

# 2023

## The European Initiative for Security Studies

And the European Security Studies Best Paper Prize  
for PhD Students and Early Career Academics

29-30 June, 2023  
Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals (IBEI), Barcelona  
Universitat Pompeu Fabra  
Campus de la Ciutadella C/ de Ramon Trias Fargas, 25  
Contact: [contact@eiss-europa.com](mailto:contact@eiss-europa.com)



**EISS**  
The European Initiative  
for Security Studies

Day  
One

June  
29

9:00 - 9:30 **Registration and Coffee**

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9:30 - 9:45 **Introduction remarks**

Jacint Jordana, IBEI director  
Hugo Meijer, Director of EISS - Sciences Po  
Elisabeth Johansson - Nogués, IBEI

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9:45 - 10:55 **Roundtable 1: War, Coercion and Statecraft**

Chair: **Tim Sweijs**, Netherlands' War Studies Research Centre - The Hague  
Centre for Strategic Studies  
*Hybrid & Recorded*

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11:00 - 12:30 **Defence Cooperation and Military Assistance**

Chair: **Antonio Calcara**, University of Antwerp

**(In)security and Organised Crime in Latin America**

Chair: **Margarita Petrova**, IBEI

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12:30 - 13:30 **Lunch**

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13:30 - 14:55 **Military Interventions**

Chair: **Silvia D'Amato**, Leiden University

**Private Actors, Armed Conflict and the State**

Chair: **Juan Masullo**, Leiden University

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15:00 - 16:30 **Military Technology**

Chair: **Dominika Kunertova**, ETH Zurich

**Civil-Military Relations in Challenging Times**

Chair: **Stephen Saideman**, Carleton University

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16:30 - 17:00 **Coffee Break**

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17:00 - 18:25 **European Security**

Chair: **Sarka Kolmasova**, Metropolitan University Prague

**Intelligence**

Chair: **Kristin Ven Bruusgaard**, Norwegian Intelligence School

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18:30 - 19:45 **Roundtable 2: Publishing and Preparing for the Academic Job Market**

Chair: **Nicolas Blarel**, Leiden University  
*Hybrid & Recorded*

Day  
Two

June  
30

9:30 - 10:55

### Challenges and Opportunities for Post-Cold War NATO

Chair: Marcel Plichta, University of St. Andrews

### Arms Procurement and Transfers

Chair: Brendan Flynn, University of Galway/Ollscoil na Gaillimhe

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11:00 - 12:30

### Intelligence Success and Failure in Historical Perspective: Lessons from Beyond the Anglo-Sphere

Chair: Eva Michaels, IBEI

### Addressing Wicked Problems in Cyber Conflict

Chair: Julia Carver, University of Oxford

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12:30 - 13:30

### Lunch

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13:30 - 14:55

### Weapons of Mass Destruction: Non-Proliferation and Arms Control

Chair: Elisabeth Roehrlich, University of Vienna

### Re-Visiting the Political Economy of Security

Chair: Moritz Weiss, LMU Munich

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15:00 - 15:30

### Poster Session

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15:30 - 16:00

### Coffee Break

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16:00 - 17:10

### Roundtable 3: Gendered Exclusion and Discrimination in Academia

Chair: Hugo Meijer, Director of EISS / Sciences Po

*Hybrid & Recorded*

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17:15 - 18:40

### Alliance Management

Chair: Jeffrey Michaels, IBEI

### Psychology and Emotions in War and Strategy

Chair: Katerina Krulisova, Nottingham Trent University

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18:45 - 19:00

### Award of the European Security Studies Best Paper Prize

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19:00 - 19:15

### Concluding Remarks

Elisabeth Johansson-Nogues, IBEI

Hugo Meijer, Director of EISS / Sciences Po

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19:15

### Cocktail

# Day 1 detailed Programme

9:00 - 9:30

Main Hall (Roger de Llúria 40)

## Registration and Coffee

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9:30 - 9:45

Room 40.063 (Roger de Llúria 40)

## Introductory Remarks

Jacint Jordana, IBEI director  
Hugo Meijer, Director of EISS / Sciences Po  
Elisabeth Johansson-Nogués, IBEI

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9:45 - 10:55

Room 40.063 (Roger de Llúria 40)

## Roundtable 1: War, Coercion and Statecraft

*(Hybrid & Recorded)*

Chair: **Tim Sweijs**, Netherlands' War Studies Research Centre / The Hague Centre for Strategic Studies

- Peter Viggo Jakobsen, *Royal Danish Defence College, Center for War Studies, University of Southern Denmark (Online)*
  - Kristin Ven Bruusgaard, *Norwegian Intelligence School*
  - Luis Simon, *Vrije Universiteit Brussel*
  - Clara Portela, *University of Valencia (Online)*
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11:00 - 12:30

Room 40.063 (Roger de Llúria 40)

## Defense Cooperation and Military Assistance

Chair: **Antonio Calcara**, University of Antwerp

- **“Changing Threat Perceptions and American Grand Strategy Evidence from Maritime Military Exercises”**  
Peter Dombrowski, *U.S. Naval War College*; Simon Reich, *Rutgers/Sciences Po*
- **“Alliance Cohesion and Military Manoeuvres: A Signal of Deterrence or Assurance?”**  
Margit Bussmann, *University of Greifswald*
- **“Mightier Yet?: Explaining British Military Underconfidence in Reference to Anglo-American Alliance Formation”**  
Sylvain Thoni, *Radboud University*
- **“Military Assistance Within the Framework of the Defence of the Liberal International Order: How Does Military Assistance to Ukraine Fit into US Grand Strategy?”**  
Rocío Vales Calderón, *Universidad Pablo de Olavide*

11:00 - 12:30

Room 40.152 (Roger de Llúria 40, 1st floor)

## **(In)security and Organized Crime in Latin America**

Chair: **Margarita Petrova**, IBEI

- **“Criminal Governance Amid the COVID 19 Pandemic in Mexico”**  
Lucia Tiscornia, *University College Dublin*
  - **“Violent and Non-Violent Mobilization in Criminal Wars: Current Determinants and Historical Legacies”**  
Juan Masullo, *University College Dublin*
  - **“Not War Nor Peace: Regulating the Use of Force in the Context of Large-Scale Criminal”**  
Miriam Bradley, *University of Manchester*
  - **“Development Aid, Humanitarian Assistance, and Criminal Violence: A “Triple Nexus” for Central America’s Northern Triangle?”**  
Pablo Kalmanovitz, *Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México (ITAM)*
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12:30 - 13:30

Exhibition Hall (Basement)

## **Lunch**

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13:30 - 14:55

Room 40.063 (Roger de Llúria 40)

## **Military Interventions**

Chair: **Silvia D’Amato**, Leiden University

- **“Who Supports Policy Interventions to Terminate Civil Wars? Survey Evidence from The United States and Germany”**  
Martijn Vlaskamp, *IBEI*
  - **“Bringing the Troops Back Home: A Strategy Adaptation Under Adverse Conditions”**  
Matus Halas, *Institute of International Relation, Prague*
  - **“The Russian Invasion and the Changing Character of Proxy War: Toward a Comprehensive Framework”**  
Michel Wyss, *Military Academy at ETH Zurich*
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13:30 - 14:55

Room 40.152 (Roger de Llúria 40, 1st floor)

## **Private Actors, Armed Conflict and the State**

Chair: **Juan Masullo**, Leiden University

- **“Alliance Formation and Rebel Co-Governance in North-East Syria: The Case of the PYD and the Syriac Union Party”**  
Andrea Novellis, *University of Milan*
- **“Resident Resistance: The Territorial Logic of Denouncing Organized Crime Groups in Rio de Janeiro”**  
Nicholas Barnes, *University of St Andrews*

- **“In the Crevices of the State: Criminal Governance in Uruguay”**  
Lucia Tiscornia, *University College Dublin*
  - **“Rebel Governance as Self-Legitimation: The FARC’s Justifications of Governance”**  
Wolfgang Minatti, *European University Institute*
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15:00 - 16:30

Room 40.063 (Roger de Llúria 40)

## Military Technology

Chair: **Dominika Kunertova**, *ETH Zurich*

- **“Winning by Adapting: Battlefield Adaptation in the Long Russo-Ukrainian War”**  
Marc DeVore, *University of St. Andrews*; Taras Fedirko, *University of Glasgow*; Kristen Harkness, *University of St. Andrews*; Michael Hunzeker, *George Mason University*
  - **“Must the Drone Always Get Through? Coercion and One Way Attack UAVs in Ukraine and Yemen”**  
Marcel Plichta, *University of St Andrews*; Ash Rossiter, *Khalifa University*
  - **“The Shock of the Old in the Russo-Ukraine War? Misunderstanding Continuity, Change and Adaptation of Military Technology Under Fire”**  
Brendan Flynn, *University of Galway/Ollscoil na Gaillimhe*
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15:00 - 16:30

Room 40.152 (Roger de Llúria 40, 1st floor)

## Civil-Military Relations in Challenging Times

Chair: **Stephen Saideman**, *Carleton University*

- **“NGO-Military Cooperation And Civilian Protection Policies”**  
Daphné Charotte; Francesca Colli; Yf Reykers, *Maastricht University*
  - **“From the Bottom-Up: AI and Military Officers in Defence Alliances”**  
Vicky Karyoti, *Swedish Institute of International Affairs*
  - **“Civilian Control Of The Military: Performance Management Reforms And Its Effects On The Military Profession In Sweden”**  
Sofia Ledberg, *Swedish Defence University*
  - **“What are Defence Agencies Supposed To Do? Oversee or Protect The Armed Force”**  
Stephen Saideman, *Carleton University*
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16:30 - 17:00

Exhibition Hall (Basement)

Coffee Break

17:00 - 18:25

Room 40.063 (Roger de Llúria 40)

## European Security

Chair: **Sarka Kolmasova**, Metropolitan University Prague

- **“Parliamentary Acceptance of EU Military Operations in Member States: Beyond Rubber-stamping?”**  
Eva Michaels, Robert Kissack, and Oscar Fernandez, *IBEI*
  - **“European Approaches to Chinese Foreign Policy: a Text-as-Data Approach”**  
Jordan Becker, Andreea Budeanu, *Brussels School of Governance*;  
Haemin Jee and Maxwell Love, *United States Military Academy, West Point*
  - **“The Role of National Secondments for Intelligence Support to EU Foreign Policymaking”**  
Daniel Neumann, *Kings College London*
  - **“The Politics of Sympathy Among NATO Member States”**  
Simon Koschut, *Zeppelin University*
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17:00 - 18:25

Room 40.152 (Roger de Llúria 40, 1st floor)

## Intelligence

Chair: **Kristin Ven Bruusgaard**, Norwegian Intelligence School

- **“The Intelligence Community as a Normative Actor under International Law”**  
Sophie Duroy, *KFG Berlin-Potsdam Research Group*
  - **“European Approaches to Chinese Foreign Policy: a Text-as-Data Approach”**  
Alexander Bollfrass, *ETH Zurich*; Stephen Herzog, *ETH Zurich*
  - **“On the Institutional Battlefield of Intelligence Oversight: The Case of Questioned Democratic accountability in The Danish Intelligence Services”**  
Melanie Hartvigsen, *University of Southern Denmark*
  - **“The Complexity of the Grey-Zone: The Experience of Military Intelligence on NATO’s North-Eastern Flank”**  
Bram Spoor, *Joint Istar Command, Netherlands Army & Netherlands Defence Academy*;  
Sebastiaan Rietjens, *Netherlands Defence Academy and Leiden University*; Erik De Waard, *Netherlands Defence Academy*
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18:30 - 19:45

Room 40.063 (Roger de Llúria 40)

## Roundtable 2: Publishing and Preparing for the Academic Job Market

*(Hybrid & Recorded)*

Chair: **Nicolas Blarel**, Leiden University

- **Angela Chnapko**, *Senior Editor at Oxford University Press (Online)*
- **Jacqueline Hazelton**, *Belfer Center, Executive Editor at International Security (Online)*
- **Olivier Schmitt**, *University of Southern Denmark, Associate Editor at European Journal of International Security*
- **Marco Wyss**, *Lancaster University, Editor-in-Chief at International Journal of Military History and Historiography*

## Day 2 detailed Programme

9:30 - 10:55

Room 40.010 (Roger de Llúria 40)

### Challenges and Opportunities for Post-Cold War NATO: How Changes in Alliance Membership, Technology, and Strategic Dynamics Affect Defence and Deterrence in Europe?

Chair: Marcel Plichta, University of St. Andrews

- **“Re-Bordering NATO: the Strategic Dilemmas of Yesterday and Tomorrow”**  
Maria Sofia Macedo, *Independent Researcher*
  - **“NATO’s Nordic Neophytes: Sweden and Finland’s Accession to NATO”**  
Samuel Seitz, *University of Oxford*; Julia Carver, *University of Oxford*
  - **“A Quiet Place: Assessing SSBN Vulnerability in the Arctic Ocean”**  
Nicholas Blanchette, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*
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9:30 - 10:55

Room 40.012 (Roger de Llúria 40)

### Arms Procurement and Transfers

Chair: Brendan Flynn, University of Galway / Ollscoil na Gaillimhe

- **“Engine or Brake? The Franco-German Couple and the Future of the European Defence Industry”**  
Antonio Calcara, *University of Antwerp*
  - **“EU Arms Collaboration and Procurement: The Impact of the War in Ukraine”**  
Jonata Anicetti, *European University Institute*
  - **“Arms Purchases in the Baltic States and Transfers to Ukraine: Balancing National Security Interests”**  
Donatas Palavenis, *Baltic Institute of Advanced Technology*
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11:00 - 12:30

Room 40.010 (Roger de Llúria 40)

### Intelligence Success and Failure in Historical Perspective: Lessons from Beyond the Anglo-Sphere

Chair: Eva Michaels, IBEI

- **“Between Manipulation and Failed Adaptation: The Italian Intelligence and the Rise of Right-Wing Terrorism, 1969-1982”**  
Niccolò Petrelli, *Roma Tre University*
- **“The Failure Before 1973: Israel’s Intelligence Failure in 1967”**  
Gil-li Vardi, *Stanford University*
- **“Intelligence under Dictatorship and Democracy”**  
Zakia Shiraz, *Leiden University*
- **“Apartheid South Africa’s Intelligence Failures: Angola 1975, and Beyond”**  
Kyle Harmse, *Stanford University*

11:00 - 12:30

Room 40.012 (Roger de Llúria 40)

## Addressing Wicked Problems in Cyber Conflict

Chair: **Julia Carver**, University of Oxford

- **“Numbers Prediction and Cyberwar: Why Integrating the Cyber Domain in Kinetic Wargames Is So Difficult and What Can Be Done”**  
Peadar Callaghan, *Games Lab-Tallinn University*
- **“Overcoming Obstacles: Reflections on Creating a Cross-National Experimental Cyber Security Research”**  
Ayhan Gucuyener, *Kadir Has University*
- **“A Lesser Evil: Why Democracies Struggle to Respond to Cyber-Enabled Election Interference”**  
Arthur Laudrain, *University of Oxford*
- **“The Normative Power of the Factual: How State Practice Shapes Understandings About Direct Public Political Attribution of Cyber Operations”**  
Christina Rupp, *Stiftung Neue Verantwortung*

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12:30 - 13:30

Exhibition Hall (Basement)

Lunch

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13:30 - 14:55

Room 40.010 (Roger de Llúria 40)

## Weapons of Mass Destruction: Non-Proliferation and Arms Control

Chairs: **Elisabeth Roehrlich**, University of Vienna

- **“Populist Publics and Nuclear Weapons: Does Populism Predict Higher Nuclear Use Willingness, but also Opposition to Nuclear Sharing?”**  
Tom Etienne, *University of Pennsylvania*; Michal Onderco, *Erasmus University Rotterdam*;  
Sandra Destradi, *Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg*; Andre Krouwel, *VU University Amsterdam*
- **“Proliferation-Related Legislation in the EU: Is There a Need for Further Convergence?”**  
Barry de Vries, *Justus-Liebig University Giessen*
- **“How Russia’s War on Ukraine has an Impact on the EU’s Nuclear Disarmament Policy”**  
Aderito Vicente, *Odesa Center for Nonproliferation*

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13:30 - 14:55

Room 40.012 (Roger de Llúria 40)

## Re-Visiting the Political Economy of Security

Chair: **Moritz Weiss**, LMU Munich

- **“Industries of Sovereignty: Strategic Autonomy, Defence Industrial Interests and the French Government’s Use of the “European Sovereignty” Discourse in EU Politics (2017-22)”**  
Salih Isik Bora, *Sciences Po*; Ediz Topcuoglu, *College of Europe*

- **“The US Hegemony Dilemma and European Missile Production”**  
Lucas Hellemeier, *FU Berlin*
  - **“Outsourcing Security, Managing Risk: National Security States and the Privatisation of Defence Research”**  
Kaija Schilde, *Boston University*
  - **“The United States and the Eternal Dream of Missile Defence”**  
Sanne Verschuren, *Sciences Po Paris*
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15:00 - 15:30

Room 40.010 (Roger de Llúria 40)

### Poster Session

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15:30 - 16:00

Exhibition Hall (Basement)

### Coffee Break

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16:00 - 17:00

Room 40.010 (Roger de Llúria 40)

### Roundtable 3: Gendered Exclusion and Discrimination in Academia

*(Hybrid & Recorded)*

Chair: **Hugo Meijer**, Director of EISS / Sciences Po

- **Annick Wibben**, *Swedish Defence University (Online)*
  - **Vanessa Newby**, *Leiden University (Online)*
  - **Stephen Saideman**, *Carleton University*
  - **Chiara Ruffa**, *Sciences Po*
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17:15 - 18:40

Room 40.010 (Roger de Llúria 40)

### Alliance Management

Chair: **Jeffrey Michaels**, IBEI

- **“Credibility in Crises: How Patrons Reassure in Crises”**  
Lauren Sukin, *London School of Economics and Political Science*
- **“The Allied Defence Dilemma: Balancing between Autonomy and Alliance Cohesion”**  
Lotje Boswinkel, *Centre for Security, Diplomacy and Strategy, Brussels*
- **“NATO and Multi-Domain Operations: Between Deterrence and Conflict”**  
Mauro Gilli, *ETH-Zurich*; Andrea Gilli, *NATO Defence College*; Nina Silove, *ETH-Zurich*
- **“US Preponderance in NATO: The Role of Logistics, Intelligence, Training, Cyber, and Coordination”**  
Alexandra Chinchilla, *Texas A&M University*; Jordan Becker, *United States Military Academy, West Point*; Stephen Brooks, *Dartmouth College*; Hugo Meijer, *Sciences Po*; William Wohlforth, *Dartmouth College*

17:15 - 18:40

Room 40.012 (Roger de Llúria 40)

## Psychology and Emotions in War and Strategy

Chair: **Katerina Krulisova**, Nottingham Trent University

- **“The Psychological, Social, and Strategic Value of Care During Crises and its Limits”**  
Claire Yorke, *University of Southern Denmark*
- **“Can Passions Help to Justify War? The Case of Revenge and Fear”**  
Marie Robin, *Université Paris Panthéon-Assa*
- **“The Approach-Avoidance Tension: A Fundamental Question of Military”**  
Samuel Zilincik, *Masaryk/Leiden University*
- **“Cognitive Warfare as Part of Society: A Never-Ending Battle for Minds”**  
Robin Burda, *Masaryk University*

18:45 - 19:00

Room 40.010 (Roger de Llúria 40)

## Award of the European Security Studies Best Paper Prize

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19:00 - 19:15

Room 40.010 (Roger de Llúria 40)

## Concluding Remarks

Elisabeth Johansson-Nogués, IBEI

Hugo Meijer, Director of EISS / Sciences Po

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19:15

Jardí de les Aigües (Ramon Turro 13)

## Cocktail

