

## **Nancy Woodworth Gallagher**

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### **Professional Experience**

- 2017–            Director, Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland  
Research Professor, University of Maryland, School of Public Policy
- 2015–2017      Interim Director, Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland
- 2001–2015      Associate Director for Research, CISSM  
Senior Research Scholar, University of Maryland, School of Public Policy
- 2000–2001      Executive Director, Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty Task Force, in support of the  
Special Advisor to the President and the Secretary of State for the Comprehensive  
Test Ban Treaty
- 1999–2000      Adjunct Associate Professor and Visiting Scholar, George Washington University
- 1998–2000      Foreign Affairs Officer and Scholar-in-Residence, Arms Control Bureau, Arms  
Control and Disarmament Agency/ Department of State
- 1990–1999      Assistant Professor of Government, Wesleyan University
- 1995–1996      Women in International Security Research Fellow, University of Maryland
- 1985–1990      Teaching and Research Assistant, University of Illinois
- 1983–1985      Secondary school teacher, Madison, WI

### **Education**

- Ph. D.            Political Science, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1990
- M. A.            Political Science, University of Illinois, 1987
- B. A.            History, Carleton College, Northfield, MN, 1983

### **Work in Progress**

*Strategic Logics for Arms Control*

Vol. One: *Arms Control in the Nuclear Age*

Vol Two: *Reinventing Arms Control for the Twenty-first Century*

“An Effects-Centric Approach to Assessing Cybersecurity Risks,” (with Charles Harry)

“China on Arms Control, Nonproliferation, and Strategic Stability,” chapter for Paul Bolt and Jim Smith, eds., *China as a 21<sup>st</sup> Century Strategic Power* (Georgetown University Press, forthcoming)

“Americans on U.S. Nuclear Policy,” public consultation conducted with Steven Kull and Jeffrey Smith

**Publications**

Books:

*The Politics of Verification* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999)

Editor, *Arms Control: New Approaches to Theory and Policy*, a special issue of *Contemporary Security Policy* 18:2 (August 1997) and an anthology with Frank Cass (1998)

Monographs and Governmental Reports:

*Comprehensive Nuclear Material Accounting: A Proposal to Reduce Global Nuclear Risk* (with Jonas Siegel and John Steinbruner), CISSM (March 2014) 74 pp.

“A Reassurance-based Approach to Space Security,” report commissioned by the International Security Research and Outreach Programme of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada (October 2009)

*Reconsidering the Rules for Space Security* (with John Steinbruner), American Academy of Arts and Sciences (2008) 85 pp.

*Controlling Dangerous Pathogens: A Prototype Protective Oversight System* (with John Steinbruner, Elisa Harris, and Stacy Okutani), CISSM (April 2007) 82 pp.

*Findings and Recommendations Concerning the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty*, General John M. Shalikashvili, Special Advisor to the President and Secretary of State (January 2001) (Executive Director of Shalikashvili Task Force, primary report author)

### Articles (Academic):

- “Building Confidence in the Cybersphere: A Path to Multilateral Progress,” (with Theresa Hitchens), *Journal of Cyber Policy* (forthcoming)
- “A Proposed Hierarchical Taxonomy for Assessing the Primary Effects of Cyber Events: A Sector Analysis 2014-2016,” (with Charles Harry) *Journal of Information Warfare* 17:3 (2018)
- “An expert elicitation of the proliferation resistance of using small modular reactors (SMR) for the expansion of civilian nuclear systems,” (with Jonas Siegel, Elisabeth Gilmore, and Steve Fetter), *Journal of Risk Analysis* (July 2017).
- “Re-Thinking the Unthinkable: The Future of Arms Control,” *Nonproliferation Review* 22:3/4 (September/December 2015)
- “International Security on the Road to Zero,” *The Nonproliferation Review* 18:2 (July 2011), pp. 431-444
- “Constructive Transformation: An Alternative Vision of Global Security,” (with John Steinbruner) *Dædalus* (Summer 2004)
- “Bridging the Gaps on Arms Control,” *Contemporary Security Policy* 18:2 (August 1997), pp. 1-24
- “The Politics of Verification: Why ‘How Much?’ Is Not Enough,” *Contemporary Security Policy* 18:2 (August 1997), pp. 138-170
- “South Asian Nuclear Proliferation: A Case for Cooperation under Anarchy?” (with Kanti Bajpai), *Contemporary Security Policy* 15:3 (December 1994), pp. 199-227.

### Book Chapters (Academic):

- “Congress and Missile Defense,” in Catherine M. Kelleher and Peter J. Dombrowski, eds., *Regional Missile Defense from a Global Perspective* (Stanford University Press, 2015)
- “Space Governance and International Cooperation,” in Eligar Sadeh, ed., *Space Strategy for the 21st Century* (London: Routledge, 2012), original version published in *Astropolitics* 8:2-3 (May-December 2010), pp. 256-279

“U.S. Space Security Policy,” in Subrata Ghoshroy and Göetz Neuneck, eds., *South Asia at a Crossroads: Conflict or Cooperation in the Age of Nuclear Weapons, Missile Defense, and Space Rivalries* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2010)

"The Gender Gap in Popular Attitudes toward the Use of Force," in Ruth Howes and Michael Stevenson, eds., *Women and the Use of Military Force* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Reiner, 1993), pp. 23-38

"The Design of Verification Regimes," in Stephen P. Cohen, ed., *Nuclear Proliferation in South Asia: The Prospects for Arms Control* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1991), pp. 62-88

### Articles (Policy)

“Will it Play in Persepolis?” *Foreignpolicy.com* (November 21, 2014)

“US and Russian Public Opinion on Arms Control and Space Security, *Disarmament Diplomacy* (Spring 2008)

“If You Lead, They will Follow: Public Opinion and Repairing the U.S.-Russian Strategic Relationship,” (with John Steinbruner) *Arms Control Today* (January 2008)

“Nuclear Weapons and New Security Challenges,” *Shalom Papers: A Journal of Theology and Public Policy* Second Series, Vol. 4, No. 1 (2002)

“A Tough Call,” (with John Steinbruner and Stacy Gunther), *Arms Control Today* (May 2001), pp. 23-24

### Book Chapters (Policy)

“Towards a Reconsideration of the Rules for Space,” in John Logsdon and Audrey Schaffer, eds., *Perspectives on Space Security* (Washington, DC: George Washington University, 2005)

“Verification and Advanced Cooperative Security,” in Trevor Findlay and Oliver Meier, eds., *Verification Yearbook 2002* (London: VERTIC, 2002)

### Policy Briefs

“Categorizing and Assessing the Severity of Disruptive Cyber Events,” (with Charles Harry)  
*CISSM Policy Brief* (April 2017)

Public Opinion Reports:

“Iranian Public Opinion after the Protests,” (with Ebrahim Mohseni and Clay Ramsay), CISSM  
(July 2018)

“The Ramifications of Rouhani’s Re-election,” (with Ebrahim Mohseni and Clay Ramsay),  
CISSM (July 2017)

“Iranian Attitudes on Iranian-U.S. Relations in the Trump Era,” (with Ebrahim Mohseni and  
Clay Ramsay), CISSM (January 2017)

“Iranian Public Opinion, One Year after the Nuclear Deal,” (with Ebrahim Mohseni and Clay  
Ramsay), CISSM (July 2016)

“Iranian Public Attitudes Before & After the Parliamentary Elections” (with Ebrahim Mohseni  
and Clay Ramsay), CISSM (March 2016)

“Iranian Attitudes in Advance of the Parliamentary Elections: Economics, Politics, and Foreign  
Affairs,” (with Ebrahim Mohseni and Clay Ramsay), CISSM (January 2016)

“Iranian Public Opinion on the Nuclear Agreement,” (with Ebrahim Mohseni and Clay Ramsay),  
CISSM (September 2015)

“Assessing the Iran Deal,” (with Steven Kull), CISSM and the Program for Public Consultation  
(September 2015)

“Iranian Public Opinion on the Nuclear Negotiations,” (with Ebrahim Mohseni and Clay  
Ramsay), University of Tehran Center for Public Opinion Research and CISSM (June  
2015)

“Iranian Attitudes on Nuclear Negotiations,” (with Ebrahim Mohseni and Clay Ramsay),  
University of Tehran Center for Public Opinion Research and CISSM (September 2014)

“Americans on Negotiations with Iran: A Policymaking Simulation,” (with Steven Kull, Clay  
Ramsay, and Evan Lewis) CISSM and the Program for Public Consultation (July 2014)

“Faith and Global Public Policy Challenges: How Spiritual Values Shape Views on Poverty,  
Nuclear Risks, and Environmental Degradation,” (with Steven Kull, John Steinbruner,

Clay Ramsay, Evan Lewis, Jonas Siegel, Kevin Jones, and Stefan Subias), a PIPA/ Knowledge Network Poll Report (December 2011)

“Americans and Russians on Space Weapons,” (with Steven Kull, John Steinbruner, Clay Ramsay, and Evan Lewis), a PIPA/Knowledge Network Poll Report (January 2008)

“Americans and Russians on Nuclear Weapons and the Future of Disarmament,” (with Steven Kull, John Steinbruner, Clay Ramsay, and Evan Lewis), a PIPA/Knowledge Network Poll Report (November 2007)

“Americans on WMD Proliferation,” (CISSM in collaboration with Steven Kull, et al.), a PIPA/ Knowledge Network Poll Report (April 15, 2004)

### Working Papers

“Building Confidence in the Cybersphere: A Path to Multilateral Progress,” (with Theresa Hitchens), CISSM Working Paper (March 2018), at:  
<http://www.cissm.umd.edu/publications/building-confidence-cybersphere-path-multilateral-progress>

“Power, Principles, and Practices to Advance Cooperative Security,” CISSM Working Paper (July 2015), at:  
[http://www.cissm.umd.edu/papers/files/power\\_principles\\_practices\\_to\\_advance\\_cooperative\\_security\\_070115.pdf](http://www.cissm.umd.edu/papers/files/power_principles_practices_to_advance_cooperative_security_070115.pdf).

“Rethinking U.S.-China Security Cooperation,” CISSM Working Paper (August 2014), at:  
[http://www.cissm.umd.edu/papers/files/rethinking\\_uschina\\_security\\_cooperation\\_082714.pdf](http://www.cissm.umd.edu/papers/files/rethinking_uschina_security_cooperation_082714.pdf)

“Prospects for Security Transformation,” (with John Steinbruner), CISSM Working paper (July 2004): <http://www.cissm.umd.edu/documents/securitytransformation07-04.pdf>

### Op eds, essays, blog posts, policy briefs, and case studies:

“Three Ways Trump’s Nuclear Strategy Misunderstands the Mood in Iran,” *The Conversation* (October 17, 2017)

“The U.S., Russia, and the Question of Bashar al Assad,” (with Deana Arsenian), *Huffingtonpost.com* (October 21, 2015)

“Say Something Nice or Nothing at All,” *U.S. News and World Reports* (September 11, 2015)

“A Diplomatic Masterpiece,” *TheConversation.com* (July 14, 2015)

“Space Weapons and the Risk of Nuclear Exchange,” Development and Disarmament Roundtable essays, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* (May-July, 2015)

“Public Perceptions of the Iran Nuclear Deal,” *The Academic Minute/National Public Radio* (April 13, 2015)

“Most Americans want Diplomatic Engagement with Iran,” *TheConversation.com* (January 22, 2015)

“Is there an Iran deal that the publics would support?” (November 24, 2014) invited post for [europeanleadershipnetwork.org](http://europeanleadershipnetwork.org)

“The World is Watching: Not ratifying New START nuclear arms pact would signal a failure of U.S. Leadership,” *The Baltimore Sun* (December 2, 2010)

"More than Just a Numbers Game? U.S. Policy on Global Population," Pew Case Studies in International Affairs (with Elizabeth Shakman) Case # 215 (April 1996) (18 pp. inc. teaching notes)

#### Media Interviews (selected)

“The Iran Nuclear Deal,” guest on “In the Heartland with Bishop Pates” show on Iowa Catholic Radio (October 2, 2015)

“The Iran Nuclear Deal,” guest on Kathleen Dunn Show for Wisconsin Public Radio (July 21, 2015)

“60 Minutes,” BBC Persian TV (July 15, 2014)

“U.S. National Space Policy,” guest on “To the Point with Warren Olney” for National Public Radio (October 20, 2006)

#### Book Reviews

Daniel Lindley, *Promoting Peace with Information*, in *Political Science Quarterly* (Summer 2008)

#### **Invited Lectures and Conference Presentations (Selected)**

- “The Effects of Power and Rules on Nuclear Governance,” Presentation at International Studies Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, April 6, 2018
- “Nuclear Factors in U.S.-China Security Relations,” Presentation at Carnegie-Tsinghua Center for Global Policy, Beijing, China, April 28, 2017
- “Improving Governance of Dual-Use Technologies in Times of Rapid Change,” Presentation at International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Baltimore, MD, February 23, 2017
- “The Implications of the Iranian Elections,” (panel members), Senate Russell Office Building, Washington, DC, March 31, 2016
- “The End of the Nuclear Agreement with Iran,” ACDIS, University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana, March 28, 2016
- “Power, Principles, and Practices for Global Security,” Judith Reppy Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies, Cornell University, February 11, 2016
- “Iranian and American Opinion on the Nuclear Deal,” (panel member) Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, DC, September 9, 2015
- “Principles and Practices for Global Security,” Presentation at Global Economic Summit, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, September 6-8, 2014 and the Lee Kwan Yew School of Public Policy, Singapore National University, September 9, 2014.
- “Implications for Policymakers,” remarks at release of CISSM/PPC study of “Americans on Negotiations with Iran,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, July 15, 2014.
- “Promoting U.S.-China Security Cooperation,” Presentation at Carnegie-Tsinghua Center for Global Policy, Beijing, China, June 19, 2014.
- “What’s the Point of Confidence-Building Measures?” German Institute for International and Security Affairs workshop on “Non-Strategic Nuclear Weapons in Europe: Transparency and Confidence-building Measures in Practice,” Berlin, March 27–28, 2014
- “Making History: Will Iran’s Domestic Politics Permit a Change in Its Foreign Policy,” (panel member), University of Maryland, October 30, 2013
- “Transnational Threat: Counterterrorism in the OSCE Region,” (panel member) OSCE Focus 2013 Conference, Geneva, October 12, 2013



“Rethinking Strategic Security,” presentation for the Berlin Framework Forum conference on “Creating the Conditions and Building the Framework for the Nuclear Weapons-free World,” German Federal Foreign Office, Berlin, February 21, 2013

Presentation for panel on “Next Steps in Nuclear Weapons Policy and Arms Control,” American Association for the Advancement of Science’s Center for Technology and Security Policy’s summer seminar series for Congressional Staff, Library of Congress, August 5, 2011

“Addressing the Cross-cutting Nature of 21<sup>st</sup> Century Security Challenges,” Presentation for NATO Conference on WMD Arms Control, Disarmament, and Non-Proliferation, Bergen, Norway, June 16-17, 2011

“Acceptance of Verification,” Presentation for VERTIC/Wilton Park Conference on “Uncertain Futures: Where Next for Multilateral Verification?” Steyning, UK, June 1-3, 2011

“Strategic Stability, Reassurance, and the Role of JDEC,” presentation for NGO panel at the Nonproliferation Treaty Review Conference, New York, May 13, 2010

“International Security on the Road to Zero,” keynote address for the Middle Powers Initiative, “Atlanta Consultation III: Fulfilling the Promise of the NPT,” Carter Center, Atlanta, GA, January 20-22, 2010

“Reconsidering the Rules for Space Security, briefing for U.N. delegates co-sponsored by Canada and the Global Security Institute, New York, October 14, 2009

“Space Policy Briefing” for Congressional members and staff organized by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Washington, D.C., July 30, 2009

“The Road to the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons — Possibilities held by NGOs and middle-power nations,” panelist for International Symposium for Peace, Nagasaki, Japan, July 27, 2008

“Reconsidering the Rules for Space Security,” Congressional briefing sponsored by the American Association for the Advancement of Sciences’ Center for Science, Technology, and Security Policy, Washington, D.C., June 9, 2008

“Reconsidering the Rules for Space: From Space Dominance to Equitable Rules and Mutual Restraint,” UNIDIR Workshop on “Security in Space: the Next Generation,” Geneva, Switzerland, March 31-April 1, 2008

“Public Attitudes toward Space Security,” George Washington University Space Policy Institute Conference on the “State of Space Security,” Washington, DC, January 24, 2008

- “U.S. Space Security Policy,” MIT Conference on Security and Cooperation in South Asia: A Global Perspective, Berlin, Germany, October 8-10, 2007
- “Protecting High-Priority Space Assets,” American Association for the Advancement of Sciences Seminar at U.S. Strategic Command, Offutt Air Force Base, Omaha, NE, July 16-17, 2007
- “Nuclear Weapons and New Security Challenges,” Keynote speaker for United Nations Day Celebration, The Claremont Colleges, October 26, 2006
- “Is the Militarization of Space Necessary for Maintaining American Security?” McGill University Institute of Air and Space Law “International and Interdisciplinary Workshop on Militarization of Space,” Montreal, Canada, September 23, 2004
- “Commercial Perspectives on Space and Security,” International Studies Association, Portland, OR, February 25-March 1, 2003
- “What is Homeland Security? Assessing Responses to September 11<sup>th</sup>,” Keynote panel for the Association for Public Policy and Analysis meeting, Washington, D.C., November 2, 2001
- “The Test Ban Treaty Equation,” University of Washington, Seattle, WA, February 7, 2001
- “The Impact of Ideas on Two-Level Bargaining,” International Studies Association, Toronto, March 18-22, 1997
- “The CTBT — What Have We Gained? What Have We Lost?” Yale University, September 25, 1996
- “The Politics of Verification: Why ‘How Much?’ Is Not Enough,” Cooperative Monitoring Center, Sandia National Laboratory, May 29, 1996
- “Reaching Agreement on Verification: The Role of Interests, Ideas, and Internal Politics,” American Political Science Association, New York, September 1-4, 1994
- “Arms Control Verification and Imposed Regimes: Is there Sovereignty after Surrender?” International Studies Association, Acapulco, Mexico, March 23-27, 1993

#### **Awards, Fellowships, and Grants (Selected)**

- 2018 Selected for UMD ADVANCE leadership fellows program
- 2018 Inaugural Dean’s Award, for excellence in research, teaching and service at the School of Public Policy
- 2017 John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation grant in support of CISSM’s “Nuclear Security and Energy Transformation” project (\$396,000)
- 2017 Provost’s Strategic Initiative award (\$300,000)
- 2017 UMD Outstanding Invention of 2016 award (with Charles Harry)
- 2017 Carnegie Corporation of New York grant in support of CISSM’s “From Renewed Competition to Rejuvenated Cooperation: Strategies for Stabilizing and Transforming U.S.-Russia Security Relations (Principle Investigator, \$500,000)
- 2016 Cybersecurity Risk Management for the 2020 Tokyo Olympics, National Center of Incident Readiness and Strategy for Cybersecurity, Cabinet Secretariat of Japan (\$140,000)
- 2016 Laboratory for Telecommunications Sciences award for project on “International Governmental Cybersecurity Information Sharing (\$150,000)
- 2016 Nuclear Threat Initiative grant for CISSM’s “Governing Global Challenges” scoping project (Co-Principle Investigator with Jonas Siegel, \$48,817)
- 2015– CISSM among top 50 university-affiliated think tanks in the world according to University of Pennsylvania’s *2015 Global Go To Think Tank Index Report*
- 2015 UMD Seed/Incentive award for project on “Promoting Space Security and Sustainability with a Crowd-Sourced Space Object Database (\$50,000)
- 2015 Winner of UMD’s inaugural Research Communicator Impact Award
- 2015 Honoree, UMD Celebration of Scholarship and Research
- 2015 Carnegie Corporation of New York grant in support of CISSM’s “From Renewed Competition to Rejuvenated Cooperation: Strategies for Stabilizing and Transforming U.S.-Russia Security Relations (Principle Investigator, \$500,000)
- 2014 Selected as inaugural member of UMD Advancing Professional Track Faculty Program

- 2012–15 Schelling Fund grant for “Reframing the Debate over Iran’s Nuclear Program: Promoting a Constructive Outcome by Connecting Morality to Security (co-Principle Investigator with John Steinbruner, \$150,000)
- 2011– John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation grant in support of CISSM’s “Nuclear Security and Energy Transformation” project (\$900,000)
- 2004–15 Carnegie Corporation of New York grants in support of CISSM’s Collaborative Education and Cooperative Security project with the Institute of U.S.A. and Canada Studies in Moscow (co-Principle Investigator with John Steinbruner, \$2,013,000)
- 2009–12 Secure World Foundation grants in support of CISSM’s Reconsidering the Rules for Space Security project (co-Principle Investigator with Jaganath Sankaran, \$51,000)
- 2004–11 John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation grants in support of CISSM’s Advanced Methods of Cooperative Security Program (co-Principle Investigator with John Steinbruner, \$2,450,000)
- 2001 Superior Honor Award, United States Department of State
- 1997 Foster Fellowship at the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, 1998-99
- 1995 Women in International Security (WIIS) 1995-96 Postdoctoral Research Fellowship
- 1988 MacArthur Scholar, ACDIS Dissertation Fellowship, University of Illinois
- 1987–1988 ACDIS Ethical Studies Fellowship, University of Illinois
- 1986–1987 Garner Fellowship in Political Science, University of Illinois
- 1983 Phi Beta Kappa

### **Professional Service**

UMD Center for Orbital Debris Education and Research (CODER), founding faculty member

Book manuscript reviews for Columbia University Press, Stanford University Press, United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research, and Routledge

Journal reviews for *International Security*, *Contemporary Security Policy*, *International Organization*, *The Nonproliferation Review*, *Journal of Peace Research*, and *PS*

Council on Foreign Relations study group member, “United States Space Posture for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century” (2002) and “Developing New Nuclear Weapons” (2003)

Women in International Security Summer Symposium, selection committee (2003) and panel presentation (2001)

### **Ph.D. Students Supervised (completed)**

Naoko Aoki (2018)

Nilsu Goren (2016)

Anya Loukianova Fink (2016)

Ebrahim Mohseni (2015)

Charles Harry (2013)

Mariel Borowitz (2013)

Jaganath Sankaran (2012)

Robert Lamb (2009)

Kevin Jones (2007)

Stacy Okutani (2007)

### **Courses Taught**

International Security Policy (Graduate)

U.S. Foreign Policy (Undergraduate and Graduate)

Introduction to International Politics

Gender and International Politics

Arms Control and Nonproliferation Policy

(Undergraduate and Graduate)

Theories of International Cooperation

### **References Available on Request**