

# USMA CLASS OF 2006 WAR STUDIES CONFERENCE



## REASSESSING DETERRENCE IN THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY

UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY  
NOVEMBER 13–15, 2016





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## WELCOME TO THE USMA CLASS OF 2006 WAR STUDIES CONFERENCE

On behalf of Lieutenant General Robert L. Caslen, Jr., the superintendent of the United States Military Academy, it is my honor to welcome you to West Point. This is our inaugural War Studies Conference, an annual event organized by the Modern War Institute within West Point's Department of Military Instruction. The purpose of this conference is to convene a select and interdisciplinary group of thinkers across government, academia, media, and the business world to discuss a topic of vital importance to our ability to fight and win modern wars. The title of this year's conference is "Reassessing Deterrence in the 21st Century." To encourage a free and open exchange of views, all comments during the conference's panels are "not for attribution," but our keynote addresses will be "on the record."

Fifty years after Thomas Schelling wrote *Arms and Influence*, globalization, modernization, and the pervasiveness of non-state actors have fundamentally changed our credibility as well as our capacity to deter. Put simply, tomorrow's potential threats require a new approach for American strategic deterrence. If deterrence is "the art of coercion and intimidation," as Schelling noted, how do we deter non-state adversaries with no return address? How do we deter potential cyber warriors? How do we keep our 20th-century alliances strong and capable of extended deterrence going forward? Finally, how can we enhance our geo-economic and other non-military tools of deterrence? The discussions we have over the next few days will shape our first edited conference volume, which will inform the national debate we have on this important issue. Participants in this year's event include a head of government, as well as scholars from a variety of disciplines, senior military officials, members of the media, and practitioners with firsthand experience with deterrence at the international as well as the local level. We are grateful for the generous support of the Class of 2006 and our media partner, *Foreign Affairs*. Thank you for joining us for the first of what we hope will become an annual fall tradition here at West Point.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Liam Collins".

Liam Collins, PhD  
COL, SF  
Director, Modern War Institute



# ABOUT WEST POINT



Renowned as one of the world’s premier leader development institutions, West Point’s mission is “to educate, train, and inspire the Corps of Cadets so that each graduate is a commissioned leader of character committed to the values of Duty, Honor, Country, and prepared for a career of professional excellence and service to the Nation as an officer in the United States Army.” West Point accomplishes this mission by developing cadets intellectually, physically, militarily, ethically, and socially. The student body, or Corps of Cadets, numbers 4,400, and each year approximately 1,100 cadets join the Long Gray Line as they graduate and are commissioned as Second Lieutenants in the US Army.

The history of West Point dates back to the Revolutionary War, when both sides realized the strategic importance of the commanding plateau on the west bank of the Hudson River. George Washington considered West Point to be the most important strategic position in America. Continental soldiers built forts, batteries, and redoubts and extended a 150-ton iron chain across the Hudson to control river traffic. Founded on March 16, 1802, West Point is the oldest continuously occupied military post in America.

A favorite expression at West Point is that “much of the history we teach was made by people we taught.” Great leaders such as Grant, Pershing, MacArthur, Eisenhower, Patton, and Schwarzkopf are among the more than 50,000 graduates. Countless other graduates, following their military service, have had distinguished careers in business, medicine, law, sports, politics, and science.

Guided by its timeless motto, “Duty, Honor, Country,” West Point continues to adapt and adjust the leader development program to ensure its graduates are prepared to serve as commissioned leaders of character in America’s 21st-century Army.



# AGENDA

## Sunday, November 13, 2016

- 12:00–5:00 PM **Guest Arrival and Conference Check-in**  
Lobby, Thayer Hotel
- 5:45–6:45 PM **Conference Reception**  
Grant Ballroom, Thayer Hotel
- 6:45–9:30 PM **Dinner**  
Grant Ballroom, Thayer Hotel
- 6:45–6:55 PM **Welcome:** Brigadier General Diana M. Holland, Commandant, USCC
- 7:30–7:40 PM **Introduction:** General (Ret.) Charles Jacoby, Distinguished Chair, MWI
- 7:40–8:25 PM **Keynote Address: Deterring Revisionist Powers**  
**Speaker:** Admiral Harry B. Harris, Jr., Commander, PACOM
- 8:25–8:35 PM **Break**
- 8:35–8:45 PM **Introduction:** Lieutenant General Robert Caslen, Jr., Superintendent, USMA
- 8:45–9:30 PM **Keynote Address: Deterrence in the Digital Age**  
**Speaker:** His Excellency Taavi Rõivas, Prime Minister, Estonia
- 9:30–10:30 PM **No-Host Mixer**  
General Patton's Tavern, Thayer Hotel

## Monday, November 14, 2016

- 7:00–7:45 AM **No-Host Breakfast Buffet**  
Thayer Hotel
- 7:45–8:15 AM **Transportation to Jefferson Hall**  
Pick-up at Thayer Hotel Lobby
- 8:15–9:45 AM **Panel Session 1**  
Haig Room, Jefferson Hall

**Theme: Revisiting Schelling, Fifty Years On**

**Panelists:** Dr. Nuno Monteiro, Yale University  
Dr. John Mueller, Ohio State University  
Dr. Daryl Press, Dartmouth College  
Dr. Todd Sechser, University of Virginia  
Dr. Jairus Grove, University of Hawaii at Manoa

**Moderator:** Mr. Nicholas Thompson, *The New Yorker*



**Discussion Questions:**

*Is Schelling's concept of deterrence still relevant to today's world?*

*If so, how should it be applied?*

*If not, what is the relevant theoretical framework for today's threats?*

9:45–10:00 AM **Break**

10:00–11:30 AM **Panel Session 2**  
Haig Room, Jefferson Hall

**Theme: How to Deter Tomorrow's Non-State Adversaries**

**Panelists:** Dr. Seth Jones, RAND  
Dr. Jonathan Lindsay, University of Toronto  
Dr. Benedetta Berti, TED  
Dr. Dipali Mukhopadhyay, Columbia University

**Moderator:** Mr. Yochi Dreazen, *Vox*

**Discussion Questions:**

*Are today's non-state actors rational?*

*If not, can strategic deterrence work?*

*What are ways to credibly coerce non-state actors undeterred by our military "power to hurt"?*

11:30–11:45 AM **Movement to West Point Club**

11:45–1:00 PM **Lunch**  
West Point Club, Hudson Room

12:00–1:00 PM **Keynote Luncheon**  
**Theme: Enhancing Vigilance: Prescriptions for Prevention**  
**Speaker:** Mr. Raymond Kelly, K2 Intelligence  
**Discussant:** Ms. Gayle Tzemach Lemmon, Council on Foreign Relations

1:00–1:15 PM **Movement to Jefferson Hall**

1:15–2:45 PM **Panel Session 3**  
Haig Room, Jefferson Hall

**Theme: How to Fix our 20th-Century Security Alliances**

**Panelists:** Dr. Dianne Pfundstein Chamberlain, Columbia University  
Mr. Michael Kofman, Woodrow Wilson Center  
Dr. Matthew Kroenig, Georgetown University  
BG (Ret.) Kevin Ryan, Harvard University

**Moderator:** Mr. Stuart Reid, *Foreign Affairs*

**Discussion Questions**

*Are 20th-century security alliances still useful for deterrence?*

*How does extended deterrence play in an increasingly complex world?*

*What are some ways to strengthen our alliances going forward?*

2:45–3:00 PM **Break**



- 3:00–4:30PM **Panel Session 4**  
Haig Room, Jefferson Hall
- Theme: Disruption or Deterrence? How to Strengthen US Cyber-Deterrence Capabilities**  
**Panelists:** Dr. Adam Segal, Council on Foreign Relations  
Mr. Kenneth Bell, Raytheon Company  
Dr. Michael Poznansky, University of Pittsburgh  
LTG (Ret.) Rhett Hernandez, Army Cyber Institute  
**Moderator:** Dr. Nina Kollars, Franklin & Marshall College  
**Discussion Questions**  
*How do we successfully deter adversaries in the cyber realm?*  
*What is the proper role between punishment and denial? Between offense and defense?*  
*What constitutes an act of war?*
- 4:30–5:00 PM **Transportation to Thayer Hotel**
- 4:30–5:15 PM **Optional West Point Tour**  
Lobby, Jefferson Hall
- 5:15–5:30 PM **Transportation to Thayer Hotel from West Point Tour**
- 6:00–7:00 PM **Reception**  
Ballroom, Thayer Hotel
- 7:00–9:00 PM **Dinner**  
Thayer Hotel
- 7:50–8:00 PM **Introductory Remarks**  
Lieutenant General Robert L. Caslen, Jr., Superintendent, USMA
- 8:00–9:00 PM **Keynote Address: Renewing Our Deterrence in Europe**  
**Speaker:** General (Ret.) John P. Abizaid
- 9:00–10:00 PM **No-Host Mixer**  
General Patton’s Tavern, Thayer Hotel

**Tuesday, November 15, 2016**

- 7:00–7:45 AM **No-Host Breakfast Buffet**  
Thayer Hotel
- 7:45–8:15 AM **Transportation to Jefferson Hall**  
Pick-up at Thayer Hotel Lobby
- 8:15–9:45 AM **Panel Session 5**  
Haig Room, Jefferson Hall

**Theme: Alternative Tools of Coercion**





**Panelists:** Ms. Jennifer Harris, Council on Foreign Relations  
Dr. T. Negeen Pegahi, US Naval War College  
Dr. Omar Bashir, Financial Integrity Network  
Dr. Emmanuel Karagiannis, King's College London

**Moderator:** Ms. Alex Quade

**Discussion Questions**

*If the power to hurt some adversaries militarily no longer holds, what alternative tools should we develop?*

*How can we leverage our economic, energy, and soft power assets?*

*How should we re-conceptualize cross-domain forms of deterrence?*

9:45–10:00 AM **Break**

10:00–11:15 AM **Moderated Q&A**  
Haig Room, Jefferson Hall

**Theme: Big Stick or Soft Power? Domestic Challenges of Deterrence**

Haig Room, Jefferson Hall

**Speaker:** Dr. Eliot Cohen, Johns Hopkins University

**Discussant:** Mr. David Sanger, *The New York Times*

11:15–11:30 AM **Concluding Remarks:** Colonel Liam Collins, Director, MWI

11:30 AM **Guest Departure**  
Boxed Lunches Provided



# IMPORTANT ADMINISTRATIVE INFORMATION

## WI-FI

The Haig Room at Jefferson Hall is equipped with Wi-Fi for attendees' use.

SSID: War Studies

Password: dutyhonorcountry

## LODGING

**Incidentals:** Register a credit card at the front desk for any personal incidentals. Wi-Fi is available at the Thayer Hotel. For those desiring breakfast, MacArthur's Riverview Restaurant opens at 7:00 am daily. However, meals taken at MacArthur's will be at your own expense.

**Checking Out:** Checkout must be complete by 7:30 a.m. on Tuesday. Please note that we do not cover incidentals, including Internet or meals purchased at the Thayer. Please allow sufficient time for checkout. Guests with personal vehicles at West Point should move luggage into their vehicles before the morning panel. Guests departing West Point via conference-sponsored transportation should move luggage to the Arnold Room. It will be stored at the Thayer Hotel until the completion of the conference.

For questions or issues that the hotel staff cannot address, please see Maj. Scott Woodbrey at (781) 301-1712 or Capt. Jake Miraldi at (802) 299-6272, who will be present throughout the conference.

The Thayer Hotel at West Point

Toll Free: (800) 247-5047 • Phone: (845) 446-4731 • Fax: (845) 446-0338

info@thethayerhotel.com • 674 Thayer Road, West Point, New York 10996

## TRANSPORTATION

**Travel to and From the Conference:** For any questions regarding your departure from West Point or travel expenses, please contact Maj. Scott Woodbrey, at (781) 301-1712 or [scott.woodbrey@usma.edu](mailto:scott.woodbrey@usma.edu).

**In and Around:** Due to limited parking availability, buses will provide your ground transportation to and from all conference events in accordance with the agenda schedule. If you have any special requirements, please contact Maj. Scott Woodbrey at (781) 301-1712.



# WAR STUDIES CONFERENCE STAFF

## MODERN WAR INSTITUTE



**Colonel Liam Collins**  
Director, MWI

(845) 938-8297



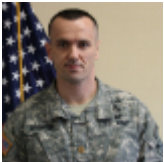
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Deputy Director, MWI

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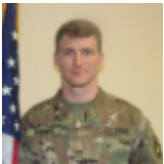
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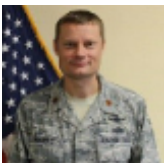
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**Captain Jake Miraldi**  
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**Major Scott Woodbrey**  
Logistics Officer

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**Mr. John Amble**  
Editorial Director, MWI

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*If you need assistance or have questions during the conference, any member of the conference staff will be glad to help.*



## KEYNOTE SPEAKER PROFILES



**His Excellency Mr. Taavi Rõivas**

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Taavi Rõivas is the Prime Minister of Estonia and a member of the Estonian Reform Party. From 2012–2014, Mr. Rõivas was the Minister of Social Affairs of the Republic of Estonia. Previously Mr. Rõivas was a member of the 12th Riigikogu, the Chairman of the European Union Affairs Committee, and a member of the Finance Committee. From 2007–2011, he was a member of the 11th Riigikogu and first, a member of the Social Affairs Committee for two years and then the Chairman of the Finance Committee. From 2005–2007, he served as the Adviser to the Prime Minister of the Republic of Estonia, and from 2004–2005, he was the Elder of the Haabersti City District Government. He has previously performed the duties of Adviser / Office Manager for the Minister of the Population Affairs of the Republic of Estonia, Customer Account Executive for large corporate companies in the AS IT Grupp, and Adviser to the Minister of Justice. Born on 26 September 1979, in Tallinn, Mr. Rõivas graduated from Tallinn Secondary Science School and from the Faculty of Economics and Business Administration of the University of Tartu in international economics and marketing. In 2015, he appeared on *The Daily Show with Trevor Noah*.





**Admiral Harry B. Harris, Jr.**

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Adm. Harry B. Harris, Jr. is the commander of the US Pacific Command. Born in Japan and reared in Tennessee and Florida, following graduation from the US Naval Academy in 1978 and designation as a naval flight officer, Harris was assigned to VP-44. His subsequent operational tours include tactical action officer aboard USS Saratoga; operations officer in VP-4 at Barbers Point, HI; three tours with Patrol and Reconnaissance Wing 1 at Kami Seya, Japan; Director of Operations for US 5th Fleet at Manama, Bahrain; and Director of Operations for US Southern Command. Harris commanded VP-46, Patrol and Reconnaissance Wing 1, Joint Task Force-Guantanamo, the US 6th Fleet, Striking and Support Forces NATO, and the US Pacific Fleet. Harris has served in every geographic combatant command region, and participated in the following major operations: S.S. Achille Lauro terrorist hijacking incident, Attain Document III (Libya, 1986), Earnest Will (Kuwaiti reflagged tanker ops, 1987-88), Desert Shield/Desert Storm, Southern Watch, Enduring Freedom, Iraqi Freedom, Willing Spirit (Colombia hostage rescue, 2006–7), and Odyssey Dawn (Libya, 2011). For Odyssey Dawn, he served as the Joint Force Maritime Component Commander afloat. Harris' graduate education focused on East Asia security. He attended Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, Georgetown's School of Foreign Service, and Oxford University. He was an MIT Seminar 21 fellow. Harris' staff assignments include aide to Commander, US Naval Forces Japan; chief speechwriter for the Chairman of the JCS; and three tours on the Navy Staff, including as an action officer in the Strategic Concepts Branch, director for the current operations and anti-terrorism/force protection division, and Deputy CNO for Communication Networks (OPNAV N6). In October 2011, he was assigned as the Assistant to the Chairman of the JCS where he served as the Chairman's direct representative to the Secretary of State and as the US roadmap monitor for the Mid-East Peace Process. Harris was promoted to Admiral and assumed command of the US Pacific Fleet in October 2013. He was designated as the Theater Joint Force Maritime Component Commander. In May 2015, he assumed command of the US Pacific Command.





**General (Ret.) John P. Abizaid**

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Gen. (Ret.) John P. Abizaid is the Principal Partner of JPA Partners, LLC. He served as the Distinguished Chair (Emeritus) of West Point's Combating Terrorism Center and was the first Annenberg Distinguished Visiting Fellow at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University. He was awarded Honorary Degrees from Dartmouth College and Norwich University. He has worked with the Preventative Defense Project at Stanford University and Harvard's Kennedy School of Government and served on the CIA's External Advisory Board. He is a Director of the Council on Foreign Relations and a member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies. He led the Dover Inquiry Panel and co-chaired the 2014 National Defense Panel, as well as leading several other national level assessment panels dealing with military issues. He currently serves as a board member of the President's Intelligence Advisory Board, USAA, Virtu Financial, and RPM International and has advised a number of smaller firms and their leadership teams. In 2015 he was inducted into the US Army Ranger Hall of Fame. Abizaid retired from the United States Army as a four-star General in May 2007 as Commander of US Central Command, after thirty-four years of active service. A graduate of the United States Military Academy at West Point, he commanded units at every level, serving in the Grenada, Lebanon, Kurdistan, Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq. Units under his command include the 1st Infantry Division, a brigade in the 82nd Airborne Division, a Parachute Battalion Combat Team and two Ranger companies. He studied at the University of Jordan in Amman, holds a master's degree in Middle Eastern Studies from Harvard University, and has deep expertise in regional as well as international strategy.





**Mr. Raymond Kelly**

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With 50 years in public service, including 14 as police commissioner of the City of New York, Raymond Kelly is one of the world's most well-known and highly esteemed leaders in law enforcement. Mr. Kelly was appointed police commissioner in January 2002, making him the longest serving police commissioner in the city's history, as well as the first to hold the post for a second, separate tenure. He also served as police commissioner under Mayor David N. Dinkins from 1992 to 1994. In 2002, as Commissioner, Mr. Kelly created the first counterterrorism bureau of any municipal police department in the country. He also established a new global intelligence program and stationed New York City detectives in eleven foreign cities. In addition to dedicating extensive resources to preventing another terrorist attack, the NYPD has driven violent crime down by 40 percent from 2001 levels. As Commissioner, Mr. Kelly also established a Real Time Crime Center, a state-of-the-art facility that uses data mining to search millions of computer records and put investigative leads into the hands of detectives in the field. Commissioner Kelly was formerly senior managing director of global corporate security at Bear, Stearns & Co. Inc. Before that, he served as commissioner of the US Customs Service, where he managed the agency's 20,000 employees and \$20 billion in annual revenue. For his accomplishments at Customs, he was awarded the Alexander Hamilton Medal for Exceptional Service. From 1996 to 1998, Mr. Kelly was undersecretary for enforcement at the US Treasury Department (the third highest post in the department at the time). There, he supervised the department's enforcement bureaus including the US Customs Service, the US Secret Service, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms, and the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center.

In addition, Mr. Kelly served on the executive committee and was elected vice president for the Americas of Interpol, the international police organization, from 1996 to 2000. In 1994, he was appointed by President Bill Clinton to serve as director of the international police monitors in Haiti, a US-led force responsible for establishing an interim police force there. For this service, he was awarded the Exceptionally Meritorious Service Commendation by the President of the United States. A 43-year veteran of the NYPD, Mr. Kelly served in 25 different commands before being named police commissioner. He was appointed to the NYPD in 1963. Shortly thereafter he accepted a commission to the United States Marine Corps Officer Program. He served on active military duty for three years including a combat tour in Vietnam. He returned to the police department in 1966 and entered the New York City Police Academy, graduating with the highest combined average for academics, physical achievement, and marksmanship. He was also a member of the inaugural class of the New York City Police Cadet Corps for three years while a student at Manhattan College. During his tenure in the NYPD, Kelly received 14 citations of merit for outstanding police work. Commissioner Kelly retired as a colonel from the Marine Corps Reserves after 30 years of service.





**Dr. Eliot Cohen**

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Dr. Eliot Cohen is Robert E. Osgood Professor at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS). He directs the strategic studies program and the Philip Merrill Center for Strategic Studies, which he founded. He has twice won the Johns Hopkins SAIS Excellence in Teaching Award. For ten years he led a Johns Hopkins SAIS partnership with the Maxwell School of Syracuse University in providing executive education to general officers and senior Defense Department officials, the National Security Studies program. A 1977 graduate of Harvard College he received his PhD there in political science in 1982. From 1982 to 1985 he was Assistant Professor of Government at Harvard, and Assistant Dean of Harvard College. In 1985 he became a member of the Strategy Department of the United States Naval War College. In February 1990 he joined the Policy Planning Staff of the Office of the Secretary of Defense, and in July of that year he was appointed professor of strategic studies at Johns Hopkins SAIS. From April 2007 through January 2009 he served as Counselor of the Department of State. A principal officer of the Department, he had special responsibility for advising the Secretary on matters pertaining to Iraq, Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan, and Russia, as well as general strategic issues. He represented the Department of State in interagency coordination with senior National Security Council staff, Department of Defense, and intelligence community officials on a number of issues, including the Syrian/North Korean reactor crisis of 2007, and the Somali piracy problem in 2008. Dr. Cohen is the author of *Conquered into Liberty: Two Centuries of Battles along the Great Warpath that made the American Way of War* (2011), winner of the Society of Colonial Wars annual book award, and the Huntington prize-winning *Supreme Command: Soldiers, Statesmen, and Leadership in Wartime* (2002). His other books are *Commandos and Politicians* (1978) and *Citizens and Soldiers* (1985). He is, as well, co-author of *Military Misfortunes: The Anatomy of Failure in War* (1990), *Revolution in Warfare? Air Power in the Persian Gulf* (1995), and *Knives, Tanks, and Missiles: Israel's Security Revolution* (1998), and co-editor of *Strategy in the Contemporary World* (2002) and *War over Kosovo* (2001). In 1991-1993 he directed and edited the official study of air power in the 1991 war with Iraq. For his leadership of *The Gulf War Air Power Survey*, which included eleven book-length reports, he received the Air Force's decoration for exceptional civilian service.





## PARTICIPANT PROFILES



### Mr. Javid Ahmad

Mr. Ahmad is a Non-Resident Fellow with the Modern War Institute, where he focuses on pressing security and counterterrorism issues, including violent non-state actors, militant organizations, and political violence with a focus on South Asia and the Middle East. He also works with the US government on the region, and serves as an adviser to the Afghan government. Previously, he worked at the German Marshall Fund of the United States, a Washington-based think tank, where he focused on South Asia/Central Asia. He has worked at the NATO HQ in Brussels, at the political and legislative section of the Afghan embassy, and at the public affairs office of Voice of America in Washington, DC. He has also worked on democracy promotion for organizations in Kabul.

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### Dr. Omar Bashir

Dr. Bashir is an Associate at the Financial Integrity Network, where he contributes research expertise on economic power and foreign policy. He recently defended his PhD in Politics at Princeton University. At Princeton, he was a Fellow at the Center for International Security Studies, a Harold W. Dodds Fellow, and a National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellow. He also received two aerospace engineering degrees from MIT with internships at Boeing, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, and Sandia National Laboratories. He served as president of the MIT Chapter of the American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics. In addition to writing for *Foreign Affairs*, *Slate*, and *The Monkey Cage*, Dr. Bashir has published work in peer-reviewed journals in both engineering and social science. His doctoral research in international politics focused on power and interdependence, energy competition, crisis signaling, and foreign aid bribery within the UN Security Council.

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### Mr. Kenneth Bell

Mr. Bell is a cybersecurity engineer with Raytheon Company and an adjunct professor at Salve Regina, teaching courses related to cybersecurity and cyber intelligence. Prior to joining Raytheon, he completed a 21-year career in law enforcement with the Rhode Island state police, where he specialized in high tech crime investigations and computer/network forensics. Bell has conducted hundreds of computer/network forensic investigations and is a Certified Forensic Computer Examiner. He has been qualified as an expert witness in both state and federal court related to technology based investigations and computer forensics. In addition, Bell is a frequent speaker and presenter on topics and issues related to cybersecurity. In 2011, he received the Bill Siebert Award for Excellence in Computer Forensics from Guidance Software.

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### Dr. Benedetta Berti

Dr. Berti is a Non-Resident Fellow with the Modern War Institute, a foreign policy and security researcher, analyst, consultant, author and lecturer. Her work focuses on human security and internal conflicts, as well as on post-conflict stabilization and peacebuilding. Dr. Berti is the author of three books, including *Armed Political Organizations: From Conflict to Integration* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013). She is a Fellow at the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS), a TED Senior Fellow, a Non-Resident Senior Fellow at the Foreign Policy Research Institute (FPRI) and an independent human security consultant. In 2015 the Italian government awarded her the Order of the Star of Italy (order of Knighthood).

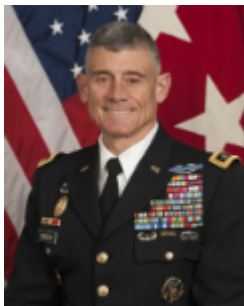




### **Dr. Risa Brooks**

Dr. Brooks is Allis Chalmers Associate Professor of Political Science and Director of Undergraduate Studies at Marquette University. Her research focuses on issues related to civil-military relations, military effectiveness, and militant & terrorist organizations; she also has a regional interest in the Middle East. Professor Brooks is the author of *Shaping Strategy: The Civil-Military Politics of Strategic Assessment* (Princeton, 2008) and editor (with Elizabeth Stanley) of *Creating Military Power: The Sources of Military Effectiveness* (Stanford University Press, 2007), as well as many articles in the field of international security. She received her PhD from the University of California, San Diego and her professional experiences include positions as Research Associate at the International Institute for Strategic Studies (London, U.K.), Postdoctoral Fellow at Stanford's Center for International Security and Arms Control (CISAC), and a pre-doctoral affiliation with the Olin Institute for Strategic Studies at Harvard University.

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### **Lieutenant General Robert L. Caslen, Jr.**

Lt. Gen. Caslen became the 59th Superintendent of the US Military Academy at West Point on July 17, 2013. He graduated from the US Military Academy in 1975, and earned master's degrees from Long Island University and Kansas State University. Previous to this assignment, Caslen served as the Chief of the Office of Security Cooperation-Iraq. Caslen's prior deployments and assignments include serving as the commander of the Combined Arms Center at Fort Leavenworth, KS., the command that oversees the Command and General Staff College and 17 other schools, centers, and training programs located throughout the United States; commanding general of the 25th Infantry Division (Light) and commanding general of the Multi-National Division-North during Operation Iraqi Freedom; Commandant of Cadets for the US Military Academy; Deputy Director for the War on Terrorism, J-5, The Joint Staff; Assistant Division Commander (maneuver), 3rd Infantry Division (Mechanized); Chief of Staff, 10th Mountain Division (Light); Chief of Staff, Combined Joint Task Force Mountain during Operation Enduring Freedom; Commander, 2nd Brigade, 101st Airborne Division (Air Assault); Chief of Staff, 101st Airborne Division (Air Assault); Senior Brigade C2 Observer/Controller, Operations Group, Joint Readiness Training Center; Commander, 1st Battalion, 14th Infantry, 25th Infantry Division (Light); Executive Officer to the Deputy Commander in Haiti during Operation Uphold Democracy; J-3 in Honduras for Joint Task Force Bravo; Brigade Operations Officer, 3rd Brigade, 101st Airborne Division (Air Assault); Executive Officer, 2nd Battalion, 187th Infantry, 101st Airborne Division (Air Assault) during Operations Desert Shield/Desert Storm. Caslen's awards and decorations include the Defense Distinguished Service Medal, Distinguished Service Medal with Oak Leaf Cluster, the Defense Superior Service Medal with Oak Leaf Cluster, the Legion of Merit with four Oak Leaf Clusters, the Bronze Star Medal with two Oak Leaf Clusters, the Defense Meritorious Service Medal, and the Meritorious Service Medal with five Oak Leaf Clusters. He has earned the Combat Infantryman Badge, the Joint Chiefs of Staff Identification Badge, and is Airborne, Air Assault, and Ranger qualified.

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### **Major Matt Cavanaugh**

Maj. Cavanaugh is a Non-Resident Fellow with the Modern War Institute, and an active duty Army Strategist with experience in 11 countries and assignments ranging from the Pentagon to Strategic Command and Iraq to West Point. He is the youngest recipient of the US Military Strategists Association's professional award, the Order of Saint Gabriel the Archangel (2015), in addition to earning West Point's faculty-wide Apgar Award for Excellence in Teaching (2014), and being named the US Army's Athlete of the Year (2009). Matt serves on the Wounded Warrior Project's Advisory Council, is a Term Member with the Council on Foreign Relations, a Founding Member of the Military Writers Guild, and a co-founder of the Modern War Institute at West Point. He earned his master's degree at Victoria University in Wellington, New Zealand and is currently working on a PhD on generalship under Professor Colin Gray at the University of Reading (UK).





### **Dr. Dianne Pfundstein Chamberlain**

Dr. Pfundstein Chamberlain is a research fellow with the Arnold A. Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies, Columbia University. She was previously an assistant professor in the department of political science and Commonwealth Honors College at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, and a postdoctoral research fellow in the International Security Program at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School. She holds a PhD in political science from Columbia University and a BA in economics and political science from Williams College. Her first book, *Cheap Threats: Why the United States Struggles to Coerce Weak States*, was published by Georgetown University Press in March 2016.

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### **Colonel Liam Collins**

Col. Collins is the Director of the Modern War Institute and a career Special Forces officer, who has served in a variety of special operations assignments and conducted multiple combat operations to Afghanistan and Iraq as well as operational deployments to Bosnia, Africa and South America. He has graduated from numerous military courses including ranger school and he has earned numerous military awards and decorations including two valorous awards for his actions in combat. Prior to assuming his current position, he served as the Director of the Defense & Strategic Studies (DSS) program at West Point and as the Director of West Point's Combating Terrorism Center. He has taught courses in Counterinsurgency, Comparative Military Systems, Research Methods in Strategic Studies, Homeland Security and Defense, Terrorism and Counterterrorism, Internal Conflict, International Relations, American Politics, and Officership.

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### **Mr. Yochi Dreazen**

Mr. Dreazen is Foreign Editor of Vox and formerly a Managing Editor for News at *Foreign Policy*. He is also writer-in-residence at the Center for a New American Security. His book about military suicide, *The Invisible Front: Love and Loss in an Era of Endless War*, was published by Random House's Crown division in 2014. Prior to joining Foreign Policy, Dreazen was a contributing editor at the *Atlantic* and the senior national security correspondent for *National Journal*. He began his career at the *Wall Street Journal* and spent 11 years at the newspaper, most recently as its military correspondent. Dreazen arrived in Iraq in April 2003 with the Fourth Infantry Division, and spent the next two years living in Baghdad as the *Wall Street Journal's* main Iraq correspondent.

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### **Major Nathan Finney**

Maj. Finney is a Non-Resident Fellow with the Modern War Institute, an officer in the US Army and a PhD candidate in history at the University of Kansas. He is also a founding member of the Military Writers Guild, the founder of the online journal *The Bridge*, founder and Managing Director of the Military Fellowship at the Project on International Peace & Security, a member of *Infinity Journal's* Editorial Advisory Board, a founding board member of the *Defense Entrepreneurs Forum*, and a term member at the Council on Foreign Relations. Finney holds master's degrees in Public Administration from the Harvard University and the University of Kansas, as well as a BA in Anthropology from the University of Arizona.





### **Dr. Jairus Victor Grove**

Dr. Grove is Director of the Hawaii Research Center for Futures Studies and Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. His research is centered on the ecology and future of global warfare. Other interests of his include the ways war continues to expand, bringing an ever greater collection of participants and technologies into the gravitational pull of violent conflict. He is also interested in various approaches to global relations such as systems theory, cybernetics, and complexity theory, as well as the role new media play in altering the interface with global relations.

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### **Ms. Jennifer Harris**

Ms. Harris is Senior Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations. Prior to joining the Council, Harris was a member of the policy planning staff at the US Department of State, responsible for global markets, geoeconomic issues, and energy security. In that role, Harris was a lead architect of Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's economic statecraft agenda, which launched in 2011. Before joining the State Department, Harris served on the staff of the US National Intelligence Council, covering a range of economic and financial issues. A Truman and a Rhodes scholar, Harris is the author of *War By Other Means: Geoeconomics and Statecraft*, coauthored with Robert Blackwill.

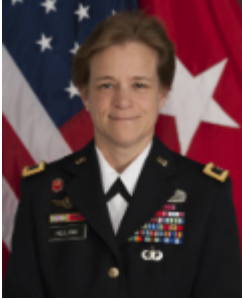
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### **Lieutenant General (Ret.) Rhett Hernandez**

Lt. Gen. (Ret.) Hernandez retired in 2013 following 39 years of distinguished service in the US Army. His last active duty assignment was as the first Commander of Army Cyber Command (ARCYBER), where he was responsible for the daily operations and defense of all Army networks, and when directed, conduct the full range of cyberspace operations. In addition to building a cyber force of more than 17,000 people, he led the development of a wide range of transformational concepts, plans and programs to increase the Army's ability to conduct Land and Cyber operations. As the Army's lead for all cyberspace activity, he was the force modernization proponent for cyber doctrine, training, leader development, organization, materiel and people. He developed strategic direction, requirements and an acquisition approach for all cyberspace operations in the Army. Additionally, he was responsible for the Army's full-spectrum Information Operations (IO) organization, which provides IO theory development and training to operational application across military operations. Currently, Hernandez serves as the West Point Cyber Chair to the Army Cyber Institute, is the President of CyberLens, LLC and serves as a cyber expert on advisory.





### **Brigadier General Diana Holland**

Brig. Gen. Diana M. Holland is the 76<sup>th</sup> Commandant of the US Corps of Cadets at West Point. She graduated from the United States Military Academy and was commissioned a Second Lieutenant in the Corps of Engineers in 1990. Holland's military service began in Germany where she served as a vertical construction platoon leader in the 79th Engineer Combat Battalion (Heavy), and as a company executive officer and battalion assistant operations officer in the 94th Engineer Combat Battalion (Heavy). Upon returning to the United States, Holland was assigned to the 30th Engineer Battalion (Topographic), 20th Engineer Brigade, at Fort Bragg, North Carolina and served as the battalion logistics officer and then as the commander of Headquarters and Headquarters Company. Following company command, Holland earned a Master of Arts degree at Duke University en route to a teaching assignment at the United States Military Academy. She then attended the Army Command and General Staff College and the School of Advanced Military Studies (SAMS), earning a Master of Military Arts and Sciences degree.

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### **Dr. Michael Hunzeker**

Dr. Hunzeker is a Non-Resident Fellow with the Modern War Institute and an Assistant Professor at George Mason University's School of Policy, Government and International Affairs. His studies on war termination, military adaptation and simulation design have appeared in *Security Studies*, the *Journal of Strategic Studies*, *PS: Politics and Political Science*, *Parameters*, *Defense One* and the *Marine Corps Gazette*. Michael holds an AB from the University of California, Berkeley as well as a PhD, MPA, and MA from Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School.

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### **General (Ret.) Charles H. Jacoby, Jr.**

Gen. (Ret.) Jacoby is the Senior Vice Chairman for Capitol Peak Asset Management Company. He also serves as the Distinguished Chair of the Modern War Institute. After 37 years of commissioned military service, Jacoby retired as the Commander of the North American Aerospace Defense Command and United States Northern Command, the first non-aviator to hold that post. His military education includes the Infantry Basic and Advanced courses, the Command and General Staff College, the School of Advanced Military Studies, and the National War College. He holds a master's degree in History from the University of Michigan. His command experience includes Commander, A Company, 2d Battalion (Airborne), 325th Infantry, 82nd Airborne Division, Fort Bragg, North Carolina and Operation URGENT FURY, Grenada; Commander, 1st Battalion, 504th Parachute Infantry Regiment, 82nd Airborne Division, Fort Bragg, North Carolina; Commander, Joint Task Force-Bravo, United States Southern Command, Honduras and Operation FUERTE APOYO (Strong Support), Hurricane Mitch; and Commanding General, United States Army Alaska and Deputy Commander, United States Alaskan Command; Commanding General, I Corps, including a combat tour in Iraq serving as the Commanding General, Multi-National Corps-Iraq. He most recently completed his tour as Director, Strategic Plans and Policy (J5); Senior Member, US Delegation to the United Nations Military Staff Committee, The Joint Staff. Jacoby's awards and decorations include the Defense Distinguished Service Medal, Distinguished Service Medal, Defense Superior Service Medal (with two Oak Leaf Clusters), Legion of Merit, Bronze Star Medal (with Oak Leaf Cluster), Defense Meritorious Service Medal, Meritorious Service Medal (with Five Oak Leaf Clusters), Joint Service Commendation Medal (with Oak Leaf Cluster), Army Commendation Medal (with Four Oak Leaf Clusters), Army Achievement Medal (with two Oak Leaf Clusters), Combat Infantryman Badge, Expert Infantryman Badge, Master Parachutist Badge, Air Assault Badge, Ranger Tab, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff Identification Badge.





### **Brigadier General Cindy R. Jebb**

Brig. Gen. Jebb serves as the 14th Dean of the Academic Board. She received a PhD in Political Science from Duke University in 1997, a MA in Political Science from Duke in 1992, an MA in National Security and Strategic Studies from the Naval War College in 2000, and a BS from the United States Military Academy in 1982. She has taught courses in Comparative Politics, International Security, Cultural Anthropology, Terrorism and Counterterrorism, and Officership. Commissioned as a military intelligence officer, she served in the 1st AD, III Corps, Department of Social Sciences at West Point, and the National Security Agency (NSA). Before returning to the United States Military Academy as a member of the senior faculty, she served as the Deputy Commander of the 704th Military Intelligence Brigade, which supported NSA. During 2000-2001, she served as USMA Fellow at the Naval War College (2000-2001), where she taught a graduate-level course on Strategy and Force Planning, and during 2006-2007, she served as a Visiting Fellow for the Pell Center. From 2006-2009, she served as co-chair for West Point's Self-Study for the decennial Middle States Commission on Higher Education accreditation. She has authored or co-authored three books, conducted human security research in Africa, completed study projects in Iraq and Afghanistan, and served as a senior advisor to the Chief of the Office of Security Cooperation-Iraq during the summer of 2015. A member of the Council on Foreign Relations, Jebb served as the Head of the Department of Social Sciences before assuming the duties as Dean.

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### **Dr. Seth G. Jones**

Dr. Jones is director of the International Security and Defense Policy Center at the RAND Corporation, as well as an adjunct professor at Johns Hopkins University's School for Advanced International Studies (SAIS). He served as the representative for the commander, US Special Operations Command, to the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations. Before that, he served as a plans officer and advisor to the commanding general, US Special Operations Forces, in Afghanistan (Combined Forces Special Operations Component Command–Afghanistan). Jones specializes in counterinsurgency and counterterrorism, including a focus on al Qa'ida and ISIS/ISIL. He is the author of *Waging Insurgent Warfare* (Oxford University Press, forthcoming), *Hunting in the Shadows: The Pursuit of al Qa'ida after 9/11* (W.W. Norton, 2012) and *In the Graveyard of Empires: America's War in Afghanistan* (W. W. Norton), which won the 2010 Council on Foreign Relations Silver Medal for Best Book of the Year.

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### **Dr. Emmanuel Karagiannis**

Dr. Karagiannis is an Adjunct Scholar at the Modern War Institute and Senior Lecturer (British equivalent of Associate Professor) at the Department of Defence Studies of King's College London. He is also a Research Affiliate of the University of Maryland's National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism. He has taught in universities in Great Britain, Bulgaria, Kazakhstan, Greece, Italy, Cyprus, Spain, and Russia. He was educated in the United Kingdom (Hull University, Reading, London South Bank) and the United States (University of Pennsylvania). He has held research positions at Yale, Columbia, and Princeton. He is member of editorial boards of scientific journals, member of various professional organizations in the United States and Europe, and a frequent commentator on security issues for international media outlets. He is the author of *Political Islam in Central Asia* (Routledge, 2010) and *Energy and Security in the Caucasus* (Routledge, 2002). Dr. Karagiannis has lived and worked for extensive periods in the former Soviet Union, the Balkans and the Middle East.

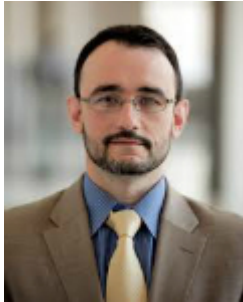




### **Dr. Nori Katagiri**

Dr. Katagiri is a Non-Resident Fellow with the Modern War Institute. He joined Saint Louis University after five years of federal service teaching at Air War College, a joint military graduate school for senior officers and officials of the US government and international officers at Maxwell Air Force Base. In 2015, he received the Meritorious Civilian Service Award from the Department of the Air Force. Dr. Katagiri teaches courses on international relations, security studies, and East Asia. He has won the Teaching Excellence Award from Air War College. Dr. Katagiri's research focuses on irregular warfare, military strategy, and East Asian security. His book, *Adapting to Win: How Insurgents Fight and Defeat Foreign States in War* was published from the University of Pennsylvania Press in 2015. In the book, Dr. Katagiri investigates the circumstances and tactics that allow some insurgencies to succeed in wars against foreign governments while others fail. He is working on his second book on Japanese military power and East Asia and has been a visiting fellow in Taiwan, South Korea, the Philippines, and Japan. His research has been supported by the US Air Force Institute for National Security Studies, Air War College, RAND Corporation, Smith Richardson Foundation, and Matsushita International Foundation.

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### **Mr. Michael Kofman**

Mr. Kofman is a Global Fellow at The Wilson Center's Kennan Institute. He spent years managing professional military education programs and military to military engagements for senior officers at National Defense University. There he served as a subject matter expert and adviser to military and government officials on issues in Russia/Eurasia. He has represented the Department of Defense in a number of track one and track two efforts with Russia and Pakistan, along with strategic dialogues and conferences with experts in the field. His prior experience includes working at the US Institute of Peace, HSBC Bank, and The Diplomatic Courier. He has published and co-authored articles on security issues in Russia, Central Asia and Eurasia, along with numerous analyses for the US government.

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### **Dr. Nina A. Kollars**

Dr. Kollars is a Non-Resident Fellow with the Modern War Institute and Assistant Professor of Government at Franklin & Marshall College. Her scholarship examines the innovative practices of US soldiers in war, and organizational responses to that creativity. Specifically, Kollars traces technological and tactical modifications that fall outside military guidelines and whether those new practices and technologies become incorporated into doctrine. Her second passion is teaching and developing new techniques that emphasize active-learning processes. Prior to her PhD, she worked as an analyst at the Federal Research Division of the Library of Congress, a researcher for the World Bank, and has authored several reports on terrorism. Kollars' newest project looks at DoD's emphasis on user-innovation models as a new direction for weapons development.





### **Dr. Margaret E. Kosal**

Dr. Kosal is an Adjunct Scholar at the Modern War Institute, Associate Professor in the Sam Nunn School of International Affairs at Georgia Institute of Technology, and Director of the Sam Nunn Security Program (SNSP). Her research explores the relationships among technology, strategy, and governance, specifically reducing the threat of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and understanding the geopolitics of emerging technologies. She is the author of *Nanotechnology for Chemical and Biological Defense*, which explores scenarios, benefits, and potential proliferation threats of nanotechnology and other emerging sciences. Formally trained as an experimental scientist, Dr. Kosal earned a doctoral degree in Chemistry from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (UIUC) working on biomimetic and nano-structured materials. She is also the co-founder of a sensor company, where she led research on medical, biological, chemical, and explosive detection. Dr. Kosal served as part of the inaugural Chief of Staff of the US Army Strategic Studies Group (CSA SSG), as Science and Technology Advisor within the Office of the Secretary of Defense (OSD), and as an Associate to the National Intelligence Council (NIC).

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### **Dr. Matthew Kroenig**

Dr. Kroenig is an Associate Professor in the Department of Government and School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University and a Senior Fellow in the Brent Scowcroft Center on International Security at The Atlantic Council. Dr. Kroenig has served in a variety of positions in the US government and was a Senior National Security Adviser to the 2016 Marco Rubio for President Campaign. He is the author or editor of six books and his articles have appeared in a wide range of publications, including: *American Political Science Review*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *International Organization*, *The Wall Street Journal*, and *The Washington Post*.

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### **Ms. Gayle Tzemach Lemmon**

Ms. Lemmon is a Senior Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations and the author of *Ashley's War* and *The Dressmaker of Khair Khana*, both *New York Times* bestsellers. Ms. Lemmon is a contributor to the *Atlantic's Defense One* site, writing on national security and foreign policy issues, and a former contributing editor at *Newsweek Daily Beast*. She also writes regularly on Afghanistan's politics and economy, entrepreneurship in fragile states, the fight to end child marriage, and issues affecting women and girls for publications including the *New York Times*, *Financial Times*, *International Herald Tribune*, *Fast Company*, *Huffington Post*, *Christian Science Monitor*, and CNN.com.

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### **Dr. Jonathan R. Lindsay**

Dr. Lindsay is Assistant Professor of Digital Media and Global Affairs at the Munk School of Global Affairs at the University of Toronto. He holds a PhD in political science from MIT, an MS in computer science from Stanford, and has served as an intelligence officer in the US Navy. He is the co-author of *China and Cybersecurity: Espionage, Strategy, and Politics in the Digital Domain* and is completing two books: *Shifting the Fog of War: Information Technology and the Politics of Control*; and *Cross-Domain Deterrence: Strategy in an Era of Complexity*, with Erik Gartzke.







### **Dr. Nuno P. Monteiro**

Dr. Monteiro is Associate Professor of political science at Yale University, where he is also a Research Fellow at the Whitney and Betty MacMillan Center for International and Area Studies. He is interested in international relations theory and security studies, with an emphasis on great-power politics, the politics of the nuclear age, the causes of war, military power, deterrence theory, political violence, and the philosophy of science. He is the author of *Theory of Unipolar Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 2014) and *Nuclear Politics: The Strategic Causes of Proliferation* (with Alexandre Debs, Cambridge University Press, forthcoming), as well as articles published in *International Organization*, *International Security*, and *International Theory*. He received his doctorate from the University of Chicago in 2009.

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### **Dr. John Mueller**

Dr. Mueller is Woody Hayes Senior Research Scientist at the Mershon Center for International Security Studies of Ohio State University. He is also adjunct professor of Political Science at Ohio State and a Cato Senior Fellow at the Cato Institute in Washington, DC. Dr. Mueller is the author of *Retreat from Doomsday: The Obsolescence of Major War* (Basic Books, 1989), *The Remnants of War* (Cornell, 2004) and several other books on terrorism and conflict. He is currently mostly working on terrorism and particularly on the reactions and costly over-reactions it often inspires. His book, *Chasing Ghosts: The Policing of Terrorism*, written in collaboration with engineer and risk analyst Mark Stewart, was published in 2016 by Oxford. A related book, *Terror, Security, and Money: Balancing the Risks, Benefits, and Costs of Homeland Security*, also with Stewart and also applying cost-benefit analysis to issues of homeland security, published in 2011 by Oxford. He has also written *Overblown: How Politicians and the Terrorism Industry Inflate National Security Threats, and Why We Believe Them* (Free Press, 2006). Mueller's 2010 book, *Atomic Obsession: Nuclear Alarmism from Hiroshima to Al Qaeda* (Oxford), suggests that atomic terrorism is highly unlikely and that efforts to prevent nuclear proliferation frequently have damaging results. His *War and Ideas: Selected Essays* was published in 2011 by Routledge. With Christopher Preble, he is the editor of *A Dangerous World? Threat Perception and U.S. National Security*, published by the Cato Institute in 2014. In another field, he is the author of *Astaire Dancing* (Knopf, 1985).

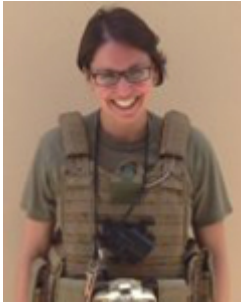
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### **Dr. Dipali Mukhopadhyay**

Dr. Mukhopadhyay teaches international security at Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs, where she is a faculty affiliate of the Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies. She recently published the book *Warlords, Strongman Governors and State Building in Afghanistan* (Cambridge, 2014). Prior to joining Columbia's faculty, Dr. Mukhopadhyay spent 2011 as a postdoctoral fellow at Princeton University. Her current work on Afghanistan builds on her first book with a study of palace politics during the Karzai presidency. She also has two projects underway on the Syrian civil war related to Western engagement with the opposition and rebel governance. Dr. Mukhopadhyay's research has been funded by the Carnegie Corporation, the Eisenhower Institute, the Smith Richardson Foundation, the US Institute of Peace, Harvard Law School, the US Agency for International Development, and the US Department of Education. Her writings have been published in academic books and journals as well as by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *Foreign Policy*, US Institute of Peace, *US News & World Report*, and the *Washington Post's* Monkey Cage Blog. She is a term member at the Council on Foreign Relations.





### **Dr. T. Negeen Pegahi**

Dr. Pegahi is an Assistant Professor of strategy and director of the Mahan advanced research program at the Naval War College. She also co-teaches in the college's special operations elective sequence and spent June 2013 to June 2014 as a strategic advisor and analyst at the Special Operations Joint Task Force - Afghanistan / NATO Special Operations Component Command - Afghanistan (SOJTF-A/NSOCC-A) in Kabul. Prior to joining the faculty in Newport, Dr. Pegahi spent two years at Harvard as a research fellow in the International Security and Managing the Atom programs at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs and as a teaching fellow in the university's undergraduate core curriculum. She has taught master's students at the University of Chicago's Harris School of Public Policy as well as undergraduates in the university's International Studies and Political Science departments. Her courses have focused variously on international relations theory, security studies, research design, and formal methods. Prior to beginning her doctoral program, Dr. Pegahi spent two years at the RAND Corporation conducting research and one year in northern Pakistan as a Fulbright Scholar.

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### **Dr. Michael Poznansky**

Dr. Poznansky is an Assistant Professor of International Affairs and Intelligence Studies in the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Pittsburgh. Prior to joining GSPIA, he was a pre-doctoral research fellow with the International Security Program at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. He received a PhD from the University of Virginia in Politics (2016).

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### **Dr. Daryl G. Press**

Dr. Press is Associate Professor in the Department of Government, Dartmouth College. He is the author of *Calculating Credibility: How Leaders Assess Military Threats* (Cornell University Press, 2005). Dr. Press has worked as a consultant for the RAND Corporation and the US Department of Defense, and is a research affiliate at the Security Studies Program at MIT. He also serves as an Associate Editor at the journal *International Security*. He is currently writing a book (with Keir Lieber of Georgetown University) on nuclear deterrence - during the Cold War and the future - as well as a series of articles (with Eugene Gholz, UT Austin) on energy and security.

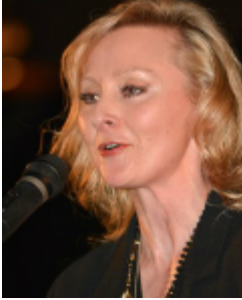
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### **Lieutenant Colonel Douglas A. Pryer**

Lt. Col. Pryer is a Non-Resident Fellow with the Modern War Institute and a US Army military intelligence officer with experience at the strategic, operational, and tactical levels of war. Currently serving as a J-5 planner for the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, his previous assignments include three years in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Kosovo as well as two years of "combined" experience as the US military liaison and senior intelligence officer for a British Army regiment. Pryer's awards and decorations include two bronze stars, the combat action badge, and the Presidential Unit Citation. He holds a Master of Military Art and Science (Military History) from the US Army Command and General Staff College and is the author of the book, *The Fight for the High Ground: The U.S. Army and Interrogation during Operation Iraqi Freedom, May 2003 – April 2004*. His numerous essays about warfare's moral and psychological dimensions have been published in various national security outlets and earned him a number of military writing awards.





### **Ms. Alex Quade**

Ms. Quade is a war reporter who covers US special operations forces on combat missions. She is the only reporter, male or female, ever embedded *long-term* with these elite, secretive units downrange. She is the recipient of two national RTDNA *Edward R. Murrow Awards*, as well as the Congressional Medal Of Honor Society's "*Tex McCrary Award For Excellence In Journalism*" for her war reportage.

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### **Mr. Stuart Reid**

Mr. Reid is Deputy Managing Editor of *Foreign Affairs*. Mr. Reid holds a bachelor's degree in government from Dartmouth College and has written for such publications as *Politico Magazine*, *The Washington Monthly*, and *The New Republic*.

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### **Brigadier General (Ret.) Kevin Ryan**

Brig. Gen. (Ret.) Ryan is Director, Defense and Intelligence Projects at Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. A career military officer, he served in air and missile defense, intelligence, and political-military policy areas. From 1995 to 1996, he was head of the Moscow office of the POW/MIA Commission, searching for missing Americans in the former Soviet states. From 1998 to 2000, he served as Senior Regional Director for Slavic States in the Office of Secretary of Defense and, from 2001 to 2003, as Defense Attaché to Russia. He also served as Chief of Staff for the Army's Space and Missile Defense Command, an organization with diverse missions that include deployment of missile defenses, cyber assets, satellite management and research in areas like directed energy. Ryan holds a Bachelor of Science degree from the US Military Academy, a master's degree in Russian Language and Literature from Syracuse University and, a master's degree in National Security Strategy from the National War College.





### **Mr. David E. Sanger**

Mr. Sanger is National Security Correspondent for *The New York Times* and one of the newspaper's senior writers. He is the author of two bestsellers on foreign policy and national security: *The Inheritance: The World Obama Confronts and the Challenges to American Power* (2009) and *Confront and Conceal: Obama's Secret Wars and Surprising Use of American Power* (2012). He served as the *Times*' Tokyo Bureau Chief, Washington Economic Correspondent, White House correspondent during the Clinton and Bush Administrations and Chief Washington Correspondent. In his 34-year career, Mr. Sanger has twice been a member of *Times* teams that won the Pulitzer Prize, first for the investigation into the causes of the Challenger disaster in 1986, and later for investigations into the struggles within the Clinton administration over controlling technology exports to China. He has also won the Weintal Prize for diplomatic reporting for his coverage of the Iraq and Korea crises, the Aldo Beckman prize for coverage of the Presidency, and, in two separate years, the Merriman Smith Memorial Award, for coverage of national security issues. "Nuclear Jihad," the documentary that Mr. Sanger reported for Discovery/Times Television, won the DuPont Award for its explanation of the workings of the A.Q. Khan nuclear proliferation network. Alex Gibney's 2016 documentary, "Zero Days," an investigation into the United States' decision to conduct a sophisticated cyber attack against Iran, was based in large part on "Confront and Conceal," and featured Mr. Sanger.

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### **Dr. Todd Sechser**

Dr. Sechser is Associate Professor of Politics at the University of Virginia specializing in questions of international security. His research interests include military coercion, reputations in international relations, the strategic effects of nuclear weapons, and the sources and consequences of military doctrine. Dr. Sechser's work has been published in the *American Journal of Political Science*, *International Organization*, *International Studies Quarterly*, and the *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. His dissertation won the 2008 Walter Isard Award for the best dissertation in peace science. Sechser has held research fellowships at the Center for International Security and Cooperation (Stanford), the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs (Harvard), and the Olin Institute for Strategic Studies (Harvard). In 2011-12 he was a Stanton Nuclear Security Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations.

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### **Dr. Adam Segal**

Dr. Segal is the Ira A. Lipman chair in emerging technologies and national security and director of the Digital and Cyberspace Policy Program at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). An expert on security issues, technology development, and Chinese domestic and foreign policy, Dr. Segal was the project director for the CFR-sponsored Independent Task Force report *Defending an Open, Global, Secure, and Resilient Internet*. His book, *The Hacked World Order: How Nations Fight, Trade, Maneuver, and Manipulate in the Digital Age* (PublicAffairs, 2016) describes the increasingly contentious geopolitics of cyberspace. His work has appeared in the *Financial Times*, *The Economist*, *Foreign Policy*, *The Wall Street Journal*, and *Foreign Affairs*, among others. He currently writes for the blog, "Net Politics."





### **Mr. Nicholas Thompson**

Mr. Thompson is the editor of *The New Yorker's* website, NewYorker.com. Prior to that, he was a senior editor at the magazine. He is also a contributor to CBS News and a technology contributor to CNN International. In addition, he is a co-founder of "The Atavist," a software company and digital periodical, and a senior fellow at The New America Foundation. He published *The Hawk and the Dove: Paul Nitze, George Kennan, and the History of the Cold War* (MacMillan, 2009). Prior to joining *The New Yorker*, Mr. Thompson was a senior editor at *Wired*, a senior editor at *Legal Affairs*, and an editor at the *Washington Monthly*.



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### **Mr. Vincent Viola**

Mr. Viola is the former Chairman of the New York Mercantile Exchange (NYMEX) and is one of the nation's foremost leaders in electronic trading. He is currently the Executive Chairman of Virtu Financial. Mr. Viola started his career in the financial services industry on the floor of the New York Mercantile Exchange and rose to be Vice Chairman (1993-1996) and Chairman (2001-2004). Mr. Viola has launched a number of successful businesses during his career, including Virtu Financial and a regional banking group in Texas that is now listed on NASDAQ (IBTX). Mr. Viola graduated from the US Military Academy at West Point in 1977. He later graduated from the US Army Airborne, Infantry and Ranger Schools and served in the 101st Airborne Division. In 1983, he graduated from the New York Law School. Shortly after September 11, 2001, Mr. Viola was instrumental in founding the Combating Terrorism Center at West Point.





**The Modern War Institute would like to thank the USMA Class of 2006, whose generous support made this conference possible.**



# NOTES

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# NOTES

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# REASSESSING DETERRENCE IN THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY

UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY  
NOVEMBER 13–15, 2016

ORGANIZED BY:



IN ASSOCIATION WITH MEDIA PARTNER:



MADE POSSIBLE THROUGH THE GENEROSITY OF:

