy Council, U.S.A.
- **Dr. Ely Karmon**, Senior Research Scholar, ICT, IDC Herzliya, Israel
- **Dr. Assaf Moghadam**, Senior Lecturer, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy and Senior Researcher, International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT), The Interdisciplinary Center (IDC), Herzliya, Israel
- **Prof. Uzi Rabi**, Chair, Department of Middle Eastern and African History, Tel-Aviv University, Israel

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## Exhibition on Counter-Terrorism Policing

## Workshop Sessions

### 09:30-12:30: Morning Workshops

#### 1. The Middle East: Between Democracy and State Failure?

- **Chair: Dr. Amichai Magen**, Head of Political Development and Senior Researcher, ICT, IDC Herzliya, Israel
- **Dr. Benedetta Berti**, Associate Fellow and Lecturer at the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS), Tel-Aviv University, Israel
- **Prof. Uzi Rabi**, Chair, Department of Middle Eastern and African History, Tel-Aviv University, Israel
- **Dr. Jan Techau**, Director, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (CEIP), Europe
- **Prof. Eyal Zisser**, Dean, Faculty of Humanities & Director of the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Tel Aviv University, Israel
- **Dr. Christoph Zuercher**, Graduate School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Ottawa, Canada

#### 2. The Evolution of Global Jihad – The Global Jihadi Network Without Bin Laden and the Ramifications to U.S. Counter-Terrorism Policy

- **Chair: Dr. Assaf Moghadam**, Senior Lecturer, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy and Senior Researcher, International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT), IDC Herzliya, Israel
- **Mr. David Blose**, Counter-Terrorism Analyst, Intelligence Fusion Centre, N.A.T.O.
- **Dr. Rohan Gunaratna**, Head of the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research at Nanyang Technological University, Singapore
- **Col. (Ret.) Behram A. Sahukar**, The Parachute Regiment (Special Forces), Indian Army, India
- **Dr. Jose Sanmartin**, Professor of Political Science and Public Administration, University of Alicante, Spain

### 3. The Transition from the Palestinian Authority to a Palestinian state: The U.N. Declaration and the Coming Elections

- **Chair:** **Prof. Irwin Cotler**, Member of Canadian Parliament and Former Minister of Justice and Attorney General, Canada
- **Mr. Daniel Ayalon**, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Israel
- **Dr. Rateb Amro**, Director General and Founder, Horizon Center for Studies and Research, Jordan
- **Dr. Barak Ben Zur**, Lecturer, IDC Herzliya, and Former Senior Director, Israel Security Agency (ISA), Israel
- **Col. (Res.) Shlomo Mofaz**, Research Associate, ICT, IDC Herzliya, Israel
- **H.E. Robert H. Serry**, Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process (UNSCO), United Nations

### 4. Successes and Flaws of International Counter-Terrorism Cooperation a Decade after 9/11

- **Chair:** **Prof. Alex Schmid**, Director of the Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) & Former Officer-in-Charge of the Terrorism Prevention Branch, The United Nations, The Netherlands
- **Mr. Frank Van Beuningen**, Head, Counter Terrorism and National Security Division, Security Policy Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Netherlands
- **Mr. Weixiong Chen**, Deputy Executive Director, Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate (CTED), United Nations
- **Dr. Boaz Ganor**, Executive Director, ICT, Deputy Dean, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya, Israel

### 5. The Role of Proactive Measures and "Targeted Killings" in Modern Counter-Terrorism Strategies

- **Chair:** **Col. (Res.) Adv. Lior Lotan**, Former Executive Director, and Senior Researcher, ICT, IDC Herzliya, Israel
- **Maj. Gen. (Res.) Doron Almog**, Former Commander of the Southern Command, Israel Defense Force, Israel
- **Dr. Richard Chasdi**, Adjunct Assistant Professor, Center for Peace and Conflict Studies and Center of Academic Excellence in National Security Intelligence Studies, U.S.A.
- **Prof. Asa Kasher**, Laura Schwarz-Kipp Chair in Professional Ethics and Philosophy of Practice, Tel-Aviv University, Israel
- **Prof. Ariel Merari**, Professor Emeritus, Tel-Aviv University, Israel
- **Col. (Res.) Adv. Daniel Reisner**, Former Head, International Law Branch, Israel Defense Force Legal Division & Research Associate, ICT, IDC Herzliya, Israel
- **Dr. Nicholas Rostow**, Director, Center for Strategic Research, Institute for National Strategic Studies and Distinguished Research Professor, National Defense University, U.S.A.

## 6. Global Islamism : Recent Trends from the New World Almanac of Islamism

- **Chair: Mr. Ilan Berman**, Vice President, American Foreign Policy Council, U.S.A.
- **Dr. Shmuel Bar**, Director of Studies at the Institute of Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya, Israel
- **Dr. Jonathan Fine**, Research Fellow, ICT and Academic Advisor, Raphael Recanati International School, Program in Government, Diplomacy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya, Israel
- **Dr. Reuven Paz**, Director, Project for the Research of Islamist Movements (PRISM), GLORIA Center, IDC Herzliya, Israel
- **Dr. Lorenzo Vidino**, Visiting Fellow, Center for Security Studies, ETH Zurich, Switzerland

**12:30 -14:00: Lunch Break**

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**14:00-17:00 - Afternoon Workshops**

### 1. The Role and the Involvement of International Actors in Regions of Civil Unrest

- **Chair: Dr. Daphné Richemond-Barak**, Lecturer, Radzyner School of Law, IDC Herzliya, Israel
- **Mr. Raoul Bittel**, Deputy Head of Delegation, International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), Israel and the Occupied Territories
- **Dr. Giora Eliraz**, Research Fellow, Institute for Counter Terrorism, IDC, Herzliya, Israel
- **Gen. Ashok K. Mehta**, Former General Officer Commanding, Indian Peace Keeping Forces (IPKF) in Sri Lanka, India
- **Mr. Alistair Millar**, Director, Center on Global Counterterrorism Cooperation, U.S.A.

### 2. What's Next? Future Terrorist Scenarios

- **Chair: Ms. Yael Shahar**, Senior Researcher, ICT, IDC Herzliya, Israel
- **Dr. Boaz Ganor**, Executive Director, ICT, Deputy Dean, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya, Israel
- **Dr. Miriam Halperin Wernli**, Vice President, Deputy Head Global Clinical Development, Global Head Business & Science Affairs, Actelion Pharmaceuticals, Switzerland
- **Adv. Elad Popovich**, Researcher, International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT), IDC Herzliya, Israel

### 3. Countering Maritime Terrorism – The New Platform for Global Jihadi Terrorists

- **Chair: Dr. Marc A. Genest**, Forrest Sherman Chair of Public Diplomacy in the Strategy and Policy Department and Co-Director of the Center on Irregular Warfare and Armed Groups, U.S. Naval War College, U.S.A.
- **Dr. Andrea Dew**, Co-Director, Center on Irregular Warfare and Armed Groups (CIWAG), U.S. Naval War College, U.S.A.
- **Mr. Ye Hailin**, Deputy Head, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, China
- **Col. (Ret.) Behram A. Sahukar**, The Parachute Regiment (Special Forces), Indian Army, India
- **Captain Thomas Sass**, MG Wild Bill Donovan Special Operations Forces Chair, Joint Military Operations, U.S. Naval War College, U.S.A.

### 4. The Muslim Brotherhood's role in the revolutions in the Arab countries

- **Chair: Dr. Reuven Paz**, Director, Project for the Research of Islamist Movements (PRISM), GLORIA Center, IDC Herzliya, Israel
- **Dr. Heidi Elizabeth Lane**, Director, Greater Middle East Research Study Group/Area of Study Track, United States Naval War College, United States
- **Mr. Salameh Nematt**, Founder and Principal, Pillar Seven & Former Washington Bureau Chief, Al Hayat, Jordan
- **Prof. Eyal Zisser**, Dean, Faculty of Humanities & Director of the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Tel Aviv University, Israel

### 5. The Counter-Terrorism Challenges of New Technology: Thinking outside the Box.

- **Chair: Dr. Harvey Rubin**, Director, Institute for Strategic Threat Analysis and Response (ISTAR), University of Pennsylvania, U.S.A.
- **Dr. Markus Hellenthal**, Former CEO of Thales Deutschland, CEO of EADS (now Cassidian) Global Security Business Unit and Former Chief Border Guards and Aviation Security, Germany
- **Dr. Abraham Wagner**, Professor of International and Public Affairs (SIPA), Columbia University; Senior Research Fellow, Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies, NY, U.S.A.